

# Neorion and Proosphorion: The Old Harbours on the Golden Horn

»There is a bay below the Bosphorus' tip, deeper than necessary for a harbour, that spans sixty stadia. It is safe as a harbour surrounded by mountains and hills that protect it from the winds. From its rear, it brings deep and soft mud from rivers, but at the mouth it lies under the promontory on which the town stands«. With these lines, Dionysius of Byzantium, a second-century author, begins an initial section of his *Anapulus Bospori* (»The Journey Up the Bosphorus«)<sup>1</sup>. In this book, he first follows a western bulge of the sea road that connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, and separates Europe from Asia, a tributary, commonly known as the »Golden Horn« (Chrysokeras)<sup>2</sup>. The mentioned city on the south bank, in turn, is Constantinople named after Constantine, the first Christian emperor of the Roman Empire, which – also enclosed to the east and south by the sea – became the new capital of the Empire after 330<sup>3</sup>. When Dionysius wrote his description, the much smaller predecessor settlement of Byzantium<sup>4</sup> still existed at the tip of the peninsula, »completely surrounded by the sea, with the exception of the isthmus that connects it to the mainland«<sup>5</sup>. The hills that run through the centre of the peninsula from north-west to south-east fall towards the sea more or less steeply, but on the coast, especially on the Golden Horn, there are several alluvial plains with bays. Two to three of them already served Byzantium, which was clearly orientated towards the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, as

landing sites and as main harbours, located on the latter. »By-passing the headland (up the Golden Horn) first leads to three harbours, the middle one being fairly deep and not obeying the other winds, but not entirely safe in the southwest wind. It is closed on both sides, because the intrusion of the sea is prevented by the walls erected there«<sup>6</sup>.

Cassius Dio, on the other hand, knew of only two harbours in this area in the southeast of the Golden Horn<sup>7</sup> provided with tower-reinforced moles, which corresponds to an illustration in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*<sup>8</sup> depicting the city of 425 according to its fourteen regions. In regions V and VI, which are located north-west of the Acropolis at the end of the peninsula, on sloping terrain from the terraced ridge to the Golden Horn, the Proosphorion Harbour and the *horrea Troadensia*, *Valentiaca* and *Constantiaca* (which means grain storehouses) are mentioned; somewhat up the coast in region VI another harbour (including shipyard) and the landing stage for Sykai/Pera is noted<sup>9</sup>. The connection with the shipyard makes it clear that this is the harbour of Neorion, present in several other sources<sup>10</sup>. It should be equated with the middle, rather deep (*bathys epieikos*) harbour mentioned by Dionysius of Byzantium<sup>11</sup>, which exhibited bilateral moles<sup>12</sup>. From there, walls would have made the connection with a tower of the city wall, which was set slightly higher and apart from the shore<sup>13</sup>.

1 Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 5 (3 Güngerich). – Nevskaja, Byzanz 8. 25-26 (figs 2 and 3).

2 Külzer, Ostthracien 448-450 (with older literature). See also Kislinger, Golden Horn, in this volume.

3 Dagron, Naissance 19-47.

4 Miller, Byzantium.

5 Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 6 (3 Güngerich). – With the embayment is meant the saddle called Zeugma, formed by two later silted-up bays (Mango, Shoreline 19-21 fig. 1. – Mango, Développement 17 and plan 1) and at the same time a depression in the hilly chain. This is even today an important traffic route from the Propontis to the Golden Horn and further via the Atatürk Bridge to its northern shore.

6 Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 11 (5 Güngerich).

7 Cassius Dio LXXV 10, 5. One of them, probably the Neorion harbour, could be closed by a chain; Feuser, Hafenstädte 245

8 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 227-243. – Cf. Berger, Regionen und Straßen.

9 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233, 15; 234, 19; 234, 9-11. English translation in Matthews, Notitia 90. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 362-365.

10 Müller Wiener, Häfen 6-7. – Schneider, Mauern und Tore 82-84. – Janin, Constantinople 235-236. – Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer 430-432. – Dark, Eastern Harbours 152-163. – Dark, New Post Office 315-319. – Ercan, Yenikapı 13-19. – Cosentino, Naval Warfare 335-336, erroneously claims that Ahrweiler, op. et loc. cit. dates the foundation of the Neorion shipyard to the reign of Michael III (842-867); she notes on p. 432: »il existait sûrement avant cette date«.

11 This way earlier Miller, Byzantium 1121-1122. – Earlier a Byzantine Scholion (no. 16 (37 Güngerich) on Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 5 commented that it was the still existing harbour in the Neorion. The third harbour of Dionysius should therefore be located further north-west. To think of it as primarily the ferry crossing of Perama (Schneider, Mauern und Tore 82; Olson, Last Arab Siege 431. 433, referring to a fragmentary *synaxarion*), which as such had neither moles nor towers (as Cassius Dio wrote about the two harbours of Byzantium, see n. 7 above), and also that it was not counted by him among the urban harbours. However, was it functionally necessary due to its location even before the expansion of Constantine?

12 Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 11 (5, 13 Güngerich). – The depth of the harbour will at least have delayed its silting up, which in the historical context also speaks for the Harbour of Neorion. – Berger, Constantinople 102 n. 12, however, wants to locate the harbour with moles between Neorion and Proosphorion (see above Mango, Développement 14-15). It may have been »abandoned after the founding of Constantinople«. There is no clue to this assumption.

13 Dionysii Byzantini Anapulus, chap. 12 (5 Güngerich): »If you pass the tower in the background, which is round in shape and big in every way, connecting the wall to the mainland [...]«. The tower lies, after Berger, Constantinople 102 n. 13 (earlier Berger, Ufergegend 164) »at today's Yeni Cami (New Mosque) at the Egyptian Bazaar« (and thus not far from Balıkpazarı kapısı/*porta piscaria*: see on this Schneider, Mauern und Tore 104 (plan IV). – Asutay-Effenberger, Porta veteris rectoris 129-131).

Ergo, Neorion and Proosphorion were within the old city walls, the pre-Constantine ring of walls that Septimius Severus (reg. 193-211) had destroyed in 196 together with the city<sup>14</sup>, and which had only been rebuilt after 240<sup>15</sup>. The extension of the city to the west of the Zeugma zone<sup>16</sup> under Constantine I (ending the walls in the coastal area of the Golden Horn at the Cibalikapi) enhanced the importance of both harbours as a result of the growing population. Population growth led to increased consumption and hence a greater flow of goods. From the harbours' designations, however, it can be assumed that their functional priorities differed, being complementary, as in modern major harbours. Neorion<sup>17</sup> initially stands literally for a shipyard, where new construction and repair of ships took place at and around the harbour. The *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* therefore refers to *neorium* and *portus* (234, 9-10 Seeck), but lists no warehouses for consumer goods here as in the case of the Proosphorion (see n. 9 above).

However, this may also be due to the proximity of the two neighbouring regions. Wood stored as the main building material (also for ships) was a potential fire hazard. In August 433, a fire broke out on the site, which grew and engulfed the warehouses (near the Proosphorion) and the Bath of Achilles south of the Strategion Square, and destroyed it<sup>18</sup>. In early September 465, a large fire broke out in a cured-meat shop near the ships' arsenals on the Bosphorus, which spread (due to alternating winds) to the south and west<sup>19</sup>, as happened later in the great fire of August 1203<sup>20</sup>. Stricter protective measures<sup>21</sup> should henceforth have had a preventative effect. When the stately home of someone called Andreas on the Neorion caught fire in 559, it was during the course of a riot<sup>22</sup>.

Goods handling supplemented construction and maintenance of ships in this harbour, at least in the Early Byzantine period. In the past, the maritime merchants' market would have been located there, but Justinian would have relocated it to the Harbour of Julian<sup>23</sup>. A further reminder of mercan-

tile activity is provided by another entry, which reports on a portico on the Neorion. Its name, Keratembolin, went back to a statue with four horns on its head: »If anyone suspected that horns were being put on him, he went there and approached the statue. If it was as he supposed, the statue rotates around itself three times«<sup>24</sup>. Although harbours were certainly adorned with sculptures, Keratembolin goes back to the curved shape of the colonnades, which may have appeared together with the harbour moles to be like horns<sup>25</sup>. A third note from this same source reports on a bronze ox on the Neorion that would have been sunk into the water under Emperor Maurice (reg. 582-602)<sup>26</sup>.

Interestingly, twice in the text the word λίμνη (*limnē*) is used instead of λιμὴν (*limēn*, »harbour«) which refers to stagnant water, no matter if interpreted as lake or swamp<sup>27</sup>. Undoubtedly, the historical scope of the stories in the *Patria* spans centuries of actual events, bringing the reality of its late tenth-century coinage to life, but it fits in with the impression of a constantly silting-up harbour that led to the deepening of the Neorion in 698, when the mud excavation would have triggered a plague epidemic<sup>28</sup>.

Behind the horror story hides the bad image of the residential quarter on the Golden Horn, which was overcrowded in the early sixth century, where hygiene was lacking and effluent was channelled into the Golden Horn, which posed a serious precondition for the plague epidemics of 542. The almost uncountable victims were disposed of along the banks or in the estuary itself<sup>29</sup>. The depopulated area fell into disrepute and decay, the economic axis of the city shifted – as shown by the relocation of the markets (see n. 23 above, n. 51 below) – to the south along the Mese and its easier access to the Propontian harbours<sup>30</sup>.

The Neorion harbour nevertheless found a new destination: the location away from busy life, and from curious observers and spies, was at the same time a protected and easily defended position within the Golden Horn and ideal for use as the main harbour of the fleet from the reign of Leon III<sup>31</sup>.

14 Berger, *Konstantinopel 2-3*. 107. – Bassett, *Urban Image 18-22* fig. 2. – Ivanov, *Konstantinopel 293-295*.

15 Herodian III 1, 7. – Zosimos, *Historia Nova* II 30, 3-4 (I 103 Paschoud) mentions that the wall section enclosing Neorion would have already existed before Constantine.

16 Asutay-Effenberger/Effenberger, *Eski Marmere Camii* 38-39. 44 (plan 7).

17 Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 57-59. – Günsenin, *Harbours and Shipbuilding* 415.

18 Sokrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VII 39, 2 (388 Hansen). – *Chronicon Paschale* 582 (Dindorf). – Schneider, *Brände* 383. – Mango, *Développement* 18 n. 30 and 19 n. 36.

19 Euagrios, *Historia Ecclesiastica* II 13 (64-65 Bidez/Parmentier). – *Chronicon Paschale* (Dindorf) 595. – Schneider, *Brände* 383-384. The distances mentioned are doubtful, five stadia are found, for example, in both sources for different areas and directions.

20 Madden, *Fires* 82-83.

21 Vettors, *Baugesetz*. – Berger, *Konstantinopel* 134-140.

22 Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia* XVIII 135 (424 Thurn). – Referring to this, Magdalino, *Review* 258, speculates that the connection of the manor with a certain Andrew could relate to a sojourn of the Apostle Andrew during a missionary journey. If this is correct, then one could expect a church of St Andrew or a monastery named after him, but evidence is lacking, see Janin, *Konstantinopel* 27-33.

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

24 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 179 (271 Preger). – Berger, *Untersuchungen* 693-695. – Berger, *Häfen* 81 refers the passage incorrectly to the Proosphorion.

25 Berger, *Häfen* 81. – Magdalino, *Review* 259, considers a connection with the Golden Horn (Chrysokeras). However, his alternative suggestion is not applicable due to the fact that the name was common knowledge (see, for example, the legend of Constantinople's foundation by Byzans; Berger, *Toponyms* 158-159). Thus, the derivation for one of its parts, the Neorion Colonnades, was not necessary.

26 *Patria Konstantinupoleos* II 68 (196 Preger).

27 Berger, *Untersuchungen* 429-430.

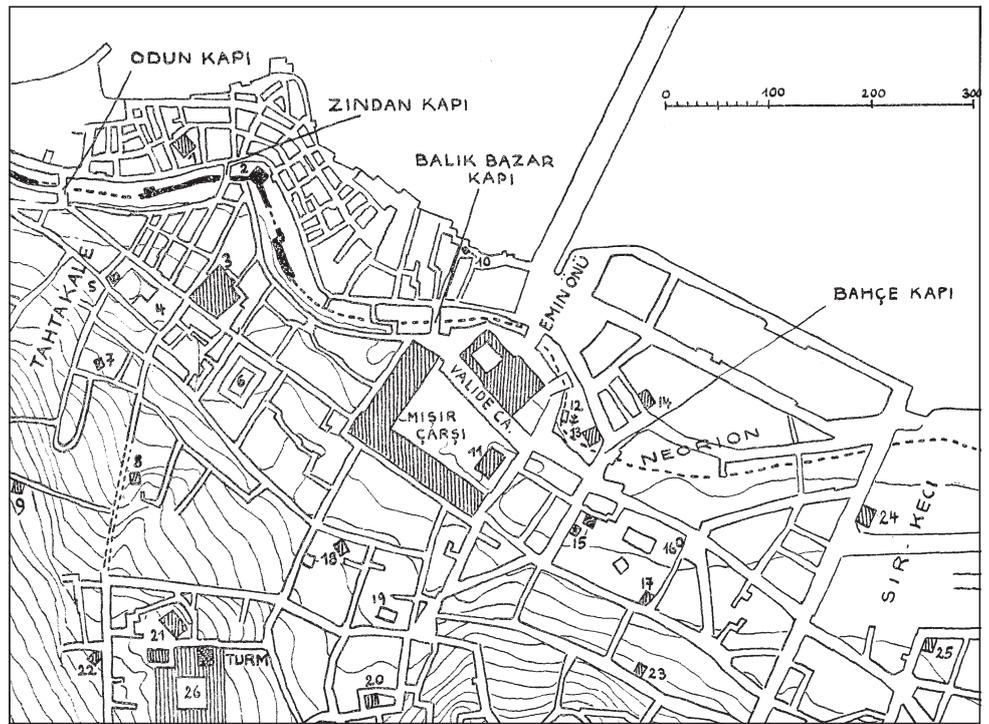
28 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 370 (de Boor). – Berger, *Häfen von Byzanz und Konstantinopel* 113 (and again, Berger, *Häfen* 80-81) agrees with this connection as claimed in the source. – Correct: Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence* 364-365 (no. 199).

29 Prokopios, *Bella* II 23, 9-11 (I 257 Haury/Wirth). – Ioannes Ephesius, *Vitae sanctorum Orientalium* 89 (Brooks).

30 For more depth on these factors and the development, see my contribution »On Better and Worse Sites«, in this volume, especially 13-14. – Cf. Magdalino, *Maritime Neighborhoods* 217-219.

31 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 386 (de Boor). – Günsenin, *Harbours and Shipbuilding* 415.

**Fig. 1** The dashed line shows the probable course of the sea wall in the Neorion area. – (From Schneider, Mauern und Tore plan IV).



For understandable reasons of secrecy, one hardly knows about the further existence of this base. Under Michael III (reg. 842-867), the house and bath of a Patrikos Antonios in the area of the Neorion shipyard are attested; under Romanos I Lakepenos (reg. 917-944), the resulting church and hospice *tēs Theotokou en tō Neoriō* are no longer located at the Arsenal as they were under Michael III<sup>32</sup>. Perhaps the advancing siltation had already forced a change in the location; the (new) *exartysis* to Sykai corresponds to the *navalia* already known there in the fifth century<sup>33</sup>. Nevertheless, information on the Neorion's role as a shipyard is tangible up to the thirteenth century (see Pachymeres V 10), suggesting that a remnant of this function persisted for a longer period<sup>34</sup> (like the Proshorion as a *naustathmos*, see below).

Over centuries, the Neorion Gate (Oryakapı, Bahçekapı, Ebraike/Jewish Gate) in the sea walls at the Golden Horn<sup>35</sup> called to mind the former harbour, which had granted access

to the then silted up harbour, located east of Balıkpazarı kapısı (Yenicami kapı, *porta piscaria*). The sea walls and gates from the Zidankapı (Meyvekapı/Fruit Gate, Perama Gate) eastward to the exit of the Golden Horn have fallen victim to the railway construction of the nineteenth century<sup>36</sup>. The course and position can only be approximated using old plans and views. In a very shallow sigma-shaped course to the southeast of the Neorion Gate, Berger believes that he sees an indication of the early Byzantine coastline in the harbour area. The sharp protrusion west of the gate would result from the later laying of the (old) wall<sup>37</sup> further into the silted up Neorion area<sup>38</sup>. However, if the term Keratembolin (see above with n. 24) is an expression of the topographical reality of yesteryear, then the harbour basin should have had a much greater degree of curvature (fig. 1).

The remnants of the quayside (see fig. 2), made from large blocks<sup>39</sup>, which were uncovered during construction of

32 Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae 935-938, Synaxar. sel. Mc (Delehaye). – Magdalino, Constantinople 34. 106. – On the diakonia concept in general, see Magdalino, Church, Bath and Diakonia.  
 33 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 240, 13. English translation in Matthews, Notitia 95. – John Skylitzes, Synopsis 411 (Thurn). – Müller Wiener, Häfen 10-13, 39-40. – Ahrweiler, Byzance et la mer 431-433 (partly confused, conceiving the Neorion shipyard as the younger one). – Janin, Constantinople 236. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 373, 376. – On the question of where the dromons were prepared to bring Nikephoros Phokas to the city in 963, Leon Diakonos, Historia III 7 (47 Hase) seems, however, to suggest that the shipyard area (*ta neoria*) was located on the Constantinopolitan bank.  
 34 Cf. Magdalino, Review 259.  
 35 The clear references extend to Acta et diplomata graeca III 19 and 21 (privilege to the Pisans 1112) and Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae V 10 (II 469 Failler). – Schneider, Mauern und Tore 87, 104. – Asutay-Effenberger, Porta veteris rectoris 129, 131. – Berger, Ufergegend 160, 163.

36 Schneider, Mauern und Tore 66.  
 37 A part »may have been observed« (so Dark, Eastern Harbours 154 n. 5) west of the Egyptian Bazaar near the Balkapanı Hanı at the Tahtakale sokak(?) »and would have [...] stood immediately landward of the [...] coast-line« (see n. 37 below).  
 38 Berger, Untersuchungen 429. – Berger, Ufergegend 160 fig. 2; 162, 164. – The repairs to the said sea walls (Schneider, Mauern und Tore 96-100) correctly connected by Berger, Häfen 81-82 with Emperor Theophilus (829-842) (see also Rizos, Epigraphy 154-155, 157), meant, although they included course changes (Berger, Ufergegend 164 and Berger, Häfen 83), a premature end to the Neorion as an important naval harbour.  
 39 Dark, Eastern Harbours 152-154 (refers to a letter from the British diplomat C. Marling to A. B. Skinner, Victoria and Albert Museum, about the find). Magdalino, Review 258 refers to the respective letter as a »third-hand-report«. A detailed excavation report would be desirable, but does not exist. Magdalino cannot offer an alternative, thus his argument is unsubstantial.

the Ottoman main post office in Sirkeçi (Yeni Posthane sokag) in 1905, between 8 and 10m below the modern level, are probably attributable to this part of the harbour<sup>40</sup>. The bank projecting there on its eastern flank would, at the same time have revealed a clear separation from the second harbour bay of the Proosphorion, bounded by a sigma-shaped wall<sup>41</sup>.

Originally the cape east of it, at the end of the peninsula, now called the seraglio tip, would have given it the name Bosporion<sup>42</sup>, but the second denomination prevailed: Proosphorion<sup>43</sup>, deriving from προσφορά, πρόσφορος (prospora, prosporos, »gift«, »aliment«; »useful«, »beneficial«), which emphasises the importance of the harbour for the (food) supply of ancient Byzantium and early Constantinople. Warehouses (*horrea*) for grain and oil were located near the banks, although it cannot be ruled out that they lay (as in the case of the reservoirs on the Propontis coast between the Harbour of Theodosius and the Harbour of Julian) between Neorion and Proosphorion<sup>44</sup>. Not far from there in the hinterland, parts of the Strategion – formerly a parade ground, then the Forum<sup>45</sup> – accommodated the cattle market and slaughterhouse for the animals being delivered<sup>46</sup>. A passage in Themistios (Oratio 4, 60d [I 86 Schenkl/Downey]) about »harbours, through the gates of which the sea flows and intertwines with those in the middle of the market«, may allude to the conditions here (and also at the then new Harbour of Julian)<sup>47</sup>.

With the relocation of the economic and harbour axis of the city to the Mese and Propontis from the late sixth / early seventh century, the decline of the Proosphorion and its surroundings began – a process accompanied by demographic contraction<sup>48</sup>. In addition, the silting seems to have been faster here than in the Neorion<sup>49</sup>. After all, it took until the reign of Constantine V, when the population reached a low point<sup>50</sup>, that the cattle market was relocated from the Strategion to the Forum Tauri<sup>51</sup>, because the former was too

far away from the reduced centre and the customers. A certain possibility for the landing of goods must have continued to exist, possibly in an early form of the later *skalai*. In the early tenth century, the Book of the Prefect instructed the μακελάριοι (*makelarioi*, »butchers«) to pursue their business (again) in the Strategion until the beginning of the pre-Easter Lent<sup>52</sup>; hygienic considerations in an again growing city can be assumed to be behind this measure (fig. 2).

Also the only reconstructed course of the sea walls indicates a residual harbour. After a previously straight course from the west, the walls recessed south on the eastern edge of the former Bosporion harbour bay, clearing a triangular piece of land in order to integrate a gate, that of Eugenios (Yaliköşkü kapı), into the walls, a door, which had granted access to the old harbour<sup>53</sup>. A continued straight course of the sea walls, which otherwise were built further out into the mostly silted up harbour basin, would have made including the gate impossible, and that was apparently not in the public interest – and would have probably devalued the traditional function of the gate.

Already in the time of Julian, it was adorned with a statue of him<sup>54</sup>, supplemented by an inscription (recorded in Anthologia Palatina IX 689), which extolled the Emperor's services towards the safety of the city. This decoration may seem astonishing given his simultaneous efforts for another harbour, even named after him, in the south of the city<sup>55</sup>, but the ruler wanted to orchestrate all current and future landing points to Constantinople. The then ceremonial inspections of the granaries in the vicinity of the harbour served these purposes<sup>56</sup>; the Eugenios Gate had at best a transitory role.

Only after hundreds of years on the margins, did the harbour succeed in gaining importance from the tenth century, like the entire harbour area and economic axis along the Golden Horn. Nicephorus II Phocas (reg. 963-969) had the

40 The area of 8-10m above sea level forms a terrain that continues to the west and east, the lower ground in front of the sea is considered by Dark, Eastern Harbours 153 in Early Byzantine times as open water in the bay(s) that formed the base for Neorion and Proosphorion

41 Patria Konstantinupoleos III 149 (263-264 Preger). – Berger, Untersuchungen 425: before Theophilos.

42 Patria Konstantinupoleos III 149 (263-264 Preger). – van Millingen, Walls 226. – Berger, Untersuchungen 424. – Ercan, Yenikapi 19-22. – Berger, Toponyms 157-158.

43 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 57. – Günsenin, Harbours and Shipbuilding 414.

44 Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233-234, 15-17. English translation in Matthews, Notitia 90. – See Külüzer, Harbour of Theodosius 39 n. 44, in this volume. – Günsenin, »City« Harbours 101-102 (fig. 14.4) considers whether building remains uncovered in 2009 during rescue excavations inside the Sirkeçi train station could be linked to the Early Byzantine reservoirs. According to Dark, Eastern Harbours 153, this area would still be underwater at that time (see n. 37 above). – Magdalino, Review 258 n. 4 suggests to the reader, the author of this contribution (German version of 2016) had not consulted Günsenin, »City« Harbours, regarding the Sirkeçi excavations. This assumption is unfounded (see Daim, Häfen 94 n. 42). This also concerns the contribution by Waksman/Girgin, Production des céramiques 445-446. 451-455, which has, however, not been quoted due to the lack of detailed information on the harbour. The archaeological finds of ceramics, which had been analysed, testify to a workshop in the excavated area (today the train station) that was active in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c., but a connection with the harbour was no longer verifiable.

45 Pseudo-Hesychios, Patria 39 (Preger). – Patria Konstantinupoleos II 59 (183 Preger). – Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis VII 1, 24. – The reception of the emperor returning from Asia Minor or the war with the Persians at the Strategion in the Early Byzantine period may still reflect this first function (Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De exped. 138). – Bauer, Stadt, Platz und Denkmal 224-227. – Mango, Triumphal Way 177-178. 187. – Westbrook, Forum of the Strategion 5-7. – Magdalino, Renaissance 58. – Berger, Toponyms 160-161.

46 Kislinger, Lebensmittel 314-315.

47 Dark, Eastern Harbours 160. – In this direction Mango, Triumphal Way 188.

48 Again, see Kislinger, Better and Worse Sites, in this volume.

49 The land formerly projecting to the Seraglio point (cf. plan sketch in Dark, Eastern Harbours 161 fig. 1, here slightly modified: fig. 2) with the 8m contour line, which roughly corresponds to the Late Antique coastline (op. cit. 153), probably promoted together with the counterflow from the Bosphorus (Dionysii Byzantium Anaplus, chap. 6 [3-4 Güngerich]) the deposition of sediments from the tributaries of the Golden Horn.

50 Mango, Développement 53-54, estimate of 40 000 inhabitants is likely to low.

51 Patria Konstantinupoleos III 149 (263-264 Preger).

52 Book of the Eparch/Eparchenbuch 15,1. 5 (122. 124 Koder). – Mundell Mango, Commercial Map 199-200.

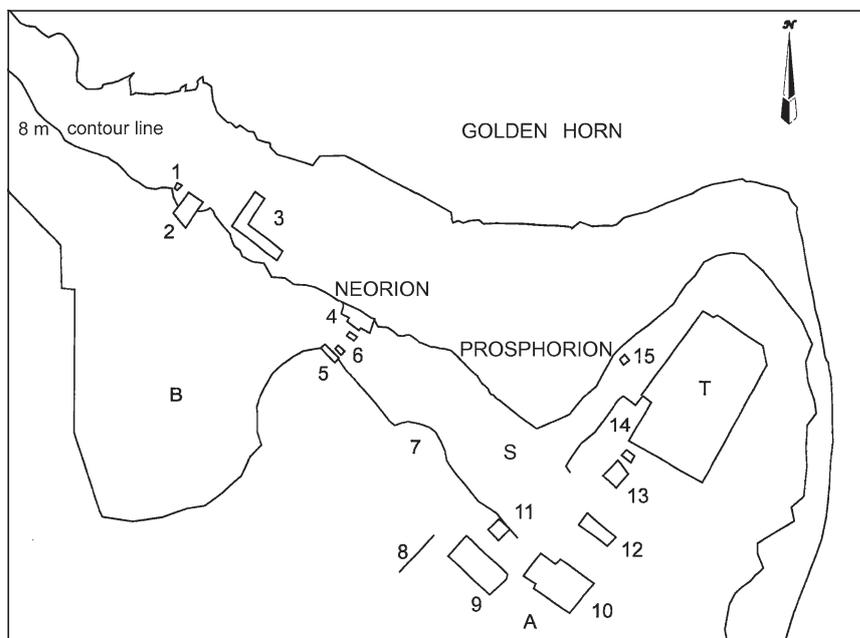
53 Berger, Ufergegend 163 fig. 2. – Berger, Häfen 81. – Schneider, Mauern und Tore 90-92.

54 Mango, Triumphal Way 178-179. 177 n. 40: a Victory found nearby could be a remnant of the statue. – Schneider, Mauern und Tore 96.

55 See Heher, Harbour of Julian, in this volume.

56 Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos, De cer. II 51 (III 394-398 Feissel [CFHB 52/3]).

**Fig. 2** Sketch map showing the position of the Neorion and Prospheorion Harbours; the 8 m contour line probably corresponded with the Early Byzantine coastline. – Additional map details: **1** Hurmalı Han; **2** Balkapanı Han; **3** Ottoman spice bazaar; **4** new post office; **5** the so-called Palace of Botaneiates and substructures on Cemal Nadir Sk; **6** structures noted by Mamboury and Schneider; **7** interruption in the slope, which was artificially terraced in parts in the Byzantine period, with possibly a larger structure at the point marked; **8** colonnades at Çatalçesme Sokak; **9** Basilica; **10** Hagia Sophia, with the Byzantine atrium facing west; **11** Church of Theotokos Chalkoprataia; **12** Hagia Eirene; **13** Byzantine structures and cisterns at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum; **14** artificial terrace line; **15** Byzantine cistern, possibly from the 6<sup>th</sup> c., on the site of the Gülhane Park. – **A** Augustaion; **B** Ottoman Grand Bazaar and han; **S** Strategion; **T** Topkapı Sarayı terrace. – (From Dark, Eastern Harbours fig. 1; with modifications by E. Kislinger, implemented by J. Preiser-Kapeller).



wings of the main gates of Tarsus and Mopsuestia in Cilicia (conquered in 965) brought to Constantinople<sup>57</sup>, which henceforth adorned the imperial gates (*basilikai pylai*) at the two ends of the capital. While the location in the west at the Golden Gate of the land wall is unequivocal<sup>58</sup>, it remains debatable where the corresponding counterpart to the east was, that is, towards the end of the peninsula.

Two aspirations only become apparent in the twelfth century, when, in the wake of the relocation of the imperial residence at the Old Palace ([south] east of the Hagia Sophia)<sup>59</sup> to the Blachernae district on the north-western shore of the Golden Horn, the imperial triumphal processions through the city changed its course<sup>60</sup>. Cynically speaking, with the decreasing frequency of victories, these processions were also shorter. In any case, the starting point of the procession had to be a landing stage or harbour from which the city was entered through a gate. Mango named the Eugenios Gate for the latter<sup>61</sup>, near the (former, because silted up) Prospheorion. From there, a broad road led via the Strategion through the valley between the first and second hills up to

the Chalkoprataia Church and the Augustaion (or Milion)<sup>62</sup>. The porticoed street discovered near the Çatalçesme sokak can be identified with it<sup>63</sup>. Magdalino, however, sees the Gate of St Barbara (Topkapı) at the Seraglio Point<sup>64</sup> as the starting place of the triumphal processions of the twelfth century, which would have led across the Acropolis to the Hagia Sophia<sup>65</sup>. At the Seraglio Point, especially, the strong current from the Bosphorus is divided<sup>66</sup>, which does not allow easy landing there.

The Late Byzantine *naustathmos* was therefore at the Gate of Eugenios<sup>67</sup>, from there one went from the Patriarchate by ship to the Blachernae or in the opposite direction to the Hagia Sophia<sup>68</sup>. Although the *Scala Timasii* may be located near the Gate of St Barbara<sup>69</sup>, the ascent to the Acropolis remained very steep. Whether the path that Patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos took from the Hagia Sophia (past the Column of the Goths) to the Monastery of St Barbara near the Seraglio point was also technically suitable for triumphal marches has to be left undecided; it would roughly correspond to Street E reconstructed by Berger<sup>70</sup>.

57 Ioannes Skylitzes, Synopsis 270 (Thurn). – Hild/Hellenkemper, Kilikien und Isaurien 59. 437.  
 58 Asutay-Effenberger, Landmauer 54-71.  
 59 Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon 229-237. 223-224.  
 60 cf. Berger, Processions 83-84.  
 61 Mango, Triumphal Way 178. – On the reception of emperors returning from Asia Minor at the Strategion already in Early Byzantine times, thus near the Gate of Eugenios, see n. 43 above and Westbrook, Forum of the Strategion 8-9.  
 62 Mango, Triumphal Way 177-178. – Cf. Mundell Mango, Porticoed Street 30. 48 and Westbrook, Forum of the Strategion 16-26 fig. 10.  
 63 Dark, Eastern Harbours 154. 156-157 n. 10. – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 390-391 (Street C, which of course runs east of the Strategion and leads into the Mese). However, the reconstruction of a network of rigidly straight-lined streets negates the topographical reality of the terrain, which would defy this. So also Westbrook, Forum of the Strategion 17. 27 n. 93.  
 64 Schneider, Mauern und Tore 94.  
 65 Magdalino, Columns 147-156.  
 66 Dionysii Byzantii Anapulus, cap. 6 (3-4 Güngerich). – Ioannes Kantakouzenos, Historia IV 31 (III 232 Schopen). – Nikephoros Gregoras, Historia XVII 6 (II 860

Schopen). – Mango, Triumphal Way 179 n. 43. – Pryor/Wilson, Chain 375-376.  
 67 Ioannes Kantakouzenos, Historia IV 31 (III 232 Schopen). – Ioannes Kantakouzenos, Historia IV 11 (III 75-76 Schopen) locates an anchorage at the Eugenios Gate, to which ships were brought from the shipyard at Kontoskalion (see IV 40 [III 290 Schopen] and Nikephoros Gregoras, Historia XVII 4 [II 854 Schopen]).  
 68 Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae VIII 23 (III 195 Failler). – Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité, chap. 12 (287 Verpeaux). – Silvester Syropoulos, Mémoires IV 1 (196 Laurent).  
 69 The mooring is no longer documented under this name after the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae 233, 15; English translation in Matthews, Notitia 89), but it is conceivable that it continued as the skala Akropoleos (Theophanes, Chronographia 434 [de Boor]), cf. Berger, Regionen und Straßen 362. The ferry to Chalkedon localised at the Gate of St Barbara (op. cit. 392) lay recte in regio V further west.  
 70 Georgios Pachymeres, Relationes historicae IV 8 (II 353 Failler). – Berger, Regionen und Straßen 390. 392. – Magdalino, Columns 152-154 here assumes (»we might speculate«) an already pagan processional path continuously used.

It is certain that there was a column ensemble (*ta Kionia*)<sup>71</sup> at or in front of the gate where the triumphal processions began<sup>72</sup>. According to the rhetorically embellished description<sup>73</sup>, it was a sigma-shaped portico<sup>74</sup> in two rows, the back row higher and the front offset, where, together with the transverse ends in front view, an overall cross-shaped impression was created. Regarding the importance of the harbour (apparent since the reign of Julian, although increasingly reduced by siltation) and the available space, the Eugenios Gate at the Proosphorion (from the Middle Byzantine period in remnants) has an advantage over the Gate of St Barbara<sup>75</sup> (although the second one was also an *oraia pyle*<sup>76</sup> due to its door-wings, probably brought from Cilicia in 965). In 1284, the bones of Patriarch Arsenios, who had been exiled to Prokonnesos and died there, were transferred to Constantinople, where they were received by

the emperor and clergy at the Gate of Eugenios (indicating a landing there) and brought in solemn procession to the Hagia Sophia<sup>77</sup>.

In Palaeologan Byzantium, the former harbour area otherwise served as the location of the state grain market (Raybe)<sup>78</sup>. Whether it was grain or other merchandise, when the Old Harbours were silted up, goods would have been unloaded at the typical *skalai* of the Golden Horn<sup>79</sup>. The two most eastern Italian *skalai* were in Genoese possession, the first at the *Porta veteris rectoris* since 1170<sup>80</sup>, the second to the east from 1192 onwards, which formerly belonged to the Manuel Monastery<sup>81</sup>. That of 1170 had two and the other three wooden jetties projecting into the sea<sup>82</sup>. It is possible that the eastern *skala* had some local connection with the reduced Late Byzantine Harbour of Proosphorion (*naustathmos*) at the Gate of Eugenios (see n. 67 above).

- 71 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 346 (poros ton Kionion) 362-363 (van Dieten). – Magdalino, *Columns* 148-149; Magdalino, *Triumph of 1133*, 56 with n. 15. – Schneider, *Vorarbeiten* 90 (no. 1) listed »an der Sarayspitze« finds from »Basen, Säulen, Kapitellen« at the railway construction of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The find spot in the folding map, which according to Schneider can only be given approximately, does not permit a clear assignment to one of the two gates in question (but see now below n. 73).
- 72 Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 18-19 (a. 1133). 157-158 (a. 1167). – See also n. 73.
- 73 Theodoros Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte* VI 221, 25-27 (Hörandner). Analysis of poem VI by Magdalino, *Triumph of 1133*, esp. 60-62, English translation 66-70. It seems to be of no concern for Magdalino that the Prodromos poem VI vv. 1109-1113 mentions that many spectators from the quarter watched the triumphal procession (223 Hörandner). This does not accord with the fact that the Acropolis area was not densely populated. However, this might have been a rhetorical topos.
- 74 Mundell Mango, *Porticoed Street* 33. 37. – A less elaborate facility of this kind was located at the Harbour of Sophia: *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 232: *Porticum semitundam, quae ex similitudine fabricae sigma Graeco vocabulo nuncupatur*. English translation in Matthews, *Notitia* 88: »Semicircular colonnade, which from the resemblance in its construction is called by the Greek name Sigma«.
- 75 From the course of the streets it is also not clear to me how the Acropolis route/Street E (Berger, *Regionen und Straßen* 391) could unite with the street from the Gate of Eugenios to the Strategion and further (see n. 62), according to Magdalino, *Columns* 152. I also think it more likely that a horse transported by boat to *Ta Kionia*, that panicked and broke away, took the broad street across the Strategion to Hagia Sophia (Magdalino, *Columns* 151), where it was captured again (Niketas Choniates, *Historia* 346 [van Dieten]), rather than taking the narrower street far over the Acropolis: Kislinger, *Eugenios-Tor* 725-731 (vs. Magdalino, *Triumph of 1133* and earlier Magdalino, *Columns* [2012]). – Peschlow, Kai von Konstantinopel analysed the remnants of columns and architectural elements at the Seraglio Point (see above n. 71) and related them to the Gate of Barbara, which seems correct. He followed Magdalino in locating the new (saec. XII) triumphal way there, but was unaware of the contributions by Mango, *Triumphal Way* (2000) and Kislinger, *Eugenios-Tor* (2017). Cf. Heher/Simeonov, *Ceremonies by the Sea* 235-237. Mag-

- dalino, *Columns* makes no mention of the relevant passage in Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité* chap. 12 (286-287 Verpau, resp. 266-268 Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, with English translation), which is familiar to him (Magdalino, *Constantinople* 77, n. 118 [2007]). This passage describes the reception of an imperial bride at the Eugenios Gate in the area of the Acropolis(!), testifying to the ceremonial function of this gate (denied by Magdalino, *Review* 259). At the same time, this passage demonstrates the conventional positioning of the gate.
- 76 Guiland, *Chaine* 102-103. 108; Peschlow, Kai von Konstantinopel and my contribution, *Golden Horn*, n. 40, in this volume.
- 77 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia* VI 2 (I 167 Schopen).
- 78 *Acta et diplomata graeca* III 146 (treaty with Venice, 1406). 156 (treaty 1418), 166 (treaty 1423). 179 (treaty 1431). 209 (treaty 1442). – Chrysostomides, *Venetian Commercial Privileges* 312-329 n. 130.
- 79 Generally on their structure (quays, landing stages, warehouses and houses with workshops), see Müller-Wiener, *Häfen* 21-22. – Jacoby, *Houses and Urban Layout* 272-274, and the contributions of Preiser-Kapeller and especially Schreiner, in this volume.
- 80 *Acta et diplomata graeca* III 35 (insertion in the privilege of 1192, on this the following n. 81). 53 (handover protocol of 1201, see n. 78 below). – Sanguineti/Bertolotto 367 and 366 (handover protocol, on imperial instruction [Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* 1495] of 10 April 1170). – Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* 1497. – Penna, *Imperial Acts* 150-151. On the gate, see Asutay-Effenberger, *Porta veteris rectoris* 129. 135 and Berger, *Ufergegend* 162. 164-165. On the location of the Genoese establishment at the former *thermae Honorianae*, see Magdalino, *Review* 258 n. 5. – Schreiner, *Western Landing Stages* 155-159 with fig. 7, in this volume.
- 81 *Acta et diplomata* III 27. 28. 31. – Sanguineti/Bertolotto, *Documenti* 426. 429. – Dölger/Wirth, *Regesten* 1609. – For this purpose (according to the previous written instructions of Demetrius Tornikes, *cancellarius vie* [i. e. *logothetes tou dromou*]) a handover protocol (*practicum traditionis*) was issued, only preserved in Latin, dating from April 1192: Sanguineti/Bertolotto, *Documenti* 434-444 (no. X), on the *skalai* 434. 437 f. – Penna, *Imperial Acts* 164-166. – On the Monastery of Manuel, see Schreiner, *Western Landing Stages*, in this volume.
- 82 Sanguineti/Bertolotto, *Documenti* 438, cf. 487.

## Summary / Zusammenfassung

### Neorion and Proosphorion: The Old Harbours on the Golden Horn

Byzantium, the ancient predecessor of Constantinople, already possessed harbours. Due to its smaller surface area and the urban orientation toward the Golden Horn, these were located in its southeastern part. Both the northerly located Neorion (which according to the name included a wharf), as well as the Proosphorion, were round harbours of the ancient type equipped with moles and colonnades. The new function of the city as the imperial capital resulted in a rapid increase of the population from the fourth century, whose supply required an extension of the harbour's capacity. Thus, granaries were erected next to the Proosphorion, so that the neighbouring Strategion, originally a parade ground, became a market area. Simultaneously, further harbours developed on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, the central traffic axis gradually relocated to there and they became dominant with the population decrease in the seventh to ninth centuries. The waves of plagues from 542, which ravaged the crowded quarters of the Golden Horn in particular, additionally conferred on the area a negative image as the city's backyard. The old harbours there silted up; only in the part of the Proosphorion adjacent to the Acropolis (at the Gate of Eugenius) a remaining operation may have continued into the Late Byzantine period. From the tenth/eleventh centuries, more and more quays and jetties (*skalai*) utilised the conditions of the Golden Horn as a natural harbour.

### Neorion und Proosphorion – die alten Häfen am Goldenen Horn

Auch Byzantion, die antike Vorgängersiedlung von Konstantinopel wies bereits Häfen auf. Bedingt durch die geringere Fläche und die urbane Orientierung zum Goldenen Horn hin lagen sie an dessen südöstlichem Abschnitt. Beide, das nördlicher situierte Neorion (welches auch dem Namen nach eine Werft beherbergte) als auch das Proosphorion waren mit Molen und Kolonnaden versehene Rundhäfen antiken Typs. Die neue Funktion der Stadt als imperiales Zentrum ließ ab dem 4. Jahrhundert ihre Einwohnerzahl rasch ansteigen, zu deren Versorgung musste man auch die Hafenskapazitäten erweitern. So wurden Getreidespeicher beim Proosphorion errichtet, das angrenzende Strategion, ursprünglich ein Exerzierplatz wurde zum Marktgelände. Zugleich entstanden an der Marmarameer-Küste weitere Häfen, die zentrale Verkehrsachse verlagerte sich zunehmend dorthin, mit dem Bevölkerungsrückgang des 7.-9. Jahrhunderts wurde sie dominant. Die Pestwellen ab 542, welche in den überfüllten Vierteln am Goldenen Horn besonders wüteten, hatten zudem jener Gegend ein schlechtes Image als Hinterhof der Stadt eingebracht. Die alten Häfen ebendort fielen der Verlandung anheim, nur im an die Akropolis angrenzenden Teil des Proosphorion (beim Eugenios-Tor) dürfte ein Restbetrieb bis in die byzantinische Spätzeit fortbestanden haben. Die Gegebenheiten des Goldenen Hornes als Naturhafen nutzten ab dem 10./11. Jahrhundert vermehrt Kais und Landebrücken (*skalai*).