

On Better and Worse Sites: The Changing Importance of the Harbours of Constantinople

The harbours of ancient Byzantium and later Constantinople in its early days were orientated towards the south-eastern coast of the Golden Horn where it opens into the Bosphorus. Neorion and Prosfhorion¹ were situated here, semi-circular harbours of the old type, probably lined with colonnades, and also the ferry crossings to Chalcedon und Sykai (Pera)². The Harbour of Julian was added in the south of the peninsula, facing the Sea of Marmara, soon after Constantinian expansion of Constantinople³. The original name of this harbour provides an approximate dating, especially since there was a statue of Emperor Julian (reg. 360-363)⁴. It collapsed in the year 533, which, together with the construction work of Justin II (reg. 565-578)⁵, paved the way for a renaming after his wife Sophia. Further to the west was the small Harbour of

Eleutherios, said to have been created under Constantine the Great. More details are unknown because it was filled in with excavated earth from levelling work for the erection of the Column of Theodosius in the Forum Tauri⁶. It was generously compensated for by the westward re-establishment of the Harbour of Theodosius (probably equivalent to the Harbour of Caesarius) at the mouth of the Lykos/Lycus⁷.

The urban growth – whose two phases are clearly marked by the Constantinian and Theodosian city walls⁸ – and in conjunction with that the expansion of the harbours, is thus concentrated in the south, on the coast of the Propontis. Until the seventh century, however, there was still a balance between the infrastructure and the flow of goods, such as food supplies, but also building materials like timber and

- 1 On the two harbours, see my chapter on Neorion and Prosfhorion in this volume – Cf. Janin, Constantinople 236 – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 6-7. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 362. 364-365. – Schreiner, Constantinopoli 106-107. – Leszka, Konstantynopoliński porty 6. 8. 12. – Magdalino, Harbors 13-14 (undocumented); Stavroulaki, Seaports (without merit). – Dark, Eastern Harbours 152-163 (cf. Dark, New Post Office). – Berger, Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel is for the better part based (as admitted by the author, 111) on the research by Müller-Wiener, Häfen, therefore, does not need to be quoted here. Berger, Häfen 77. 80-81 contains a number of borrowings from the above-mentioned article, but with additional (though sparse) footnotes. – Günsenin, »City« Harbours 99-105 is based (see 99) on Janin, Constantinople, Müller-Wiener, Häfen and Mango, Développement, Recent archaeological evidence is considered in the short overview, particularly on the district of Sirkeci. A number of mistakes in writing of historical denominations are striking: Portus Theodosiacus and Konstantkalion (op. cit. 103. 104 with n. 2). Improved in Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 414-416.
- 2 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233, 15 (*scala Timasii*); 234, 19 and 11. – Chronicon Paschale 569 and 572 (Dindorf): the relics of three saints (Samuel, Joseph, the son of Jacob, and Zachariah) landed in 406 or 415 at the skala Chalkedonensia. On their location, see Berger, Regionen und Straßen 362. 364. – For completeness, the landing place below the Arcadianai baths in the Acropolis area is mentioned: Prokopios, De aedificiis I 11, 1-2 (IV 41 Haury/Wirth), where – obviously, so as not to cause a stir – the imprisoned Pope Martin I was disembarked before his trial in 653, according to his Greek *vita* (Vita Martini ch. 6 [258 Peeters]). See also, Chiesa, Biografie 216 n. 10. – Also, the Mangana, the arsenal for weapons and siege equipment, would have had access to the sea, as well as the south-lying palace of the same name (Schneider, Mauern und Tore 95 and 105 [plan 5]. – Demangel/Mamboury, Quartier des Manganes 7-8 n. 2 pl. II).
- 3 See the contribution by Heher, Harbour of Julian, in this volume. – Cf. Müller-Wiener, Häfen 8-9. – Janin, Constantinople 231-234. – Mango, Développement 38-40. – Magdalino, Constantinople 20-22. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 360-361. – Berger, Häfen 82-83. 85. – Leszka, Konstantynopoliński porty 7-9. 13. 15. – Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 417. – The Kontoskalion Harbour cannot be equated with the Eleutherios Harbour (slightly east of the Theodosios Harbour), as assumed by Günsenin, »City« Harbours 104 and Ivanov, Konstantinopol 416-418. The latter had been filled with the excavated material from the former during the construction of the Forum Tauri under Emperor Theodosius I (379-395), see Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this

volume. – In the Vlanga quarter (in the area of the Theodosios Harbour, not at the Kontoskalion, see Günsenin, »City« Harbours 104), Jewish tanners were settled in the Palaeologan period (who before had been active near the south banks of the Golden Horn, see below). The contributions by Berger, Langa Bostani (1993) seems to have been unknown to Günsenin, »City« Harbours (2012). – On the private imperial harbour a little further east, see Heher, Boukoleonhafen, and Heher, Harbour of the Bukoleon, in this volume. – Berger, Häfen 83 without knowledge of Heher, Bukoleonhafen. – Günsenin, »City« Harbours 103.

- 4 Zosimos, Historia Nova III 11 (II 25 Paschoud). – Prokopios, De aedificiis I 4, 28 (IV 26 Haury/Wirth). – Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia XVIII 82 (404 Thurn). – The Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 232, 9 referred to as the *portus novus* in region III. Berger, Regionen und Straßen 360-361; English translation in Matthews, Notitia 88. – For the dating of the sources, see Berger, Regionen und Straßen 350-351: main part around 425.
- 5 Leon Grammatikos, Chronographia 135 (Bekker). – Symeon Logothetes, Chronicon 147 (Wahlgren). – Patria Konstantinupoleos III 37 (230 Preger). – Damage caused by fire may have preceded it (Ioannes Malalas, Chronographia XVIII 131 [422 Thurn]). – Theophanes, Chronographia 235 (de Boor).
- 6 Patria Konstantinupoleos II 63 and III 91 (184-185 and 248 Preger). – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 9 n. 25: located below the Myrelaion complex. – Berger, Untersuchungen 581-582. – Mango, Développement 55. – Cf. Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume.
- 7 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 239: *portus Theodosiacus* in region XII. Matthews, Notitia 95. – See Külzer, Harbour of Theodosius, in this volume. – Cf. Müller-Wiener, Häfen 9. – Janin, Constantinople 226-228. – Mango, Développement 39-40. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 372-373. – Kislinger, Lebensmittel. – Ercan, Yenikapı. – Leszka, Konstantynopoliński porty 10-11. – Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 417-418. However, the Belisar Tower was not situated in the area of the Theodosios Harbour (see Günsenin, op. cit. 418), but at the western end of the Boukoleon Harbours. – Pulak/Ingram/Jones, Yenikapı 102-103. – On the identification, see Guiland, Études de topographie II 95-96 and Berger, Untersuchungen 575. Like the Harbour of Julian, that of Theodosios may previously have been a bay: Mango, Shoreline 20 fig. 1; Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 419.
- 8 Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, Eski Imaret Camii. – Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, Verlauf der Konstantinsmauer. – Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer. – Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 286-311 (each with older literature).

bricks⁹, which is reflected in the various granaries: the *horrea Troadensia*, *Valentiaca* and *Constantiaca* are located in the fifth region near the Strategion¹⁰ (and thereby near the Harbour of Prosporon). Periodic inspections by the emperor are testified only for these¹¹, but this could be due to the fact that the custom originated in earlier times, when the later *horrea Alexandrina* and the Theodosius granary in the ninth Region on the Sea of Marmara (on the eastern edge of the Harbour of Theodosius in region XII)¹² had not yet existed. At the Harbour of Julian/Sophia, the Church of St Thecla *en tois kithopoleiois*¹³ indicates the handling and sale of barley and another granary, which in addition to the five other (probably larger) granaries mentioned in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* (242, 29 Seeck) signifying a balanced development of such facilities on the Golden Horn and Propontis.

However, the period during which the different *horrea* were active was varying. The granary complex at the Harbour of Theodosius in the southwest was known as *tēs Lamias* from the seventh century¹⁴ (which incidentally confirms the ongoing operation of the harbour even before the recent ship finds¹⁵), not far from the square *tou Amastrianou*¹⁶. This in turn was located just north of the harbour. According to a

somewhat confused history in the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, sailors traded grain in the square; a bronze bushel that was used (earlier) as a standard weight was placed on an archway as a warning to always sell at the correct value of gold coin (*nomisma*)¹⁷. The Empress Eirene had halls (*triklinous*) built at the bakery (or bakeries) of the *Lamia/tēs Lamias tou pistoreiou* (or *ta pistoreia*) – again a local reference to grain is made – which, according to the source context, served as public outlets¹⁸.

In addition to charitable facilities, other establishments flourished near the harbours, as in different times and different places: establishments of commercial hospitality, public houses with their range of alcoholic drinks for sailors and dockworkers, sometimes also associated with prostitution¹⁹. At the same time, state authority had a presence at the harbours: officials of the eparchy exercised control, such as the *limenarchoi* (harbour masters), and levies such as the *limenatikon* and *skaliatikon* (from *skala*, landing stage) were collected. The *parathalassitai* administered justice in disputes among sailors, official surveys of ships took place at the Neorion, the *logothetes tou dromou* was responsible for privileged foreigners²⁰.

9 Themistios, Oratio 6. 83c-d and Or. 27, 336 d (124 Schenkl/Downey 160-161; Downey/Norman). – Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 211-212. – Magdalino, *Grain Supply* 43-46. – Müller, *Getreide*. – Kislínger, *Pane*. – Durlíat, *L'approvisionnement* 26-27. – Prigent, *Rôle des provinces d'Occident*. – Kislínger, *Lebensmittel*. – Wade, *Maritime Cults* 269. – Several finds of shipwrecks at Yenikapı/Harbour of Theodosios (e. g., YK 1, 5, 11, 14, 23, 24; see Pulak/Ingram/Jones, *Yenikapı* 105-110 and n. 13. – Jones, *Yenikapı* 12. – Jones, *Cargo Vessel*. – Kocabaş, *Shipwrecks* 109-111 distinguishes between »sea going traders« [YK 3, 8, 15, 17-22] and »local trading vessels« [YK 6-10, 12, 14, 31-32]), proving its commercial significance (and those of most other harbours of the city) for their subsistence. On the basis of the »local trading vessels« the importance of the local subsistence in the Mediterranean is proven, as stated by Horden/Purcell, *Corrupting Sea* 143-152. 365-377. – The wines from all parts of the empire served at the banquet on the occasion of the crowing of Justin II were probably brought to Constantinople by ship (Corippus, *In Laudem Justinii III* 83-93, 96-102, cf. I 109-111; Kislínger, *Weinhandel* 141-147; about wine merchants in antiquity s. Broekaert, *Navicularii* 266-268). – According to Günsenin, »City« *Harbours* 104, from the 7th to the 13th c. local supplies were not predominantly unloaded at the harbours on the Golden Horn, but mostly at the harbours on the Propontis coast. – For the later centuries, see Jacoby, *Mediterranean Food and Wine*, and Günsenin, *Ganos*, and Jacoby, *Mediterranean Food and Wine*; Günsenin, *Ganos* and Howard-Johnston, *Commerce à Byzance* 337-338; about emporoi (traders) and kapeloi (small local merchants) in antiquity s. Broekaert, *Navicularii* 257-258. – On archaeological finds of amphorae in the area of the Theodosios Harbour (probably for wine), see Günsenin, *Harbours and Shipbuilding* 420 with fig. 3 (YK 12). – The trade privileges of the branch of Monemvasia in Pegai (today Karabiga, 56 km west of Bandirma), dating from 1328 and c. 1363-1373, testify to the continuous role of Constantinople as a maritime trade centre: Kislínger, *Zweite Privilegirkunde*. – On the significance of the sea trade in general, see Necipoğlu, *Byzantine Economy and the Sea* 437-438: »Maritime trade was more profitable than overland trade [...] the sea always remained a major factor fostering trade and a generally flourishing economy of Byzantium«.

10 *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 233-234, 15-17. English translation in Matthews, *Notitia* 90. – Mango, *Triumphal Way* 187-188 (appendix: The Situation of the Strategion). – Drakoulis, *Functional Organization* 153-182 merely provides a wordy presentation of the source and relevant literature. – Kislínger, *Eugenios-Tor* 728. – Kislínger, *Lebensmittel* 311. 314-315. – Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 384-385. – Westbrook, *Forum of the Strategion*. See also n. 45. – For comparisons from the Aegean in Antiquity, see Bouras, *Geography of Connections* 214-215.

11 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, *De cer.* II 51 (III 394-398 Feissel). – Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon ad a.* 431 (15 Croke) concerning a ceremonial visit by Theodosios II could also refer to the southern *horrea*. – Westbrook, *Forum of the Strategion* 10.

12 *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 237, 6. – Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 369 does not want to rule out that the *Alexandrina* granary could have been situated at the Harbour of Julian because of the boundaries of region IX.

13 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 78 (Delehaye).

14 Haldon, *Comes horreorum*. – Durlíat, *L'approvisionnement* 22. 29-30. – Muddell-Mango, *Commercial Map* 200-201.

15 Berger, *Langa Bostani*, however, sees a broad harbour function only given until the beginning of the 8th c., because it has been documented. – Cf. Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 373: »Der Theodosioshafen schließlich [...] in einer tiefen Bucht, die im Lauf der folgenden Jahrhunderte verlandete« (The harbour of Theodosios [...] in a deep bay, which silted up in the course of the following centuries) (*scil.* after 425), which would have increasingly affected its operability as a harbour. – Mango, *Développement* 55.

16 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 2 (map). – Janin, *Constantinople* 68-69.

17 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* II 51 (179 Preger). – Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai § 12 (72-74 Cameron/Herrin). On the original location perhaps at one of the Propontis granaries, see Magdalino, *Constantinople* 24 n. 50. – Kislínger, *Lebensmittel* 308-309 n. 31.

18 *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* III 85 (246 Preger). In the case of at least this facility the late antique concept of the *pistrina publica* is likely – their number was above average in regions V and IX (i. e., near granaries): *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 234, 24 and 237, 15. Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 384-385. – Adapted to feeding the poor during the Middle Byzantine period (cf. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen* 87. 96-97. 130. 182. 208). Magdalino, *Constantinople* 25 n. 54 rightly refers to the nearby Myrelaion structure (Mango, *Développement* 59) that was in the early 10th c. re-dedicated by Romanos I Lekapenos as a charitable institution, with hospital (*xenon*), nursing home (*gerokomeion*) and a daily distribution of bread (Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 430 [Bekker]). Kislínger, *Hospitals*, in: Daim, *Brill's History and Culture of Byzantium* 469-471.

19 On a state inn for arriving travellers at the Harbour of Julian, built by Isaac II Angelos, see Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 445, 19-23 (van Dieten), where the *xenodochion* (on this term, see Kislínger, *Kaiser Julian* 373-378; Kislínger, *Lodging* 346-347) is denominated as *pandocheion*, thus in an archaizing way. – General observations (Antiquity), see Rauh/Dillon/Davina-McClain, *Ochlos nautikos*; Stasolla, *Strutture per l'accoglienza* (on Rome, Palermo, Cagliari, Naples, Pisa, Gaeta); Byzantium: Kislínger, *Lebensmittel* 310 n. 47 and Kislínger, *Reisen* 372-374 n. 188. 194; Veikou/Nilson, *Ports and harbours* 268-269; entirely unscholarly: Stavroulaki, *Seaports* 28-30 (inns, public houses at/near harbours). On taverns in the area of Heptaskalon, see Preiser-Kapeller, *Heptaskalon*, in this volume, Magdalino, *Review* 261, and earlier Kislínger, *Lebensmittel* 317 with n. 97 and 98. – Macrides, *Travel*, unfortunately, contains no contribution specifically on the hospitality industry and lodging in the Byzantine sphere.

20 *Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch* 17.3-4 (128 Koder); *Peira* 218 (Zachariä von Lingenthal) – Ahrweiler, *Fonctionnaires*. – Penna, *Imperial Acts* 21-24. – ODB III 1586-1587. – Makris, *Studien* 246-247. 251-252.

In summary, these harbours fulfilled a threefold purpose: first, they served as shipping centres for handling and storing goods; second, the harbours and the neighbouring areas provided a place of rest and recreation for sailors; third, they were part of a pan-Mediterranean system of long-distance and regional shipping routes²¹. The harbours of Constantinople as a whole were a hub of international dimensions and an essential element for the importance of the city, and the Golden Horn was of great significance for this²². »The sea, its mariners, and who serviced the maritime trading industry influenced life in the eastern capital [...] Constantinople was shaped by its maritime setting«²³.

From the Harbour of Julian, a broad street led to the Tetracylon/Anemodoulion, a gate construction that arched over the intersection with the Mese²⁴. All around to the south was a market quarter called *artopoleia*, where not only bread was sold, but also snack bars were installed (as they are today in such an environment), selling fish, cheese, pulses and wine. Andrew of Constantinople (also Andrew the Fool) chose to stay here in the tenth century²⁵. What is relevant for us, is that, once again, the surrounding neighbourhood attests to the continuing functioning of a granary (cf. the Church of St Thecla *en tois krithopoleiois*, n. 12) at this harbour in the Middle Byzantine period, thus not only that of the *Lamia-horreum*.

The three granaries at the Harbour of Prosfhorion on the Golden Horn, on the other hand, disappeared from the sources after the sixth century. If the *horrea* can be equated with *parathalassia apothekai* (magazines near the sea), then the last document from 561 attests to their destruction dur-

ing a fight of the circus factions, the Greens and the Blues²⁶. This would match the information that the markets for maritime merchandise (*agorai tōn thalassion emporeumatōn*) at Neorion were relocated to the Harbour of Julian by Justinian I (reg. 527-565)²⁷. The Harbour of Neorion continued to exist, and Emperor Leontius even had it dredged in 698²⁸. During the months of fighting between Emperor Anastasius II and the usurper Theodosius in 715, Neorion functioned as the base for the imperial fleet, alongside Hagios Mamas on the Bosphorus²⁹. In general, it can be assumed that the harbours on the easily defensible Golden Horn³⁰ served the navy since the first Arab siege of 668/669³¹, including a shipyard or shipyards. Ensuring the secrecy of armaments and weapons, especially that of Greek or liquid fire (*hygron pyr*)³², was certainly the primary motive in shielding this military complex from spying eyes, which was made easier by the concentration of civilian seafaring elsewhere. Berger is incorrect in believing that the Harbour of Julian/Sophia (later Kontoskalion) on the Sea of Marmara had been a »naval base« in the Middle Byzantine period³³. This only applies to the Palaeologan period (see below and n. 133).

From the sixth century, the harbours on the Propontis were preferred for handling goods for the simple reason that they were closer to the commercial and political centre, which extended parallel to the south coast of the city along an east-west axis, with the Mese as its main artery³⁴. Several squares opened along this portico-lined street, such as the Forum of Constantine or the Forum Tauri³⁵, to mention only the most important. This is where many traders and craftsmen had their shops³⁶, and around the Forum Tauri in region VIII

21 On Constantinople as a starting point for Mediterranean sea routes, see Kislinger, *Sea Routes* 320-322 and Kislinger, *Markets and Fairs, Trade Routes* 390-393, both in Daim, *Brill's History and Culture of Byzantium*. – On connectivity, see Kolditz, *Horizonte maritimer Konnektivität*; Bouras, *Geography of Connections; Avramea, Land and Sea Communications*; McCormick, *Origins* 502-508. 531-547. 593 (map 20.2 shipping routes: simplified segments); Külzer, *Pilgerwege und Kultorte* 183-187. – Heher/Preiser-Kapeller/Simeonov, *Vom Lokalen zum Globalen* 201-209, on the Orbis Stanford Geospatial Network Model of the Roman World, which classifies and analyses junctions according to degree-centrality (intensity of connections), betweenness-centrality (importance within the whole system) and closeness-centrality (distance to other junctions). In the general network, several clusters exist. Its junctions share a higher degree of connectivity, e.g., the Propontis region and the Black Sea area. Constantinople is the hub of both clusters. – The compilation of common law orders in seafaring in the *Nomos Rhodion Nautikos* (8th c.?) emphasises their empire-wide importance with a need for harbours (Letisios, *Seegesetz der Rhodier*; Howard-Johnston, *Commerce à Byzance* 313-316. 340-341). – The internationality of Constantinopolitan harbours is demonstrated by, e.g., small finds from the Theodosian Harbour, such as a gold ring belonging to Undila (possibly of Gothic origin, 6th c.) and a (Middle Byzantine?) roof tile, which names amongst others a certain Karellos/Karilos, a name commonly found in the Latin-speaking provinces of the Western Merovingian sphere: Tsivikis, *Epigraphy* 121-122 and 124-125. – Feuser, *Hafenstädte* 1-2. 4-5. 15.

22 See Kislinger, *Golden Horn*, in this volume.

23 Wade, *Eternal Spirit of Thalassa* 54. – Criticism of sailors' negative influence on urban society in Libanius, *Oratio XI* 38 (V2 448-449 Foerster); Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica VI* 15, 11 (337 Hansen). – Wade, *Lock Up your Valuables* 53-54. 71. 73. 75. – Cheynet, *Poids politique des marins*. – Kolditz, *Horizonte maritimer Konnektivität* 73 n. 75. – For traders in Antiquity cf. Feuser, *Hafenstädte* 284-286.

24 *Patria Konstantinupoleos II* 46/46a (174-175 Preger). – Cf. *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* § 40 (106-110 Cameron/Herrin). – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 315. – Anderson, *Anemodoulion*. – Kislinger, *Lebensmittel* 313-314. – Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 351-353. – Bread was sold in the *Artopoleia* area, not grain, so Howard-Johnston, *Commerce à Byzance* 329 (with insufficient knowledge of relevant literature). The Middle Byzantine grain trade took place at *tou Amastri-*

anou (see above n. 16), near the Propontis *horrea*. – In Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 397 (fig. 5). 405-406, the hypothetical road from the Harbour of Julian (*Kumkapi*) contradicts an intersection with the Mese (and continuation by the *Makros Embolos*) at the site of the Tetracylon (on this denomination, see Berger, *Toponyms of Constantinople* 164).

25 *Vita Andreae Sali* 28, 38, 92-94 (Rydén). – Cf. *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* § 13 (76 Cameron/Herrin): *Artotyrianon*. – Mango, *Développement* 55. – Magdalino, *Constantinople* 22-23.

26 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia XVIII*, 135 (424 Thurn). The mansion of Andreas *en tō Neoriō* was also destroyed (loc. cit.).

27 *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* § 72 (152 Cameron/Herrin). – *Patria Konstantinupoleos II* 68 (188 Preger).

28 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 370 (de Boor).

29 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 385-386 (de Boor). – Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 430-431.

30 For the blockade chain attached to this entrance as needed, see Pryor/Wilson, *Chain*. – Guillard, *Chaîne (= Guillard, Études de topographie II* 121-146). – Kedar, *Chains* 5-6. 22-24. 26. – Makris, *Studien* 182-184. – Kislinger, *Golden Horn*, in this volume.

31 Jankowiak, *First Arab Siege*.

32 Haldon, »Greek Fire« Revisited.

33 Berger, *Häfen* 83. See the earlier reference in Berger, *Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel* 114: »... der Hafen der Sophia, in dem Zeit seines Bestehens immer die byzantinische Kriegsflotte lag«. Cf. now Heher, *Harbour of Julian*, in this volume, and Günseken, *Harbours and Shipbuilding* 417.

34 Another example for the interaction between harbours and urban life is given by ancient and Byzantine Syracuse (Castagnino Berlinghieri, *Portualità di Siracusa*), where its centre, *Ortygia*, also from its peninsular shape is comparable to Constantinople.

35 Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 148-268. – Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 255-265. – Berger, *Taurus e Sigma*. – Barsanti, *Il foro di Teodosio*.

36 Detailed information goes beyond the current subject, see Mundell-Mango, *Commercial Map* 199-203. – Thomov/Ilieva, *Shape of the Market*. – Schreiner, *Costantinopoli* 108-111.

(and VII?) were two *macella*³⁷. To the west, the Mese and its extensions were connected to the long-distance overland routes through the Balkans (which supplied merchandise from the surrounding area)³⁸ and also allowed the connection of the Harbour of Theodosius to the urban infrastructure. In its eastern part, the Mese led to the »government quarter« with the Imperial Palace, Hagia Sophia and Hippodrome, all in close proximity and complementary in function. This is where secular and religious power manifested itself physically and where it was staged ceremonially before, and also sometimes with, the public³⁹. This quarter connected – slightly out of alignment to the south-west – to the Acropolis, with its temples, two theatres and the *luserium* of ancient Byzantium⁴⁰, hence represented continuity adapted to the new dimensions, rather than change.

This southward shift of the centre from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmara resulted from the interaction with the function of the Mese as an economic focus and attraction (fig. 1). It is unlikely that the process was planned as comprehensively as the results show. The authorities wanted only to accomplish the structural growth of the city initially enforced in the fourth to fifth centuries, using the newly developed areas, not least for the new harbours of Propontis. Harbours and granaries are essential utilitarian facilities in the larger concept of large-scale city planning, beginning with the Theodosian dynasty⁴¹. The old residential areas on the slope of the Golden Horn (regions V-VII und X)⁴², including utilities (such as market halls/*macella*⁴³ and water supply⁴⁴), were supposed to be preserved. Accordingly, as mentioned at the beginning, a bipolarity existed (examples are the dispersion of *macella*) from the fourth to the sixth century, but it is questionable whether this was completely stable.

Conveniently located, not overcrowded quarters of a large city with good infrastructure, near the political and cultural

hot spots were always attractive in history for the rich and powerful, who had the necessary means and prerequisites to live there. In the area south of the Mese where the ground slopes down to the Sea of Marmara, a specific Byzantine attraction was a wide and beautiful view⁴⁵. Corippus praised the palace of Julian II and Sophia above the Harbour of Julian, which was thus removed from its noise and odours: »Welcome to the noble couple was the place where they used to observe the surging of the sea and the curved ships who brought all goods from the continents«⁴⁶. Justin and his consort were not among the first at this site, who had moved to this area and further increased its value; they also found followers⁴⁷.

In addition to the basic economic and sometimes military function of harbours, in Constantinople as elsewhere, it is also important to consider their representative ceremonial role. This ranged from imperial landings and the reception of state guests to the transfer of relics⁴⁸. Thanks to the contributions by Simeonov and Heher in this volume and elsewhere, a detailed analysis can be omitted here. A change can be observed in this area as well: the focus was relocated from the ancient Prosporon/Strategion area to Hebdomon in Early Byzantine times, then to the Boukoleon Harbour, and in the Late Byzantine period, also the Golden Horn became a preferred locus for all the above mentioned representational and trade-related tasks⁴⁹.

Around 540, Byzantine Constantinople reached its highest population of just under half a million people⁵⁰. Analogous to the expansion of the empire (*renovatio imperii romani*, with expansions into the central Mediterranean) a quick and long-lasting steep decline happened, not only in a territorial, but also a demographic sense. This had been caused primarily by constant war on all fronts (against Sasanids and then Arabs in the east and southeast, Avars and Slavs in the Balkans,

37 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 236, 17. – Mundell-Mango, Commercial Map 193-194. – Kislinger, Lebensmittel 312-313. Leomakellon and Dimakellon (also mentioned in Kleinchronik 14, n. 1a, [Kleinchroniken 130 Schreiner]) and *tau Makellou* (at the Forum of Constantine: Sokrates, Historia Ecclesiastica I 38, 9 [89-90 Hansen]) and *ta Makellou* (the existence[?] of which is based only on Manuscript D of the Vita Andreae Sali. ch. 2 [18 Rydén, app. crit.] and with reference thereon Janin, Siège de Constantinople 29) must – contrary to Berger, Untersuchungen 184 and 515 – be distinguished.

38 Kislinger, Verkehrswege und Versorgung (with further literature). – Kùlzer, Ostthrakien 192-202.

39 For a short selection, I refer to Dagron, Déroulement des courses. – Hippodrom/Atmeydanı. – Bauer, Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. – Featherstone, Der Große Palast. – McCormick, Eternal Victory. – Majeska, Emperor in his Church. – On out-reaching productions, see Berger, Straßen und Plätze.

40 Berger, Regionen und Straßen 357-360.

41 Magdalino, Renaissances 58-59.

42 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233-236. 237-238. English translation in Matthews, Notitia 89-91. 93-94. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 377. 382-383.

43 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 234. – Kislinger, Lebensmittel 312-314. – Mundell-Mango, Commercial Map 193-194. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 385-386. – On the concept generally and its evolution, see De Ruyt, Macellum. – Cf. Lavan, Retail and Regulation 342-343. 346. 367 on such facilities elsewhere.

44 Hadrian's water system supplied ancient Byzantium, that of Valens also encompassed the area around and south of the Mese and (by means of the Cistern of St Mocius) in the southwest of the city: Bono/Crow/Bayliss, Water Supply. – Crow/Bardill/Bayliss, Water Supply, esp. 9-20. – Crow, Infrastructure 268-279

fig. 1. – Crow, Ruling the Waters. – Sürmelihiindi et al., Byzantine Water Management. – Mango, Water Supply. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 379-381.

45 Saliou, Trait  d'urbanisme   52-56 (72-75). – Saliou, Lois des b timents 238-246. – Velenis, Wohnviertel 229. – Dark, Eastern Harbours 157. – Gr nbart, Inszenierung 74. 90-92.

46 Flavius Cresconius Corippus, In laudem Iustini I 109-111. – Cf. I 101-103 (39 Cameron). In general Libanius, Oratio XI 37 (I/2 448 Foerster). On the comparable later expansion of the imperial palace complex southward and the emergence of the Boukoleon part including harbour, see Heher, Boukoleonhafen 123-124.

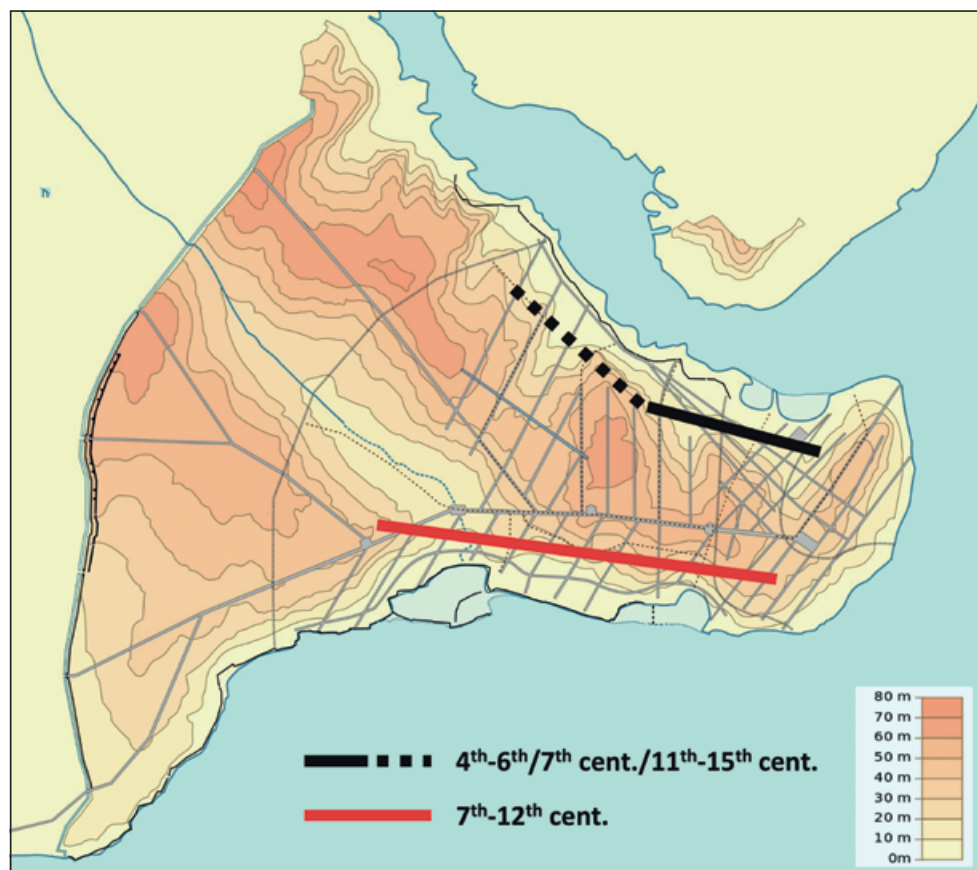
47 Nikephoros Phokas the Elder and his son Bardas followed after Justin II in the position above the Harbour of Sophia (Leon Diakonos, Historia V 5 [83-84 Hase]. – Niketas Choniates, Historia 445). The Empress Eirene resided in the Palace of Eleutherios (Vita Basilii Minoris III 36, 1), near the one of Arcadius (Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 237, 7). – Mango, D veloppement 59. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 216.

48 Heher/Simeonov, Ceremonies by the Sea 223-227. – On the image of the harbour in literary comparison, see Chrysos, Limen. – In general: Bauer, Stadtverkehr in Konstantinopel; Berger, Straßen und Plätze. For parallels from antiquity Feuser, Hafenst dte 271-274.

49 Heher/Simeonov, Ceremonies by the Sea 227. 230-233. 235-236. – Vu eti , Repr sentative Aspekte von H fen 135-140. – Schreiner, Brautgedicht und Pseudo-Kodinos, Trait , chap. 12 (286-287 Verpeaux).

50 Koder, Lebensraum 117-118. – Low estimate of 375 000 inhabitants before 541 given by Schreiner, Costantinopoli 81-83; higher estimate of 600 000 given by Durliat, Ville antique 232-275 n. 210. – Jacoby, Population.

Fig. 1 The harbours and economic axes of Constantinople and their locations over time. – (Map E. Kislinger / J. Preiser-Kapeller).



Lombards in Italy)⁵¹ and widespread pestilence⁵². When the Justinian plague ebbed away after a massive eruption in 743-750⁵³, which affected Constantinople in 747-748, the city probably reached its population low point. Although 40 000 inhabitants may be too pessimistic an estimate⁵⁴, even if double that is estimated, the city would have lost more than 80 per cent of its population level of 540. The fallout of this for the cityscape was, on the one hand, the contraction of settlement, especially on the Mese axis (the better position was still preferred) and the transverse from the Harbour of Julian via Makros Embolos («great shopping street»; now Uzunçarşı Caddesi) to Perama⁵⁵. On the other hand, sparsely populated and deserted areas created a spatial surplus that also had its advantages. As the harbours were no longer able to operate at full commercial capacity due to lower demand, their num-

ber could be reduced for this purpose, or, as already stated, diversification of use became possible: the Neorion Harbour on the Golden Horn thus passed to the navy for centuries to come (see above).

In the hinterland of the neighbouring Proshporion Harbour to the east, the Strategion – still one of the city's great squares in the fifth century⁵⁶ and a centre for the regions of the lower Golden Horn – retained its function as a cattle market for the time being⁵⁷. It was only under Constantine V (reg. 741-775) that this was transferred to the Forum Tauri⁵⁸, that is, at the time of the city's population low point. The decisive factor was probably the question of local supply⁵⁹ of the densely populated zone in the area of the Mese and to its south, which Constantine V focused on regarding the city planning⁶⁰, which overrode the hygiene aspect.

51 Overviews offer *pars pro toto*: Whitby, Maurice. – Pohl, Avars. – Zanini, Italie bizantine. – Kaegi, Early Islamic Conquests. – Stratos, Byzantium. – Eickhoff, Seekrieg und Seepolitik 9-50.
 52 Stathakopoulos, Famine and Pestilence. – Meier, Pest, and the chapters in Meier's volume by W. Brandes (201-224) and K.-H. Leven (11-32). – Congourdeau, Pandémies. – Meier, «Justinianic Plague» rightly criticises a recent attempt to minimise the effects of this pandemic, but overemphasises the importance of Meier, Pest. – On Constantinople, see Kislinger, Pane 279-293.
 53 Stathakopoulos, Famine and Pestilence 379-386.
 54 Mango, Développement 53-54.
 55 Mundell Mango, Commercial Map 197 fig. 31.
 56 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233, 11-12 speaks of *Strategium*, in *quo est forum Theodosiacum et obeliscus Thebaeus quadrus*. English translation in Matthews, Notitia 90. – Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai, § 24 (84-86 Cameron/Herrin) differentiate a large and small Strategion. Mango, Triumphal Way 187: »It can be provisionally suggested, that we have here a civic forum flanked

by a smaller marketplace«. – Mundell Mango, Commercial Map 192. – Westbrook, Forum of the Strategion 5-7. – Bauer, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal 224-228. – An arch or entranceway crowned with a Fortuna (Marcellinus comes, ad annum 510 [35 Croke]. Mango, Développement 19 n. 32) was considered by the Patria Konstantinupoleos I 51 (141 Preger) to be the Arch of Urbicius (opening to his nearby house, see n. 81) on the speculative Byzas Wall.
 57 For a similar use of the lower Agora near the harbour in Ephesos, see Foss, Ephesos 63. 82 fig. 12.
 58 Patria Konstantinupoleos III 149 (263-264 Preger). – Magdalino, Renaissance 75; cf. even earlier Kislinger, Lebensmittel 314-315 and Kislinger, Von schlechteren und besseren Lagen, in: Daim, Häfen 12.
 59 Nikephoros Patriarches, Breviarium ch. 85 (160 Mango) on the rich supply of markets under Constantine V.
 60 Magdalino, Constantine V, 10-11. – Cf. (2001). – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 213 n. 28.

Since the water supply via the Valens Aqueduct to the *nymphaeum maius* was disrupted in the course of the Avar siege of 626⁶¹, the reservoirs⁶² that this had fed could only be filled by rain water, but this was apparently sufficient given the reduced population. Only as a result of the state-ordered resettlements from various provinces in 755⁶³ did the situation threaten to become precarious in the event of prolonged drought. When that occurred in 766, Constantine V had the Valens Aqueduct repaired, for which he now had to bring builders to Constantinople from the Pontus, Hellas, the islands and from Thrace⁶⁴. In distant Naples, the measure became the fairytale-like expulsion of a dragon from the aqueduct, which had previously carried off many inhabitants with its exhalations (see n. 81 on the miasma concept). Lack of water due to blocked or interrupted supply lines, resulting in a lack of hygiene, encouraged the spread of disease, especially the plague outbreak of 747-748, and the intervention of the emperor was according to this legend brought nearer in time and combined with this⁶⁵.

Trade in pigs at the Forum Tauri⁶⁶, to which the animals were driven up from the Harbour of Julian⁶⁷, and that with horses (brought from Thrace?) at the Amastrianum⁶⁸ are further indications of mercantile concentration in appreciated and promoted residential areas. In contrast, the ambience around the palace was supposed to be dominated by the fragrances of musk, frankincense and myrrh, products of the druggists from the Milion to the Chalke Gate⁶⁹. An Early Byzantine slaughterhouse at the Forum of Constantine was probably relocated due to the unpleasant smells⁷⁰.

Less noble districts, which had become more remote due to the negative demographical growth of Constan-

tinople, such as Leomakellon near the coast at Basilike pyle (Unkapanikapısı)⁷¹ on the Golden Horn⁷² (or rather more precisely at the Heptaskalon⁷³) or around the site of the Strategion, were better suited for such purposes or also trades with an associated fire risk, such as glass-blowing: »However, if any necessity required it within the cities, the *hyalourgoi* must operate in isolated locations away from the residential areas«⁷⁴. Such a workshop (*ergasterion hyelopses-tikon*) on the steep street (Dikymbalos) to the Hagia Sophia obviously complied with the legal requirements; nevertheless, a fire broke out from it that raged to the Chalkoprateia Church⁷⁵. It was primarily for religious reasons that the Jewish community established a separate settlement. However, in 1044(?), or at least before 1082, they had to move from the south bank of the Golden Horn to the northern one⁷⁶. The evil odour emanating from the tanneries no doubt also motivated the change⁷⁷. This, too, fits for the time before the image of a predominantly commercial zone in the hinterland of the devalued and re-designated harbours on the Golden Horn.

As a reason why it ever came to this image, the plague was made responsible⁷⁸. The thousands of dead in the first wave in 542 were taken to the Golden Horn, stacked on the other bank at Sykai, buried in mass graves⁷⁹ or thrown into the sea⁸⁰. In other epidemics similar procedures may have been used. The associated miasma of the area⁸¹ is implicitly linked to a renewed outbreak of the plague in 698 when the Neorion Harbour was dredged⁸². The causality can also be modified. In the poor, overpopulated tenements of adjoining urban areas, the plague – probably reaching the city by sea, with harbours being the typical gateway of a

61 Nikephoros Patriarches, Breviarium ch. 85 (160 Mango).

62 Crow/Bardill/Bayliss, Water Supply 20.

63 Theophanes, Chronographia 429 (de Boor). The measure is certainly to be seen as a reaction to the loss of population caused by the plague outbreak of 747-748.

64 Theophanes, Chronographia 440 (de Boor). – Magdalino, Water 132. – Magdalino, Renaissance 72-73. 75. – Perhaps the expulsion of various monastic communities from their monasteries and their re-dedication as barracks for new elite units (Theophanes, Chronographia 437 [de Boor]). – Magdalino, Constantine V, 3. 6. 12) was not solely ideologically motivated, but partly due to lack of accommodation and construction workers, or perhaps due to earthquake damage (Magdalino, Renaissance 74). – The reproach of the Emperor for selling liturgical objects in order to finance the construction costs of houses, baths and theatres also points in this direction (proceedings of the Second Council of Nicaea 787: Mansi, Collectio XIII 333 A-B, see ACO series secunda, volume tertium, pars tertia 756, 9-11 (Lamberz/Dubielzig).

65 Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum 422-423 (Waitz). – Acconcia Longo, Agiografia e narrativa tra Oriente e Occidente 245-248. – On this plague wave, see Stathakopoulos, Famine and Pestilence 384-385.

66 Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 16.2 and 16.3 (124-126 Koder). – Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 15.5 (124 Koder) also testifies to trade in lambs from Easter to Pentecost.

67 Patria Konstantinupoleos II 46a (175 Preger). – Kislinger, Lebensmittel 313-314.

68 Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 21.3 and 21.8 (136-138 Koder).

69 Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 10.1 (110 Koder).

70 Sokrates, Historia Ecclesiastica I 38. 8-9 (89-90 Hansen). – Kislinger, Lebensmittel 314.

71 On this equalisation earlier Schneider, Mauern und Tore 77. – Asutay-Effenberger, Porta veteris rectoris 133.

72 Kislinger, Lebensmittel 316. – Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, Eski Imaret Camii 23-24. – Berger, Ufergegend 153.

73 Vita der Theodosiae 131 (Gedeon). – On the Heptaskalon, see Preiser-Kapeller, Haptaskalon, in this volume.

74 Julianus Ascalonites § 11.1 (Saliou, traité d'urbanisme 40-41). – Hexabiblos II 4, 19 (117-118 Pitsakis). – Velenis, Wohnviertel 227.

75 Invention des reliques et miracles de Ste Photine (BHG 1541 m), ch. 9 (122-123 Halkin). – See Talbot, Photeine 101 n. 52. – Henderson/Mundell Mango, Glass 344-346. – Mundell Mango, Commercial Map 202-203, n. 119. – Mango, Triumphal Way 188, still locates some Ottoman workshops for glass production slightly northeast.

76 Jacoby, Quartiers juifs 170-171. 181-183. – Jacoby, Jews 223-225.

77 Benjamin de Tudela, Itinerarium 24 (Adler).

78 Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 217-219.

79 Prokopios, Bella II 23, 9-11 (I 257 Haury/Wirth).

80 Ioannes Ephesius, Vitae sanctorum Orientalium 89 (Brooks).

81 Gen. Pseudo-Athanasius Alexandrinus, Quaestiones ad Antiochum, erot. 103 (PG 28, 661 A-B). – Anastasios Sinaites, Quaestiones et responsiones, erot. 66 (118-119 Richard/Munitiz). – Aetius Amidenus, Libri medicinales V 95 (II 80-81 Olivieri). – Paulos Aiginetes, Epitome iatrike II 34 (I 107-108 Heiberg). – The relevant sources quoted by Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 218, n. 65 and 66 are in parts from outdated editions. – For further examples of the *miasma* idea, see Acconcia Longo, Agiografia e narrativa tra Oriente e Occidente 247 n. 61.

82 Theophanes, Chronographia 370 (de Boor). – Berger, Häfen 80-81 follows Theophanes' arguments and sees the cause of the plague wave of 698 in silt and waste, without a mention of Stathakopoulos, Famine and Pestilence, esp. 364-365. Considering the knowledge of transmission paths of the plague, the common opinion that waste was the real catalyst of the pandemic seems unlikely. However, this was rather based on the negative image of the urban quarter since 542. See on this Magdalino, Constantinople 99; Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 218-219 and Kislinger, Von schlechteren und besseren Lagen 12-13 in Daim, Häfen (German version [2016] of the present article).

pandemic⁸³ – will have raged more fiercely than in richer neighbourhoods with higher sanitary standards⁸⁴. It was logical in a catastrophic situation to bury the dead nearby. The interests of the local survivors were of no great concern, their demographic and public weight shrank due to the epidemics, the already second-rate area now became the slum of the city: »The Golden Horn took a long time to shake off its bad reputation ...«⁸⁵.

The first signs of change again became evident in the tenth century⁸⁶. In the Book of the Eparch, the *makelarioi* are instructed to buy (and to slaughter) sheep until the beginning of the pre-Easter Lent at the Strategion – from which the bronze sculptural decoration had been taken away a few decades earlier⁸⁷. Only the trade with lambs remained at the Forum Tauri from Easter to Pentecost⁸⁸. In a high-turnover period, the market was left close to the customer, whereas otherwise it was removed from the centre again. The measure was taken for hygienic reasons, and is likely to be connected with the noticeable increase in population as the Empire began to tackle the last wave of Arab attacks at sea and soon asserted itself against the Bulgarians⁸⁹. It is significant from the supply logistics point of view that in 960, when preparations for the then successful landing on Crete were made, additional grain needed for this purpose was to be bought in from the east and west⁹⁰. About eighty years later, already the mere supply for the metropolitan population, which had to be secured in the face of a shortage, necessitated a similar course of action⁹¹.

Demographic growth was also manifested in urban development, and areas that were lying fallow for much of the time gained in interest. After Urbicius, author of a *taktikon* under Anastasios (reg. 491-518), whose house lay in the Strategion (after 548 it became a Syrian monastery⁹²), we encounter with Antonios, a prominent resident near the Neorion wharf⁹³. Antonios was Patrikios in the time of Michael III (reg. 842-867) and owned an elegant house in the old harbour district, the private bath of which he opened for charitable purposes. The group of believers (presumably a brotherhood), which continued this work, however, was

financially weak, thus corresponding to the social image of the district, the diaconia *tēs Theotokou en tō Neoriō* was in decline⁹⁴. An imperial prospect was found in the tenth century with Romanos Lekapenos. However, it was originally intended to demolish the existing buildings to make way for the emperor's palace. A vision of St Mary ordered a halt to the work; the bath was renewed and, as a *metochion*, attached to a monastery⁹⁵. As a former commander of the navy⁹⁶, it was not accidental that Romanos wanted to settle near the Neorion and evidence suggests that he succeeded⁹⁷: a palace situated on a terrace above the Golden Horn could be that of Romanos. It was later named after the families of Botaneiates and Kalamanos, and passed to the Genoese in 1192⁹⁸. Regarding the development of ownership and the locality, it would then be a parallel to the residence of Justin II at the Harbour of Julian/Sophia.

The Monastery of Manuel was financially supported by Romanos I. It had three *skalai* below »his« palace⁹⁹ and was not the only monastery that had possessions along the banks of the lower Golden Horn. Almost all of them, as Magdalino could prove¹⁰⁰, emerged in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and received their endowment and validation in this time. There was still sufficient space available in the expanding Constantinople, not least in the area between the Phosphorion Harbour and the ferry to Perama. For a long time a problem area of the city, this stretch of shore and the inland areas were revitalised. Michael VI (reg. 1056-1057) even went to renew the overgrown Strategion, a logical step »in a part of the city that was returning to importance«, which earned him ignorant mockery¹⁰¹. The ambience of the Golden Horn did not count as one of the city's best areas.

Exceptions such as the palace of Despot Constantine Angelos or the house of Sebastokrator Isaac Comnenos (later the Monastery of Christos Euergetes)¹⁰² prove the rule for the time being. These were also located on the coast north-west of Perama, in the upper part of the Golden Horn, which would then experience a sustained appreciation with the beginning of the Comnenian period. The new dynasty raised the Blachernae quarter as the new seat of imperial power. This

83 Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence* 31. 137-138. – Kislinger/Stathakopoulos, *Pest und Perserkriege* 85-93. – McCormick, *Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort*. – Bergdolt, *Der Schwarze Tod* 35-41.
 84 Conrad, *Pest*. – Dark, *Houses* 87-89. – Westbrook, *Forum of the Strategion* 24.
 85 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 99.
 86 *Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch* 15.1 and 15.5 (122-124 Koder).
 87 *Patria Konstantinupoleos II* 61 and III 24 (184. 221 Preger). – Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal* 227-228. – Bassett, *Urban Image* 242-244. – Magdalino, *Water* 137-138.
 88 *Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch* 15.1 and 15.5 (122. 124 Koder). – Mundell Mango, *Commercial Map* 199-200.
 89 Tougher, *Leo VI* 164-193. – Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik* 258-261. – Stephenson, *Balkan Frontier* 18-23. – Kislinger, *Verkehrsrouten* 164-165.
 90 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 479 (Bekker).
 91 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 400 (Thurn).
 92 *Patria Konstantinupoleos III* 22 (220 Preger). – Ioannes Ephesius, *Vitae sanctorum Orientalium* 683 (Brooks). – PLRE II 1190. – Janin, *Constantinople* 400. – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 404-405.
 93 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 935-936 (Delehaye). – PmbZ I no. 558.

94 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 34. 106. – Generally on this subject see Magdalino, *Church, Bath and Diakonia*. Repeated in Magdalino, *Water* 134-135.
 95 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* 937-938 (Delehaye).
 96 PmbZ II no. 26833.
 97 See the convincing arguments by Magdalino, *Constantinople* 94.
 98 Cupane, *Traumpaläste* 411-426. – Grünbart, *Inszenierung* 74-75. – Dark, *Eastern Harbours* 57 (terrace at the Cemal Nadir sokak). – Berger, *Ufergegend* 162 (western slope of the Acropolis).
 99 Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 432-433 (Bekker). – Magdalino, *Constantinople* 91-92 n. 208. – Hesitant but ultimately similar Berger, *Ufergegend* 162.
 100 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 92-93.
 101 Ioannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 482 (Thurn). – Magdalino, *Constantinople* 57-58. The presence of sieve makers at the end of the 12th c. on the site indicates that the Strategion had not really risen: Ioannes Nomikopulos, *Ekphrasis* 296 (Karpozelos).
 102 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 89-90 n. 198, 80. – Asutay-Effenberger, *Kynegion District*, in this volume rejects the common identification of the Monastery of Christ the Benefactor with Gül Camii.

focus formation starts in parallel with another change (which, however, happened separately despite a relative proximity), which has a primary interest from the perspective of those interested in the harbours: the emergence of western commercial settlements further southeast of the Golden Horn. It is assumed that the relevant contracts and political background are known and do not need to be discussed here¹⁰³. The essential question is why the choice fell on the Golden Horn and not the economic centre with the Mese and the Propontis harbours.

»There can be no doubt, that the establishment of the Italians increased the commercial importance of the Golden Horn. But would the Italians have asked for concessions in this area if it had not been fairly important already to their business interests?«¹⁰⁴. Indeed, positive arguments could be provided, such as the proximity to branches of other economic operators, mainly Arab traders in Perama or at the end of the Makros Embolos. Besides familiarity of the Venetians (and those from Amalfi) with the Neorion Harbour and the wharf area – first at Neorion, then in Sykai – as sailors in imperial service¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless, this approach, even the overall concept, over-estimates in a central element the political creative force of the participants from the West. It was the Byzantine state, which, albeit facing hostile pressure at the beginning of the Comnenian period, issued trade agreements and concessions. These were formally expressed in the gracious granting of a privilege. Before doing so, concrete interests of the empire were taken into account or even preceded. The recipients, first Venice and then Pisa (1112), were at best able to express their wishes, that is all they could, and there was no question of free choice on their part¹⁰⁶. The threefold Genoese proposal of 1155 (settlement west of the Venetians was preferred, second choice was the Prosfhorion district, otherwise beyond the city in Sykai/Pera¹⁰⁷) shows the still narrow limits of foreign influence on the choice of location.

An Italian preference for the Golden Horn cannot be deduced from this, Genoa orientated itself only on the current market situation in the literal and figurative sense.

Similarly, the Arab proximity to Perama¹⁰⁸, arranged some 70 years before, will have prompted Venice to accept the granted assignment of land on the Golden Horn – and thus away from the prosperous Mese and the Propontis harbours. But Muslim trade partners had been placed there by the Byzantine state authority, so they were still doing better than the merchants of the Rhus, who had to move to quarters in Hagios Mamas on the Bosphorus¹⁰⁹. Political considerations, based on the strength and importance of the powers behind the merchants, will have influenced the allocations¹¹⁰. Venice was certainly favoured from the Byzantine point of view, since the location of its settlement provided direct access to the shops and stores markets via the Makros Embolos.

Secrecy around the Byzantine naval base (see above p. 11) was no longer a problem, the inexorable silting up of the Neorion Harbour in the tenth century had possibly led to the relocation of the arsenal to Sykai; in any case, the fleet was practically non-existent by the reign of Alexios I¹¹¹. Its relative re-emergence in the twelfth century took place mainly in Sykai with Latins (from the settlements) providing a welcome reserve of personnel¹¹². Finally, it operated – as the fire attack in 1203/1204 suggests – from the north-west bank (possibly the Blachernae quarter) of the Golden Horn¹¹³.

Even with the population growth in the tenth century, it generally remained the case that the former backyard of the city, profiting from this growth anyway, was always sufficient for foreigners. On the occasion of the violent explosion of 1182 against Western traders and other residents in the settlements¹¹⁴, especially the Venetians, Eustathios of Thessalonica openly spoke (certainly with a polemical undertone) of the Latin race, which had its separate place on the bank of the Horn of Byzantium, coinciding with ancient custom¹¹⁵.

103 A brief selection includes Lilie, Handel und Politik. – Pacta veneta 992-1198. – Pacta veneta 1265-1285. – Nicol, Byzantium and Venice. – Banti, Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia. – Ballard, Romanie génoise. – Origone, Bisanzio e Genova. – Ballard, Amalfi et Byzance. – Skinner, Medieval Amalfi. – Italiens à Byzance. – Jacoby, Venetian Quarter. – Maltézoú, Quartiere veneziano.

104 Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 219.

105 Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 220. – Magdalino, Constantinople 95-98-99. – On Sykai, see Müller-Wiener, Häfen 12-13.

106 In contrast to Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 220.

107 Sanguineti/Bertolotto, Documenti 346. – Magdalino, Maritime Neighborhoods 221-222.

108 Reinert, Muslim presence in Constantinople. Against Reinert and with Magdalino, Constantinople 98, I am of the opinion that the mosque grew out of an earlier merchants' accommodation near the Makros Embolos (*mitaton*: Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 5.2 [Koder]). – Pontani, Note 302-304 seeks to derive an equation between *synagogion* (*recte* mosque) and *mitaton* from Niketas Choniates, Historia 553, 91-95 (van Dieten). The source merely states that the entire area was referred to (in *demodes dialektos*) as *mitaton*, which reflects the far longer existence of the merchants' accommodation compared to the more recent mosque. – Cf. Di Branco, Ismailiti a Bisanzio 119-120, who loc. cit. also proves that Pontani has overlooked another Niketas passage (Historia 525, 19-20 [van Dieten]), in which *synagogion* clearly refers to a mosque. – Turchetto, Mitaton 269-270. 283 follows Pontani *de facto*, in wanting to situate the *mitaton* (correctly) within the sea walls (272), but at the same time putting it slightly southeast of the Church of St Eirene of Perama (271 fig. 2) without any evidence for this. – Cf. Jacoby, Venetian Quarter 159.

109 Hellmann, Handelsverträge zwischen Kiev und Byzanz. – Shepard, Constantinople – Gateway to the North. – Kislinger, Reisen 368-369 with n. 165.

110 Significant is the award of *skalai* in the flourishing middle section of the Golden Horn to Germans and French (Jacoby, Venetian Quarter 158-159; Magdalino, Constantinople 89), that is (nationals from) states that played an important role in Manuel's foreign policy (Magdalino, Empire 41-43. 46-53. 59-66).

111 In the time of Romanos Lekapenos, the arsenal was no longer explicitly associated with the Neorion (Theophanes Continuatus, Chronographia 391 [Bekker]). In a note in the Patria Konstantinupoleos II 88 (196 Preger), the harbour itself is called *limne* (stagnant water, bog). – In the 13th c., Georgios Pachymeres V 10 (II 469 Failler) calls the Neorion arsenal really old (*palaia exartysis*). – On the decline of the navy, cf. Kislinger, Ruhm 43-52.

112 Lilie, Handel und Politik 614-619. 624-625. 630-633. – Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer 282-283. 295. 431-433. – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 12-13.

113 On 1203/1204 Devastatio Constantinopolitana 90-91 (Hopf). – On the possible base at the Monastery of Christos Euergetes, see Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae V 10 (II 469 Failler). – Müller-Wiener, Häfen 8-9. 24. – Cf. Asutay-Effenberger, Kynegeion District, in this volume.

114 Brand, Byzantium 40-43.

115 Eustathios Thessalonikes, Expugnatio 34 (Kyriakidis). – See Jacoby, Quartiers juifs 181-182. – Magdalino, Constantinople 99: »Before they were privileged foreigners, they were just foreigners, and the Golden Horn was their rightful place«; Rapp, Constantinople and its foreigners 101: »merchants or diplomats, were not normally made to feel »at home«, but constantly were reminded of their status as outsiders and guests.

The new arrivals knew better how to use their opportunities than their hosts could have imagined. Although entering the Golden Horn required making a sweeping arc past Chalcedon due to the Bosphorus' current, the Golden Horn was itself an enormous natural harbour¹¹⁶, where large numbers of ships found anchorage that was easily accessible from the shore. Cargo could then be unloaded and loaded at the various *skalai* (landing stages parallel to the shore and, presumably, landing stages extending into the water)¹¹⁷. The traditional harbour concept was thereby modified and enlarged. Analogous to the Mese at the harbours of Propon-tis, the *emboloi* here also formed the backbone of the economic axis¹¹⁸.

The various commercial settlements grew¹¹⁹, encouraged by the diminishing power of the Byzantines towards 1204 to oppose the increasingly demanding wishes of the Italian maritime powers. It was earlier noted for the period from the late fourth century to sixth/early seventh century (see above pp. 9-10) that there was a parallel existence of two economic centres and harbour zones in one city. This is now repeated from the end of the eleventh century to the Fourth Crusade (1203/1204) with the Mese and Propontis harbours, and at the same time, the riparian zone including land clusters from Proosphorion to Perama. Constantinople was able to cope with this once more and even needed it, because of its again considerably increased population¹²⁰.

Again, this mercantile concentration would not be permanent. A drastic sequence of events led to the elimination of an axis (fig. 1) and once again, a significant decline in population affected sustainability for centuries. The political background – in the sixth to seventh centuries it had been constant wars and substantial territorial losses – now formed, more seriously, the destruction of the empire in the wake of the conquest of Constantinople in 1204¹²¹. The directly contributory factor of the plague of 542 corresponded to the fires of 1203/1204¹²², added to this was damage from the rioting of the local mob and looting by the conquerors¹²³. The artifi-

cial Latin empire¹²⁴ was too weak (also financially), to remedy the resulting damage in its urban area of responsibility to some extent. Its hinterland, which had previously supplied demand¹²⁵, noticeably diminished. In addition, the court and the upper classes were now lacking as wealthy consumers. In modern terms, the economy collapsed massively.

Now masters of over three-eighths of the city, the Venetians alone remained a significant economic force¹²⁶. Because the trade network of the Italian maritime powers – actively expanding into the Black Sea region after 1240¹²⁷ – stabilised the entire Rho-mania area, Constantinople was able to maintain its function as a hub and market, even after the Byzantine *reconquista* of 1261, naturally adapting to the reduced internal needs of the city. The total turnover of Byzantine merchants, at best as a junior partner¹²⁸, and large parts of the retail trade¹²⁹ took place in the western settlements and their neighbourhoods. However, the Mese axis had lost its commercial importance¹³⁰. Of the Propontis harbours, that of Theodosius was now almost completely silted up¹³¹, the Kontoskalion¹³² (formerly the Harbour of Sophia) was used by the imperial navy, or what was left of it¹³³. On two occasions, the harbour areas of Constantinople once again rose in importance, for naval construction in 1348/1349¹³⁴ and during the final siege of the city in 1453¹³⁵. The maritime events were each focused on the Golden Horn; it was, as ancient Byzantium had already recognised, the more important and better location.

Postscript: In the context of the video conference »Columns of Constantinople«, organised by the Department of Byzantine Archaeology at the University of Freiburg (Germany) on 13 November 2020, Dr Jesko Fildhuth spoke on »Landmarks or Sea marks? Seeing the Columns of Constantinople«. The author of the above contribution agrees with Fildhuth that the towering columns at the Forums of Constantine, Theodosius and Arkadios could have served for the orientation of incoming ships. However, I do not see this as the original or

116 Prokopios, *De aedificiis* I 5, 13 (IV 29 Haury/Wirth). See Kislinger, Golden Horn, in this volume.
 117 Michael Attaleiates, *Historia* 199 (Pérez-Martin). Earlier owners were, among others, monasteries (see above for that of Manuel) or charitable institutions (such as the Xenon of Isaac II Angelos by the Church of the Forty Martyrs Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 445 [van Dieten]. – *Acta et diplomata graeca III* 16). The proceeds of the *skalai* (Antoniadis-Bibicou, Douanes 134-135) helped to meet their expenses.
 118 Jacoby, *Houses and Urban Layout* 271-274. – Magdalino, *Maritime Neighbourhoods* 223-224.
 119 Jacoby, *Venetian Quarter* 156-159. – Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 79-81. 101-102. – Balard, *Romanie génoise I* 109-112. 179-182.
 120 Magdalino, *Constantinople* 61-65 n. 28. 45-46. – Schreiner, *Constantinopoli* 83 estimates 400 000 inhabitants.
 121 Queller/Madden, *Fourth Crusade*. – Carile, *Partitio terrarum imperii*.
 122 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 553-554 (van Dieten). – Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *Conquête I* § 203. – Madden, *Fires*.
 123 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 553-555. 558-559. 570. 647-655 (van Dieten).
 124 Van Tricht, *Latin renovatio*. – Carile, *Storia dell' impero Latino*. – Jacoby, *Urban Evolution*.
 125 The lament of Michael Choniates, *Epistulae* 50, 10 (69-70 Kolovou) from Athens, that all goods flow to Constantinople and therefore lack in the province, aptly characterises the situation before 1204.

126 Jacoby, *Economy of Latin Constantinople*. – Jacoby, *Venetian Government*.
 127 Jacoby, *Economy of Latin Constantinople* 209-213.
 128 Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires*. – Laiou-Thomadakis, *Mediterranean Trade System*. – Jacoby, *Mediterranean Food and Wine*. – Kislinger, *Gewerbe*.
 129 Berger, *Ufergegend* 154-155. – Kislinger, *Lebensmittel* 316-318 n. 97 and 99. – Mundell Mango, *Commercial Map* 205-206.
 130 Concerning »commercial buildings« in this area, we know of only two bakeries in the »Old Forum« (that of Constantine) and wine taverns in the harbour area: Kidonopoulos, *Bauten* 203-204. 211-212. – Kislinger, *Lebensmittel* 310 n. 47.
 131 Berger, *Langa Bostani* 471-472.
 132 Makris, *Studien* 176-184. 288-290. – Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 26-28. – Cf. Heher, *Harbour of Julian*, in this volume.
 133 Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* 375-378. 433. – Georgios Pachymeres, *Relationes historicae V* 10 (II 469 Failler) notes bitterly that the Golden Horn must now be shared with the ships of the enemies.
 134 See Preiser-Kapeller, *Haptaskalon*, in this volume. – Nicol, *Last Centuries* 228-233. – Nicol, *Reluctant Emperor* 96-99.
 135 Runciman, *Fall of Constantinople* 100-111. – Pertusi, *Caduta di Costantinopoli*.

primary purpose for their construction. This is, for that matter, partly impossible due to the time difference in building forums and harbours (Column of Constantine, Harbour of Julian). However, the positioning of the forums and columns

along the Mese axis undoubtedly underlines their significance for the growing importance of the harbours on the Propontis at that time. (I would like to thank my colleague Fildhuth for making his lecture manuscript available to me.)

Summary / Zusammenfassung

On Better and Worse Sites: The Changing Importance of the Harbours of Constantinople

Alternating phases of growth and demographic decline in Constantinople led to the displacement of the central traffic axes and their associated harbours on two occasions. Ancient Byzantium was orientated towards the Golden Horn, where its two harbours of Neorion and Prosfhorion were located. When Constantinople became the imperial capital after 330, the population increased and the urban area was extended, with new harbours, named after Julian and Theodosius, established on the southern shore facing the Sea of Marmara. With the Mese, the main street as the spine running east-west, an additional traffic axis was created. As the population decreased after the sixth/seventh century, partly as a result of plague outbreaks, the Mese alone remained. The Golden Horn was now off-centre and became the base for the imperial navy. It was only the revival from the tenth century onwards, which also saw the return of mercantile activity to the area. The commercial settlements, which Byzantium had to cede to the Italian maritime powers, were granted to them on the Golden Horn, apparently in the false assumption of keeping them well away from the commercial centre. The opposite occurred, the entire coastal strip at the mouth of the sea gained in importance: by the twelfth century, it was of equal rank and after 1204 became the new centre of Constantinople's maritime economy.

Von schlechteren und besseren Lagen. Häfen zu Konstantinopel im Wandel ihrer Bedeutung

Die abwechselnden Phasen von Wachstum und demographischer Schrumpfung resultierten zu Konstantinopel in einer zweimaligen Verlagerung der zentralen Verkehrsachse und der zugehörigen Häfen. Das antike Byzantium war auf das Goldene Horn hin orientiert, dort lagen seine beiden Häfen, Neorion und Prosfhorion. Als Konstantinopel nach 330 zur Reichshauptstadt avancierte, wuchs daraufhin die Bevölkerung, das Stadtareal wurde erweitert, neue Häfen, benannt nach Julian und Theodosios, entstanden an der Südküste am Marmarameer. Mit der Mese, der in Ost-West-Richtung verlaufenden Hauptstraße als Rückgrat war somit eine zusätzliche Verkehrsachse entstanden. Sie allein verblieb, als die Bevölkerung, unter anderem durch die Pestwellen bedingt, vom 6./7. Jahrhundert an schrumpfte; das jetzt im Abseits liegende Goldene Horn wurde zum Stützpunkt der kaiserlichen Marine. Erst der neuerliche Aufschwung ab dem 10. Jahrhundert brachte auch merkantile Aktivitäten dorthin zurück. Die Handelsniederlassungen, welche Byzanz den italischen Seemächten einzuräumen hatte, wurden ihnen am Goldenen Horn zugewiesen, offenbar in der falschen Annahme, sie derart abseits des kommerziellen Zentrums zu halten. Das Gegenteil trat ein, die ganze Ufergegend am Meeresarm gewann an Bedeutung, wurde schon im 12. Jahrhundert gleichrangig und nach 1204 wiederum zum neuen wirtschaftlich-maritimen Zentrum Konstantinopels.