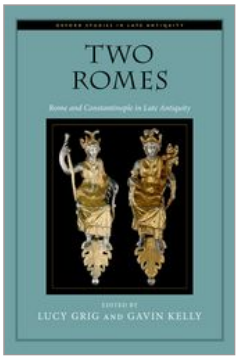

Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity
Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly

Print publication date: 2012
Print ISBN-13: 9780199739400
Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: May 2012
DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.001.0001

The Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae

John Matthews

DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199739400.003.0004

Abstract and Keywords

The first English translation of the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a crucial source for understanding the topography and urban development of early Constantinople, is presented here. This translation is accompanied, first, by an introduction to the text, and then by detailed discussion of the fourteen Regions, and finally by a conclusion, assessing the value of the evidence provided by this unique source. The discussion deals with a number of problems presented by the *Notitia*, including its discrepancies and omissions. The *Notitia* gives a vivid picture of the state of the city and its population just after its hundredth year: still showing many physical traces of old Byzantium, blessed with every civic amenity, but not particularly advanced in church building. The title *Urbs Constantinopolitana nova Roma* did not appear overstated at around the hundredth year since its foundation.

Keywords: Byzantium, Constantinople, topography, Notitia, urban development, regions, Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae

1. Introduction

The French antiquarian and diplomat Petrus Gyllius, known to us as Pierre Gilles, is described by Cyril Mango as the founder of the scholarly study of Constantinople, which in no way overstates the value of his work to historians of the city.[1] Gilles's visit to Constantinople, arising from the diplomatic connections between King François I and Süleyman the Magnificent, lasted from 1544 to 1548, when he embarked on an eventful period of service in the Ottoman army in its campaign against Persia. He returned to the capital in 1550. A century since the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, much more of the ancient city was still visible than could be seen even a short time later. In his book *The Antiquities of Constantinople*, published posthumously in Latin in 1561 and in an English translation in 1729, Gilles shows us Byzantine Constantinople literally disappearing before his eyes.[2] He watched workmen removing the pillars at the southern end of the Hippodrome, which we still see on contemporary images of the structure; he describes how the columns were squared off for paving a bath house, while the carved capitals, pedestals, and entablatures were roughed out for use in everyday building.[3] He wrote of a great fire in the Grand Bezestan (the Bazaar) that had revealed the fine commercial buildings that had been hidden behind the merchants' stalls, as well as a "nymphaeum" with forty-five pillars and a brick roof. One of the most important roads of Constantine's city can be traced through the Grand Bazaar, and it is not impossible that Gilles was looking at a relic of the Roman and Byzantine city; (p.82) the "nymphaeum" may have been a Byzantine cistern.[4] One of Gilles's most famous descriptions is of his discovery of the huge underground cistern now known as the Cistern of the Basilica,[5] and one of his most eloquent that of the great equestrian statue of Justinian, one of the Seven Wonders of the City in Byzantine texts, being broken up for the foundries.[6] Justinian's leg, says Gilles, exceeded the author's own height and his nose was more than nine inches long! He did not venture in public view to measure the legs of Justinian's horse, but he found one of the hoofs to be nine inches in height.[7] By the time its sad fate overtook it, Justinian's statue was a thousand years old—still more, if it was in fact a recycled statue of Theodosius.[8]

Gilles laments the state of affairs, blaming both the Muslim Ottomans for their uncaring destruction of the ancient city and the "profound ignorance" of their Greek Christian subjects for their indifference to their vanishing antiquities.[9] Yet, at the same time as he presents this picture of neglect and indifference, he offers what may be our best chance of recovering the fourth- and early fifth-century city. Relying on "an ancient manuscript written over one thousand years ago by a gentleman more noble by his birth than his writings," Gilles constructed a survey of the city that is still an important guide to its configuration.[10] The manuscript is the text now known as the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a regional inventory of the city dedicated to the emperor Theodosius II.[11] In its few pages, the text identifies more buildings and institutions in more parts of the city than are known from any other single source, and quantifies its physical and human resources in a way that permits at least a preliminary description of the population of the city and its distribution. Its perspective is free from the distortions and fantasies that affect so many of our sources for the history of Constantinople, and it is contemporary with the later part of the period that it covers. It is not too much to claim it as the single most (p.83) important source for the early history of the city of Constantine. Of the anonymous gentleman whom we have to thank for it, nothing is known, unless we infer from three indications in his preface—he is at leisure, has a warm admiration for the city, and access to the documentary information that he presents—that he is a retired member of the administrative office of the urban prefect of Constantinople.

The *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae* is one of a dossier of texts of a broadly technical and administrative nature, transmitted by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century copyists from a lost Carolingian manuscript once in the Cathedral Library of Speyer.[12] Several of the documents are illustrated, either in combination with the written text or as a frontispiece to it. Among the fully illustrated texts, the most notable are the late fourth- to early fifth-century *Notitia Dignitatum*, with nearly a hundred illustrations to accompany the court and provincial offices of eastern and western empires with their insignia, registers of military units with their shield devices and other

symbols of power, and the so-called *Anonymus de Rebus Bellicis*, with illustrations to clarify the descriptions of the inventions offered for the emperor's consideration. The *Notitia* of Constantinople is among the texts that possess an illustration only as a frontispiece. The picture, shown in only one copy of the Speyer manuscript though others preserve the space for it, shows the city on its peninsula, portrayed in the "modernizing" style in which the images are transmitted, but representing authentic details—namely S. Sophia, the equestrian statue of Justinian whose last days were witnessed by Pierre Gilles, and a representation of the spiral staircase, named Kochlias after the Greek word for a snail, that communicated between the imperial palace and the Hippodrome.[13]

The dossier also contains an illustration that once served as frontispiece to a parallel text relating to the city of Rome. It shows a seated figure with the caption *Urbs quae aliquando desolata nunc clariosior piissimo imperio restaurata* ("The city of Rome, once desolate, now restored to a greater glory by the most Holy Empire"), referring no doubt to a Carolingian restoration of the city—a description that must go back to the exemplar of the extant manuscripts. The text that once followed the illustration, corresponding to that for Constantinople, is lost, though related texts in the form of regional catalogues of the city are found elsewhere.[14]

(p.84) Like its Roman counterparts, the *Notitia* of the city of Constantinople is a list of the physical and administrative resources of the city, arranged under the Fourteen Regions into which it was divided, each Region being prefaced by a brief topographical description (a feature not found in the Roman analogies). The most recent monuments are palaces, houses, and baths named after members of the Theodosian dynasty—namely, the Augustae Galla Placidia (who held this rank from 421 or 425 until her death in 450), Theodosius II's sister Pulcheria (Augusta from 414 to 453), his wife Eudocia (Augusta from 423 to 443 though living on in exile to 460), and the "nobilissimae" Marina (403–49) and Arcadia (400–44). The range of dates defined by these references is narrowed by the fact that the writer does not seem to know of the renaming of the "Constantinian" baths after Theodosius, which took place

upon their long-delayed completion in 427.[15] These indications are consistent with other elements in the text. Its dedicatory preface describes the emperor Theodosius as having by his care brought the city to such a pitch of perfection as could not be surpassed (*ita virtus et cura decoravit, ut eius perfectioni, quamvis sit quispiam diligens, nihil possit adiungere*), and in its summary at the end mentions the "double line of walls" by which the city was guarded (*duplici muro acies turrium extensa custodit*). This clearly refers to the outer wall begun by Theodosius II and repaired or rebuilt at various later times; a law of 4 April 413, preserved in the Theodosian Code refers to the construction of a new wall "for the protection of the most splendid city" and delegates the upkeep of its towers to the owners of the land on which they stood.[16]

Despite this mention of the later walls in the preface, the configuration of the city laid out in the text of the *Notitia* is that of an earlier period. The most concise proof of this is at the very end of the text, when the "length" of the city (its east-west measurement) is given as 14,075 Roman feet, from the Porta Aurea to the sea at the eastern end of the promontory. This measurement can only begin from the Constantinian wall, from which point it is quite accurate.[17] The Porta Aurea itself, the original Golden Gate, is the first of the monuments listed under the Twelfth Region, which is described, in the topographical sketch of the Region preceding its list of amenities, as "ennobled by the lofty grandeur of the walls" (*quam moenium sublimior decorat ornatus*).

(p.85) The explanation of the contradiction between the preface, which mentions the Theodosian walls, and the text of the *Notitia*, which takes no notice of them, could lie within the text itself, if it were subject to revision from the fourth into the early fifth century. It is a feature of documentary lists—the *Notitia Dignitatum* is an example—that they are not always updated consistently and that their revisions may leave traces of earlier situations that no longer apply. It may be that the compiler, working with a survey of the city based on its fourth-century configuration, was unable to do more than indicate the existence of the Theodosian walls, as it were, *hors de texte*. Possibly also, at the time that he compiled his text, these walls were seen as an outer defense of the urban area as it still

existed in the early fifth century with, as yet, relatively little development between the two circuits.[18] Only later were the Theodosian walls seen as the primary defense of the city; and it was only then that the name of the Golden Gate, the main ceremonial entrance to the city, migrated to where its remains are now seen, at the southern end of the later wall. Such sources as the *Chronicon Paschale* show that the "old," or "Troadensian," walls (named after the colonnades that led to them) continued to be a feature of the later city, and some versions of Buondelmonti's manuscript plan of the city suggest that the Constantinian Golden Gate, labeled "porta antiquissima pulchra," still existed in the fifteenth century.[19]

In the following translation of the *Notitia*, I retain at the head of each entry the Latin text of the topographical introductions to the Regions; this is laid out by clauses, not in order to create a new type of Latin poetry but to make clear how these sometimes awkward texts are articulated. Aware that they are arbitrary distinctions, I follow the transmitted text in showing where numbers are written out either in words or in Latin numerals. The translation follows the text in making the important distinction between *gradūs*, "steps" from which bread distributions were made, and *scalae*, quaysides or embarkation points for ferries. Even though it is hard to imagine that they are significant, it also reproduces the different ways in which the *Notitia* describes the *porticūs*, or colonnades, of the city. In Region I, they are defined as "continuous" (*perpetuae*), in Regions II–VII as "grand" (*magnae*), and in Regions VIII–XIV as "greater" (*maiores*).[20]

(p.86) 2. Translation

The City of Constantinople, New Rome [229]

It is often the case that men of learning, inspired according to the measure of their intellectual capacity by a restless desire for the unknown, apply their inquiring minds at one time to the customs of foreign peoples, at another to the secrets of the earth, lest, to the detriment of general knowledge, anything should remain unknown; for they think it a mark of indolence if anything that exists in the world of men should lie hidden from them. While such men of learning grasp the measure of

the lands in miles, the seas in stades, the heavens by conjecture, I considered it ignorant and neglectful, free as I am from every worldly duty, that knowledge of the city of Constantinople, which is a training ground for life itself, should lie hidden. This city, surpassing the praise won by its founder, did the virtuous care of the invincible emperor Theodosius, rendering spotless and new the face of antiquity, so enhance that nothing could be added to its perfection, be a man never so diligent. And so, after careful inspection of all its quarters, and after reviewing the numbers of the associations of men who serve it, I have put my pen to a faithful account of every detail within the confines of a register or list; so that the attention of the admirer, instructed in all its monuments and filled with astonishment at the fullness of such great felicity, may confess that for this city no praise or devotion is adequate.

First Region [230]

Prima regio

longa situ

plana in angustum producitur

a palatii inferiore parte contra theatrum maius euntibus,

dextro latere declivis in mare descendit,

regiis nobiliumque domiciliis clara.

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

Contained in it are:

The aforesaid Great Palace

Lusorium

Palace of Placidia

House of Placidia Augusta

House of the Most Noble Marina

(p.87) Baths of Arcadius

Streets or alleys,[21] twenty-nine

Houses, one hundred & eighteen

Continuous colonnades, two

Private baths, fifteen

Public bakeries, four

Private bakeries, fifteen

Steps (*gradūs*), four

One curator, with responsibility for the whole Region[22]

One public slave, who serves the general needs of the Region and is its messenger

Twenty-five *collegiati* appointed from among the various guilds, whose duty is to bring assistance in cases of fire

Five *vicomagistri*, to whom is entrusted the night watch of the city

Second Region [231]

Secunda regio

ab initio theatri minoris

post aequalitatem sui latenter molli sublevata clivo,

mox ad mare praecipitiis abrupta descendit.

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

Contained in it are:

Great Church

Old Church

Senate House

Court-house, built with porphyry steps

Baths of Zeuxippus

Theatre

Amphitheatre

Streets or alleys, thirty-four

Houses, ninety-eight

(p.88) Grand colonnades, four

Private baths, thirteen

Private bakeries, four

Steps, four

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, thirty-five

Five *vicomagistri*

Third Region

Tertia regio

plana quidem in superiore parte,

utpote in ea circi spatio largius explicato,

sed ab eius extrema parte nimis prono clivo

mare usque descendit.

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

Contained in it are:

The aforesaid Circus Maximus [232]

House of Pulcheria Augusta

New harbor

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

Tribunal of the Forum of Constantine

Streets, seven

Houses, ninety-four

Grand colonnades, five

Private baths, eleven

Private bakeries, nine

[Steps....]

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, twenty-one

Five vicomagistri

Fourth Region

Regio quarta

a miliario aureo

(p.89) collibus dextra laevaque surgentibus

ad planitiem usque valle ducente perducitur.

The Fourth Region begins from the Golden Milestone, and with hills rising to right and left, follows the valley to level ground.

Contained in it are:

The aforesaid Golden Milestone

Augusteum

Basilica

Nymphaeum

Colonnade of Fanio

Marble galley, in commemoration of the naval victory

Church or Martyrium of S. Menas [233]

Stadium

Quay (*scala*) of Timasius

Streets, 35

Houses, three hundred & seventy-five

Grand colonnades, four

Private baths, seven

Private bakeries, five

Steps, seven

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, 40

Five *vicomagistri*

Fifth Region

Regionis quintae

non modica pars in obliquioribus posita locis

planitie excipiente producitur;

in qua necessaria civitatis aedificia continentur.

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

Contained in it are:

Baths of Honorius

Cistern of Theodosius

Prytaneum

Baths of Eudocia

(p.90) Strategium, containing the Forum of Theodosius and a square Theban obelisk

Olive-oil warehouses

Nymphaeum

Troadensian warehouses

Warehouses of Valens

Warehouses of Constantius [234]

Portus Prosphorianus

Chalcedon quay (*scala*)

Streets, twenty-three

Houses, one hundred & eight-four

Grand colonnades, seven

Private baths, eleven

Public bakeries, seven

Private bakeries, two

Steps, nine

Meat-markets, two

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, forty

Five *vicomagistri*

Sixth Region

Regio sexta,

brevi peracta planitie,

reliqua in devexo consistit;

a foro namque Constantini scalam usque sive traiectum Sycenum porrigitur spatiis suis.

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

Contained in it are:

Porphyry column of Constantine

Senate House in the same place

Shipyard

Harbor

Sycae quay (*scala*)

Streets, twenty-two

Houses, four hundred & eighty-four

(p.91) Private baths, nine [235]

Public bakery, one

Private bakeries, seventeen

Steps, seventeen

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, forty-nine

Five *vicomagistri*

Seventh Region

Regio septima,

in conparatione superioris planior,

quamvis et ipsa circa lateris sui extremitatem habeatur in mare declivior.

Haec a parte dextera columnae Constantini usque ad forum Theodosii continuis extensa porticibus

et de latere aliis quoque pari ratione porrectis,

usque ad mare velut se ipsam inclinat et ita deducitur.

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

Contained in it are:

Three churches, namely: Irene, Anastasia, and S. Paul

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

Two great equestrian statues

Part of the aforementioned Forum

Baths of Carosa

Streets, eight-five

Houses, seven hundred & eleven

Grand colonnades, six

Private baths, eleven [236]

Private bakeries, twelve

Steps, sixteen

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, eighty

Five *vicomagistri*

(p.92) Eighth Region

Octava regio

ex parte tauri,

nulla maris vicinitate contermina;

angustior magis quam lata spatia sua in longitudinem producta conpensat.

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

Contained in it are:

Part of the Forum of Constantine

Left-hand colonnade, as far as the Bull

Basilica of Theodosius

Capitolium

Streets, twenty-one

Houses, one hundred & eight

Greater colonnades, five

Private baths, ten

Private bakeries, five

Steps, five

Meat-markets, two

One Curator

One public slave

Collegiati, seventeen

Five *vicomagistri*

Ninth Region

Regio nona

prona omnis et in notum deflexa

extensi⟨s⟩ maris litoribus terminatur.

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

Contained in it are: [237]

Two churches, Caenopolis and Homonoea

Alexandrian warehouses

House of the Most Noble Arcadia

Baths of Anastasia

Warehouse of Theodosius

(p.93) Streets, sixteen

Houses, one hundred & sixteen

Greater colonnades, two

Private baths, sixteen

Private bakeries, fifteen

Public bakeries, four

Steps, four

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, thirty-eight

Five *vicomagistri*

Tenth Region

Regio decima

in aliud civitatis latus versa,

a nona ⟨octava?⟩ regione platea magna velut fluvio interveniente dividitur.

Est vero tractu planior

nec usquam praeter maritima loca inaequalis,

longitudini eius latitudine non cedente.

The Tenth Region lies over to the other side of the city, being separated from the Ninth [Eighth?] Region[23] by a wide road that is like a river flowing between them. Its surface is quite level and nowhere hilly except for the parts by the sea. It is as wide as it is long.

Contained in it are:

Church or Martyrium of S. Acacius

Baths of Constantine

House of Placidia Augusta

House of Eudocia Augusta

House of the Most Noble Arcadia [238]

Greater nymphaeum

Streets, twenty

Houses, six hundred & thirty-six

Greater colonnades, six

Private baths, [22]

Public bakeries, two

Private bakeries, sixteen

Steps, twelve

One curator

(p.94) One public slave

Collegiati, ninety

Five *vicomagistri*

Eleventh Region

Regio undecima

spatio diffusa liberiore,

nulla parte mari sociatur;

est vero eius extensio tam plana, quam etiam collibus inaequalis.

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

Contained in it are:

Martyrium of the Apostles

Palace of Flaccilla

House of Pulcheria Augusta

Brazen Ox

Cistern of Arcadius

Cistern of Modestus

Streets, eight

Houses, five hundred & three

Greater colonnades, four

Private baths, fourteen

Public bakery, one [239]

Private bakeries, three

Steps, seven

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, thirty-seven

Five *vicomagistri*

Twelfth Region

Regio duodecima

portam a civitate petentibus in longum plana omnis consistit,

sed latere sinistro mollioribus clivis deducta

maris confinio terminatur;

quam moenium sublimior decorat ornatus.

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

(p.95) Contained in it are:

Golden Gate

Troadensian colonnades

Forum of Theodosius

Column of the same (*itidem*),[24] with staircase inside

Mint

Harbor of Theodosius

Streets, eleven

Houses, three hundred & sixty-three

Greater colonnades, three

Private baths, five

Private bakeries, five

Steps, nine

One curator

One public slave

Seventeen *collegiati*

Five *vicomagistri*

Thirteenth Region [240]

Tertiadecima regio Sycena est,

quae sinu maris angusto divisa societatem urbis navigiis frequentibus promeretur;

tota lateri montis adfixa praeter unius plateae tractum,

quam subiacentium eidem monti litorum tantum praestat aequalitas.

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

Contained in it are:

Church

Baths of Honorius

Forum of Honorius

Theatre

Docks

(p.96) Houses, four hundred & thirty-one

Greater colonnade, one

Private baths, five

Public bakery, one

Private bakeries, four

Steps, eight

One curator

One public slave

Collegiati, thirty-four

Five *vicomagistri*

Fourteenth Region

Regio sane licet in urbis quartadecima numeretur parte,

tamen quia spatio interiecto divisa est,

muro proprio vallata alterius quodammodo speciem civitatis ostendit. [241]

Est vero progressis a porta modicum situ planum,

dextro autem latere in clivum surgente

usque ad medium fere plateae spatium nimis pronum;

unde mare usque mediocris haec, quae civitatis continet partem, explicatur aequalitas.

The Region that makes up the Fourteenth part of the city is so counted, despite the fact that it is separated from it by some distance lying between them and is protected by a wall of its own, [241] in a way giving the appearance of a separate town. To those advancing from the city gate, the ground is level for a certain distance, but then with a hillside rising to the right it descends very steeply to a distance of about half-way along on the road. From this point as far as the sea there then extends a modest level area, which contains (this) part of the city.[25]

Contained in it are:

Church

Palace

Nymphaeum

Baths

Theatre

Lusorium

Bridge on wooden piles

(p.97) Streets, eleven

Houses, one hundred & sixty-seven

Greater colonnades, two

Private baths, five

Public bakery, one

Private bakery, one

Steps, five

[*no curator or vicomagistri listed; for the public slave and numbers of collegiati, see the grand totals in the "Collectio Civitatis" below*]

[One public slave]

[*Collegiati*, thirty-seven]

Now that we know it in its separate parts, it seems appropriate also to describe the configuration of the city taken in its entirety, to make clear the unique glory of its magnificence, the product of the labor of the human hand, supported also by the collaboration of the elements and the happy gifts of nature. For here indeed, by the consideration of divine providence for the homesteads of so many men of future [242] ages, a spacious tract of land extending in length to form a promontory, facing the outlet of the Pontic Sea, offering harbors in the recesses of its shores, elongated in shape, is securely defended by the sea flowing on all sides; and the one space left open by the encircling sea is guarded by a double wall with an extended array of towers. Bounded by these, the city contains in itself all those things mentioned individually, which, the more firmly to establish the record of them, I will now gather together in summary.

There are contained in the city of Constantinople:

Palaces, five

Churches, fourteen

Sacred Houses of the Augustae, six

Most Noble houses, three

Baths, eight

Basilicas, two

Forums, four

Senate Houses, two

Warehouses, five

Theatres, two

Lusoria, 2

Harbors, four

Circus, one

Cisterns, four

Nymphaea, four

(p.98) Streets, three hundred & twenty-two

Houses, four thousand, three hundred & eighty-eight [243]

Colonnades, fifty-two

Private baths, one hundred & fifty-three

Public bakeries, twenty

Private bakeries, one hundred & twenty

Steps (*gradūs*), one hundred & seventeen

Meat-markets, five

Curators, thirteen

Public slaves, fourteen

Collegiati, five hundred & sixty

Vicomagistri, sixty-five

Porphyry column

Columns with stairs inside, two

One colossus

One golden tetrapylon

Augusteum

Capitolium

Mint

Maritime steps, three

The overall length of the city from the Golden Gate in a straight line as far as the sea-shore is fourteen thousand & seventy-five feet, and its breadth is six thousand, one hundred and fifty feet.

Explanatory Notes

Each Region, with a single exception, possessed a curator and five *vicomagistri*. These officials are not listed for Region XIV, and since the grand total at the end of the document gives thirteen curators and sixty-five *vicomagistri*, it seems that this Region did not possess them—a reflection, perhaps, of its special status, as described below. On the other hand, the grand total gives fourteen *vernaculi*, or public messengers, for the entire city, from which it can be concluded that Region XIV possessed one like the others, and the number of *collegiati* listed in the grand total, 560, only reaches this total if thirty-seven *collegiati* are assumed for Region XIV.

The figure for private baths in Region X can be supplied from the grand total. There are some discrepancies, however, between the grand totals and the figures for the separate Regions. The number of twenty public bakeries given in the grand total is not consistent with the sum of the separate Regions, which gives twenty-one, and the number of private bakeries, listed in the grand total as 120, when taken Region by Region reaches only 113. Public baths (*thermae*) are given in the grand total as eight but nine are found under the separate (p.99) Regions. It is impossible to know where such discrepancies originated or how to correct them.

The missing number of streets and alleys in Region XIII cannot be supplied from the grand total, which takes no account of it; the total of 322 is accurate for the other thirteen Regions. An especially interesting discrepancy is in the number of churches. They are given in the grand total as fourteen, but only twelve can be found in the entries for the Regions. Seven of these churches occur in just three Regions (II, VII, IX), and six Regions (I, III, V, VI, VIII, XII) have no church listed. Certain features appearing in the grand total, notably the

Colossus and the “golden Tetrapylon,” are not listed under the individual Regions; they are discussed below.

3. The Fourteen Regions

It is not clear whether it was Constantine or a successor who conceived the idea of organizing the city under the fourteen Regions described in the *Notitia*. Cyril Mango produced arguments for Theodosius I as their originator, and there is no reason in principle to object to this, the idea of a New Rome, part of the Constantinian conception of his new city, being applied progressively over time.[26] It was, for instance, not until the time of Constantius, with the promotion of its senate to the rank of *clarissimus* and its governor to *praefectus*, that the institutional status of the new city was made equal to that of Rome. Whatever their date of origin, however, the Regions were laid out to conform to the primary features of the Constantinian city plan, which was itself not drawn upon a perfectly clean sheet. If the new Forum of Constantine was a focal point of the city envisaged by him, it is also evident that the work of his planners exploited the urban design that was there already. In presenting Constantinople as it was after a century of development as an imperial capital, the *Notitia* also records many items surviving from the Greco-Roman past. Hidden away in its Regional catalogues of the fourth and early fifth centuries is a distinct image of the earlier city.

Region I, the palace area, adjoined the Hippodrome, which composed a large part of Region III and ran up to the Zeuxippon and Augusteum in Region IV; these two, if not the Hippodrome itself, were originally Severan foundations, the Augusteum being a reconfiguration of the Severan colonnaded forum, or Tetrastoon.[27] In these eastern sectors of the promontory, Constantine’s projects fit naturally into an urban framework established for Byzantium (p.100) in the Severan period.[28] It is farther west, in the undeveloped territory outside the Severan city, that Constantine’s enterprise appears as a new and original creation. Beginning from the Severan city gate,[29] as many as than four Regions (III, VI, VII, VIII) took their bearings from the new Forum of Constantine that lay just beyond it, and these and several other Regions were defined by the main thoroughfares laid out for the new city.

The most important of these was of course the great colonnaded avenue known as the Mesē, which linked its cardinal points. Taking its departure from the Augusteum, and running along the double colonnade, also of Severan origin, to the old city gate, the avenue led on through the Forum of Constantine and the (present or future) site of the Forum of Theodosius, and some distance after this divided. Its southern branch led to the Golden Gate, its northern extension led past the mausoleum of Constantine, later the Church of the Apostles, keeping that monument to its right.[30] The basic configuration of the city, a sort of rotated letter *Y*, can be seen in relation to these points of reference.[31]

The Regions were laid out in an orderly pattern running from the eastern end of the promontory to the Constantinian walls, with two “extra-mural” Regions (XIII and XIV) located outside them. The only serious question as to the location of the intramural Regions concerns Regions VII and VIII, but this question is easily resolved (see below), to leave Region VII facing the Golden Horn to the north and VIII facing the Propontis to the south.

In the following survey, I take the intramural Regions in three groups (I–VI, VII–IX, X–XII), followed by the two extramural Regions (XIII and XIV). It is the purpose of the survey only to locate the Regions and describe their basic characters. The only advantage claimed over the more detailed descriptions of Gilles, Janin, Berger, and others is that it is offered in conjunction with the text of the *Notitia*, and that it gives full weight to the topographical introductions to the Regions.[32]

(p.101) ## Regions I–VI

Region I, beginning in the triangular wedge of land between the Hippodrome and the Propontis, runs from the “lower part” of the Great Palace toward the northeast, with the acropolis of Byzantium to the left and the coast of the promontory to the right. Between the acropolis and sea, the Region then advanced in a narrowing configuration towards the Theatrum Maius (“Greater Theatre”), which was itself not in this Region but is listed, as an amphitheatre, under Region II.[33] Not all the locations of its amenities are exactly known, but that of the Great Palace itself (the first entry in the entire document) is an

established point of reference.[34] Like the palaces of Thessalonica and Antioch (and, in its later periods, Rome), it adjoined the Hippodrome, to which it was connected by a corridor leading directly from the palace to the imperial box (*kathisma*). From here the emperor could view the races, give audience, and meet the assembled people; on the pedestal of the obelisk of Theodosius, which still stands in its original location in the Hippodrome, the emperor and his supporters are shown in just this attitude, in the very place where they assumed it. Region I has here a precise if somewhat theoretical boundary, for the Hippodrome itself was assigned to Region III. The border between Regions I and III thus ran exactly along the southeastern side of the Hippodrome.

Region III, adjoining Region I to the west, is dominated by the Hippodrome or "Circus Maximus," beyond which it falls away steeply to the southern shore (an obvious feature to a visitor). Included in this coastal part of the Region were the "New harbor" and the semi-circular colonnade known from its shape as the Sigma (the Greek letter); both of these amenities are described by Zosimus as the gift of Julian, though given the time-scale for the construction of a harbor, it is obvious that another emperor (or emperors) also had a hand in it.[35] (p.102) The location of the harbor, shown in its later form on the Vavassore map, is enshrined to the present day in the street name Kadırgalimanı, or "galley harbor," which may represent its northern limit.[36] To the north, the Third Region was bounded by the Mesē in its first stretch along the colonnade from the Golden Milestone to the Forum of Constantine. It included a tribunal or speakers' platform, which evidently stood on the south side of the forum, but not the forum itself, which was divided among Regions VI, VII, and VIII.[37]

The starting point of Region II is the Theatrum Minus (Lesser Theatre), from where it rose in the "gentle ascent" known to thousands of tourists to the plateau now covered by the Topkapı Palace, beyond which it falls away sharply to the sea. This is exactly what one sees as one follows the route described. Its amenities begin with two churches, Ecclesia Magna, and Ecclesia Antiqua. Their axiomatic identification as S. Sophia and S. Irene means, if we follow the description of the *Notitia*, that the Lesser Theatre from which the Region

takes its departure stood below them, somewhere to the east of the Augusteum.[38] No trace of the theatre survives (it is often placed much farther to the north); like the amphitheatre, it was one of the continuing resources of Greco-Roman Byzantium. The Region also contained a Senate House and tribunal, distinct from the later foundations in the Forum of Constantine. The general location of the Senate House is known, since accounts of the Nika Riot of 532 refer to it as facing the Church of S. Sophia, with reference to the danger it suffered from the conflagration; it must then have stood not far from that church, on the eastern side of the Augusteum.[39] With that side of the Augusteum so occupied, it would be obvious, even if nothing else showed it, that the extensive bath complex known as the Thermae Zeuxippi, or Zeuxippon, extended on its southern side in the space between the Augusteum and the northern end of the Hippodrome (in Region III) and the imperial palace (in Region I). The extent (p.103) and character of the Zeuxippon are shown by the eighty statues of Greek and Roman (just four of the latter) gods, heroes, and literary eminences it still contained in the time of the sixth-century poet Christodorus, whose “tedious poem” on the subject (Cyril Mango’s expression) occupies the whole second book of the *Anthologia Palatina*.[40]

To include all these amenities, Region II must have wrapped itself around the northern, eastern, and southern sides of the Augusteum, the monuments listed under it being located on these three sides while the Augusteum itself was in Region IV. As well as the Theatrum Minus already mentioned, Region II contained the Theatrum Maius, or Amphitheatre. The location of this structure was in the northerly part of the Region, since Region I, as we saw, extended *towards* it as it ran along the coast below the acropolis. To satisfy this description, the Amphitheatre must have stood below the acropolis to the east, somewhere below the kitchens of the Topkapı Palace.[41] This location is confirmed in a law in the Theodosian Code, forbidding lime burning along the shore of the promontory between the Amphitheatre and the harbor of Julian.[42]

Region IV is easily identified, and is described, as following the valley running northward from the Augusteum to the Golden Horn, with the acropolis to the right.[43] Region IV also

contained the Miliarium, the “Golden Milestone” from which departed the Mesē and the road system springing from it; the reference to a “Golden Tetrapylon” in the *Collectio Civitatis* defines the architectural form of this structure as a quadriform arch. It might be said that the whole Roman Empire of the later period pivoted on this spot, but it was also a focal point of the Severan city, standing at the point where the Tetrastoon issued into the double colonnade (also of Severan origin). On the western (more precisely the northwestern) side of the Augusteum stood a basilica with its precinct, the location and orientation of which are now marked by the so-called Cistern of the Basilica (Yerebatan Sarayi); if we may compare the architectural ensemble of forum, basilica, and colonnade found at Severan Lepcis Magna, we might (p.104) imagine that the basilica, too, was a foundation of that period.[44] Of the other items listed under Region IV, the marble warship (Liburna) commemorating a naval victory was apparently near the Senate House,[45] while the Scala Timasii, named after a general of Theodosius I, was a set of steps forming a quayside, one of three such “scalae” mentioned by the *Notitia*. The Stadium of Region IV, a survival, no doubt, from the ancient Greek city, was located near to the sea on the northern side of the acropolis, where Justinian built guesthouses.[46]

Continuing westward, the three Regions V–VII form a sequence along the northern side of the peninsula. All are bounded by the Golden Horn, with the Mesē as their southern limit. With Region V, the character of the city changes and we enter a commercial district; for here, as the *Notitia* says, were situated the buildings that provided the city with its necessities. No fewer than four *horrea* (warehouses or granaries) are listed, as well as two sets of public baths of the Theodosian dynasty, named (or renamed) after Honorius and Eudocia respectively.[47] The Region also contained a Prytaneum, whose name suggests that it too was a part of the ancient Greek city and a very important area also known by its Greek name, Strategium. If these were the local names for the council house and agora of the Greek city (the latter named after its chief magistrates),[48] we can see how far the expansion of the Roman period had moved the city’s center of gravity from its ancient site. The Strategium was an expansive tract of land, because a Forum of Theodosius, with a Theban

obelisk, was built within its limits; it was perhaps because of this that a part of the area, not incorporated in the new forum but functioning as a market, was later known as the Lesser Strategion.[49] The name of the harbor listed in this Region, Prosphorianus (p.105) ("import harbor"), suggests that it is the commercial harbor of the Greek city, adjacent to the military dockyard and harbor (*neorium* and *portus*) of Region VI.[50] Region V also included the Chalcedonian quay, indicating the crossing to Chalcedon and the continuation into Asia Minor of the main highway from the west to Constantinople.

Moving into Region VI, we find the dockyard and the second (the military) harbor just mentioned. Both dockyard and harbors were enclosed by the pre-Constantinian walls of the city; so much is clear from Cassius Dio's account of the Severan siege of the city.[51] Another maritime facility was the Scala Sycena, from where, then as now, sailed the ferries that, according to the introduction to Region XIII, connected that Region with the main city. At its southern limit at the Mesē, Region VI included the part of the Forum of Constantine containing the porphyry column of the emperor and his new senate building, which therefore stood on the northern side of the forum, with the column at its center. This gives us a firm point of reference, for Constantine's column still stands in its original location, an emblematic sight in present-day Istanbul. An image of it, with indications of its location at the end of the double colonnades from the Augusteum, is shown on the early fifth-century column of Arcadius (band E 1).

Of those so far described, Regions II, IV (in part), V, and VI cover the Greek and Greco-Roman city of Byzantium as it had developed on and around the ancient acropolis, and behind the harbors and commercial facilities on the Golden Horn. The remaining portions of Regions II and IV follow the development of the city to the southern side of the acropolis and, with the part of Region III occupied by the Hippodrome and the part of Region I advancing up the coast toward the amphitheatre, reflect its expansion during the Roman period.

Regions VII–IX

Continuing westward from Region VI, we cross the hypothetical line of the Roman walls of Byzantium, which may

have provided the limit between Regions VI and VII; even if the walls did not still exist, their course would provide as natural a point of division as they had earlier provided a line of defense. From this point, the series of largely commercial Regions that began in Regions V and VI continues into Region VII, one of the two intramural Regions whose locations have in the past been questioned. This question is simply resolved (p.106) once we grasp the point of view from which the *Notitia* presents it. Region VII extends from the right of the column of Constantine toward the Forum of Theodosius and is defined by the colonnade running between the two; Region VIII contains the corresponding left-hand colonnade. Since the organization of the Regions is viewed from east to west, and this Region is explicitly described in this way, it is clear that Region VII is to the north of the Mesē and reaches to the Golden Horn.[52] It includes the column of Theodosius that stood in his Forum (in its northern part, evidently), and part of the Forum itself, as well as two equestrian statues (of his sons Arcadius and Honorius).[53] The *Notitia* also mentions the colonnaded streets that led off the Mesē at right angles to the Golden Horn. This is important for our conception of the street plan of Constantinople, particularly since the *Notitia* lists six colonnades under Region VII; depending on how one counts colonnades (singly or in pairs), this indicates that at least three main streets led north from this stretch of the Mesē.[54] Another very interesting feature is the presence of three churches, of S. Irene, Anastasia, and Paul (the fourth-century bishop of the name), in what, from its general character and from the number of residences listed for it, seems to have been a heavily populated working-class area. This will be helpful information when we consider the social distribution of the population of Constantinople.[55]

We now return, on the other side of the Mesē, to two Regions on the southern shore of the promontory, balancing the series we have seen to the north. Region VIII is one of the four Regions that took their starting point from the Forum of Constantine. As we just saw, it faced Region VII across the Mesē, from the Forum of Constantine as far as the Forum of Theodosius. It also included the Basilica of Theodosius, which therefore stood on the southern side of the forum of that emperor. Since we know from the Byzantine writer Cedrenus

the dimensions of the basilica,[56] and that it was built alongside rather than (p.107) frontally to the forum, we have a guide to the dimensions of the forum itself. The triumphal Arch of Theodosius, of which substantial fragments remain though it is not mentioned by the *Notitia*, stood at its southwestern corner, which means that the Mesē entered and left the forum at this point. Region VIII also included the location known as the Capitolium; whatever the date and nature of this institution, it is obviously part of the nomenclature of a New Rome. The Region was elongated in shape, running in a narrow strip along the southern side of the Mesē from the Forum of Constantine to the Capitolium, and it was one of only two Regions that did not touch the sea. From this and other indications we can see that it was among the smallest of the Regions, but it still contained two meat markets as well as the other public buildings mentioned here.

Region IX, adjoining VIII to the south, was a commercial district corresponding to those that we saw on the northern side of the peninsula and contained two sets of warehouses. One of them was called Alexandrina, no doubt after the source of the grain imported to the city, and the other was named after Theodosius, in association with the large new harbor of Theodosius listed under Region XII, the site of a spectacular excavation;[57] to be close to the harbor, the Horreum Theodosianum will have been located toward the western limit of the Region. A special point of interest is in the two churches attributed to Region IX, Caenopolis and Homonoea. Homonoea ("Concord") perhaps has something to do with the endlessly frustrated attempts of Constantine and his successors to establish unity in the eastern churches, but the name of Caenopolis (Greek Καινόπολις) cannot easily be understood as a fourth-century innovation, since the Region in which it stands is deeply embedded within the city of Constantine; what sense would it make to give the name "New City" to this or any particular part of the Constantinian foundation? Caenopolis must be an existing name reflecting urban settlement beyond the walls of Greco-Roman Byzantium.[58]

(p.108) ## Regions X–XII

As we move farther west and approach the Constantinian walls, the peninsula widens both to north and south, and the

last three intramural Regions are best viewed as a sequence following the course of the walls in a southwesterly and southerly arc. There is little distinctive about the way they are characterized in the *Notitia*, and they lie apart from the administrative and commercial parts of the city that we have seen so far. Other indications, too, suggest that they were less intensively developed than the more central Regions; they are also larger, and have interesting numbers of streets and houses that will be mentioned later.

Beginning in the north, Region X was, according to the *Notitia*, separated from Region IX (or VIII, see below) by a wide avenue, presumably the Mesē, dividing them "like a river" (*platea magna velut fluvio dividitur*). It is described as a spacious Region, relatively flat except where it fell away to the sea. It contained a Church of S. Acacius, baths and three imperial mansions, and a large nymphaeum or water basin; this is no doubt connected with the spectacular aqueduct attributed to the emperor Valens that fed into it.[59] The story of the Constantinian baths listed by the *Notitia* under this Region is a complicated one, the essence of which is that, even if he might have begun them, these baths were considered a foundation not of Constantine but of his successor Constantius (and they were not completed until many years later).[60] Since we know from descriptions of imperial processions that the baths stood on the right-hand side of the northern branch of the Mesē to one leaving the city, as also, farther out along the road, did the Church of the Apostles (originally the mausoleum of Constantine), the boundary between Regions X and XI must have veered northward beyond the baths to allow the church to belong to Region XI.

There is a difficulty about the boundary between Regions X and IX, in that the elongated Region VIII, stretching from the forum of Constantine to that of Theodosius and on to the Capitolium, lies between them. The solution adopted by Berger is to suppose either that the compiler of the *Notitia* made an error, and should have written that Region X was divided "as if by a river" from Region VIII (and not IX), or that the text has been corrupted to the same effect. Alternatively, if the Capitolium lay not as far west as it is usually placed, the text (p.109) could stand with revised Regional boundaries. The

question cannot be resolved within the scope of the present survey.[61]

Region XI, which is also noted as unusually spacious, as well as one of only two Regions to be landlocked, contained palaces of Theodosius I's wife Flaccilla and Theodosius II's sister Pulcheria, two water cisterns, and the Martyrium of the Apostles. This very important monument, whether in its original form as the mausoleum of Constantine or later as the Church of the Apostles, was one of the cardinal points of the city. Lying in some part of the site now occupied by the mosque of Mehmet the Conqueror, it stood, at just over 60 meters above sea level, at one of the highest points of the city within the Constantinian wall. The cisterns should also be at a high elevation in order to generate sufficient water pressure for its effective distribution. The Region also contained a "Brazen Ox," marking the location of the later Bous, or Forum Bovis.[62] This confirms the considerable extension of the Region as it reached down from the heights of Church of the Apostles to the southern branch of the Mesē.

The last of the intramural Regions, Region XII, lying in the southwest corner of the city, is rather distinctively introduced as "glorified by the lofty splendor of the city walls." It is not clear why this Region in particular is so honored, since the walls formed the limits of all three Regions X–XII; except that Region XII also includes in an emphatic position—the entry in the *Notitia* begins with it—the Porta Aurea, or Golden Gate. This is another cardinal point of Constantine's city, the entrance to it from the west along the realigned route from Regium (see below). Region XII also included another Forum of Theodosius, completed under the second emperor of that name and known to us as the Forum of Arcadius, who had begun its construction in 402/3.[63] The location of the Forum is fixed by the Column of Arcadius, whose dilapidated but still imposing base is to be seen in situ along the southern extension of the Mesē (Cerrahpaşa Caddesi). Between the Golden Gate and the Forum are the "porticus Troadenses." It is not clear whether these colonnades ran all the way from the division of the Mesē to the Golden Gate, but likely that they did; one should see them from the point of view of one entering the city, as an architectural enhancement to the

Golden Gate itself.[64] There were also in this Region the (p.110) extremely important harbor named after the first Theodosius and its associated warehouses (see above), and the mint. This was an institution of the time of Constantine, who began to strike coin in the city and certainly planned to go on doing so. Given the physical movements of men and materials involved in large-scale minting, a situation by the city walls and the most heavily supervised main gate would offer obvious attractions.

Regions XIII–XIV

These, in the broadest of outlines, are the mainland or intra-urban Regions of Constantinople. Two remain, of which Region XIII, Sycena, covers the settlement across the Golden Horn at Sycae, now Galata. The introduction to this Region mentioned the “frequent ferries” that connected it with the main part of the city; we saw that Region VI contained the Scala Sycena from which the crossing began. Region XIII was crammed in up the hillside, and it possessed a single main street running along the more level land by the shore; again, visitors will appreciate the accuracy of this description. It contained a church and theatre—the latter evoking the earlier existence of Sycae as a separate community—and shipyards.[65]

If Region XIII is an anomaly, Region XIV is still more so, for while not, like Region XIII, lying over the water, it was separated by some distance from the main city and possessed its own wall and gate. We have here an urban community outside the city of Constantine but incorporated with it. Like Region XIII, it had a church and theatre, and a palace and a “lusorium,” or sports field,[66] and there was a wooden bridge built on piles. Historians have generally located Region XIV in the district to the north of the city later known as Blachernae. These interpretations have been challenged in typically concise and forceful papers—though with different results, acknowledged with a nice touch of humor—by Cyril Mango. Mango had first argued that, since the *Notitia* mentions in its preface the “double line of walls” by which the city was defended, the point from which the separation of the Region was measured must have been the Theodosian walls. These came right up to, if they did not include, Blachernae, which could not then have been described as a separate community

in relation to them.[67] Region XIV would, therefore, have to be located (p.111) farther to the north of the Constantinian city. In his earlier paper, Mango pointed to two locations—the suburb of Eyüp or the more distant location of Silâhtaraga at the head of the Golden Horn—in both of which a bridge existed at one time or another. In the latter case, this would be only to cross the river Barbyses, which one hesitates to think of as a major landmark, and in a later addendum to his paper Mango allowed that this location, which he initially thought of as the more likely of his suggestions, was "perhaps too distant to be identified as the XIVth Region."[68]

As to the point of separation of Region XIV from the main city, it is true that the preface to the *Notitia* mentions the double fortifications of Constantinople, but as we saw earlier, this does not express the perspectives of the text itself. The twelve intra-urban Regions of the city are there conceived as lying within the walls of Constantine, and they were clearly laid out before the Theodosian walls were built. Taking the wall of Constantine rather than those of Theodosius as the point from which the separation of Region XIV is measured, Blachernae or somewhere near it comes back into play, and in terms of distance from the city is the more likely candidate.[69]

This was not, however, Mango's last word on the subject, and he has recently offered a new solution, paradoxical perhaps, but convincing.[70] Region XIV is now located at the settlement of Rhegion—in Latin texts as Regium, causing some confusion with the southern Italian city Reggio di Calabria.[71] At twelve (Roman) miles from Constantinople, this seems somewhat far from the city, but outweighing this objection is the substance of the entry in the *Notitia*. Region XIV has a palace and "lusorium," otherwise found in combination in Region I, as well as a city wall, theatre, nymphaeum, baths, and a church. The place was both a separate community and an imperial residence. A palace is known to have existed there and the other resources are appropriate for this newly established status. Furthermore, Regium, with the coastal lagoons between it and Constantinople, is the most likely location for a bridge built on wooden piles, crossing a relatively large, shallow body of water; it is difficult to imagine such a structure as crossing the deeper waters of the Golden Horn.[72]

(p.112) The development of Regium and the construction of its bridge are implied already in 333 by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, who approached the city by this route.[73] This is the first attestation of a direct route between Regium and Constantinople, which had earlier been approached by a more northerly route joining the Hadrianople road and approaching by way of the imperial residence at Melanthias. Though separated from it by half a day's journey, Regium was an integral part of the city.

4. Conclusion

Even from such a summary description as that presented here, it will be clear that the *Notitia* is a unique source for the urban development of Constantinople in the first century of its existence. Not only this, but behind the resources of the Constantinian and later periods are significant traces of Greco-Roman Byzantium, reinforcing the conclusion given by earlier sources (for example, Cassius Dio's narrative of Septimius Severus' siege) that it was a most important urban center long before Constantine put his hand to it. The *Notitia* is not just a list of contemporary resources; it also shows us a historical urban landscape as it stood at a point in time.

At the same time, the *Notitia* is not a complete record, and it contains discrepancies. It is the *Collectio Civitatis* and not the main text of the *Notitia* that, in describing the Miliarium Aureum of the Augusteum as a "Golden Tetrapylon," reveals the form of this important structure. The *Collectio* also mentions a significant monument that is absent from the main text. This is the "Colossus," the stone-built obelisk, 32 meters high, still to be seen on the *spina* of the Hippodrome and identified on the basis of a dedicatory inscription of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, comparing the structure with the Colossus of Rhodes.[74] The column was originally covered with bronze plaques for which the fixing marks can still be seen, and Porphyrogenitus' inscription records the work undertaken by him as the restoration of a decayed monument. From what moment before the composition of the *Notitia* it originally derives is impossible to say.[75] There is no mention, either in the main text of the *Notitia* or the *Collectio Civitatis*, of the famous obelisk of Theodosius, whose bilingual verse

inscription, with a depiction of the method used, records its erection by the urban prefect of 390 in the short space of thirty days;[76] nor of the Bronze (p.113) Tetrapylon that stood at a crossroad of the Mesē, halfway between the Forum of Constantine and that of Theodosius.[77] It marked the intersection of the Mesē with the road still traceable in the Grand Bazaar (see above) and its continuation southward to the Propontis shore.

Also missing is any mention of the aesthetic embellishments of the city. The columns of Theodosius and Arcadius are noted for the internal staircases that led to their summit, but not for the sculptured decoration that led Vavassore's and other later images to identify them by the phrase "colonna istoriata"; nor is there any reference to the statue of Constantine placed on top of his famous column—an interesting omission since the statue, showing Constantine in the guise of Apollo the Sun God, was somewhat controversial. Nothing is said, either, of the mysterious "Column of the Goths" on the northern side of the Acropolis.[78] The *Notitia* does not mention the Arch of Theodosius that formed the ceremonial entrance to his Forum, though it lists the column and equestrian statues that also stood there, and the statue of the bull that gave to the Forum its alternative name.

As well as the regional lists of the *Notitia*, the *Collectio Civitatis* at the end of the text compiles grand totals of the monuments and resources of the entire city; palaces and great houses, churches, public and private baths and bakeries, colonnades, houses, streets and alleys, and among its human resources the numbers of *collegiati*, or corporations of men deployed against fire and other urban hazards. It also gives the total of 117 *gradūs* ("steps") throughout the city, a figure that can be made up for the separate Regions if a missing number is assigned to Region III.[79] The term *gradus* has a special meaning in relation to the public distributions of bread established by Constantine after the example of Rome, where the bread was given out from such steps and was hence known as *panis gradilis*. In every case (except for the missing entry in Region III), both in the main text of the *Notitia* and in the *Collectio Civitatis*, the number of *gradūs* immediately follows that of public and private bakeries and belongs with it. The

distributions were organized like those at Rome; there were many points of distribution throughout the city, to which both the bakeries and the citizens qualified to receive the bread were attached for the handing out of the dole.[80]

(p.114) It is natural to take the numbers of *gradūs* in connection with those given for "houses" (*domūs*) for the fourteen Regions individually, and with the grand total of 4,388 listed in the *Collectio Civitatis*. What is unclear is how we should define the term *domus*, a problem that is not much helped by the comparable entries for the analogous *Notitia* (or *Curiosum*) of the city of Rome.[81] Here, the accommodation of the people is given under two categories: *domūs*, of which there were 1,790; and *insulae*, which yield the huge figure of 46,602. In the case of Rome, given the sheer numbers, it seems clear we should accept the interpretation of *insula* as an individual apartment rather than an entire apartment block, but this is not much of a help for Constantinople, since no *insulae* are listed. On the other hand, the number of *domūs*, at 4,388, is much larger than that for Rome. The Theodosian Code contains intriguing evidence about the houses of Constantinople, classifying them by the diameter of waterpipe to which they were entitled,[82] but it seems impossible either that the city, with its rapidly growing population, did not contain significant numbers of *insulae* (as it did in the later fifth century) or that such accommodation is not envisaged under the term *domus*. It may be best to understand *domus* not as a specific type of accommodation but as a classification by residence, such as might, for example, have qualified a family for the bread distributions. This interpretation might explain why the number of *domūs* for Constantinople is so much higher than that for Rome. If it includes *insulae*, it would also, of course, imply a very much smaller population.

Setting aside this and other problems raised by the figures, it is possible to discern at least in outline the distribution of the population of Constantinople. In the southeastern corner of the promontory was the palace quarter and the noble houses around it, with all that this implies regarding the numbers of servants and attendants that they contained. North of this quarter, and of the monumental development around the Augusteum, was the acropolis and the ancient Greek city of

Byzantium and the remains of its old institutions, with a larger but still limited population compared with that of the palace quarter. The Mesē, a spine of development to the west, linked together the main fora of the city (of Constantine, Theodosius, and Arcadius) as they attracted more of its social and commercial activity. On the shores of the peninsula were the harbors and other commercial installations, and it is here that we find high population levels implying multi-occupation and the presence of apartments and apartment blocks. An index of this is the very high numbers of *collegiati* assigned to some of these Regions, reflecting the increased risk of fire in the more crowded conditions. Notable too is the absence of great houses in these (p.115) Regions—it was just not their part of town. This pattern of denser occupation continues to the Regions by the wall of Constantine, where it seems to give place to a different pattern of development, with large numbers of *domūs* distributed among small numbers of streets. Whatever its explanation, this seems to be a later pattern of development affecting these Regions (X–XII). The transitions between the different residential zones were of course more gradual gradual than their Regional presentation might imply. The patterns of occupation did not change abruptly at the boundaries of Regions, but the distribution of population implied by the *Notitia* is in general terms convincing.

A final word on the distribution of churches. The main text of the *Notitia* gives twelve of these, though fourteen are counted in the *Collectio Civitatis*. It seems impossible to know the correct figure or the cause of the discrepancy, but neither seems to be a large number for the early fifth century. As noted earlier, five churches were in two relatively commercial and highly populated Regions, suggesting a high level of Christianization among the common people of Constantinople; we get a glimpse of this in the fervent support of the populace for Bishop Paul (whose church is listed in Region VII) when, afraid of his influence, the emperor Constantius moved against him. Two churches, Ecclesia Magna and Ecclesia Antiqua, stand side by side in Region II, adjoining the monumental and not very heavily populated quarter of the Augusteum and palace at the foot of the Acropolis, and two were in the extra-mural townships of Sycae (Region XIII) and Regium (if that is

the correct understanding of Region XIV). The memorial Church of S. Mocius was outside the wall of Constantine and may for this reason have avoided mention by the *Notitia*, but the Church of the Apostles, which is listed under Region XI, was not dedicated as such until 370; it had begun as Constantine's mausoleum. This leaves a single church in each of Regions IV, X and XI, and there were no less than six Regions (I, III, V, VI, VIII, XII) with no church at all. It should of course be added that no pagan temples are noted (a passage of Malalas shows three of the greatest being decommissioned under Theodosius),[83] but it does not look as if the Christianization of the new city had much to do with any targeted program of church building initiated by Constantine. If this were the case anywhere, it was at Rome, which is, perhaps, something of a paradox.[84]

Notes:

(1) . Cyril Mango's Introduction to Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, 1.

(2) . Originally entitled *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*. Gilles citations will be by book and chapter, and by page number in Musto's edition of 1988 (which offers a revised version of John Ball's 1729 translation).

(3) . Gilles, *Antiquities* 2.13 (Musto, 83–84).

(4) . Ibid. 1.10 (Musto, 30–31). For the road, Uzunçarşi Caddesi or "Longmarket Street", see Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 30–31; Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 366, 396. The line of the road is visible in plans of the Bazaar, running at a slight angle to the central galleries.

(5) . Gilles, *Antiquities*, 2.20 (Musto, 111–12).

(6) . Ibid., 2.17 (Musto, 97–98). On the "Seven Wonders of Byzantium," see esp. Downey, "Constantine the Rhodian."

(7) . Gilles, *Antiquities* 2.17 (Musto, 97–98).

(8) . On the attribution of the statue to Theodosius, see Manners, "Constructing the Image of a City," 86, citing Mango, "Justinian's Equestrian Statue." Malalas 18.94 (482

Bonn), s.a. 542, states that it was a statue of Arcadius from the Forum Tauri (sc. of Theodosius).

(9) . Gilles, *Antiquities* 2.1 (Musto, 51–52).

(10) . Ibid., 51.

(11) . Gilles does not say how or when he “accidentally fell upon” this text, the manuscript tradition of which is entirely western. A translation of the *Notitia* was included as an appendix in Ball’s 1729 translation of Gilles, but not in Musto’s reprint of 1988.

(12) . Edited by Seeck, in his *Notitia Dignitatum* of 1876, 228–43. On the history of these texts, see Reeve, “*Notitia Dignitatum*,” in Reynolds, *Texts and Transmission*, 253–57, and, more detailed, Thompson, *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*, 6–17.

(13) . Procopius, *Wars* 1.24.42.

(14) . Edited by Nordh, *Libellus de Regionibus Urbis Romae*; see esp. Hermansen, “The Population of Ancient Rome.”

(15) . *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 427 (580–81 Bonn).

(16) . *CTh* 15.1.51, *ad munitionem splendidissimae urbis*. The classic study is Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (1899). Later works were performed by the praetorian prefects Cyrus in 439–41 (*PLRE* 2, 338 [“Cyrus 7”]), Constantinus in 447 (ibid. 317 [“Constantinus 22”]), and Pusaeus in 465 (ibid. 930).

(17) . As is emphatically noted by Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople*, 16–18 and 30–33.

(18) . Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 49–50.

(19) . *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 451 (590 Bonn) (“Troadesian walls”), s.a. 459 (593 Bonn) (cistern of Aspar near the “old wall”); for Buondelmonti, see Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 35–36, with Manners, “Constructing the Image of a City,” and the exhibition catalogue also edited by Manners, *European Cartographers and the Ottoman World*, esp. his chapter, “Mapping the City: *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*,” at 67–78.

(20) . Scholars have generally referred to the *Notitia* by page numbers in Seeck's edition, which are therefore added here for convenience in the right-hand margin: the page begins, unless indicated, at the beginning of the line.

(21) . *Vici sive angiportus*,"abbreviated as "*vici*" simply in Regions III–XIV (XIII has no entry); *sive* connects the two words and does not contrast them. Cassius Dio's word for the Augustan *vicomagistri* of Rome, στενωπάρχοι (55.8.8), derives from στενωπός, the Greek equivalent of *angiportus*.

(22) . This and the following explanations are designed to stand for all the Regions and are not repeated for each one.

(23) . See below for discussion of this problem.

(24) . Both the forum and the column are attributed to Theodosius (II), although the episodes portrayed on the column belong to the time of Arcadius.

(25) . See below for the identification of Region XIV.

(26) . In his article, "Le mystère de la XIV^{e} Région de Constantinople," 455. At some time after 381, Regium ceased to have an independent bishop, which might mark the moment of the absorption of the community into the urban framework of the *Notitia*. As explained above, Region XIV also lacked a *vicomagister*.

(27) . Zosimus 2.31.2; Mango, *The Brazen House*, 42–47.

(28) . The pre-Constantinian origins of these institutions, widely claimed in Byzantine sources and accepted by modern historians, are reviewed more skeptically by Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 412–13, and by Mango, "Septime Sévère et Byzance"; my view is that a strong case can be made from the sources. For a survey of the public spaces and institutions of Constantinople, with a review of the sources, see also Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal*, 143–268 (the Hippodrome, 247–54); and of course Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*.

(29) . It is not clear whether the Severan gate, or any of the classical Roman wall circuit, survived the Constantinian rebuilding. See below on the boundary of Regions V and VI.

(30) . The Mesē, properly speaking, ran from the Golden Milestone to the point where it divided. Beyond this point it ceased in any real sense to follow a “middle” course through the city.

(31) . The configuration is well described by Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image*, 22–26.

(32) . See Chapter IV of Janin’s *Constantinople byzantine*, “Les régions urbaines”; also C. Mango’s *Le développement urbain* and Berger’s “Regionen und Straßen.” The last of these is a German translation and commentary on the *Notitia*, but the text is split up into the separate Regions and is not set out as a list or catalogue, which I think is important in interpreting it.

(33) . The identification of the “Greater Theatre” as the Amphitheatre of Constantinople is important for the topography of Regions I and II. I find it hard to believe (with Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 359) that the “Theatrum Minus” of the *Notitia* can be the amphitheatre (see below, nn. 38, 41).

(34) . See Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 358. The Palatium Placidianum was connected with a daughter of Valentinian I who died in 394, and the Domus Placidiae Augustae with Galla Placidia, Theodosius’ daughter by his second wife; its location is shown to be near the (later) Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus by its use as the lodging of papal legates, located near that church. The “nobilissima Marina” was a sister of Theodosius II. For the Arcadianae, overlooking the Propontis shore, see Procopius, *Buildings* 1.11.1–2.

(35) . Zosimus 3.11.3; as noted by his commentator François Paschoud (and others), Julian can hardly have initiated and built a new harbor and portico in a six-month stay in the city. See Gilles, *Antiquities* 2.15 (Musto, 92), for the name Caterga Limena or “Port of the Three-Decked Galleys,” and the statement that some people claim to have seen “some three-decked galleys that have been sunk there”—if so, a striking anticipation of what has recently been discovered in the excavations of the Theodosian harbor (see below).

(36) . See Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 38–39, on these locations.

(37) . It is suggested (Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 361 and others) that the Domus Pulcheriae Augustae listed under this Region may be the confiscated mansion of the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Antiochus, partially excavated in the 1960s between the northwestern side of the Hippodrome and the Mesē and still visible as incorporated in the (also ruined) Church of S. Euphemia. See *PLRE* 2, 102 (“Antiochus 5”) for Antiochus’ dismissal in 421 and the confiscation of his property. For these and the other visible remains in this part of the city, see Bardill, “The Palace of Lausus.”

(38) . An imprint of the theatre was detected in a depression in the hillside below the kitchens of the Seraglio, cf. Martiny, “The Great Theatre, Byzantium,” but the status of this observation is uncertain, and the *Notitia* shows that the theatre stood to the south of this location. The depression, if it is not a natural feature, might rather be a trace of the amphitheatre of Byzantium, to which might then be attributed the remains of seating apparently discovered in 1959 (Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 359).

(39) . Procopius, *Buildings* 1.2.1 (in archaizing language); “Before the Senate House (*bouleutērion*) [there was] a sort of market-place (*agora*), which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaion”; cf. *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 531 (621 Bonn) (tr. Whitby and Whitby), “the Senate House by the Augustaion, as it is called” (to distinguish it from the Senate House in Constantine’s Forum).

(40) . “Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder,” 57.

(41) . See above, nn.33, 38. The sources work consistently if the “Lesser Theatre” of the *Notitia* is the classical theatre, and the “Greater Theatre” is the Roman amphitheatre of Region II. Otherwise known as Cynegion (Greek Κυνήγιον), an arena for *venationes*, one of the most important uses of large amphitheatres in the later period, its location by the sea to the east of the acropolis is confirmed by the existence of a gate named after it; Gilles, *Antiquities* 4.4 (Musto, 190–91) (a very clear description). Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 359 (plans at 353, 390), puts the amphitheatre just above the site of S.

Irene (“in der alten Stadtmitte”), but I do not see how this can be right (he does not cite *CTh* 14.6.5, see next n.).

(42) . *CTh* 14.6.5 (4 October 419) to Aetius, prefect of the city of Constantinople; the kilns are to be removed in order to maintain the *salubritas* of the city and imperial palace.

(43) . Cf. Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 19, for the importance of this street (a processional route from the Hippodrome to the Strategion).

(44) . J. B. Ward-Perkins, “Severan Art and Architecture at Leptis Magna”; Mattingly, *Tripolitania*, 120–22, identifying as elements of the scheme (1) a broad and lavishly ornamented colonnaded street, (2) an enormous new forum and basilica complex adjoining the colonnaded street, and (3) a quadriform arch at the main road junction. Leptis also had a (second-century) circus.

(45) . Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 362, citing *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 532 (632 Bonn) on the Nika Riot). Cameron and Long, *Barbarians and Politics*, 238 with n.170, connect the *liburna* with the defeat of Fravitta by Gainas in 400.

(46) . Procopius, *Buildings* 1.11.27 (see Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 429–30), again archaizing; “very close to the sea, in the place called the Stadium (for in ancient times, I suppose, it was given over to games of some kind)” (tr. Dewing).

(47) . The absence from the *Notitia* of the famous “baths of Achilles” in this Region might be explained by their being renamed after Eudocia after her marriage to Theodosius in 421 (Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 363).

(48) . That is, two *stratēgoi*, the *stratēgion* being their “Amstlocal”; *RE* 3 (1899), col. 1144 (Kubitschek).

(49) . See Mango, “The Triumphal Way,” 177–28, with his appendix, “The Situation of the Strategion,” at 187–88; M. M. Mango, “Commercial Map of Constantinople,” 198. The obelisk may be the second of the two seen by Pierre Gilles—one the well-known Theodosian obelisk in the Hippodrome, the other, thirty feet in length, lying on its side near the Sultan’s

glassworks overlooking the Golden Horn; Gilles, *Antiquities* 2.11 (Musto, 76–77); Mango, “The Triumphal Way,” 188.

(50) . Gilles, *Antiquities* 3.1 (Musto, 125–26), discusses the variant “Bosphorianus,” an obvious corruption of the true form of the name. For the interpretation of these installations as the commercial and military harbors of Byzantium, see Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 14–15.

(51) . Cassius Dio 75.10.5, referring to “the harbors” of the city; Zosimus 2.30.3. The *neorion* is shown by Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, on his Map I (cf. Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 365) at present-day Bahçekapı, where there was a city gate named after it; cf. Gilles, *Antiquities*, 1.20 (Musto, 47).

(52) . The question is settled by the first three entries in Region VIII, where the east-west orientation is explicit: *Partem fori Constantini*; *porticum sinistram taurum usque*; *basilicam Theodosianam*—that is, Region VIII is to the *left* of the Mesē as one faces the statue of the bull that gave to the forum of Theodosius its alternative name.

(53) . See above n.8 on the possible re-use of one of these statues to become the equestrian statue of Justinian in the Augusteum.

(54) . That is including the right-hand colonnade of the Mesē itself under the total of the six given for the Region. The five others might then indicate three other streets, one of them forming the boundary of the Region, so with only one colonnade counted under it (2, 2, 1). Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 366, 397, seems to exclude the Mesē from the count and produces four streets, two of them forming boundaries between Regions (so 1, 2, 2, 1), but to exclude the Mesē seems to me an unnatural assumption.

(55) . See Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 365–66, 397, for the location of these churches.

(56) . Cedrenus, 1.609 Bonn. The stated dimensions give 240 x 84 Roman or 232 x 78 English feet (70 x 24 m).

(57) . For an accessible description of the work as it was progressing in 2007 (and spectacular photographs), see Rose and Aydingün, “Under Istanbul.” I would express my thanks for the tour of the excavations (and the preparatory lunch), generously offered by their director Metin Gokcay, and to Scott Redford of Koç University, Istanbul, for his help in bringing it about.

(58) . See also Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 368, for this view of Caenopolis. An alternative view is that the name represents land won from the sea, but the location of the two churches (Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 368–69, 397) works against this idea; they are too far to the north. The episode described at *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 407 (570 Bonn), when tiles from the Basilica of Theodosius blew down to Caenopolis in a storm, also suggests not too great a distance between them (I have seen tiles flying in a Yorkshire gale, but not this far). Janin’s Map I (in *Constantinople Byzantine*) locates the district at the 40–50 m contour level.

(59) . Mango, “The Water Supply”; *Le développement urbain*, 20. Our information on the water supply of the city and its distribution has been transformed by the stunning work of Crow, Bardill, and Bayliss, *The Water Supply*; (and see Crow q.v.) on this issue, 118–21 (aqueduct) and 127 (*nymphaeum*).

(60) . Eusebius, *VC* 4.59, claims that Constantine built baths near his mausoleum, but whether these baths have anything to do with the “Constantinianae” of the *Notitia* is unclear (Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 370, distinguishes them).

(61) . Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 368; yet *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 407 (570 Bonn), cited by Berger at n.98, might suggest a location very close to the forum of Theodosius, in which case Region IX might have come up to the Mesē and faced Region X between that point and its division at the Philadelphion.

(62) . If the “Bous” was in fact a forum; M. M. Mango, “Commercial Map of Constantinople,” 192.

(63) . The date is given by Theophanes’ *Chronicle* (AM 5895); *Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 421 (579 Bonn) records the placing of a

statue of Arcadius (who had died in 408) on the summit; see above, n.24.

(64) . It may be recalled (above, n.19) that *Chron. Pasch*., s.a. 451 (590 Bonn), referred to the Constantinian as the "Troadesian walls."

(65) . The theatre was restored by Justinian, when, in another recognition of its quasi-independent status, Sycae was renamed Justinianopolis (*Chron. Pasch*. s.a. 528 (618 Bonn); Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 373).

(66) . Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 357, calls it a "Sportplatz," possibly the same as the "Polofeld" mentioned by later (eighth-century) Byzantine sources. Whether or not the fourth- and fifth-century emperors already played polo (a Persian sport), the connection between *lusorium* and palace is significant. For something similar in fifth-century Antioch, see my *The Journey of Theophanes*, 84.

(67) . Mango, "Fourteenth Region of Constantinople." Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 374, supports Blachernae, but only in relation to Silâhtaraga, not Eyüp.

(68) . Mango, "Addenda," 6.

(69) . I earlier thought the location of Region XIV to indicate not Blachernae precisely, but the district known as Balat in the valley descending to the sea to its south.

(70) . Mango, "Le mystère de la XIV^{e} Région."

(71) . Already noted, with precedents (Gothofredus and Mamboury), in my *Western Aristocracies*, 178 n.2.

(72) . Its description in the *Notitia*, "pons sublicius sive ['that is to say'] ligneus," invites comparison with the Pons Sublicius at Rome, but there can be little similarity between them except for their mode of construction; *LTUR* IV, 112–13 (F. Coarelli). A similar case, where the name is a point of similarity between very different establishments, might be the Capitolium (see above).

(73) . *Itin. Burd*. 570.7–8 (*CCL* 175, p. 8); for the date, 571.6. See my "Cultural Landscape," 193.

(74) . See further Ward-Perkins q.v, 53.

(75) . Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, 192–93 (with the text of the inscription). Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 360–61, argues that the comparison with the Colossus of Rhodes means that the built obelisk was not itself called Colossus, but this seem to me not logical.

(76) . For the inscription, *CIL* 3.737 = *ILS* 821; *PLRE* 1, 746–47 (“Proculus 6”).

(77) . Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” 366, sees the missing Bronze Tetrapylon in the “Golden Tetrapylon” of the *Collectio Civitatis*, but the latter is surely the same as the “Golden Miliarium” of Region IV (see above).

(78) . It is uncertain whether it is a monument of Claudius II “Gothicus” or of Constantine.

(79) . Seeck, in his edition (232), inserts in the apparatus “Gradus undecim” to conform with the *Collectio*, but my own count requires only 10.

(80) . Chastagnol, *La préfecture*, 315, cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 696. The evidence for Rome and Constantinople is set out at *CTh* 14.15–17.

(81) . Above, n.14. See also Machado q.v., 155.

(82) . *CTh* 15.2.3.

(83) . Malalas, 13.38 (Thurn = 13.39 Jeffreys et al., 346 Bonn) (precise year unclear).

(84) . Dagron, *Naissance*, 388–409; Mango, *Le développement urbain*, 35–36.