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The Commercial Map of Constantinople

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In an attempt to establish a commercial map of Constantinople across time, three components will be considered: the architectural setting, the geographical setting, and the goods involved.¹ The commercial topography of Constantinople was in part determined by the fact that it was a sea-bound city on seven hills, making access from the port to the forum and other commercial premises a key necessity in urban development. In this paper I hope to demonstrate that certain types of structures and certain locations proved convenient for particular types of commerce and that these arrangements endured irrespective of countervailing historical, social, or economic trends. For example, persuasive evidence suggests that the Strategion area, situated by the Prosphorion and Neorion harbors and dating from the time of the early Greek colony, remained an important hub of commercial activity throughout the history of the city, until modern times. Similarly, there is evidence that the porticoed street, the stoa, a traditional base for commerce identified by scholars more with the early than the medieval period, survived at Constantinople until the Fourth Crusade.

This study will focus on the siting of “managed commerce,” that is, large-scale enterprise under state supervision, whether destined for state distribution (the *annona* in the early period) or private, money-based trade. Small-scale commerce (the “neighborhood shop”) will be of secondary interest and only briefly included where relevant. For the purpose of this paper, “commercial activity” will be defined as local production intended for commercial exchange. Limited space precludes comprehensive coverage of all types of commerce or of every topographic feature. The following is presented as an introductory study.

Two texts will provide a framework for this investigation of the commercial topography of Constantinople: for the early period, the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, a semi-official document compiled by a retired civil servant in about 425,² and, for the middle period, the *Book of the Prefect*, a legal text of 912.³ The two texts differ in content regarding

¹This paper forms part of a broader investigation of Byzantine commerce, originating in a 1993 exhibition, *The Byzantine Bridge between East and West: Trade and Manufacture, AD 300–1453*, held in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, at the time of the symposium “Constantinople and Its Hinterland”; a publication based on this exhibition, which featured a “Commercial Map of Constantinople,” is in preparation. I should like to thank I. Cartwright, A. A. Wilkins, and R. Wilkins of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, for help with the illustrations to this paper.

²*Notitia dignitatum*, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876), 229–43.

³*Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, ed. J. Koder, CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1991).

commercial premises. The *Notitia* lists numbers of buildings by type, whether in state or private use, while the *Book of the Prefect* deals only with premises occupied by guilds involved in private commerce regulated by the state. Both documents give geographical and architectural indications, neither document appears to be comprehensive.

The geographical setting of managed commerce at Constantinople was linked to architectural requirements. Given the hilly terrain, the size of certain commercial structures helped determine their location. For example, broad, flat ground was needed for fora and *horrea*. Faced with the paucity of relevant physical evidence of commercial architecture at Constantinople itself, we must look to comparanda in other cities to gain an idea of scale and layout. Examination of the main architectural types found at these sites will provide the basis for much of the discussion of the early period even if, as in the case of stoa/*emboloi*, they have a direct role in managed commerce only in the medieval period.

THE EARLY PERIOD, FIFTH TO SEVENTH CENTURIES

The fifth to seventh centuries represent a formative period in the city, when Constantinople was gradually provided with both prestige and utilitarian buildings, and when prospective residents were attracted by the state-supplied food of the *annona*.⁴ Aside from bread, it is unclear what else was distributed; if the Abydos tariff can be taken as evidence, the *annona* included oil, wine, dried goods, and lard.⁵ It was half of a two-tier system of food distribution in Constantinople in the early period that also included private commerce. Food supply, both state and private, was facilitated by various structures used for its transport (harbors), storage (*horrea*), and processing and distribution (bakeries, *gradus*, *macella*). We know bread was available at the *gradus*, but how the state distributed other foods remains open to question.

Many commercial structures were in place by the time the major topographical document for Constantinople in this period, the *Notitia*, was compiled ca. 425. The *Notitia* lists noteworthy buildings within each of the city's fourteen regions. After citing by name such important regional monuments as Constantine's column and the Hippodrome, the *Notitia* enumerates certain types of buildings in each region, including theaters, large and small baths, *domus*, and cisterns, as well as structures connected with distribution of food and other goods (harbors, fora, *horrea*, *macella*, bakeries, *gradus*). Numbers stated for each region and totals given at the conclusion are sometimes inconsistent. Furthermore, *Notitia* figures differ dramatically from those in corresponding documents from Rome, the *Notitia regionum XIV* of 354 and *Curiosum urbis regionum XIV* of 375.⁶

Also relevant to late antique commerce generally are the regulations listed in the treatise of Julian of Ascalon, which specify the space required in a portico for stoa shops and the distance between various types of workshops and other buildings, particularly dwellings.⁷ Emission of smoke, steam, and odors, as well as the threat of fire, were taken

⁴C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e–VII^e siècles)*, TM, Monographies 2, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1990), 23–50.

⁵J. Durliat and A. Guillou, "Le tarif d'Abydos," *BCH* 107 (1984): 581–98.

⁶G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge, 1971), appendix 6.

⁷The text is preserved in the Geneva manuscript of the *Book of the Prefect*. C. Saliou, *Le traité d'urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon, VI^e siècle*, TM, Monographies 8 (Paris, 1996), 58–60.

into account. Makers of garum and cheese, for example, were considered especially offensive and were relegated to 3.5 stades (655 m) from cities or villages. Other industries had to be separated from houses by specified distances: limekilns up to 46.80 meters, potteries (operating mostly in summer) up to 14 meters, gypsum works by up to 11.23 meters, dyehouses 3.12 meters, bakeries (which heated their ovens at night) 2.80 meters, and forges and oil processors 1.56 meters. Because of the danger of fire, glass-makers (*huelourgoi*) were to be located outside the city or at some distance from built-up areas within it.⁸

Architectural comparanda abound of commercial structures, namely fora, *horrea*, *macella*, stoai, and other types of commercial structures are known from excavation. The same commercial establishments could, no doubt, have been found in most cities in late antiquity.⁹ In the city center, for example, at Corinth, we find an agora with shop stoai (beside a second agora area with *bouleuterion* in the south) and, to the north, a *macellum* and shops lining the porticoed street that led to the harbor at Lechaion (Fig. 1).¹⁰ All these types of commercial premises also once existed at Constantinople. To animate the excavated remains of commercial premises we turn to Libanius' enthusiastic praise of the delights of urban shopping in his native Antioch. There, markets were open night and day, masonry shops and makeshift booths were everywhere, every quarter of the city was "full of things on sale."¹¹ This commercial activity is reflected perhaps in two Antiochene illustrations, the topographical border in the Yakto villa at Daphne (Fig. 2)¹² and in the Rossano Gospels (Fig. 3).¹³

Fora and Agorai

Archaeological remains and texts reveal that Constantinople had several agorai or fora in this period (Fig. 4). The traditionally square Greek agora and the rectangular Roman forum served the same functions. One side of the Roman forum was often formed by a basilica, which could house a market or be used for judicial or other civic purposes.¹⁴ At Rome, the functions of the Forum Romanum had shifted by the end of the Republican period from commercial to ceremonial use, while commerce moved to the imperial fora and other locations.¹⁵ This trend for specialization is seen also in provincial cities with two or more fora, where each served a different purpose. At Palmyra, next to the agora (of ca. 71), which is decorated with two-hundred statues, stood what might well have been a separate commercial agora where marble slabs were engraved

⁸Saliou, *Traité*, 32–42.

⁹D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1969), 167–94.

¹⁰R. L. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth*, Corinth 16 (Princeton, 1957), 1–2, 6–26.

¹¹Libanius, *Oration 11* (The Antiochikos). See "Antioche décrite par Libanius," trans. A.-J. Festugière and comm. R. Martin in A.-J. Festugière, in *Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Paris, 1959), 33–35, 56–58.

¹²G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1966), 659–64.

¹³Cleansing of the Temple. See W. C. Loerke, "The Rossano Gospels: The Miniatures," in *Codex purpureus rossanensis: Commentarium*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke (Rome-Graz, 1985–87), 126–29.

¹⁴R. Martin, *Architecture et urbanisme*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 99 (Rome, 1987), 155–85.

¹⁵N. Purcell, "Forum Romanum (the Imperial Period)," in *Lexicon Topographicum urbis Romae*, ed. M. Steinby (Rome, 1995), 2:336–42.

with tariff lists (of 137).¹⁶ At Ephesus, the lower agora by the harbor (rebuilt in the late 4th or early 5th century) was probably used as a cattle and food market, while the upper agora by the *prytaneum* and *bouleuterion* was for civic functions (Fig. 5).¹⁷ In smaller cities, a single forum or agora continued to combine both functions.

The *Notitia* of ca. 425 mentions four fora at Constantinople; others (e.g., those of Leo and Marcian) were built later. In addition to the Strategion by the Golden Horn, early fifth-century Constantinople had a line of inland fora: the pre-Justinianic Tetrastoon, the fora of Constantine, Theodosius, and Arcadius, and the Amastrianus (called a forum in the *Book of the Prefect*) between the latter two. The later fora of Leo and Marcian lay on other arteries. The Sigma of Theodosius II, if a forum,¹⁸ is the only one between the two walls, while the Bous on the Mese is of unknown form and function.¹⁹ These public spaces are specifically associated by written sources with commerce and/or ceremony, although their functions may have changed, in some cases, between the early and medieval periods.

The city's somewhat unique situation, noted earlier, of being nearly surrounded by water meant that much of its food and other supplies arrived by sea to one of its four harbors. Yet of its several fora, only the Strategion is situated near the coast, that is, by the two harbors on the Golden Horn (Fig. 4). The ancient Strategion was upgraded to a Theodosian forum complete with a Theban obelisk, but it may be surmised that the enigmatic Lesser Strategion, mentioned in the *Parastaseis*,²⁰ formed a commercial appendage similar to the one described above at Palmyra.

Horrea

The *Notitia* mentions only six *horrea* for Constantinople, compared with three-hundred in corresponding documents for Rome. *Horrea*, or warehouses (as with baths the plural *horrea* denotes a larger structure than the singular form), are best studied at Ostia and Rome.²¹ *Horrea* enclosed a parallel series of oblong storage chambers (Fig. 6). Ostia had more than eleven *horrea* but as one of Rome's maritime ports its facilities exceeded those of the average city. At Rome itself, goods arriving in smaller river craft were unloaded and stored in vast warehouses situated in the Emporium region on the Tiber, known from the Severan marble plan (Fig. 7).²² These included, for example, the Horrea Galbana (167 by 146 m) for wine, oil, and other commodities,²³ and the Horrea Lolliana. These and most published *horrea* are earlier in date than the period under consideration here, but two early Byzantine *horrea* can be cited from Mesopotamia: one built in the new

¹⁶I. Browning, *Palmyra* (Park Ridge, 1979), 149–59.

¹⁷C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 63 (where it is pointed out that the lower agora was at least occasionally the setting for public meetings) and n. 34, 80–83.

¹⁸Assuming that it is the Theodosian forum mentioned by Marcellinus (*Chronicle*, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH, AA XI, 79); see Mango, *Développement urbain*, 50 and n. 81. For a different view see A. Berger, "Tauros e Sigma: Due piazze di Costantinopoli," in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: Arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei*, ed. M. Bonfioli, R. Farioli Companati, and A. Garzya (Rome, 1996), 24–28.

¹⁹Mango, *Développement urbain*, 27–29, 43–46.

²⁰*Parastaseis in Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. T. Preger (Leipzig, 1901–7), 1:34; *Patria*, *ibid.*, 2:184; Mango, *Développement urbain*, 43.

²¹Rickman, *Granaries*, 15–121.

²²*Ibid.*, 108–21; C. Mocchegiani Carpano, "Emporium," in *Lexicon Topographicum*, 2:221–23.

²³Rickman, *Granaries*, 97–104, 171; F. Coarelli, "Horrea Galbana," in *Lexicon Topographicum*, 2:40.

city of Dara founded in 508 (Fig. 8) and a smaller structure, identified by its inscription as a *horion*, that was built in 542 at Constantina, then an important military base (Fig. 9).²⁴

The *horrea* at Constantinople were situated in only two regions; there were four in Region V and two in Region IX.²⁵ They were all undoubtedly sited on level ground, close to the four harbors on the Golden Horn and Marmara. As their name suggests, the *horrea* were probably large, like those at Rome (Fig. 7), particularly that known as the Horrea Alexandrina, which accommodated grain shipments from Alexandria.²⁶ Furthermore, one *horrea* on the Golden Horn was used for oil, the *horrea olearia*.²⁷ Another *horrea* in that area may have been used for wine (the Horrea Galbana at Rome stored both oil and wine, Fig. 7). Since wine, oil, and bread were distributed by the *annona*, the six large warehouses at Constantinople (three with imperial names: the Valentiaca, the Constantiaca, and the Theodosianum) were probably restricted to state use. Undoubtedly there were many more *horrea*, as at Rome, some possibly small and for private use.

Macella

Only four, possibly five, *macella* are listed in the *Notitia*, two each in Regions V and VIII (Fig. 4).²⁸ Socrates mentions a *macellum* near the forum of Constantine,²⁹ which may be one of those in Region V or a fifth building. Although related to the forum in basic plan, the *macellum* was smaller.³⁰ It was composed of a walled area bordered by shops, some of which opened out onto the street (Fig. 10). Sometimes a *tholos* used as a fountain or as a kiosk stood in the center.³¹ The *macellum* was a food market, originally selling a variety of goods including vegetables, but mainly meat and fish,³² until late antiquity, when texts seem to suggest a restriction to meat alone.³³ It should be noted, however, that a *macellum* at Ostia selling both meat and fish (Fig. 11) was restored in 418–420 and therefore, still in use.³⁴ *Macella* are better documented in the West than in the East, and, although well attested in texts after 300, apparently none of the extant *macella* studied by de Ruyt was built in our period. However, one can assume that the basic plan known somewhat earlier was retained.

Since all fish and most of the livestock sold in the *macella* at Constantinople would have arrived by sea, at least some of these markets might have been expected near the harbors. This may have been the case with the two *macella* in Region V, but the *Notitia*

²⁴ Mango, *Développement urbain*, 40 and n. 20 (Dara); G. Bell, *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur 'Abdin*, intro. and notes by M. Mundell Mango (London, 1982), 154 (Constantina/Viranşehir).

²⁵ *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 233–34, 237.

²⁶ Mango, *Développement urbain*, 40, where it is suggested that five of the six *horrea* were granaries.

²⁷ *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 233.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 234, 236; the total number given for the city is five, not four; *ibid.*, 243.

²⁹ Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.38.65–67. For the so-called Leomakellon, see most recently A. Berger, “Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit,” *IstMitt* 45 (1995): 152–55.

³⁰ C. de Ruyt, *Macellum: Marché alimentaire des romains*, Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain 35 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1983), 284–303, 332–39.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 295–303.

³² *Ibid.*, 118, 307, 342–45, figs. 44–45, 92. Libanius praises the fish supplied at Antioch to the rich from the sea, to the poor from the lake, and to both groups from the river. Festugière and Martin, *Antioche*, 35, 58.

³³ De Ruyt, *Macellum*, 271–73.

³⁴ The marine mosaic in the taberne dei piscivendoli has been attributed to the mid-3rd century; de Ruyt, *Macellum*, 124.

says specifically that Region VIII did not extend to the sea.³⁵ This region lay south of the Theodosian forum and west of the street leading to the harbor of Julian, where the ground declines relatively sharply seaward (Fig. 12). Thus, these two *macella* were probably terraced.

Bakeries and Gradus

The nineteen public bakeries (*pistrina publica*) in Constantinople listed in the *Notitia* were largely concentrated in three regions: seven in Region V, and four each in Regions I and IX (Fig. 4).³⁶ Regions I and IX also had four *gradus* each,³⁷ from which the bread was distributed. In addition, there were two public bakeries in Region X and one each in Regions VI and XI.³⁸ Private bakeries (*pistrina priuata*) were concentrated particularly in Regions I, VI, VII, and IX.³⁹ With the exception of Region III, there were *gradus* in every region, their numbers nearly matching those of bakeries in some regions (II, V, VI, and VIII), and being more numerous than bakeries in others (VII, XI, and XII), where the *gradus* may have served the Mese and the Portico of Dominus (Fig. 4).

Stoai and Ergasteria

While the foregoing discussion of *horrea*, *macella*, and bakeries/*gradus* was concerned with buildings of a specialized nature, stoai—like fora—were used by a variety of trades. Nevertheless, some commercial grouping (e.g., of silversmiths) within stoai and fora can be noted in the early period. Such grouping of trades became a regular feature in the medieval period (see below), and it is still common in the Islamic world. Once again, architectural comparanda will provide a basis for understanding stoai at Constantinople in both the early period and, perhaps more crucially, in the medieval period, when the eparch exercised control over activities conducted in them.

Stoai, or porticoes, lined the streets of many Mediterranean cities and often incorporated commercial premises behind the colonnades.⁴⁰ In late antiquity and earlier, such streets were identified by inscription as *emboloi*, for example, at Ephesus (Fig. 5), Sardis (Fig. 13), Gerasa, and Abila.⁴¹ Libanius provides us with a glowing description of the stoai of Antioch, when he says that “of all the amenities of a city . . . porticoes are among the most pleasant and the most useful.” Thanks to them, one is no longer a prisoner of the

³⁵ “. . . nulla maris uicinitate contermina.” *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 236.

³⁶ *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 230, 234, 237. On the bread supply at Constantinople, see J. Durliat, “L’approvisionnement de Constantinople,” in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland*, ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 19–33; E. Kislinger, “Pane e demografia: l’approvvigionamento di Costantinopoli,” in *Nel nome del pane: Homo edens IV* (Trento, 1995), 279–93.

³⁷ *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 230, 237.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 235, 238, 239.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 230, 235, 236, 237.

⁴⁰ G. Downey, “The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words Stoa and Basilike in Classical Literature,” *AJA* (1937): 194–211; A. Segal, *From Function to Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia*, Oxbow Monograph 66 (Oxford, 1997), 5–53.

⁴¹ Foss, *Ephesus*, 65 and n. 39; C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 44–45; C. B. Welles, “The Inscriptions,” in *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), 471, no. 280; for Abila see P. le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1870), 3: no. 1878.

weather.⁴² The main porticoes at Antioch incorporated entrances to both private and public buildings as well as shops; the longest street portico may have been supported by 1,400 columns.⁴³ Texts confirm that lighting was provided for porticoes by governors or shopkeepers in Antioch, and in Edessa, Ephesus, Constantinople, and elsewhere.⁴⁴

Shops known as *ergasteria* could house both manufacturing and retail operations, sometimes within a stoa. The best-studied late antique stoa shops are at Sardis, where a row of nearly thirty was excavated on the north side of a street running beside a gymnasium, which had been partly converted into a synagogue (Fig. 13).⁴⁵ The colonnade was single-storied, but the shops had two storeys, usually both with commercial functions. Their depth was constant at about five meters but width varied. The interest of the shops is increased by their recovered contents, which help identify individual functions. These differed, although dyers and glass retailing predominated. Shops labeled E6 and E7 in Figure 13 contained ceramic tubes with dyes, mortars, and steelyards (Figs. 14, 15), while shops E12 and E13 held four-thousand fragments of glass vessels and window panes.⁴⁶ Five other shops served as taverns.⁴⁷ A similar mix was observed in the shops lining the *alyltarch's* stoa behind the Embolos at Ephesus (Fig. 5).⁴⁸ A more elaborate layout of shops has been uncovered at Scythopolis, where in 507 a semicircular porticoed area (called *sigma* in two inscriptions) was built into the west side of Palladius Street, an earlier Byzantine colonnaded street lined with shops, which was north of public baths (Fig. 16). The new exedra (13 by 15 m) encompassed three apses and a line of twelve shops revetted in marble and decorated with tessellated pavements. One shop contained glass lamps.⁴⁹ At Justiniana Prima excavated shops housed metalworkers, tanners, bakers, and potters.⁵⁰ At some of the double-storied shops in Apamea, built in the second century, lists of goods for sale were painted on their facades, possibly centuries later (Fig. 17).⁵¹ From an earlier period, the shops lining the main street at Palmyra had the proprietor's name and trade inscribed on the lintel over the door.⁵²

⁴² Festugière and Martin, *Antioche*, 26–27, 48–49.

⁴³ Ibid., 23, 39–40; see also J. Lassus, *Les portiques d'Antioche, Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 5 (Princeton, 1972), esp. 125–51; on the number of columns (common, apparently, to both 2nd- and 6th-century phases of the main street), *ibid.*, 146.

⁴⁴ Festugière and Martin, *Antioche*, 37, 60 (Antioch); *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and trans. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), chaps. 29 and 87 (Edessa); Foss, *Ephesus*, 56–57 and n. 20 (Ephesus and Constantinople).

⁴⁵ J. Stephens Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 3–11.

⁴⁶ Crawford, *Shops*, 60–66, 78–86.

⁴⁷ Shops E1–E2, W1–W3: *ibid.*, 17–18, 33–49.

⁴⁸ Foss, *Ephesus*, 74; on these and other late antique shops at Ephesus see also Crawford, *Shops*, 108–11; on the *alyltarch*, see Foss, *Ephesus*, 19.

⁴⁹ Y. Tsafrir and G. Foerster, “Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries,” *DOP* 51 (1997): 121–22, 130, figs. 28–29, 42. The lamps are mentioned by R. Bar-Nathan and G. Mazon in *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 11 (1992): 42–44.

⁵⁰ I. Popović in *Caricin Grad*, ed. B. Bavant, V. Kondić, and J.-M. Spieser (Belgrade-Rome 1990), 2:269–306.

⁵¹ Crawford, *Shops*, 119; L. Reekmans, “Fresques des portiques de la grande colonnade,” in *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels, 1969), 118, 121. The texts remain unpublished; some are illustrated in J. C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels, 1981), figs. 81, 82.

⁵² Browning, *Palmyra*, 138.

Trajan's Market, which borders his forum at Rome, was a different type of commercial complex.⁵³ Irregular in layout and built on several levels, it contrasts with the more regimented plans of other premises (stoai, *horrea*, *macella*, etc.). Elsewhere, excavations have uncovered other irregular commercial complexes from late antiquity that evolved casually and were not specifically designed as shops. These are typically *ergasteria*. Behind a portico of numbered shops recently excavated on the *decumanus maximus* of Berytus lies a courtyard with basins of undetermined function and a structure with an apsidal room (Fig. 18). These suggest a residential complex with industrial activities.⁵⁴ The House of Bronzes at Sardis may have been comparable, combining as it did elegant architecture with industrial facilities for bleaching and a storage area (where a collection of bronze items was found). Another large oblong building on the Hypaepa Embolos at Sardis also housed some industrial activity (Fig. 13).⁵⁵ Excavations at Alexandria uncovered fifth- to seventh-century complexes of artisans' houses grouped around an interior court where objects of glass, rock crystal, bone, and possibly ivory were produced; in House D, these objects could have been sold in shops that fronted the street.⁵⁶

Clearly, shops in Constantinople were numerous. Laws of Anastasius and Justinian regulated the revenue of 1,100 shops assigned to the cathedral alone.⁵⁷ Unfortunately three shops excavated on the Mese behind the so-called House of Lausus were insufficiently published to give an idea of their respective sizes, the nature of any contents discovered, or period of construction or use (Fig. 19).⁵⁸ These shops may well have been rebuilt following fires in 498 and 532, the latter occurring during the Nika Riot. From the time of Constantine, porticoes had lined the Mese, extending from the Chalke to the Capitolium.⁵⁹ The Scythopolis exedra (Fig. 16) may furnish a partial model for the plan of the two-storey porticoes of the circular Forum of Constantine.⁶⁰ Based on the approximate (and relatively large) dimensions of the excavated Mese shops as drawn by Rudolf Naumann (10 m wide by 7 m deep),⁶¹ there may have been up to one-hundred shops, fifty to a side, on the Mese between the Milion and the Forum of Constantine. Extending this number to comparable stretches of portico up to the Capitolium yields an estimate of approximately five-hundred shops. Taking the derived module of fifty shops to a side as a minimum for each of the fifty-two *porticus* listed in the *Notitia*⁶² produces a total of 2,600 stoa shops. Such a calculation is, clearly, highly speculative. The lengths of the

⁵³L. Ungaro, "Mercati di Traiano," in *Lexicon Topographicum*, 3:241–45; Martin, *Architecture et urbanisme*, 173–75.

⁵⁴K. Butcher and R. Thorpe, "A Note on Excavations in Central Beirut, 1994–96," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 297–99.

⁵⁵Foss, *Sardis*, 43–44.

⁵⁶M. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka: Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1984), 3:330–35.

⁵⁷Mango, *Développement urbain*, 48.

⁵⁸R. Naumann, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen zwischen Mese und Antiochus-Palast 1964 in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 15 (1965): 145–46.

⁵⁹Both fires consumed the Mese portico up to the Forum of Constantine; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1832), 608, 623; see also *Chronicon Paschale, 284–628 AD*, trans. M. Whitby and M. Whitby (Liverpool, 1989), 99, 120.

⁶⁰Mango, *Développement urbain*, 25–26.

⁶¹Naumann, "Ausgrabungen," fig. 5.

⁶²*Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 230–43. See also M. Mundell Mango, "The Porticoed Streets of Constantinople," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, in press).

various *porticus* are not known, not all stoai incorporated only shops, and shop sizes varied even within a single stoa, as demonstrated by those excavated at Sardis, Ephesus, Scythopolis, and elsewhere. Still, Constantinople must have had many thousands of shops, given that the cathedral owned 1,100 and that there was certainly space in the city for many more. Evliya Çelebi gives the number of Ottoman workshops as over 23,000; these later shops were relatively small (mostly 3 m square).⁶³

As mentioned above, concentrations of certain trades outside the *horrea/macella*/bakeries complexes and within stoai (or fora) can be pinpointed in late antique Constantinople, thanks to various written sources. Figure 20 maps the location of a few of these trades.⁶⁴ Books were copied and sold in the Law Basilica (composed of four stoai) by the Augustan.⁶⁵ To the north of this basilica, coppersmiths are known to have been installed in the area where the church of the Virgin was built in the fifth century.⁶⁶ Whether they occupied *ergasteria* in the porticoed streets that ran between the Mese and the Strategion (remains of what might have been a stoa have been excavated on the diagonal modern Çatalçeşme Sokağı, Fig. 21),⁶⁷ or whether they filled a forum-type space between the streets is unclear. To the west of this area, silversmiths are known to have operated on the Mese between the Milion and the Forum of Constantine, and in the same general region was located the “basilica of the furriers.”⁶⁸

In the seventh century, the *Miracles of St. Artemius*⁶⁹ document an alternative to the concentration of specific trades in specialized areas, that is, varied commerce conducted within a single-porticoed street, the Portico of Domninus, the straight north-south artery that could be considered the *cardo* to the Mese’s *decumanus*. It linked the Golden Horn and the Marmara, crossing the Mese at the copper-reveted tetrapylon that stood between the fora of Constantine and Theodosius.⁷⁰ In this portico was found, not the kind of artisanal concentration noted above for copper- and silversmiths, but a mix, typical also of stoai at Sardis and Ephesus,⁷¹ of moneychangers, candle makers, and a blacksmith, together with churches, a *xenon*, and the public baths of Dagistheos.

Trends in the Early Period

Looking at localized commercial facilities within geographic units of late antique Constantinople, certain general observations can be made (Fig. 4). Food-linked installa-

⁶³R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l’Institut français d’archéologie d’Istanbul 12 (Paris, 1962), 138, 144. The number of Byzantine shops estimated here would increase if one allowed for smaller dimensions per shop and for an upper storey of shops, as for example at Sardis.

⁶⁴See also R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 94–99.

⁶⁵*Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, ed. and trans. M.-A. Kugener, PO 2 (1907), 8.

⁶⁶The earliest attestation of the quarter may be that in the *Epitome of the Ecclesiastical History of Theodore Lector*; see *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1971), 102; also Janin, *Constantinople*, 96, 328.

⁶⁷T. Macridy in M. Schede, “Archäologische Funde: Türkei,” *AA* 44 (1929): 357–58; see now J. Bardill, “The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople,” *AJA* 101 (1997): 80–83.

⁶⁸*Chron. Pasch.*, ed. Dindorf, 623; trans. Whitby and Whitby, 120.

⁶⁹In *Varia graeca sacra*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909); *The Miracles of St. Artemius: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium*, trans. V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 13 (Leiden, 1997).

⁷⁰Mango, *Développement urbain*, 30–32.

⁷¹*Miracles of St. Artemius*, chaps. 18, 21, 26, 29, 36.

tions listed in the *Notitia* are concentrated in Regions V, VIII, and IX,⁷² which are comparable to Rome's Emporium (Fig. 7).⁷³ They are clustered in only one forum, or possibly two: the Strategion in Region V in the northeast and perhaps the Theodosian forum in Region VIII further south. In addition to the Strategion, Region V contained several commercial installations, including the Prosphorion harbor, the *scala* of Chalcedon, two *macella*, and four *horrea*; the Neorion harbor lay just to the west.⁷⁴ The Strategion itself became what may have been a ceremonial forum (the Theodosian forum) with separate commercial appendage (the Lesser Strategion?). In Region VIII, the main Theodosian forum (which was actually mostly in Region VII) on the Mese may have been close to the *macella* to the south and was indirectly linked to the Harbor of Julian by the southern extension of the Portico of Domninus.⁷⁵ Both the Strategion and the Theodosian forum will be seen to occupy central positions on the commercial map of medieval Constantinople. Likewise, the concentration of certain trades within the stoai of a particular area—as was the case of late antique book publishing and silver- and coppersmiths—will emerge as a theme in the *Book of the Prefect*.

THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD, TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

A certain continuity in the types of commercial buildings and their locations within the city can be noted between the early period and the time when the *Book of the Prefect* was compiled. The intervening economic recession, the “Dark Age” which occurred at Constantinople primarily in the eighth century, and other factors, such as the change in the grain supply and the silting up of the Theodosian harbor, undoubtedly had an impact on the city's commerce.⁷⁶ After the early seventh century, the *annona* ceased, except for military distributions. Nevertheless, by the early tenth century, economic recovery was sufficient to leave few specific traces of the previous depression in the *Book of the Prefect*, which portrays a level of commercial activity that is buoyant if regulated. Furthermore, commercial establishments documented in the early period can be traced to the medieval period, and at least one architectural type—the stoa—may have still been in use at the end of the twelfth century.

As stated above, the *Book of the Prefect*, a legal text written in 912, provides the fundamental framework for a consideration of commerce in the medieval city. Its regulations cover twenty-two types of activity by guilds, some of which are assigned to designated parts of the city.⁷⁷ The book mentions fora and stoai by name, and continued use of *horrea* and *macella*, while not directly referred to by these terms, can still be inferred or posited. Supplementary information dating from the eighth to tenth centuries is provided mainly

⁷²*Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 233–34, 236, 237.

⁷³See note 22 above.

⁷⁴*Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 233–34.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 235, 236.

⁷⁶Mango, *Développement urbain*, 51–62; P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, TM, Monographies 9 (Paris, 1996), 17–25; idem, “The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries,” in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 36), 35–47.

⁷⁷*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder. A résumé of topographical aspects of the book (T. Thomov and A. Ilieva, “The Shape of the Market: Mapping the Book of the Eparch,” *BMGS* 22 [1998]: 105–16) appeared after the present article was submitted for publication and so has not been the subject of detailed commentary here.

by the *Parastaseis*⁷⁸ and *Patria*.⁷⁹ Because of the Lycus River that emptied into it, the Theodosian harbor had silted up by this time, when it is also recorded that commercial traffic was transferred from the Neorion harbor to the Julian harbor. Theophanes notes that the Neorion was dredged in 698 and in use by the navy by 715.⁸⁰ The Prosphorion harbor, however, may have continued in commercial use, as the following discussion of meat markets suggests (Fig. 22).

Meat and Fish Markets

Among food items dealt with by the *Book of the Prefect*, livestock and other animals were to be sold in the fora of the Strategion, Theodosius, and Amastrianus,⁸¹ spices only in the Portico of Achilles by the Augustaion, and fish in the largest *kamarai* of the city (Fig. 22).⁸² By contrast, grocers, taverns selling wine, and (possibly) bakers were located throughout the city,⁸³ on the model praised by Libanius.⁸⁴ Specifically, non-pork butchers were instructed to travel beyond Nicomedia, as far as the Sangarius River, to obtain better prices directly from the sheep and goat farmers,⁸⁵ probably arrived there from Paphlagonia and Phrygia. Purchased animals would then be put on ships at Nicomedia or Pylae (Fig. 23). Leo of Synnada saw Pylae thronging with pigs and sheep, as well as asses, oxen, and horses, all bound for Constantinople.⁸⁶ Sheep probably arrived in the Prosphorion harbor by the Strategion, where they were to be sold, while pigs may have been unloaded at Julian's harbor and led up to the Theodosian forum, where lambs were also sold at Easter.⁸⁷ The *Patria* makes mention of pigs (to be bought at the Theodosian forum?) being herded via the "Artotyrianos" near the Bronze Tetrastylon, whence, as Raymond Janin puts it, "on descendait vers le Kontoskalion" (i.e., south to the Harbor of Julian/Sophia).⁸⁸ Animals sold at the Amastrianus, if found unsatisfactory, could be returned to the original owner after six months,⁸⁹ and so were probably sold as draft animals rather than for slaughter. Some may have been herded into the city from areas outside the walls, to the west.

Although this is not stated specifically, it is possible that the live animals led into the city by sheep sellers (*probatenporoi*) for sale to butchers (*makellarioi*) in the Strategion⁹⁰

⁷⁸Ed. Preger; see note 20 above and also *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. A. Cameron and J. Herrin (Leiden, 1984).

⁷⁹Ed. Preger.

⁸⁰*Parastaseis*, ed. Preger, 1:67; *Patria*, ed. Preger, 2:188. Mango, *Développement urbain*, 55–56; see also Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 19–20.

⁸¹*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 15.1, 15.5, 16.2–3, 21.3.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 10.1 (*myrepsoi*); 17.1 (fish). The designated area for the *myrepsoi*, between the Milion and the Chalke (with its "revered icon of Christ") was known as the Portico of Achilles; C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), 82–84.

⁸³*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 13.1, 18.3 (implied, but see note 104 below), 19.2 (implied).

⁸⁴Festugière, *Antioche*, 33.

⁸⁵*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 15.3.

⁸⁶*The Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synnada and Syncellus*, ed. and trans. M. P. Vinson, DOT 8 (Washington, D.C., 1985), letter 54.28.

⁸⁷*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 15.5, 16.2–3.

⁸⁸*Patria*, ed. Preger, 2:175. Janin, *Constantinople*, 315–16; on the Chalkoun Tetrastylon, see Mango, *Développement urbain*, 30–31.

⁸⁹*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 21.3 and 21.6.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 15.1–2.

were slaughtered within the confines of adjacent buildings, not in the open air. The same could be suggested for the activities of the pork sellers confined to the Theodosian forum,⁹¹ although no particular building is specified for the slaughter or sale of meat. At least some of the four or five *macella* listed in the fifth-century *Notitia* may have continued to function in the tenth century, particularly since they were probably situated near both the Strategion and the Theodosian forum (Fig. 4), which became the centers of medieval meat-market activity.

The sale of fish is said to have been conducted within the largest *kamarai* of the city.⁹² *Kamara* can signify an arch or vaulted covering and could conceivably refer to a vaulted market or *macellum* (Figs. 10, 11). As noted, in antiquity *macella* sold both meat and fish (as at Ostia, Fig. 11), and, although texts seem to suggest a narrowing of sales to meat alone by late antiquity,⁹³ it is possible that both continued to be marketed together. The *Book of the Prefect* specifies that fishmongers (*ichthyopratai*) acquire their fish from sea beaches or from boats anchored at *skalai*,⁹⁴ such as those of Sykai and Chalcedon on the Golden Horn. Until recently, the fish market (*balıkpazarı*) stood near the former Neorion harbor.⁹⁵

Bread, Oil, and Wine Markets

The information relevant to *horrea*, bakeries, and bread shops supplied by the *Book of the Prefect* is less than specific. One passage concerning bakers (18.1) has suggested the existence of a central warehouse for grain. Jules Nicole translates “Qu’ils achètent le blé dans les magasins de l’assesseur” and E. H. Freshfield likewise, “They are to buy corn in the warehouse of the assessor.”⁹⁶ The word warehouse, however, does not appear in the Greek. Indeed, it is difficult to understand what the Greek means: *siton exōnoumenoi ton harmozonta en tō symponō touton* [toutōn codd.] *alēsantes*. . . . Johannes Koder has a comma after *harmozonta* and renders it “dieses vor dem (zuständigen) Assessor (des Eparchen) mahlen,”⁹⁷ but *en tō symponō* can no more mean “before the assessor” than it can “in the warehouse of the assessor.” Clearly, the bakers must have bought the grain somewhere, but the text appears corrupt as it stands. In any case, if the text in its original form referred to a warehouse, can it be identified with a *horrea* named in the *Notitia*? The seventh-century *Miracles of Artemius* mentions a grain *horrea* named Lamia near “the Harbor of Kaisarios”;⁹⁸ the *Patria* refers to the Lamia again in the tenth century,⁹⁹ while in 899 Philotheus lists the title *comes tes Lamias*.¹⁰⁰ Scholarly opinion identifies the Harbor of Kaisarios with the Theodosian harbor and the Lamia with one of the *horrea* listed in the

⁹¹Ibid., 16.2.

⁹²Ibid., 17.1. On fish at Constantinople, see G. Dagron, “Poissons, pêcheurs, poissonniers de Constantinople,” in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 36), 57–73, esp. 69–70.

⁹³De Ruyt, *Macellum*, 271–73.

⁹⁴*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 17.3.

⁹⁵*Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 234 (Regions V–VI); see also G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, DOS 19 (Washington, D.C., 1984), 354.

⁹⁶J. Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet* (Geneva-Basel, 1894), 69; E. H. Freshfield, *Ordinances of Leo VI c. 895 from The Book of the Eparch* (Cambridge, 1938), 42. The following observations on the phrase “en tō symponō” I owe to Cyril Mango.

⁹⁷*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 18.1.

⁹⁸*Miracles of St. Artemius*, chap. 16.

⁹⁹*Patria*, ed. Preger, 2:179, 246 (chap. 85).

¹⁰⁰N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris, 1972), 113.

Notitia, possibly the Alexandrina in Region IX (Fig. 4).¹⁰¹ Attempts have also been made to reconcile the conflicting evidence in the *Parastaseis* and *Patria* concerning the location and function of the Modion.¹⁰²

Bakeries, all now apparently private and combining the services of both *pistrinum* and *gradus*, may have been situated throughout the city, as the *Notitia* indicates they had been in the early period (see above). The *Book of the Prefect* specifies only that bakers grind their own grain, bake bread, and not locate their ovens under dwellings.¹⁰³ Although the book does not state where bakers were located, a number of them were probably concentrated in the Artropoleia, or “bakeries quarter,” near the Bronze Tetrapylon on the Mese.¹⁰⁴

Oil and wine are only briefly mentioned in the *Book of the Prefect*. Olive oil was sold by grocers (*saldamorioi*), who were located throughout the city.¹⁰⁵ No specific regulations pertain to processing or importation. John Hayes’s study of the ceramic finds from Saraçhane demonstrates continuous importation of amphorae that may have carried oil or wine (Fig. 24) into the city after late antiquity.¹⁰⁶ No mention is made in the *Book of the Prefect*, or elsewhere in this period, of the oil *horrea*, the *olearia*, that were near the Strategion in the early period (Fig. 4).¹⁰⁷ Wine was sold by innkeepers (*kapeloi*) in fixed measures of thirty and three *litrai*,¹⁰⁸ not just by the glass. Like wax and soap chandlers, grocers sold goods weighed by the steelyard (Fig. 25). The *Book of the Prefect* lists these steelyard-weighted goods as meat (but distinct from the meat sold by butchers), salted (not fresh) fish, meal, cheese, honey, vegetables, and butter, in addition to olive oil. Besides food, grocers also sold resin, cedar and linseed oils, camphor, gypsum, pottery, and nails.¹⁰⁹ They were not permitted to sell items weighed by balance scale (Fig. 26), which were only to be sold by *myrepsoi*.¹¹⁰ These latter goods included spices and ingredients for perfume, medicines, and dyeing.¹¹¹ Apothecaries *per se* are not mentioned by the *Book of the Prefect*. Grocers, like inns and possibly bakers, were scattered throughout the city, while *myrepsoi* operated only between the Milion and Chalke (Fig. 23).¹¹²

Markets for Non-food Goods

Continuity from late antiquity may again be noted in the location of markets for non-food goods. The sale and/or manufacture of these goods, including textiles, precious metals, saddles, and soap and candles (made by *lorotomoi*, *saponopratai*, and *keroularioi*, respectively) was also regulated by the *Book of the Prefect*. The locations of saddle and

¹⁰¹ Mango, *Développement urbain*, 54–55 and nn. 21–24.

¹⁰² Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 21–25. On the Modion see also Cameron and Herrin, *Constantinople*, 186–89.

¹⁰³ *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 18.1 and 18.3.

¹⁰⁴ Janin, *Constantinople*, 315; Mango, *Développement urbain*, 55; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 21–25.

¹⁰⁵ *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 13.1.

¹⁰⁶ J. W. Hayes, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 2, *The Pottery* (Princeton, 1992), 61, 71–77, figs. 23–26; types 35–45 (8th century), types 46–54 (10th–11th centuries), types 55–59 (11th century), types 60–67 (12th–13th centuries).

¹⁰⁷ *Notitia*, ed. Seeck, 233.

¹⁰⁸ *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 19.1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.9, 12.9, 13.1.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.5, 13.1.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 10.1.

¹¹² See notes 82–83 above.

soapmakers are not specified, but the *Book of the Prefect* does indicate, however, that some candlemakers were attached to Hagia Sophia. The premises of candle- and soapmakers had to be separated from other buildings for safety.¹¹³

By contrast, some traders in textiles and precious metals are explicitly grouped in specific areas. Already noted was the concentration of silversmiths in the Mese during the early period; now they are assigned there. Precious metals and garments imported from Syria were to be sold *tes Meses* or *en heni topō tou embolou*,¹¹⁴ while raw silk merchants (*metaxopratai*) were to sell *en to phoro*, probably the Forum of Constantine (Fig. 27).¹¹⁵ Other merchants involved in the silk trade (*vestiopratai*, *katartarioi*, *serikarioi*) had no designated locations.¹¹⁶ Linen merchants were instructed not to display their goods on counters (*abbakia*) or in their workshops but to carry them on their shoulders on market days.¹¹⁷ A document preserved on Patmos records the sale in 957 and 959 (that is, 45 years after the publication of the *Book of the Prefect* in 912) of five shops used, respectively, by linen, silk, goatskin, and Syrian cloth merchants, all perhaps in the same area, which for the linen and Syrian cloth merchants was designated as “the forum [of Constantine].”¹¹⁸ If in compliance with *Book of the Prefect* regulations, the Syrian cloth shop (*prandioprates*) may have been at the corner of the Mese and forum (Fig. 27). Perhaps this *de luxe* shopping district could be compared with the Place Vendôme (with its central honorific column) and the rue de Rivoli in Paris today, where Chanel, Bulgari, and other exclusive shops are located.

The locations of glass- and copper-working establishments, not covered in the *Book of the Prefect*, are indicated by another middle Byzantine text, the *Miracles of St. Photeine*. There is described a fire that started in a glass smelting workshop (*ergasterion huelopses-tikon*) on the broad uphill street that led from the Strategion to Hagia Sophia and the Milion and that spread to the area of copper workshops around the Chalkoprataia church (Fig. 27).¹¹⁹ While the location of copperworkers in this area is already documented in the early period (see above), glass factories are not otherwise mentioned in the city. The manufacture of glass in medieval Byzantium is a controversial subject among scholars, some of whom suggest glass was imported rather than manufactured within the empire, despite the contrary evidence provided by glass factories at Corinth (Fig. 28)¹²⁰ and the glass cullet from an eleventh-century ship wrecked at Serçe Limanı, which is now considered to have been destined for a Byzantine factory.¹²¹ The St. Photeine text con-

¹¹³*Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 11.2, 12.3.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, 2.11, 5.2.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, 6.1 and 6.13.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, chaps. 4, 7, 8.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 9.7.

¹¹⁸N. Oikonomides, “Quelques boutiques à Constantinople au Xe s.: Prix, loyers, imposition (Cod. Pat-miaeus 171),” *DOP* 26 (1972): 345–56.

¹¹⁹*Invention of Relics of St. Photeine*, ed. F. Halkin, CCSG 21 (1989), chap. 9, 122–24; see also A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot, “The Byzantine Cult of St. Photeine,” in *Presence of Byzantium. Studies Presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of His Eighty-fifth Birthday*, ed. A. Dyck and S. Taracs = *ByzF* 20 (1994): 103–12; A.-M. Talbot, “The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine,” *AB* 112 (1994): 85–105; and note 122 below.

¹²⁰G. R. Davidson, *The Minor Objects*, Corinth 12 (Princeton, 1952), 80–122.

¹²¹F. H. von Doorninck, “The Serçe Limanı Shipwreck: An 11th Century Cargo of Fatimid Glassware Cullet for Byzantine Glassmakers,” in *First International Anatolian Glass Symposium, April 26th–27th, 1988* (Istanbul, 1990), 58–63. For general bibliography and summary of this shipwreck, see A. J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1992), 398–99.

firms glass manufacture within the capital city,¹²² and the fire it describes proves the wisdom of Julian of Ascalon's regulation prohibiting glassmakers (*huelourgoi*) in built-up urban areas.¹²³

Stoai

The specific references in the *Book of the Prefect* and other medieval texts to stoai (that is, "the Embolos" and "under the portico")¹²⁴ raise the question of whether the colon-naded street survived as an architectural form at Constantinople into the tenth century or even later. In medieval Corinth, the shops, and apparently their portico, on the west side of the Lechaion road north of the agora were restored and remained in use, while some new shops built within the space of the agora also had a type of porticoed front or porch (Fig. 28).¹²⁵ Elsewhere, porticoed streets are known to have been built in new or renovated cities of the sixth century, including Dara, Zenobia, and Justiniana Prima.¹²⁶ They were certainly also restored and maintained in many other places, as attested by excavation and inscriptions (see above). New porticoes with shops were built into the eighth century at Scythopolis (on Silvanus Street in the 720s), Anjar (ca. 715), and Palmyra (45 shops, some illustrated in Fig. 29).¹²⁷ After the tenth century, *emboloi* are mentioned at Constantinople by the *Patria* in ca. 1000 and by Anthony of Novgorod in 1200, as well as in intervening Latin contexts.¹²⁸ They also figure in accounts of the fire that broke out on 19 August 1203 during the Latin siege of the city, which might, indeed, have brought about their final destruction.¹²⁹ In words reminiscent of the earlier St. Photeine account of the glass-factory fire, Villehardouin described the path of the fire, which raged eight days, as spreading above "the port" (Golden Horn), penetrating into the city in the direction of Hagia Sophia, and moving on to the Marmara. He watched "les grandes rues marchandes bruler."¹³⁰ That the fire spread along the stoai is suggested by the fact that Niketas Choniates called it "a flowing river (*hos eis holkon hena pyroentos synepieto potamou*)."¹³⁰ He stated that it destroyed the porticoes of Domninos and the covered porticoes

¹²²See J. Henderson and M. Mundell Mango, "Glass at Medieval Constantinople: Preliminary Scientific Evidence," in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 36), 343–46.

¹²³See above, p. 191, and Saliou, *Traité*, 40.

¹²⁴*Epharchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 5.2; for Patmos document, no. 2, see Oikonomides, "Boutiques," 345–46.

¹²⁵Scranton, *Medieval Architecture*, 37, 48–49, 58–60, 67–68, and 77–78, where it states that the columns on the east side of the Lechaion Road were probably removed at some time between the 10th and the end of the 12th century.

¹²⁶Emboloï at Dara: *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. and trans. L. Dindorf, CSHB (1831), 399; stoai (porticoed streets) at Zenobia and Justiniana Prima: Procopius, *Buildings*, 2.8.25, 4.1.23; these latter two have been excavated: see J. Lauffray, *Halabiya-Zenobia: Place forte du limes oriental de la haute Mesopotamie au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1983), 17, 129–31, and *Caricin Grad*, 2:56–60, 2:107–10, 2:116–19.

¹²⁷Tsafrir and Foerster, "Scythopolis-Bet Shean," 123–24, 138–40, 144, figs. 55–59; for Anjar's porticoed streets of ca. 715, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture: Umayyads, A.D. 622–750*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), 1.2.478–81; for Palmyra's 45 shops begun in the Abbasid period, see K. al-As'ad and F. M. Stepniowski, "The Umayyad Suq in Palmyra," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut) 4 (1989): 205–23.

¹²⁸*Patria*, ed. Preger, 2:138, 148, 174, 200, 280, 283; *Kniga Palomnik*, ed. C. M. Loparev, *PSb* 51 (1899): 23, 29, 30; Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 78–85.

¹²⁹On which see T. F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment," *BZ* 84–85 (1991–92): 72–93.

¹³⁰Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, vol. 1, 1199–1203, ed. and trans. E. Faral (Paris, 1938), 161, 209.

extending from the Milion to the forum of Constantine, and continuing on to the Philadelphion, took in everything in between, down to the Harbor of Sophia (Julian) and the former harbor of Theodosius (Figs. 22, 27).¹³¹ This fire may have been the end of the porticoes, although even today one finds in Istanbul, a few descendants, for example, an eighteenth-century portico near the Bazaar.

Xenodocheia

The *Miracles of St. Artemius* refer repeatedly to people connected with trade who were on business in Constantinople from Alexandria and elsewhere.¹³² Foreign merchant colonies were also an important feature of medieval Constantinople. Syrians, who in the early period had been Byzantines themselves, were now foreigners.¹³³ The Russian Varangians bringing furs, slaves, and wax, who are mentioned already at the beginning of the tenth century, were confined to the suburb of St. Mamas up the Bosporos.¹³⁴ By the mid-tenth century, the first of the Italian colonies had appeared—the Amalfitans, followed by the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese—and the Germans. These groups were restricted to the Golden Horn,¹³⁵ while Jews were assigned to Pera, perhaps from 1044.¹³⁶

The *Book of the Prefect* required foreign merchants to stay in inns, or *metata*. Those from Syria could remain for three months; their imports were to be deposited in nearby warehouses for eventual sale on the Mese.¹³⁷ Also in the tenth century, Romanus I established a *xenodocheion* in the Portico of Domninos (also called *Embolos tou Maurianou*) for those staying at Constantinople on business, pursuing lawsuits, and so on. It provided them with accommodation as well as stabling, food, and clothing.¹³⁸ This is the very area where Ottoman *hans* were to be concentrated (see below).

Trends in the Middle Period

Two key commercial areas in the middle period can be identified, thanks to the *Book of the Prefect*. The first was an outer band of animal/food markets situated at the Strategion to the north and in the Theodosian and Amastriana fora to the west. These were mostly served by the Prosphorion and Julian/Sophia harbors, respectively. The second key area was an inner band of luxury markets in the Forum of Constantine and in stoai extending west along the Mese and the Portico of Achilles, which led to the Chalke of the palace. The two-tier circulation of food that had been in force in the early period had ceased with the disappearance of the *annona* in the early seventh century. Thereafter food sales were private transactions regulated by the state. Evidence suggests that at least one early

¹³¹ *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York, 1975), 554–55. Libanius had referred to Antioch's porticoed streets as themselves being like rivers; Festugière, *Antioche*, 24.

¹³² *Miracles of St. Artemius*, chaps. 32, 35.

¹³³ *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, chap. 5.

¹³⁴ J. Shepard, "Constantinople—Gateway to the North: The Russians," in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 36), 243–60, esp. 251–53.

¹³⁵ Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 78–90, with references.

¹³⁶ D. Jacoby, "The Jews of Constantinople and Their Demographic Hinterland," in Mango and Dagron, *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (as above, note 36), 221–32, esp. 225.

¹³⁷ *Eparchenbuch*, ed. Koder, 5.2 and 5.5.

¹³⁸ *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), 430; Janin, *Constantinople*, 91, 386–87.

grain *horrea* remained in use, and, as argued above, the early *macella* may have served the animal markets at the Strategion and the Theodosian forum. The distribution of bakeries is unclear; stoai, however, apparently continued to house commerce and may have survived until the end of the twelfth century.

THE LATE PERIOD, THIRTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

This final section makes no attempt to provide a survey or detailed discussion of commerce in Palaiologan¹³⁹ and early Ottoman¹⁴⁰ Constantinople. Instead, it offers only a few observations that bear on the foregoing discussions of the early and middle periods, in particular the commercial activities based in the regions of the Strategion and the Theodosian/Constantinian fora. While the stoai that had lined many streets of Constantinople since the days of Constantine may have finally disappeared in the fire of 1203, other types of commercial premises and settings known from earlier centuries apparently persisted, although probably changed in form or appearance. A rare graphic glimpse of this world is afforded by a mid-thirteenth-century fresco at Arta that may illustrate commerce in a medieval forum at Constantinople, where the heavy icon belonging to the Hodegon monastery is seen circulating,¹⁴¹ as described by Pero Tafur (1430s)¹⁴² and Russian pilgrims.¹⁴³ The public square has an arcaded portico with upper storey windows, and the fresco's inscriptions identify itinerant grocers selling vegetables (*lachana*), fruit (apples, pears, etc.), caviar (*ho chazaris poulon to chabiari*), and drinks in small pots (*phokadia*) (Fig. 30).

Elsewhere, texts provide a verbal picture, revealing both continuity and change. We begin with the Strategion region. Constantinople's north shore continued to thrive thanks to alterations in trading patterns within the city that developed after the days when the *Book of the Prefect* was written. The growing role of Latin merchants in Constantinople accelerated a demographic shift in the city's population, which had begun before the Fourth Crusade (see above) and increased in the Palaiologan period. This resulted in a greater concentration of commerce on the Golden Horn, where the Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians chose to settle.¹⁴⁴ Commerce also moved over to Galata. In this late period, the Prosphorion was apparently no longer an enclosed harbor. Rather, Crusaders and others make repeated references to the Golden Horn itself as a harbor,¹⁴⁵ served by *skalai*. There, in the late fourteenth century, the anonymous Russian pilgrim refers to "the large Basilike market near the wharves and ferry crossing to Galata."¹⁴⁶ The buildings men-

¹³⁹On which see, e.g., N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Montreal, 1979); E. Kislinger, "Gewerbe im späten Byzanz," in *Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter*, Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau, 7. bis. 10. Oktober 1986 (Vienna, 1988), 103–26.

¹⁴⁰See the discussion in H. Inalcik, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–79): 248 and nn. 84–85; Mantran, *Istanbul*, 179–487.

¹⁴¹M. Achimastou-Potamianou, "The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlachernae Monastery (Area of Arta)," in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantine, Athènes 1976*, vol. 2, *Art et archéologie. Communications* (Athens, 1981), 1–14.

¹⁴²Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventure, 1435–1439*, trans. and ed. M. Letts (London, 1926), 139–41.

¹⁴³Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 362–66.

¹⁴⁴Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale*, 78–90, with references.

¹⁴⁵E.g., Villehardouin, *Conquête*, 209.

¹⁴⁶Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 140, 353–54.

tioned in the vicinity of the market allow us to place this market in the general vicinity of the present Spice, or Egyptian, Bazaar—in other words, by the old Neorion harbor and the Strategion (Fig. 31). The market may derive its name, not from the nearby imperial (i.e., Basilike) Gate,¹⁴⁷ but from a market building, that is, a basilica, dating back to the time of the *Notitia* or even earlier. The Basilike Gate, the present Zindankapı, would then have been named after the market basilica, not vice versa. In the fifteenth century, Clavijo described this area as “the trading quarter of the city.”¹⁴⁸

We turn now to consider the Theodosian/Constantinian fora region. From “the large Basilike market” and Basilike Gate on the shore of the Golden Horn, the Portico of Domninos (or, as the Russian pilgrims called it in the 14th century and later, the Maurianos Embolos) led south to the area of the Constantinian and Theodosian fora. That these latter had also remained commercial centers in the Palaiologan period may be inferred from circumstantial evidence of the mid-fifteenth century, that is, from the earliest Ottoman period. Mehmet the Conqueror built two key structures in this area. One became known as the Covered Bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı*). It was situated in an area just to the north between the Constantinian and Theodosian fora, straddling the Portico of Domninus, an area that had been a hub of Byzantine commerce. The Old Bedesten had four gates, shops without doors, and seventy watchmen. Goldsmiths, operating also as bankers, occupied this inner building. The Sandal Bedesten, or Brocade Market, lies to the east.¹⁴⁹ Near the two bedestens stood Mehmet’s other new building, his first palace (the Eski Saray).¹⁵⁰ Viewed together his palace and bedestens may represent a repetition of the Byzantine past, if not unbroken continuity with it (Fig. 32). In the middle Byzantine period, luxury goods (perfume, precious metals, silks) had been sold in the stoai leading from the imperial palace to the Forum of Constantine. The palace itself had fallen out of use by the Palaiologan period, after the court moved to Blachernai. Now, Mehmet created a new prestige area in the center of the city, revitalizing the area of the Theodosian and Constantinian fora with his palace and adjacent luxury market (precious metals, silks). Mehmet also built the Sarāḥane, another specialized market for leather goods.¹⁵¹ The commercial grouping of retail operations by type of merchandise, which was observed in the early period and became a salient feature of the middle period, is thus taken a step further in the early Ottoman period, when the groups are separately housed. By function, the covered markets recall the Roman commercial basilicas.

Another feature of the early Ottoman period that can be linked with earlier Byzantine commercial topography concerns the location of the *hans* used by itinerant merchants. Indeed, the *hans* occupy an area beside the Portico of Domninos, which links the two regions of greatest interest in this paper, the Strategion and the area of the Theodosian/Constantinian fora. The portico was where Romanus I built his *xenodocheion* in the tenth century (Fig. 31). It is unsurprising that these *hans* were concentrated here in the area between the Golden Horn, where ships were unloaded, and the Covered Bazaar, where

¹⁴⁷As postulated by Berger, “Ufergegend,” 152–55.

¹⁴⁸Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. Lopez (Madrid, 1943), 57; quoted by Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 354.

¹⁴⁹Mantran, *Istanbul*, 463–67, map 14.

¹⁵⁰A. Berger, “Zur sogenannten Stadtansicht des Vavassore,” *IstMitt* 44 (1994): 342–44.

¹⁵¹Mantran, *Istanbul*, 415.

goods were sold. Furthermore, the *hans* with their rooms laid out around a court (Fig. 33),¹⁵² recall in their architectural form such late antique inns as the *xeneon* at Umm al-Halahil in Syria (Fig. 34).¹⁵³

CONCLUSION

In sum, in the early period food circulated by a two-tier system partly operated by the state (the *annona*) and partly by private enterprise. A systematic grouping of commercial premises by type was observed in the case of food-linked wholesale activities (at least some of which were operated by the state), whose establishments were often close to harbors (Fig. 4), and in certain crafts, such as the copperworkers opposite Hagia Sophia and silversmiths on the Mese (Fig. 20). By contrast, variety characterized the types of commerce in the Portico of Domninus. The areas of the Strategion (Region V) and of the Theodosian forum (Regions VII–VIII) were important centers of wholesale food enterprise. In the medieval period, the *annona* had ceased (except for military uses), while commercial grouping continued and was regulated by the city prefect. *Myrepsoi*, who dealt in spices and unguents, were located in the Portico of Achilles between the Milion and Chalke, silversmiths were still on the Mese, and textiles were sold in the forum of Constantine (Fig. 27). Wholesale meat, fish, and grain continued to be traded in specific locations, some of which had apparently been in use in the early period; the Strategion and the area of the Theodosian forum remained important (Fig. 22). Grocers, bakers, and inns selling wine operated everywhere. Stoai continued to house commerce and may have stood until 1203. Visiting merchants were controlled and housed in *metata*. In the Palaiologan period, the Latins—who were increasingly important in the city’s trade—occupied the area of the Golden Horn, which had itself become a “harbor.” The general area of the Strategion remained a focus of commerce, stretching west at least to the Basilike Gate at the end of the Portico of Domninos. In the early Ottoman period, the area of the latter street, where Romanus I had built an inn, became filled with hans (Fig. 31). Just to the south, the area of the Constantinian and Theodosian fora became the site of Mehmet the Conqueror’s new palace and luxury market, the two bedestens of the Bazaar. Thus, luxury commodities move from the vicinity of one imperial palace (Byzantine) to that of another (Ottoman) (Fig. 33). The commercial groupings of retail merchandise noted in the early and middle periods are now given separate housing by Mehmet the Conqueror in the bedestens and Saraçhane. So, it becomes clear—as stated at the start of this paper—that certain parts of the city proved to be convenient for commercial enterprise and thus remained in use throughout the centuries.

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¹⁵² Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 342–57.

¹⁵³ J. Lassus, *Inventaire archéologique de la région au nord-est de Hama* (Paris, 1935), 67.