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From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*

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Medieval Constantinople: Built Environment and Urban Development

Paul Magdalino

In 600 Constantinople was a city of three hundred thousand to five hundred thousand people.¹ Its built environment represented three cumulative phases of development from the foundation in 324–330. The first phase was the massive enlargement and upgrading, under Constantine I and his fourth-century successors, of the ancient city of Byzantium through the addition of traditional units of ancient urban planning: a new perimeter wall; a vast civic and administrative complex including the Hippodrome, the imperial Great Palace, and the urban prefecture; passing through and beyond this, an extensive network of fora, colonnades, and sculptured monuments laid out along and across the branching artery formed by the central avenue (Mese) that was the convergence and termination of the access roads from the west; public baths; an elaborate infrastructure of ports, granaries, an aqueduct, and fountains for the adduction and distribution of food and water; and the indispensable complement to all this public building, the grand residences and humble tenements of the various classes of immigrants who flocked to the new center of power. The churches that represented the triumph of the new state religion were, of course, new elements, but initially they went with the grain of the existing urban fabric. The cathedral churches of Hagia Eirene (Holy Peace), founded by Constantine, and Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom), added by Constantius II, formed part of the central civic complex. The church of the Holy Apostles owed its prominently eccentric position, on a hill near the Constantinian wall, to its origin as the founder's mausoleum, and the earliest martyr shrines were either marginal to the built-up area or away from the main thoroughfares.

The second phase, from ca. 405, was mainly characterized by the adaptation of this program to the growing insecurity of the city's European hinterland, which made not

¹ In general, see C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IVe–VIIe siècles*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1990); idem, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *The Seventeenth International Byzantine Congress, Main Papers* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986); C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and Its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995); and P. Magdalino, *Constantinople médiévale: Etudes sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris, 1996). See also the papers from the 1998 Dumbarton Oaks symposium on Constantinople in *DOP* 54 (2000).

only the land walls but also the long, exposed aqueduct vulnerable to invaders. The urgent need for water storage was met both by the incorporation of covered cisterns into major new building or rebuilding projects and by the sinking of large open-air reservoirs in the hills to the west of the Constantinian wall. It was mainly with a view to protecting these facilities that Theodosios II built a new set of land fortifications, thus creating a zone between the two walls “that was neither truly urban nor truly suburban.”²

In the third phase of its development, from 450, the late antique city became an early Christian city. Although traditional urban building continued, it was outstripped by a proliferation of churches, which not only gave the urban landscape a new look but increasingly redrew the social and cultural map. Churches became the focal and defining points of urban neighborhoods; each new foundation enriched the liturgical calendar and therefore the ritual life of the community. Many churches were associated with old-age homes, hospitals, or poor-hostels, or formed the venues of pious confraternities that performed various liturgical and charitable services. No church was simply an isolated hall of worship but was invariably surrounded by a complex of courtyards, porticoes, and chambers that could serve a variety of purposes; it frequently included a bathhouse. The way was thus prepared for certain basic functions of urban life—baths, schools, and notaries’ offices—to move within church precincts.

Church building was if anything stimulated by the catastrophic acts of God that chroniclers recorded with increasing frequency in this period: fires, such as those of 465 and 532; earthquakes, such as those of 447 and 557; and even the bubonic plague, which hit Constantinople in 542 and remained endemic there for the next two hundred years. In the long term, the enhanced religiosity induced by the plague was probably of greater consequence than its demographic effects, for while the initial outbreak reportedly carried off two-thirds of the urban population, it was not long before the city was suffering from food and water shortages. The plague certainly did not put a stop to building activity, which picked up again in the 550s and remained at a high level for the rest of the century. Justinian’s rebuilding of Hagia Sophia in 532–537 is deservedly regarded as the culmination of early Christian architecture, but it was also one of the earliest in a series of sixth-century structures that were to be central to the life of the medieval city. These included the church of the Holy Apostles, rebuilt by Justinian, and the two great shrines of the Virgin, that of the Chalkoprateia, rebuilt by Justin II (565–578), and that of the Blachernae, a rebuilding started by Justin II and completed under his successors, Tiberius II (578–582) and Maurice (582–602). The period 565–602 also saw several other foundations that, though less important as cult centers, were no less important in later centuries as the locations of some of the capital’s main schools, notarial offices, and bathing establishments. In secular building, the additions that Justin II and Tiberius made to the Great Palace were to become the hub of imperial ceremonial and financial administration, and by renovating the Port of Julian on the Sea of Marmara, Justinian and Justin guaranteed its future as the main port facility of the next three centuries.

² Mango, “Développement,” 125.

In the first half of the seventh century, Egypt was conquered temporarily by the Persians and then definitively by the Arabs, who thus deprived Constantinople of its main source of grain. In 626 the Avars cut the aqueduct. The empire's finances, diminished by devastation and loss of territory, were consumed by the life-and-death struggle with these and other enemies. Contemporary sources do not record the impact on urban life, but the government was undoubtedly obliged to reduce the urban population, at least until local agricultural production was stepped up and dietary habits changed to allow for greater consumption of meat and fish. Almost no major new building or restoration project is reliably attested between 610 and 760. The main area of settlement seems to have contracted around the old Constantinian civic center and the harbor of Julian, the only port of entry and exit mentioned in sources of the seventh to tenth centuries. It was probably in this period of depopulation that burials began to take place within the Constantinian wall and that the monumental spaces on the edge of the civic center—the amphitheater on the Acropolis, the Strategion near the Golden Horn, and some of the fora along the Mese—began to be used as places of execution and markets for livestock. The great baths, theaters, and sculptured monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries fell into decay and came to be regarded as objects of superstitious dread from a legendary and exotic past. Even the upkeep of churches strained the available resources, and Frankish ambassadors in the mid-to-late eighth century returned with reports of basilicas that lacked proper lighting or even roofing.³

But if the fourth to sixth centuries had built more than the seventh and eighth centuries could afford to maintain, enough was maintained to serve the basic needs of a population of seventy thousand or more. There is reason to believe that at least the major churches built or restored in the sixth century were kept in good working order, along with their ancillary services. The state sector is unlikely to have diminished, since Constantinople remained the capital of a state that continued to conduct war and diplomacy on a worldwide scale and was able to repel two massive Arab assaults on the city in 675–678 and 717. The fact that Emperor Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) made substantial additions to the Great Palace suggests that this great governmental complex was on the increase as it took on the functions of other public institutions. The wall that the same emperor built around the palace emphasized its growing role as a city within the city.⁴ This prompts the observation that although Constantinople declined as a great urban unit, it continued to flourish as a network of semi-urban nuclei of production and consumption, scattered throughout the urban area, between the walls, and throughout the suburban hinterland. At the consuming end were the urban and suburban “houses” (*oikoi*)—the churches, monasteries, charitable houses, and official residences; at the producing end were their domains (*proasteia*) and trading emporia clustered around the Bosphoros and the Sea of Marmara. “There are villas and estates lining both banks . . . and innumerable ships and vessels go back and forth, carrying

³ *Libri Carolini*, IV.3 in PL 98:1188.

⁴ Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–85; repr. Hildesheim, 1980), I:367.

all sorts of merchandise from these estates to the capital. The number of these ships cannot be estimated.”⁵

This description by a tenth-century Arab writer relates to a seventh-century incident and throws interesting light on the provisioning of Constantinople at the time. It shows how the government-sponsored bulk shipments of Egyptian grain were replaced by less regular but more frequent short-distance deliveries in lighter ships that could moor and unload at landing stages (*skalai*) all along the coast. Thus the city's ancient port system was in the process of being replaced by a less concentrated and planned infrastructure that would eventually prove capable of handling the same volume of traffic. Meanwhile, however, the waterfront of the Golden Horn, at least the lower part, was a depressed area. This was possibly because of associations with the bubonic plague and, in consequence, with the segregation of non-Christians and social outcasts: the Arab merchants in their compound (*mitaton*) at the “crossing” (Perama) of the Golden Horn; and the Jews, who lived “across” (Pera), at the foot of the hill occupied by the leper hospital.⁶ But the Arab *mitaton*, which must have been established in the late seventh century, created a basis for the commercial regeneration of the district, as did the simultaneous expansion of the imperial war fleet, which in 698 acquired a new base at the old harbor of the Neorion.

The early medieval decline of Constantinople reached a low point with a last devastating outbreak of plague in 746. Emperor Constantine V repopulated the city with people from mainland Greece and the Aegean islands. Some twenty years later he took similarly drastic action to remedy the effects of a severe drought, bringing in teams of workmen to repair the aqueduct, which had not functioned for 140 years. These measures marked the beginning of a revival that continued until 1204. Constantine V may have had a profound impact on the social and ideological identity of the medieval city. But it is unlikely that he significantly altered the look of the built environment that survived from the sixth century. The same impression is gained from the better-documented public building projects of his eighth- and ninth-century successors, Eirene, Theophilos, Basil I, and Leo VI. These projects were, for the most part, renovations, imitations, and conversions of existing structures; even the ambitious new complexes that Theophilos and Basil I added to the Great Palace continued a previous trend. Yet there were differences from the sixth century, whose cumulative effect would have been noticeable by 900. Less attention was now paid to the civic context of religious and palace buildings. Builders used spolia rather than freshly quarried or manufactured materials.⁷ Early Christian basilicas were restored with masonry roofs and

⁵ Mas'udi, *The Meadows of Gold: The Abbasids*, trans. P. Lunde and C. Stone (London, 1989), 322.

⁶ On the Jewish quarter, see D. Jacoby, “Les quartiers juifs de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine,” *Byzantion* 37 (1967): 167–227 (repr. in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975). There is no clear evidence for Jacoby's assertion that the Jewish quarter was formerly on the south side of the inlet.

⁷ For recent discussion of one location, see C. Mango, “Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople,” in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. D. Mouriki et al. (Princeton, N.J., 1995), 645–57.

therefore, presumably, with domes.⁸ Most importantly, there was a steady accumulation of new and revived monastic foundations, comparable to the proliferation of churches in the fifth and sixth centuries.

To begin with, the main initiative came from churchmen and government officials, but from the reign of Romanos I (921–944), the contribution of emperors was decisive. Imperial foundations were large and richly endowed, and they usually comprised, in addition to the monastic community, institutions serving the laity. Monasteries, traditionally confined, with rare exceptions, to the suburbs and the zone between the walls, now became a conspicuous feature of the city center. But perhaps the most significant impact of the new foundations or refoundations was on the development of the areas at the corners of the urban triangle within the Theodosian wall: at the eastern end (monasteries of the Hodegoi and St. Lazaros, complexes of the Mangana and the Orphanotropheion), in the southwestern corner (notably the monasteries of Stoudios, St. Mamas, and the Peribleptos inside the walls and the suburban complex of the Hebdomon), and in the northwest (the Petrion complex near the Golden Horn, a large cluster of monasteries in the hills near the cisterns of Aetius and Aspar, and the large extramural complex of the Anargyroi or Kosmidion). This expansion of the monastic sector both followed and attracted new growths and shifts in lay society. A notable trend in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the rise of the Blachernae Palace in the northwest as the favored residence of the imperial court. This was principally the work of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and a concomitant of the new dynastic system he created, which distributed public resources widely among the members of the extended imperial family, enabling them to build, or redevelop, residences and monasteries on a princely scale.

The development of the extremities was accompanied by an expansion of the city center down to and along the Golden Horn, which began in the tenth century to reclaim its role as the city's main maritime access. The commercial regeneration of the north coast may have been stimulated by a growing influx of Venetian and Amalfitan traders in association with the Arab *mitation*. Venice and Amalfi, followed by Pisa and Genoa, certainly responded to the business growth of the area by obtaining grants from the imperial government of wharfs, shops, churches, and houses for the use and profit of their citizens.⁹

We can piece together something of the “feel” of the medieval city (Fig. 1) from a variety of written sources, both foreign and Byzantine, dating from the tenth to thirteenth centuries.¹⁰ Approaching travelers traversed, or sailed past, a broad suburban

⁸ *Vita Basilii*, in *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 324.

⁹ On the topography of the Italian concessions, see, most recently, A. Berger, “Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit,” *IstMitt* 45 (1995): 149–65.

¹⁰ In addition to the Byzantine sources cited in the following notes, the following well-known accounts by western visitors in the age of the crusades have been used: Benjamin of Tudela, in the translation by A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), 136; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095–1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 176–77; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948), 48–71; William

zone of parks and farmland, thickly dotted with monasteries, villas, and summer palaces. They saw a skyline of “high walls and lofty towers . . . rich palaces and tall churches,” with “columns looming like massive giants.”¹¹ Inside the walls, they were duly impressed by vast expanses of marble masonry and lead roofing, the ubiquitous statuary, the innumerable churches and relics, the lavish public entertainments, the glimpses and tales of fabulous wealth. The city center and the seashores were heavily built up with three- or even five-story houses.¹² Yet much of the space, even within the Constantinian walls, was farmed.¹³ Country sounds and smells pervaded the built-up area: priests kept pigs and farmers stored hay in apartment buildings;¹⁴ imperial officials operated donkey mills in the courtyards of their townhouses.¹⁵ The seamy side of overcrowded preindustrial urban living inevitably attracted less comment in the Middle Ages than it did from nineteenth-century European travelers to Istanbul, but the problems were evidently similar: main streets and squares deep in mud;¹⁶ prostitution, violent crime, and homelessness in the arcades;¹⁷ stray dogs;¹⁸ the ever-present risk of violent, uncontrollable fires.¹⁹ The contrasts and the different functions of the urban scene were all to be found side by side within a single neighborhood. There was, however, a clearly defined and long-established commercial district, centered on the Mese from the Forum Tauri to the Augoustaion and extending northward and southward to the seashores. Associated mainly with this area were the colonies of the many foreign peoples who had business with Constantinople. Besides the Italians, the Arabs,

of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 20.23, 22.4, 14, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Corpus christianorum, continuatio medievalis* 63A (Turnhout, 1986), 2:943–46, 1009–11, 1024–25; Robert of Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. P. Lauer (Paris, 1924), *passim*; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1938), 1:130–33, 194–45; 2:48–55. See also the fascinating late 11th-century text published by K. Ciggaar, “Une description de Constantinople dans le *Tarragonensis* 55,” *REB* 53 (1995): 117–40. Further references, and fuller coverage of some aspects, can be found in P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 112–23.

¹¹ Constantine of Rhodes, ed. E. Legrand, “Description des oeuvres d’art et de l’église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople,” *REG* 9 (1896): p. 46, lines 335–36.

¹² *Ioannis Tzetzae, Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Leipzig, 1972), 31–34; *idem, Historiae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Naples, 1968), 190–91. Cf. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς* 6 vols. (Athens, 1948–57), 4:261–65.

¹³ Nicholas Mesarites, ed. G. Downey, “Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,” *TAPS* 47 (1957): 897.

¹⁴ Tzetzes, *Epistulae*, 31–34.

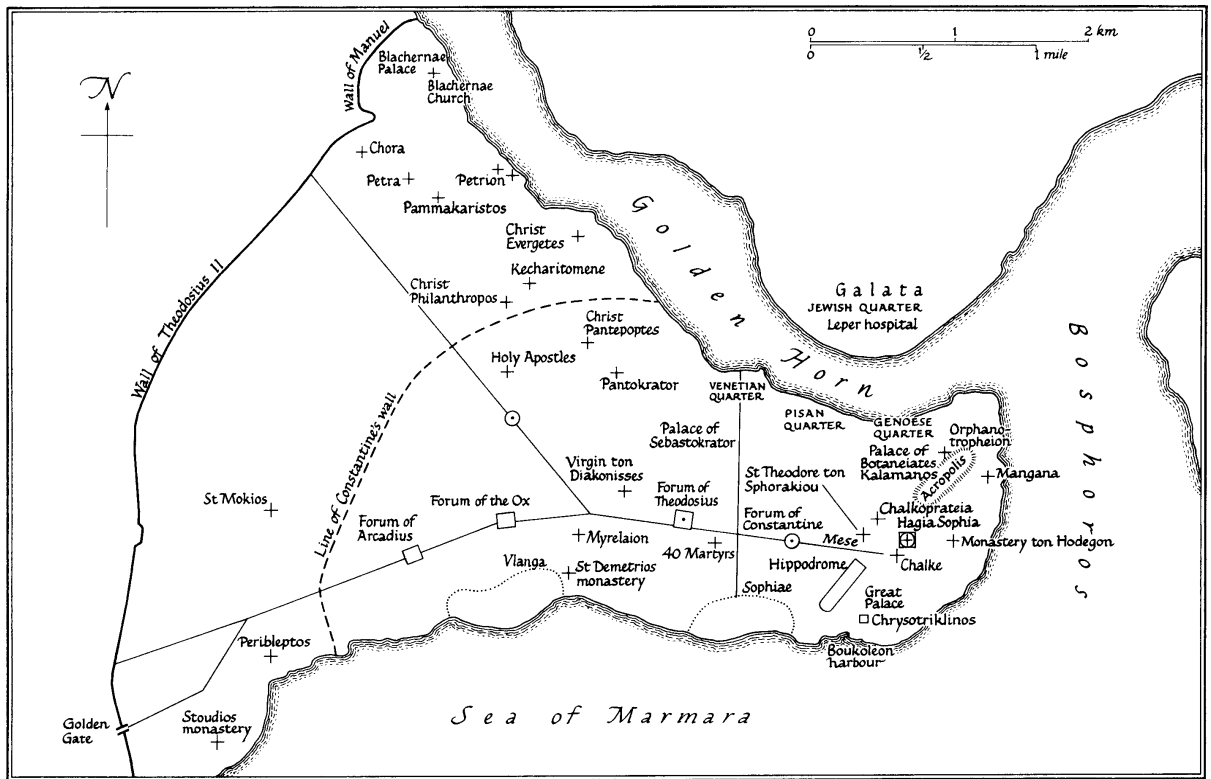
¹⁵ P. Gautier, “La *Diataxis* de Michel Attaleiate,” *REB* 39 (1981): 29.

¹⁶ G. Mercati, “Gli aneddotti d’un codice Bolognese,” *BZ* 6 (1897): 140–42; John Apokaukos, ed. N. A. Bees, “Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropolitens von Naupaktos (in Aetolien), herausgegeben aus dem Nachlass von N. A. Bees von E. Bees-Seferli,” *BNJ* 21 (1971–74): 150–51.

¹⁷ Nicholas Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, Programm des königlichen alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907 (Würzburg, 1907), 24.

¹⁸ Symeon the New Theologian, *Traité théologiques et éthiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris, 1967), 2: 30–33.

¹⁹ For example, that which swept inland from the Golden Horn on 25 July 1197, destroying port facilities, storehouses, churches, and palaces, and inspiring a tragic declamation in verse by Constantine Stilbes: see P. Magdalino, “Constantinopolitana,” in *AETOS: Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango*, ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart, 1998), 227–30.



1. Komnenian Constantinople (after P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos* [Cambridge, 1993])



2. Late medieval Constantinople. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber insularum archipelagi*, ca. 1450. Private collection (reproduced courtesy of Kenneth Nebenzahl, copyright 1998)

and the Jews, already mentioned, Armenians, Syrians, and Russians had “ethnic neighborhoods,” and Georgians and Turks were numerous.²⁰

The population of Constantinople, including merchants, litigants, and other transients, may have numbered as much as four hundred thousand in 1204 and occupied a built-up area corresponding very closely to that of the sixth-century city, with a dense concentration around the commercial district and tentacles of development along the seashores and the branches of the Mese leading to secondary nuclei in the northwest and southwest corners. The settlement used and reused the buildings of the late antique, early Christian, and earlier medieval phases in ways that ranged from careful conservation through structural conversion to outright quarrying. Whether the result was a pleasing blend or an incongruous jumble is impossible to say, but no part of the city was entirely a recent creation, and Constantinople was probably more closely, richly, and naturally in touch with its physical origins than any other city surviving from Greco-Roman antiquity.

All this changed drastically with the arrival of the Fourth Crusade in 1203.²¹ The presence of the crusading army not only culminated in a violent sack that dispersed and destroyed the accumulated wealth and culture of centuries; it was accompanied by three terrible fires that ravaged the whole northern and central sections of the city, and it resulted in the establishment of a Latin regime that set off a steady exodus of Constantinopolitans to the Greek centers of government in exile. Far from restoring the damage done in 1203–4, the impoverished Latin emperors melted down statues for coin and sold the lead from palace roofs, while the Venetians, who now controlled much of the city, exported their declining profits, along with choice relics and architectural spolia for their churches.

When Constantinople reverted to Greek rule in 1261, Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos spared no effort or expense to restore his capital, like his empire, to its twelfth-century greatness. But the resources of the Palaiologan empire were inadequate to both tasks. Michael could restore the basic shell of traditional authority and worship—the walls, the Blachernae Palace, parts of the Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, and a few other churches and monasteries—but even this was more than his successors could afford to keep in repair, let alone to fill with urban redevelopment. They were thwarted by the irreversible decline in their territorial base and by the development of the Genoese trading colony in the suburb of Pera into a separate fortified settlement, where

²⁰ See the anonymous description of the late 11th century in Ciggaar, “Constantinople,” 119; for the Russians, see Anthony of Novgorod, *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trans. B. de Khitrowo (Geneva, 1889), 105; for the Georgians and Turks, see *Nicetae Choniatae, Historia*, ed. J. L. van Dieten, 2 vols. (Berlin–New York, 1975), 1:233, 493–44.

²¹ There is no up-to-date study of urban development in the late Byzantine period, but one may consult N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople, XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Montreal, 1979); G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984); A.-M. Talbot, “The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993): 243–61; V. Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel, 1204–1328* (Wiesbaden, 1994); and, for the Latin occupation, L. Buenger Robbert, “Rialto Businessmen and Constantinople, 1204–61,” *DOP* 49 (1995): 43–58; T. F. Madden, “The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment,” *BZ* 84/85 (1991–92): 72–93.

immunity from imperial tolls drew business away from the old city. Constantinople became once more, as in the seventh and eighth centuries, a ruralized network of scattered nuclei, though with several important differences (Fig. 2). It was now the south coast that declined, as the Great Palace fell into decay, the Port of Julian became a military naval base, and the Jewish quarter, with its stinking tanneries, moved from Pera to Vlanga, near the former Port of Theodosios. The great open cisterns ran dry and served as kitchen gardens. The main foci of power and wealth were now at the corners of the urban triangle, particularly in the Blachernae quarter, and at the east end, where the patriarchal church of Hagia Sophia still remained the center of religious life, but as such looked more to the monasteries on and around the Acropolis than to the decaying civic center to the west.²² The shore of the Golden Horn, where the Venetians reestablished themselves, took over from the Mese as the main commercial axis. Finally, in a complete inversion of the early medieval situation, the state sector was weak and fragmented, but building continued, albeit on a modest scale. The Palaiologoi operated an even more devolved version of the Komnenian dynastic system and literally encouraged the imperial nobility to enrich themselves at the state's expense; individuals accordingly built themselves sumptuous palaces and commissioned extensive additions or improvements to old monasteries.²³ Such munificence became rarer from the mid-fourteenth century, when Constantinople was hit by the Black Death and progressively deprived of its agricultural hinterland. Yet profits were to be made in commerce, in spite of, but also in association with, the predominant Genoese and Venetian enterprises. Western visitors described a space "made up of villages, more empty than full," a ghost city of crumbling tourist attractions that caught the eye of humanists and invited comparison with Rome.²⁴ But imperial Constantinople, like papal Rome after the Great Schism, was untypical of the wider Mediterranean urban scene, with which it was inextricably involved. In the final decades before the fall, the population numbered seventy thousand, and along the Golden Horn, on the hills above the busy markets, the new three-story houses of a prosperous aristocratic bourgeoisie turned their back on the urban decay behind them, creating a built environment that had much in common with the bustling Genoese business center across the water.²⁵

²² G. Majeska, "The Sanctification of the First Region: Urban Reorientation in Palaeologan Constantinople," in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international d'Etudes byzantines*, Athènes, 1976 (Athens, 1981), 2:359–63.

²³ The most striking example is Theodore Metochites, whose monastery church still stands, and whose palace was so splendid that, after his fall, Emperor Andronikos III made a diplomatic present of the marble flooring to the khan of the Golden Horde: P. A. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1966, 1975), esp. I. Ševčenko in vol. 4:28–32; *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen and I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1822–55), 1:459.

²⁴ Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1892), 150–67; Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy to the Court of Timour at Samarkand, A.D. 1403–6*, trans. C. R. Markham (London, 1859), 29–49; Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, trans. M. Letts (London, 1926), 138–48; Manuel Chrysoloras, *Letter to John Palaeologus*, in PG 156:45ff; G. Gerola, "Le vedute di Costantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondemonti," *SBN* 3 (1931): 247–79.

²⁵ Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρεθέντα, ed. E. Voulgaris (Leipzig, 1768); *Johannes Chortasmenos, ca. 1370–ca. 1436/7: Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften*, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna, 1969), 190–92.

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