

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN AND  
THEODORA



# THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

A HISTORY OF THE SIXTH CENTURY A.D.

BY

WILLIAM GORDON HOLMES

VOL. I



GORGAS PRESS

2002

First Gorgias Press Edition, 2002.

The special contents of this edition are copyright © 2002 by  
Gorgias Press LLC.

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright Conventions.  
Published in the United States of America by Gorgias Press LLC, New Jersey. This  
edition is a facsimile reprint of the  
original edition published by George Bell and Sons, London, 1905.

**ISBN 1-59333-004-9 (Volume 1)**

**ISBN 1-59333-005-7 (Volume 2)**



GORGIAS PRESS

46 Orris Ave., Piscataway, NJ 08854 USA

[www.gorgiaspress.com](http://www.gorgiaspress.com)

Printed and bound simultaneously in the United States of America and  
Great Britain.

## PREFACE

ALTHOUGH the age of Justinian is the most interesting and important in the whole series of the Byzantine annals, no comprehensive work has hitherto been devoted to the subject. The valuable and erudite "Vita Justiniani" of Ludewig is more of a law book than of a biography, and less of a circumstantial history than of either. The somewhat strange medley published by Isambert under the title "Vie de Justinien" is scarcely a complete chronology of the events, and might be called a manual of the sources rather than a history of the times.<sup>1</sup> Excellent accounts, however, of Justinian are to be found in some general histories of the Byzantine Empire as well as in several biographical dictionaries, whilst monographs of greater or lesser extent exist under the names of Perrinus, Invernizi, and Padovani, etc., but any student of the period would decide that it deserves to be treated at much greater length than has been devoted to it in any of these books. In the present work the design has been to place before the reader not only a record of events, but a presentment of the people amongst whom, and of the stage upon which those events occurred. I have also attempted to correlate the aspects of the ancient and the modern world in relation to science and progress.

W. G. H.

LONDON,  
*February, 1905.*

<sup>1</sup> To these must now be added Diehl's beautifully illustrated work, *Justinien et la civilisation Byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1901. The leading motive is that of art, and it is replete with interesting details, but the conception is too narrow to allow of its fully representing the age to a modern reader.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PROEM . . . . .	ix
CHAP. I. CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY	1
I. History. . . . .	2
II. Topography . . . . .	23
III. Sociology . . . . .	83
II. THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER ANASTASIUS:	
THE INHERITANCE OF JUSTINIAN . . .	127
I. Political . . . . .	134
II. Educational . . . . .	204
III. Religious . . . . .	233
III. BIRTH AND FORTUNES OF THE ELDER	
JUSTIN: THE ORIGINS OF JUSTINIAN .	295
IV. PRE-IMPERIAL CAREER OF THEODORA:	
THE CONSORT OF JUSTINIAN . . . .	321
INDEX . . . . .	351
CORRECTIONS . . . . .	360
ADDITIONS . . . . .	361

## MAPS

DIAGRAM OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN SIXTH CENTURY .	80
ROMAN EMPIRE AND VICINITY, c. 500 A.D. . . . .	144





## PROEM

THE birth and death of worlds are ephemeral events in a cycle of astronomical time. In the life history of a stellar system, of a planet, of an animal, parallel periods of origin, exuberance, and of extinction are exhibited to our experience, or to our understanding. Man, in his material existence confined to a point, by continuity of effort and perpetuity of thought, becomes coequal and coextensive with the infinities of time and space. The intellectual store of ages has evolved the supremacy of the human race, but the zenith of its ascendancy may still be far off, and the aspiration after progress has been entailed on the heirs of all preceding generations. The advancement of humanity is the sum of the progress of its component members, and the individual who raises his own life to the highest attainable eminence becomes a factor in the elevation of the whole race. Familiarity with history dispels the darkness of the past, which is so prolific in the myths that feed credulity and foster superstition, the frequent parents of the most stubborn obstacles which have lain in the path of progress. The history of the past comprises the lessons of the future; and the successes and failures of former times are a prevision of the struggles to come and the errors to be avoided. The stream of human life having once issued from its sources, may be equal in endurance to a planet, to a stellar

system, or even to the universe itself. The mind of the universe may be man, who may be the confluence of universal intelligence. The eternity of the past, the infinity of the present, may be peopled with races like our own, but whether they die out with the worlds they occupy, or enjoy a perpetual existence, transcends the present limits of our knowledge. From century to century the solid ground of science gains on the illimitable ocean of the unknown, but we are ignorant as to whether we exist in the dawn or in the noon-day of enlightenment. The conceptions of one age become the achievements of the next; and the philosopher may question whether this world be not some remote, unaffiliated tract, which remains to be annexed to the empire of universal civilization. The discoveries of the future may be as undreamt of as those of the past,<sup>1</sup> and the ultimate destiny of our race is hidden from existing generations.

In the period I have chosen to bring before the reader, civilization was on the decline, and progress imperceptible, but the germs of a riper growth were still existent, concealed within the spreading darkness of mediaevalism. When Grecian science and philosophy seemed to stand on the threshold of modern enlightenment the pall of despotism and superstition descended on the earth and stifled every impulse of progress for more than fifteen centuries. The Yggdrasil of Christian superstition spread its roots throughout the Roman Empire, strangling alike the nascent ethics of Christendom, and the germinating science of the ancient world. Had the leading minds of that epoch, instead of expending their zeal and acumen on theological inanities, applied themselves to the study of nature, they might have forestalled the march of the centuries, and advanced us a

<sup>1</sup> Radium was unknown in 1901 when the above was written.

thousand years beyond the present time. But the atmosphere of the period was charged with a metaphysical mysticism whereby all philosophic thought and material research were arrested. The records of a millennium comprise little more than the rise, the progress, and the triumph of superstition and barbarism. The degenerate Greeks became the serfs and slaves of the land in which they were formerly the masters, and retreated gradually to a vanishing point in the vast district from the Adriatic to the Indus, over which the eagle-wing of Alexander had swept in uninterrupted conquest. Unable to oppose their political solidarity and martial science to the fanaticism of the half-armed Saracens, they yielded up to them insensibly their faith and their empire, and their place was filled by a host of unprogressive Mohammedans, who brought with them a newer religion more sensuous in its conceptions, but less gross in its practice, than the Christianity of that day. But the hardy barbarians of the North, drinking at the fountain of knowledge, had achieved some political organization, and became the natural and irresistible barriers against which the waves of Moslem enthusiasm dashed themselves in vain. The term of Asiatic encroachment was fixed at the Pyrenees in the west, and at the Danube in the east by the valorous Franks and Hungarians; and on the brink of the turning tide stand the heroic figures of Charles Martel and Matthias Corvinus. Civilization has now included almost the whole globe in its comprehensive embrace; both the old world and the new have been overrun by the intellectual heirs of the Greeks; in every land the extinction of retrograde races proceeds with measured certainty, and we appear to be safer from a returning flood of barbarism than from some astronomical catastrophe. The mediaeval order of things is reversed, the

ravages of Attila reappear under a new aspect, and the descendants of the Han and the Hun alike are raised by the hand, or crushed under the foot of aggressive civilization.

In the infancy of human reason intelligence outstrips knowledge, and the mature, but vacant, mind soon loses itself in the dark and trackless wilderness of natural phenomena. An imaginative system of cosmogony, baseless as the fabric of a dream, is the creation of a moment; to dissipate it the work of ages in study and investigation. Less than a century ago philosophic scepticism could only vent itself in a sneer at the credibility of a tradition, or the fidelity of a manuscript; and the folklore of peasants, encrusted with the hoar of antiquity, was accepted by erudite mystics as the solution of cosmogony and the proof of our communion with the supernatural. An illegible line, a misinterpreted phrase, a suspected interpolation, in some decaying document, the proof or the refutation, was often hailed triumphantly by ardent disputants as announcing the establishment or the overthrow of revelation. But the most signal achievements of historic research or criticism were powerless to elucidate the mysteries of the universe; and the inquirer had to fall back perpetually on the current mythology for the interpretation of his objective environment. In the hands of science alone were the keys which could unlock the book of nature, and open the gates of knowledge as to the enigmas of visible life. A flood of light has been thrown on the order of natural phenomena, our vision has been prolonged from the dawn of history to the dawn of terrestrial life, an intelligible hypothesis of existence has been deduced from observation and experiment, idealism and dogma have been recognized as the offspring of phantasy and fallacy, and the mystical elements of Christianity have been dismissed by philosophy to

that limbo of folly which long ago engulfed the theogonies of Greece and Rome. The sapless trunk of revelation lies rotting on the ground, but the undiscerning masses, too credulous to inquire, too careless to think, have allowed it to become invested with the weeds of superstition and ignorance; and the progeny of hierophants, who once sheltered beneath the green and flourishing tree, still find a cover in the rank growth. In the turn of the ages we are confronted by new Pagans who adhere to an obsolete religion ; and the philosopher can only hope for an era when every one will have sufficient sense and science to think according to the laws of nature and civilization.

The history of the disintegrating and moribund Byzantine Empire has been explored by modern scholars with untiring assiduity ; and the exposition of that debased political system will always reflect more credit on their brilliant researches than on the chequered annals of mankind.



## ADDITIONAL CORRECTIONS

P. 127, n. 1, legends and hearsay; p. 133, n. 3, *καρξιμάδες*; p. 141, n. 2, i; p. 165, regions,<sup>1</sup> own,<sup>2</sup> other<sup>3</sup> (to n. 1 next page); p. 166, soldiers, arms,<sup>2</sup> etc.; p. 169, n. 6, Marcellinus; p. 188, herd; *ib.*, n. 1, c. 530; p. 191, n. 1, XII, not xii; p. 220, judgment; p. 225, n. 1, cadavérique; p. 232, n. 1, add, on its way to resolution into the formless protyle or ether; p. 283, the outposts; p. 300, n. 6, add, cf. Jn. Malala, xviii, p. 490; p. 309, n. 2, add, cf. Chron. Paschal., an. 605; p. 316, mood; p. 330, n. 2, Strabo, VIII, vi, 20; p. 344, near the district of Hormisdas, not Palace; *ib.*, n. 2, read, which stood on the Propontis to the east of the Theodosian Port; see Notitia, reg. ix and Ducange *sb.* *Homonoëa*. The suburban St. P. is said to be indicated by ruins still existing at the foot of the "Giant's Grave," on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; see Gyllius, *De Bosp.*, iii, 6; Procop., etc. p. 346, n. 1, insert, Jn. Malala, xviii, p. 430; *ib.*, an. 6020; p. 362, read, This question and the *Yeri*, etc.





# THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN AND THEODORA

## CHAPTER I

### CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY <sup>1</sup>

THE Byzantine peninsula has been regarded from a very early date as an ideal situation for a capital city. Placed at the junction of two great seas which wash the shores of three continents, and possessed of a safe and extensive anchorage for shipping, it might become the centre of empire and commerce for the whole Eastern hemisphere. Yet, owing to an adverse fate, the full realization of this splendid conception remains a problem of the future. Byzantium as an independent city was little more than an outpost of civilization; as a provincial town of the Roman Empire its political position allowed it no scope for development; as the metropolis of the same Empire in its age of decadence its fitful splendour is an unsubstantial pageant

<sup>1</sup> In presenting this history to the modern reader I shall not imitate the example of those mediaeval stage-managers, who, in order to indicate the scenery of the play, were content to exhibit a placard such as "This is a street," "This is a wood," etc. On the contrary, on each occasion that the scene shifts in this drama of real life, I shall describe the locality of the events at a length proportionate to their importance.

## 2      *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*

without moral or political stability. Lastly, in the hands of the Turk its growth has been fettered by the prejudices of a nation unable to free itself from the bondage of an effete civilization.

### I. HISTORY

The first peopling of the site of Constantinople is a question in prehistoric research, which has not yet been elucidated by the palaeontologist. Unlike the Roman area, no relics of an age of stone or bronze have been discovered here;<sup>1</sup> do not, perhaps, exist, but doubtless the opportunities, if not the men, have been wanting for such investigations.<sup>2</sup> That the region seemed to the primitive Greeks to be a wild and desolate one, we learn from the tradition of the Argonautic expedition;<sup>3</sup> and the epithet of "Axine,"<sup>4</sup> or inhospitable,

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann found neolithic remains at Hissarlik, not far off (Ilios, p. 236, 1880).

<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, as we are told by Gyllius (Top. CP., iv, 11), the Greeks of Stamboul were utterly oblivious of the history of their country and of the suggestiveness of the remains which lay around them. But an awakening has now taken place and the modern Greeks are among the most ardent in the pursuit of archaeological knowledge. They have even revived the language of Attica for literary purposes, and it may be said that an Athenian of the age of Pericles could read with facility the works now issued from the Greek press of Athens or of Constantinople—a unique example, I should think, in the history of philology. Through Paspates (*Buζαντινὰ Ανάκτορα*, pp. 95, 140), we are made aware of the difficulties the topographical student has to encounter in the Ottoman capital, where an intruding Giaour is sure to be assailed in the more sequestered Turkish quarters with abuse and missiles on the part of men, women, and children.

<sup>3</sup> Alluded to by both Homer and Hesiod (Odys., xii, 69; Theog., 992). It was one of those unknown countries which, as Plutarch remarks (Theseus, 1), were looked on as a fitting scene for mythical events.

<sup>4</sup> Pindar, Pythia, iv, 362; P. Mela, i, 19, etc.

applied in the earliest times to the Euxine or Black Sea. By the beginning, however, of the seventh century before the Christian era these seas and maritime channels had been explored, and several colonies<sup>1</sup> had been planted by the adventurous Greeks who issued from the Ionian seaport of Miletus. Later than the Milesians, a band of Dorians from Megara penetrated into these parts and, by a strange choice, as it was afterwards considered, selected a point at the mouth of the Bosphorus on the Asiatic shore for a settlement, which they called Chalcedon.<sup>2</sup> Seventeen years later<sup>3</sup> a second party from Megara fixed themselves on the European headland, previously known as Lygos,<sup>4</sup> nearly opposite their first colony. The leader of this expedition was Byzas,<sup>5</sup> and from him the town they built was named Byzantium.<sup>6</sup> The actual

<sup>1</sup> Of these Sinope claimed to be the eldest, and honoured the Argonauts as its founders (Strabo, xii, 3).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, iv, 144.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iv, 18 [11]. Ausonius compares Lygos to the Byrsa of Carthage (*De Clar. Urb.*, 2).

<sup>5</sup> Not a Greek name; most likely that of a local chief.

<sup>6</sup> According to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Chalcedon was founded in Olymp. 26, 4, and Byzantium in Olymp. 30, 2, or 673, 659 B.C. In modern works of reference the dates 684, 667 seem to be most generally accepted. I pass over the legends associated with this foundation—the divine birth of Byzas; the oracle telling the emigrants to build opposite the city of the blind; another, which led the Argives (who were also concerned in the early history of Byzantium) to choose the confluence of the Cydarus and Barbyzes, at the extremity of the Golden Horn, whence they were directed to the right spot by birds, who flew away with parts of their sacrifice—inventions or hearsay of later times, when the real circumstances were forgotten (see Strabo, vii, 6; Hesychius Miles, *De Orig. CP.*, and others, all authors of comparatively late date. Herodotus (iv, 144), the nearest to the events (*c.* 450 B.C.), makes the plain statement that the Persian general Megabyzus said the Chalcedonians must have been blind when they overlooked the site of Byzantium.

## 4 *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*

limits of the original city are now quite unknown, but doubtless they were small at first and were gradually extended according as the community increased in wealth and prosperity.<sup>1</sup> During the classic period of Greek history the town rose to considerable importance, as its commanding position enabled it to impose a toll on ships sailing to and from the Euxine sea; a power of which, however, it made a very sparing use.<sup>2</sup> It was also enriched by the countless shoals of fish<sup>3</sup> which, when the north winds blew, descended from the Euxine and thronged the narrow but elongated gulf called, most probably for that reason, *Chrysoceras* or Golden Horn.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The remains of a "cyclopean" wall (Paspates, *Βυζαντινὰ Ἀνάκτορα*, p. 24), built with blocks of stone (some ten feet long?) probably belonged to old Byzantium, respecting which it is only certainly known that it stood at the north-east extremity of the promontory (Zosimus, ii, 30; Codinus, p. 24; with Mordtmann's Map, etc.). It can scarcely be doubted that the site of the Hippodrome was outside the original walls, and thus we have a limit on the land side. It may be assumed that the so-called first hill formed an acropolis, round which there was an external wall inclosing the main part of the town (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vii, 1, etc.). Doubtless the citadel covered no great area, and the city walls were kept close to the water for as long a distance as possible to limit the extent of investment in a siege.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius, iv, 38, 45, etc. It was abolished after a war with Rhodes, 219 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *Annal.*, xii, 63, and commentators. Strabo, ii, 6; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix, 20 [15]. They are mostly tunny fish, a large kind of mackerel. In the time of Gyllius, women and children caught them simply by letting down baskets into the water (De Top. CP. pref.; so also Busbecq). Grosvenor, a resident, mentions that seventy sorts of fish are found in the sea about the city (Constantinople, 1895, ii, p. 576).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo proves that the gulf was called the Horn, Pliny that the Horn was Golden (the promontory in his view), Dionysius Byzant. (Gyllius, *De Bosp. Thrac.*, i, 5), that in the second century the inlet was named Golden Horn. Hesychius (*loc. cit.*) and Procopius (*De Aedific.*, i, 5) say that Ceras was from Ceroessa, mother of Byzas.

Ultimately Byzantium became the largest city in Thrace, having expanded itself over an area which measured four and a half miles in circumference, including, probably, the suburbs.<sup>1</sup> It exercised a suzerainty over Chalcedon and Perinthus,<sup>2</sup> and reduced the aboriginal Bithynians to a state of servitude comparable to that of the Spartan Helots.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding its natural advantages, the town never won any pre-eminence among the Hellenic communities, and nothing more unstable than its political position is presented to us in the restless concourse of Grecian nationalities. In the wars of Persians with Greeks, and of Greeks with Greeks, it always became the sport of the contending parties; and during a century and a half (about 506 B.C. to 350 B.C.) it was taken and re-taken at least six times by Medes, Spartans, Athenians, and Thebans, a change of constitution following, of course, each change of political connection.<sup>4</sup> In 340 B.C., however, the Byzantines, with the aid of the Athenians, withstood a siege successfully, an occurrence the more remarkable as they were attacked by the greatest general of the age, Philip of Macedon. In the course of this beleaguerment, it is related, on a certain wet and moonless night the enemy attempted a surprise, but were foiled by reason of a bright light which, appearing suddenly in the heavens, startled all the dogs in the town and thus roused the garrison to a sense of their danger.<sup>5</sup> To commemorate this timely phenomenon, which was attributed to Hecate, they erected a public statue

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Byz. in Gyllius, *De Top. CP.*, i, 2. The statement is vague and can only be accepted with some modification in view of other descriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xxxii, 33.

<sup>3</sup> Phylarchus in Athenaeus, vi, 101.

<sup>4</sup> See Müller's *Dorians*, ii, 177.

<sup>5</sup> Hesychius, *loc. cit.*; Diodorus Sic., xvi, 77, etc.

## 6      *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*

to that goddess and, as it is supposed, assumed the crescent for their chief national device. For several centuries after this event the city enjoyed a nominal autonomy, but it appears to have been in perpetual conflict with its civilized or barbarous neighbours; and in 279 B.C. it was even laid under tribute<sup>1</sup> by the horde of Gauls who penetrated into Asia and established themselves permanently in Galatia. After the appearance of the Roman legionaries in the East the Byzantines were always the faithful friends of the Republic, while it was engaged in suppressing the independent potentates of Macedonia and Asia Minor. For its services Byzantium was permitted to retain the rank of a free city,<sup>2</sup> and its claim to indulgence was allowed by more than one of the Roman emperors,<sup>3</sup> even after A.D. 70, when Vespasian limited its rights to those of a provincial town.<sup>4</sup>

Of all the ancient historians one only has left us a description capable of giving some visual impression as to the appearance of old Byzantium. "This city," says Dion Cassius,<sup>5</sup> "is most favourably situated, being built upon an eminence, which juts out into the sea. The waters, like a torrent, rushing downwards from the Pontus impinge against the promontory and flow partly to the right, so as to form the bay and harbours, but the main stream runs swiftly alongside the city into the Propontis. The town is also extremely well fortified, for the wall is faced with great square stones joined together by brazen clamps, and it is further

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, iv, 46, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cicero, *Orat. de Prov. Consular.*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus, *loc. cit.*; Pliny, *Epist. to Trajan*, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Dion Cassius, 10, 14. I have combined and condensed the separate passages dealing with the subject.

strengthened on the inside through mounds and houses being built up against it. This wall seems to consist of a solid mass of stone,<sup>1</sup> and it has a covered gallery above, which is very easily defended. On the outside there are many large towers, perforated with frequent loopholes and ranged in an irregular line, so that an attacking party is surrounded by them and exposed on all sides at once. Toward the land the fortifications are very lofty, but less so on the side of the water, as the rocks on which they are founded and the dangers of the Bosphorus render them almost unassailable. There are two harbours within the walls,<sup>2</sup> guarded by chains, and at the ends of the moles inclosing them towers facing each other make the passage impracticable to an enemy. I have seen the walls standing and have also heard them speaking; for there are seven vocal towers stretching from the Thracian gates to the sea. If one shouts or drops a pebble in the first it not only re-sounds itself or repeats the syllables, but it transmits the power for the next in order to do the same; and thus the voice or echo is carried in regular succession through the whole series.”<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the second century the Byzantines were afflicted by the severest trial which had ever come within their experience. In the tripartite struggle between the Emperor Severus and his competitors of Gaul and Asia, the city unfortunately threw in its lot with Niger, the Proconsul

<sup>1</sup> Herodian, iii, 1; Pausanias, iv, 31. Walls of this kind were built without cement, so that the joinings were hardly perceptible.

<sup>2</sup> At an earlier period it seems that there was only one harbour (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vii, 1; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 31).

<sup>3</sup> A not uncommon acoustic phenomenon, such as occurs in the so-called “Ear [prison] of Dionysius” at Syracuse, etc. It can be credited without seeking for a mythical explanation.

## 8 *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*

of Syria. Niger soon fell, but Byzantium held out with inflexible obstinacy for three years and, through the ingenuity of an engineer named Priscus, defied all the efforts of the victor. During this time the inhabitants suffered progressively every kind of hardship and horror which has been put on record in connection with sieges of the most desperate character. Stones torn from the public buildings were used as projectiles, statues of men and horses, in brass and marble, were hurled on the heads of the besiegers, women gave their hair to be twisted into cords and ropes, leather soaked in water was eaten, and finally they fell on one another and fed on human flesh. At last the city yielded, but Severus was exasperated, and his impulse of hostility only ceased with the destruction of the prize he had won at such a cost in blood and treasure. The garrison and all who had borne any public office, with the exception of Priscus, were put to death, the chief buildings were razed,<sup>1</sup> the municipality was abolished, property was confiscated, and the town was given over to the previously subject Perinthians, to be treated as a dependent village. With immense labour the impregnable fortifications were levelled with the ground, and the ruins of the first bulwark of the Empire against the barbarians of Scythia attested the wisdom and temperance of the master of the East and West.<sup>2</sup>

But the memory of Byzantium dwelt in the mind of Severus and he was attracted to revisit the spot. In cooler moments he surveyed the wreck; the citizens, bearing olive branches in their hands, approached him in a solemn and suppliant procession; he determined to rebuild, and at his mandate new edifices were reared to supply the place of

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, *sb.* Severus; Herodian, iii, 7.

<sup>2</sup> The general details are from Dion Cassius, lxxiv, 12-14.



those which had been ruined. He even purchased ground, which had been previously occupied by private gardens, for the laying out of a hippodrome,<sup>1</sup> a public luxury with which the town had never before been adorned. But the hateful name of Byzantium was abolished and the new city was called Antonina<sup>2</sup> by Severus, in honour of his eldest son; a change, however, which scarcely survived the life of its author. Through Caracalla,<sup>3</sup> or some rational statesman acting in the name of that reprobate, the city regained its political privileges, but the fortifications were not restored, and for more than half a century it remained defenceless against the barbarians, and even against the turbulent soldiery of the Empire. Beginning from about 250 the Goths ravaged the vicinity of the Bosphorus and plundered most of the towns, holding their own against Decius and several other short-lived emperors. Under Gallienus a mutinous legion is said to have massacred most of the inhabitants, but shortly afterwards the same emperor gave a commission to two Byzantine engineers to fortify the district, and henceforward Byzantium again appears as a stronghold, which was made a centre of operations against the Goths, in the repulse of whom the natives and their generals even played an important part.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, *loc. cit.*; Jn. Malala, xii, p. 291; Chron. Paschale, i, p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Eustathius *ad* Dionys., *Perieg.* 804; Codinus, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. August. Caracalla, 1. He is represented as a boy interceding with his father.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. August. Gallienus, 6, 13, etc.; Claudius, 9; Zosimus, i, 34, etc.; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesar.*, xxxiii, etc. There is much to support the views in the text, which reconcile the somewhat discrepant statements of Dion and Herodian with those of later writers. The Goths seem to have been in possession of Byzantium—therefore it was unfortified (Zosimus, i, 34; Syncellus, i, p. 717). More than a century later, Fritigern was “at peace with stone walls” (Ammianus, xxxi, 6). I apply the description of Zosimus (ii, 30) to this wall of Gallienus (so to

In 323 Licinius, the sole remaining rival of Constantine, after his defeat in a great battle near Adrianople, took refuge in Byzantium, and the town again became the scene of a contest memorable in history, not for the magnitude of the siege, but for the importance of the events which it inaugurated. Licinius soon yielded, and a new era dawned for Byzantium, which in a few years became lastingly known to the nations as the City of Constantine.

The tongue of land on which Constantinople is built is essentially a low mountainous ridge, rising on three sides by irregular slopes from the sea. Trending almost directly eastward from the continent of Europe, it terminates abruptly in a rounded headland opposite the Asiatic shore, from which it is separated by the entrance of the Bosphorus, at this point a little more than a mile in width. This diminutive peninsula, which is bounded on the north by the inland extension of the Bosphorus, called the Golden Horn, and on the south by the Propontis or Sea of Marmora, has a length of between three and four miles. At its eastern extremity it is about a mile broad and it gradually expands until, in the region where it may be said to join the mainland, its measurement has increased to more than four times that distance. The unlevel nature of the ground and reminiscences of the seven hills of classical Rome have always caused a parallel to be drawn between the sites of the two capitals of the Empire, but the resemblance is remote and the historic import of the Roman hills is totally wanting in the case of those of Constantinople. The hills of the elder city were mostly distinct mounts, which had borne suggestive names in the earliest annals of the district. Every citizen had learned to associate call it), which probably included a larger area, taking in the Hippodrome and other buildings of Severus.

the Palatine with the Roma Quadrata of Romulus, the Aventine with the ill-omened auspices of Remus, the Quirinal with the rape of the Sabine women, the Esquiline with the murder of King Servius, the Capitol with the repulse of the Gauls by Manlius; and knew that when the standard was raised on the Janiculum the comitia were assembled to transact the business of the Republic. But the Byzantine hills are little more than variations in the face of the slope as it declines on each side from the central dorsum to the water, and have always been nameless unless in the numerical descriptions of the topographer. On the north five depressions constitute as many valleys and give rise to six hills, which are numbered in succession from the narrow end of the promontory to the west. Thus the first hill is that on which stood the acropolis of Byzantium. Two of the valleys, the third and fifth, can be traced across the dorsum of the peninsular from sea to sea. A rivulet, called the Lycus, running from the mainland, joins the peninsula near its centre and then turns in a south-easterly direction so as to fall into the Propontis. The valley through which this stream passes, the sixth, bounds the seventh hill, an elevation known as the Xerolophos or Dry-mount, which, lying in the south-west, occupies more than a third of the whole area comprised within the city walls.<sup>1</sup> From every high point of the promontory the eye may range over seas and mountains often celebrated in classic story—the Trojan Ida and Olympus, the

<sup>1</sup> The tops of the various hills can now be distinguished by the presence of the following well-known buildings: 1. St. Sophia; 2. Burnt Pillar; 3. Seraskier's Tower; 4. Mosque of Mohammed II; 5. Mosque of Selim; 6. Mosque of Mihrimah (Gate of Adrianople); 7. Seven Towers (south-west extremity). The highest point in the city is the summit of the sixth hill, 291 ft. (Grosvenor).

Hellespont, Athos and Olympus of Zeus, and the Thracian Bosphorus embraced by wooded hills up to the "blue Symplegades" and the Euxine, so suggestive of heroic tradition to the Greek mind. The Golden Horn itself describes a curve to the north-west of more than six miles in length, and at its extremity, where it turns upon itself, becomes fused with the estuary of two small rivers named Cydarus and Barbyzes.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the greater part of its course it is about a quarter of a mile in width, but at one point below its centre, it is dilated into a bay of nearly double that capacity. This inlet was not formerly, in the same sense as it is now, the port of Constantinople; to the ancients it was still the sea, a moat on a large scale, which added the safety of water to the mural defences of the city; and the small shipping of the period was accommodated in artificial harbours formed by excavations within the walls or by moles thrown out from the shore.<sup>2</sup> The climate of this locality is very changeable, exposed as it is to north winds chilled by transit over the Russian steppes, and to warm breezes which originate in the tropical expanses of Africa and Arabia. The temperature may range through twenty degrees in a single day, and winters of such arctic severity that the Golden Horn and even the Bosphorus are seen covered with ice are not unknown to the inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> Variations of landscape

<sup>1</sup> The last reach of the Barbyzes runs through a Turkish pleasure ground and is well known locally as the "Sweet Waters of Europe."

<sup>2</sup> Procopius, *De Aedific.*, i, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding the southerliness of these regions, natives of the Levant have always been well acquainted with frost and snow. Thus wintry weather is a favourite theme with Homer:

ἤματι χειμερίῳ . . .

κοιμήσας δ' ἀνέμους χέει ἔμπεδον, ὄφρα καλύψῃ

due to vegetation are found chiefly in the abundance of plane, pine, chestnut, and other trees, but more especially of the cypress. Earthquakes are a permanent source of annoyance, and have sometimes been very destructive. Such in brief are the geographical features of this region, which the caprice of a prince, in a higher degree, perhaps, than its natural endowments, appointed to contain the metropolis of the East.

When Constantine determined to supplant the ancient capital on the Tiber by building a new city in a place of his own choice,<sup>1</sup> he does not appear to have been more acute in discerning the advantages of Byzantium than were the first colonists from Megara. It is said that Thessalonica first fixed his attention; it is certain that he began to build in the Troad, near the site of Homeric Ilios; and it is even suggested that when he shifted his ground from thence he

ὕψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς καὶ πρόυνας ἄκρους,  
καὶ πεδία λωγεῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα,  
καὶ τ' ἐφ' ἄλδς πολίης κέχυται λιμέσιν τε καὶ ἀκταῖς,  
κῦμα δέ μιν προσπλάζον ἐρύκεται· ἄλλα τε πάντα  
εἰλύεται καθύπερθ' ὅτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὕμβρος.

*Iliad*, xii, 279, κ.τ.λ.

<sup>1</sup> His reasons for this step can only be surmised. A political motive is scarcely suggested. A second capital cannot have been required to maintain what Rome had conquered, and was soon made an excuse for dissolving the unity of the Empire. His nascent zeal for Christianity, by which he incurred unpopularity at pagan Rome, has been supposed to have prejudiced him against the old capital, and moved him to build another in which the new religion should reign supreme, but these opinions emanate only from writers actuated more or less by bigotry. Although he virtually presided at the Council of Nice and accepted baptism on his death-bed, that he was ever a Christian by conviction is altogether doubtful. For a *résumé* see Boissier, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July, 1886; also Burchardt's *Constantine*.

next commenced operations at Chalcedon.<sup>1</sup> By 328,<sup>2</sup> however, he had come to a final decision, and Byzantium was exalted to be the actual rival of Rome. This event, occurring at so advanced a date and under the eye of civilization, yet became a source of legend, so as to excel even in that respect the original foundation by Byzas. The oracles had long been lapsing into silence,<sup>3</sup> but their place had been gradually usurped by Christian visions, and every zealot who thought upon the subject conceived of Constantine as acting under a special inspiration from the Deity. More than a score of writers in verse and prose have described the circumstances under which he received the divine injunctions, and some have presented to us in detail the person and words of the beatific visitant.<sup>4</sup> On the faith of an ecclesiastical historian<sup>5</sup> we are asked to believe that an angelic guide even directed the Emperor as he marked out the boundaries of

<sup>1</sup> For the founding of Constantinople see Gyllius (*De Topogr. CP.*, i, 3), but especially Ducange (*CP. Christiana*, i, p. 23 *et seq.*), who has brought together a large number of passages from early and late writers. According to a nameless author (*Müller, Frag. Hist.*, iv, p. 199), Constantine was at one time in the habit of exclaiming: "My Rome is Sardica." He was born and bred in the East, and hence all his tastes would naturally lead him to settle on that side of the Empire.

<sup>2</sup> It may have been earlier. Petavius (in Ducange) fixes this date, Baronius makes it 325 (*c.* 95).

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *De Defect. Orac.* He explains it by the death of the daemons who managed them. These semi-divinities, though long-lived, were not immortal.

<sup>4</sup> See Ducange, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Philostorgius, ii, 9. Copied or repeated with embellishment, but not corroborated, by later writers, as Nicephorus Cal., viii, 4; Anon. (*Banduri*), p. 15; Codinus, p. 75. Eusebius is silent where we should expect him to be explicit. The allusion in *Cod. Theod.*, XIII, v, 7, seems to be merely a pious expression.

his future capital. When Constantine, on foot with a spear in his hand, seemed to his ministers to move onwards for an inordinate distance, one of them exclaimed: "How far, O Master?" "Until he who precedes me stands," was the reply by which the inspired surveyor indicated that he followed an unseen conductor. Whether Constantine was a superstitious man is an indeterminate question, but that he was a shrewd and politic one is self-evident from his career, and, if we believe that he gave currency to this and similar marvellous tales, we can perceive that he could not have acted more judiciously with the view of gaining adherents during the flush of early Christian enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup>

The area of the city was more than quadrupled by the wall of Constantine, which extended right across the peninsula in the form of a bow, distant at the widest part about a mile and three-quarters from the old fortifications.<sup>2</sup> This space, by comparison enormous, and which yet included only four of the hills with part of the Xerolophos, was hastily filled by the Emperor with buildings and adornments of every de-

<sup>1</sup> The result of Diocletian's persecution must have shown every penetrating spirit that Christianity had "come to stay": the numerous converts of the better classes were nearly all fanatics compared with Pagans of the same class, who were languid and indifferent about religion. He indulged both parties from time to time.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, ii, 30, Anon. *Patria* (Banduri, p. 4), and indications in *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, etc., in which the length of Constantine's city is put down at 14,705 Roman feet. From Un Kapani on the Golden Horn (near old bridge) it swept round the mosque of Mohammed II, passed that of Exi Mermer, and turned south-east so as to strike the sea near Et Jemes, north-east of Sand-gate. I am describing the imaginary line drawn by Mordtmann (*Esquisses topogr. de CP.*, 1891), who has given us a critical map without a scale to measure it by. It was not finished till after Constantine's death, Julian, *Orat.*, i, p. 41, 1696.

scription. Many cities of the Empire, notably Rome, Athens, Ephesus, and Antioch, were stripped of some of their most precious objects of art for the embellishment of the new capital.<sup>1</sup> Wherever statues, sculptured columns, or metal castings were to be found, there the agents of Constantine were busily engaged in arranging for their transfer to the Bosphorus. Resolved that no fanatic spirit should mar the cosmopolitan expectation of his capital the princely architect subdued his Christian zeal, and three temples<sup>2</sup> to mythological divinities arose in regular conformity with pagan custom. Thus the "Fortune of the City" took her place as the goddess Anthusa<sup>3</sup> in a handsome fane, and adherents of the old religion could not declare that the ambitious foundation was begun under unfavourable auspices. In another temple a statue of Rhea, or Cybele, was erected in an abnormal posture, deprived of her lions and with her hands raised as if in the act of praying over the city. On this travesty of the mother of the Olympians, we may conjecture, was founded the belief which prevailed in a later age that the capital at its birth had been dedicated to the Virgin.<sup>4</sup> That a city permanently distinguished by the presence of an Imperial court should remain deficient in population is opposed to common experience of the laws which govern the evolution of a metropolis. But

<sup>1</sup> Anon. (Banduri) and Codinus *passim*; Eusebius, Vit. Constant., iii, 54, etc.; Jerome, Chron., viii, p. 678 (Migne).

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus, ii, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Or Florentia (blooming). Jn. Malala, xiii, p. 320, etc. Everything was done in imitation of Rome, which, as John Lydus tells us (*De Mens.*, iv, 50), had three names, mystic, sacerdotal, and political—Amor, Flora, Rome.

<sup>4</sup> Cedrenus, i, p. 495; Zonaras, xiii, 3. Eusebius knows nothing of it. See Ducange's collection of authorities (*CP. Christ.*, i, p. 24), all late, *e.g.*, Phrantzes, iii, 6.



Constantine could not wait, and various artificial methods were adopted in order to provide inhabitants for the vacant inclosure. Patricians were induced to abandon Rome by grants of lands and houses, and it is even said that several were persuaded to settle at Constantinople by means of an ingenious deception. Commanding the attendance in the East of a number of senators during the Persian war, the Emperor privately commissioned architects to build counterparts of their Roman dwellings on the Golden Horn. To these were transferred the families and households of the absent ministers, who were then invited by Constantine to meet him in his new capital. There they were conducted to homes in which to their astonishment they seemed to revisit Rome in a dream, and henceforth they became permanent residents in obedience to a prince who urged his wishes with such unanswerable arguments.<sup>1</sup> As to the common herd we have no precise information, but it is asserted by credible authority that they were raked together from diverse parts, the rabble of the Empire who derived their maintenance from the founder and repaid him with servile adulation in the streets and in the theatre.<sup>2</sup>

By the spring of 330<sup>3</sup> the works were sufficiently advanced for the new capital to begin its political existence, and Constantine decreed that a grand inaugural festival should take

<sup>1</sup> Anon. (Banduri), p. 5; Codinus, p. 20. The stories of these writers do not deserve much credit. Glycas, however, accepts the tale and is a sounder authority, iv, p. 463. "It is well known that the flower of your nobility was translated to the royal city of the East," said Frederic Barbarossa, addressing the Roman Senate in 1155 (Otto Frising, *Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script.*, vi, 721).

<sup>2</sup> Eunapius in Aedesius. Burchardt jeers at C. and his new citizens.

<sup>3</sup> Idatius, *Descript. Consul.* (Migne, S. L., li, 908). The accepted date.

place on the 11th of May. The "Fortune of the City" was consecrated by a pagan ceremony in which Praetextatus, a priest, and Sopater, a philosopher, played the principal parts;<sup>1</sup> largess was distributed to the populace, and magnificent games were exhibited in the Hippodrome, where the Emperor presided, conspicuous with a costly diadem decked with pearls and precious stones, which he wore for the first time.<sup>2</sup> On this occasion the celebration is said to have lasted forty days,<sup>3</sup> and at the same time Constantine instituted the permanent "Encaenia," an annual commemoration, which he enjoined on succeeding emperors for the same date. A gilded statue of himself, bearing a figure of Anthusa in one hand, was to be conducted round the city in a chariot, escorted by a military guard, dressed in a definite attire,<sup>4</sup> and carrying wax tapers in their hands. Finally, the procession was to make the circuit of the Hippodrome and, when it paused before the cathisma, the emperor was to descend from his throne and adore the effigy.<sup>5</sup> We are further told that an astrologer named Valens was employed to draw the horoscope of the city, with the result that he predicted for it an existence of 696 years.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jn. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv, 2. "A bloodless sacrifice" (Jn. Malala, p. 320). According to later writers (Anon., Banduri, etc.) the "Kirie Eleison" was sung, a statement we can easily disbelieve.

<sup>2</sup> Jn. Malala, xiii, p. 321; Chron. Paschal., i, p. 529.

<sup>3</sup> Anon. (Banduri), p. 4. *Ibid.* (Papias), p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> In cloaks and Byzantine buskins, "chlaenis et campagis" (Κάμπαιος or κομβαῖος). For the latter see Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Antiq.*, *sb. voc.* They covered the toe and heel, leaving the instep bare to the ground.

<sup>5</sup> Jn. Malala and Chron. Paschal., *loc. cit.*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> M. Glycas, iv, p. 463. Eusebius does not describe the founding of CP., doubtless because he saw nothing in it pertinent to Christian piety,

After the fall of Licinius it appears most probable that Constantine, as a memorial of his accession to undivided power, gave Byzantium the name of Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> When, however, he transformed that town into a metropolis, in order to express clearly the magnitude of his views as to the future, he renamed it Second, or New Rome. At the same time he endowed it with special privileges, known in the legal phraseology of the period as the "right of Italy and prerogative of Rome";<sup>2</sup> and to keep these facts in the public eye he had them inscribed on a stone pillar, which he set up in a forum, or square, called the Strategium, adjacent to an equestrian statue of himself.<sup>3</sup> To render it in all respects the image of Rome, Constantinople was provided with a Senate,<sup>4</sup> a national council known only at that date in the artificial form which owes its existence to despots. After his choice of Byzantium for the eastern capital Constantine never dwelt at Rome, and in all his acts seems to have aimed at extinguishing the prestige of the old city by the grandeur of the new one, a policy which he initiated so effectively that in the century after his death the Roman Empire ceased to be Roman.<sup>5</sup>

of which only he professes to treat (*τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλή*), Vit. Const., i, 11.

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs in Cod. Theod. from 323 onwards, but also as a palpable error at an earlier date. See Haenel's Chronological Index. It is thought coins stamped CP. were issued as early as 325 (Smith, Dict. Christ. Biog., i, p. 631). Had Constantine fixed on any other place it is probable that "New Rome" would have passed into currency as easily as "New York." But the Greeks did not call their city Constantinople till later centuries. Thus with Procopius, the chief writer of the sixth century, it is always still Byzantium.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, i, 16; Sozomen, ii, 3; Cod. Theod., XIV, xiii, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Socrates, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Anon. Valesii, 30.

<sup>5</sup> The last Roman emperor, in name only, Romulus Augustulus,

Constantine is credited with the erection of many churches in and around Constantinople, but, with the exception of St. Irene,<sup>2</sup> the Holy Cross,<sup>3</sup> and the Twelve Apostles,<sup>4</sup> their identification rests with late and untrustworthy writers. One, St. Mocius,<sup>5</sup> is said to have been built with the materials of a temple of Zeus, which previously stood in the same place, the summit of the Xerolophos, outside the walls. Another, St. Mena, occupied the site of the temple of Poseidon founded by Byzas.<sup>6</sup> Paganism was tolerated as a religion of the Empire until the last decade of the fourth century, when it was finally overthrown by the preponderance of Christianity. Laws for its total suppression were enacted by Theodosius I, destruction of temples was legalized, and at the beginning of the fifth century it is probable that few

abdicated in 476, but long before that date the Empire had been gradually falling to pieces. In 410 Alaric sacked Rome; by 419 the Goths had settled in the south of France and the Vandals had appropriated Spain; in 439 Genseric took possession of Africa; in 446 Britain was abandoned; in 455 Rome was again sacked (by Genseric), etc.

<sup>1</sup> Ciampini (*De Sacr. Aedific.*, a C. Mag., etc., Rome, 1693), enumerates twenty-seven. Eusebius says many (*Vit. C.*, iii, 48). It is curious, however, that the dialogue *Philopatris* (in *Lucian*) gives an impression that in or after 363 (Gesner's date, formerly accepted) churches were so few and inconspicuous that the bulk of the population knew nothing about them. The *Notitia*, again, half a century later, reckons only fourteen within the city proper, including *Sycae* (*Galata*). Probably, therefore, these twenty-seven churches attributed to Constantine are mostly suppositious, for even in the reign of Arcadius it would seem that there were not many more than half that number.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, i, 16. Two only, as if Constantine had built no more.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Paschal., i, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius, iv, 58. *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Anon. (*Banduri*), p. 45; Codinus, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> Hesychius, *op. cit.*, 15 (*Codinus*, p. 6).

traces remained of the sacred edifices which had adorned old Byzantium.<sup>1</sup>

After the age of Constantine the progress of New Rome as metropolis of the east was extremely rapid,<sup>2</sup> the suburbs became densely populous, and in 413 Theodosius II gave a commission to Anthemius,<sup>3</sup> the Praetorian Prefect, to build a new wall in advance of the old one nearly a mile further down the peninsula. The intramural space was thus increased by an area more than equal to half its former dimensions; and, with the exception of some small additions on the Propontis and the Golden Horn, this wall marked the utmost limit of Constantinople in ancient or modern times. In 447 a series of earthquakes, which lasted for three months, laid the greater part of the new wall in ruins, fifty-seven of the towers, according to one account,<sup>4</sup> having collapsed during the period of commotion. This was the age of Attila and the Huns, to whom Theodosius, sooner than offer a military resistance, had already agreed to pay an annual tribute of seven hundred pounds of gold.<sup>5</sup> With the rumour that the barbarians were approaching the undefended

<sup>1</sup> Cicero (Orat. De Prov. Consul., 4) says that Byzantium was "refertissimam atque ornatissimam signis," a statement which doubtless applies chiefly to works of art preserved in temples. The buildings would remain and be restored, notwithstanding the many vicissitudes through which the town passed. The Anon. (Banduri, p. 2) says that ruins of a temple of Zeus, columns and arches, were still seen on the Acropolis (first hill) in the twelfth century.

<sup>2</sup> Eunapius, *loc. cit.*, Themistius, Orats., Paris, 1684, pp. 182, 223, "equal to Rome"; Sozomen, "more populous than Rome"; Novel lxxx forbids the crowding of provincials to CP.

<sup>3</sup> Cod. Theod., XV, i. 51; Socrates, vii, 1, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Marcellinus, Chron. (Migne, li, 927). See also Evagrius, i, 17, and Ducange, *op. cit.*, i, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Priscus, Hist. Goth., p. 168. In 433.

## 22 *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*

capital the public alarm rose to fever-heat, and the Praetorian Prefect of the time, Cyrus Constantine, by an extraordinary effort, not only restored the fortifications of Anthemius, but added externally a second wall on a smaller scale, together with a wide and deep fosse,<sup>1</sup> in the short space of sixty days. To the modern observer it might appear incredible that such a prodigious mass of masonry, extending over a distance of four miles, could be reared within two months, but the fact is attested by two inscriptions still existing on the gates,<sup>2</sup> by the Byzantine historians,<sup>3</sup> and by the practice of antiquity in times of impending hostility.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The work of Cyrus is not precisely defined by the Byzantine historians, but Déthier (*Der Bosph. u. CP.*, 1873, pp. 12, 50) and Mordtmann (*op. cit.*, p. 11) take this view. The words of one inscription, "he built a wall to a wall" (*ἰδεῖμαρο τείχεϊ τείχος*), support the theory. The walls of Theodosius were afterwards called the "new walls" (*Cod. Just.*, I, ii, 18; *Novel lix*, 5, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> On the Porta Rhegii or Melandesia, about half-way across. See Paspates (*Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, pp. 47, 50). They are preserved in the *Anthol. Graec.* (Planudes), iv. 28. The gate called Xylocercus, with its inscription, has disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellinus, *loc. cit.*; Zonaras, xiii, 22; Nicephorus Cal., xiv, 1, confuses the work of the two men. The Anon. *Patria* (Banduri), p. 20, says that the two factions of the circus, each containing eight thousand men, were employed on the work. Beginning at either end, they met centrally at a gate hence called "of many men" (*Polyandra*). Mordtmann (*op. cit.*, p. 28) wholly rejects this tale, as it does not fit in with some of his identifications. It would, however, be well suited to the P. Rhegii, where the existing inscriptions are found. Some local knowledge must be conceded to an author of the twelfth century, who probably lived on the spot. Wall-building was a *duty* of the factions.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysius caused the Syracusans to build the wall of Epipolac, of about the same length, in twenty days (*Diod. Sic.*, xiv, 18). The Peloponnesians built a wall across the isthmus against Xerxes in a short time (*Herodotus*, viii, 71, etc.). There was much extemporary wall-building at Syracuse during the siege by Nicias (*Thucydides*, vi, 97, etc.). The

## II. TOPOGRAPHY

Having now traced the growth of the city on the Golden Horn from its origin in the dawn of Grecian history until its expansion into the capital of the greatest empire of the past, I have reached the threshold of my actual task—to place before the reader a picture of Constantinople at the beginning of the sixth century in its topographical and sociological aspects. The literary materials, though abundant, are in great part unreliable and are often devoid of information which would be found in the most unpretentious guide-book of modern times.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the monumental re-

wall of Crassus against Spartacus was nearly forty miles long (Plutarch, Crassus). Except the first, however, these were more or less temporary structures. Very substantial extempore walls are frequently mentioned by both Greek and Latin historians as having been erected during sieges, etc. See especially Caesar (i, 8) and Thucydides (iii, 21, Siege of Plataea).

<sup>1</sup> The earliest and most reliable source is the *Notitia Dignitatis utriusque Imperii*, etc., which dates from the time of Arcadius. To this work is prefixed a short description of Rome and CP., which enumerates the chief buildings, the number of streets, etc., in each division of those cities. Next we have the *Aedificia* of Procopius, the matter of which, however, does not come within the scope of the present chapter. A gap of six centuries now occurs, which can only be filled by allusions to be found in general and church historians, patristic literature, etc. We then come to a considerable work, the *Anonymous*, edited by A. Banduri (Venice, 1729), a medley of semi-historical and topographical information, often erroneous, ascribed to the twelfth century. A second edition of this work, introduced by the Byzantine fragment of Hesychius of Miletus, passes under the name of Geo. Codinus, who wrote about 1460. Here we draw the line between mediaeval and modern authors, and we have next the *Topography of CP.*, by P. Gyllius, a Frenchman, who wrote on the spot about a century after the Turkish conquest. His *Thracian Bosphorus*, which