

APPENDIX I

Translations of Major Texts and Inscriptions relating to Water Supply, Storage, and Use in Byzantine Constantinople

assembled with additional translations by
Jonathan Bardill and Dirk Krausmüller

Ottoman sources are included only so far as they comment on the Byzantine system. For a more complete listing of the sources concerning the Ottoman system, see P. Wittek's appendix to Dalman (1933), 58–83 and the relevant works of Çeçen (1991, 1996b, 1999).

LATE ANTIQUITY

SEVERUS (193–208)

Malalas, *Chronicle* 12.20

(ed. Dindorf 291–2; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 155)

When Severus came to Byzantion and found that the situation of the city was good, he restored Byzoupolis and built a public Bath known as the Zeuxippon because a bronze statue of Helios (the sun) stood there in the middle of the Tetrastoon. On its base was inscribed the mystic name of the sun, 'To the horse-yoking (Zeuxippos) god', for that is what the Thracians called the sun. So the people of the city of Byzas used to call the public bath Zeuxippon after the original name of the place, and they no longer used the name Severium which the emperor had given it after himself. The emperor Severus added the public bath, which he built, to the Tetrastoon, in the middle of which stood the statue of Helios.

Hesychius 37

(ed. Preger I, 15–16; trans. Krausmüller)

When the wrath of Severus had abated they reverted to greater beauty after he had erected for them at great cost a huge bath by the altar of Zeus Hippios, that is, the so-called grove of Herakles (where they say that he tamed the horses of Diomedes and then named the place Zeuxippos). And he sumptuously erected also the place for racecourses that was next to it.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 494–95**

(trans. Krausmüller)

And when after many years Severus came from Rome to Byzantium in this year of his reign he saw that the setting of the city was beautiful and he rebuilt the city of Byzos and founded in it the public bath (*dēmosion loutron*) named 'Zeuxippos' and there stood in the middle of the Tetrastoon a brazen statue of Helios and underneath it he wrote the name of Helios Zeuxippos. The Thracians call the place 'Helios' whereas the people from the city of Byzantium themselves call the same 'Zeuxippian public bath' after the name that the place had before and they no longer, as the emperor had said, call it after his own name 'Severian'.

***Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 73**

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 153)

The Zeuxippus bath is called Severus, for it was built by Severus (193–211). Together with this he undertook the first foundation of the Hippodrome in a short space of time.

Suda, s.v. Severus

(trans. Krausmüller)

Severus . . . bought houses and gardens from some brothers who were orphans and cut down the trees around the hippodrome and arranged it in the shape that is now seen, having added to it also a bath in the temple of Zeus, which was called 'Zeuxippon'.

***Patria* 1.40**

(ed. Preger II, 137; trans. Krausmüller)

Up to the Chalkos there was a plain; from the Chalkos to the Sphendon big pillars were erected, from which there is also the cold cistern (*psykhra kinsterna*) because the place was craggy.

The Chalkos is the Masonry Obelisk standing on the spine of the Hippodrome. It was clad in bronze plates. The Sphendone, or curved end of the Hippodrome, was built on massive substructures because the ground drops steeply to the south of the obelisk. The cistern within these substructures is recorded by Mamboury and Wiegand (1934), 41–2 (F8/5).

CONSTANTINE I (324–337)***Malalas, Chronicle* 13.8**(ed. Dindorf 321; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 174)

Likewise he completed the public bath known as the Zeuxippon, and decorated it with columns and marbles of many colours and bronze statues. He had found the public bath unfinished; it had been begun formerly by the emperor Severus.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 529**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 16)

Likewise too he completed the bath which is called Zeuxippon, adorning it with columns and varied marbles and works of bronze.

***Malalas, Chronicle* 13.8**(ed. Dindorf 322; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 175)

On the same day, 11th May, he ordered that the public bath, the Zeuxippon, should be opened near the hippodrome and the Regia and the palace.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 529–30**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 16–17)

And he made a great festival, and commanded by his sacred decree that the anniversary of his city be celebrated on the same day, and that on the 11th of the same month Artemisius (May) the public bath Zeuxippon be opened, (530) which was near the hippodrome and the Regia of the palace.

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.2.1**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 430)

Emperor Constantine Augustus to Maximilianus Consular Administrator of the Water Supply. It is Our will that the landholders over whose lands aqueducts pass shall be exempt from extraordinary burdens, so that by their work they may cleanse the aqueducts when they are choked with dirt. The aforesaid landholders shall not be held subject to any other burden of any superindiction, lest they should be occupied in other matters and should not be present to clean the aqueducts. If they should neglect this duty, they shall be punished by the forfeiture of their landholdings; for the fisc will take possession of the landed estate of any

man by whose negligence aqueducts are damaged. Furthermore, the men through whose landed estates the aqueducts pass must know that they may have trees to the right and to the left of the aqueducts at a distance of fifteen feet therefrom. Your office staff shall enforce the regulation that if these trees grow too luxuriantly at any time, they must be cut out, so that their roots may not injure the structure of the aqueduct.

Given on the fifteenth day before the calends of June in the year of the consulship of Gallicanus and Symmachus (18 May 330).

Iulius Maximilianus was *consularis aquarum* in Rome *PLRE* I, 575; cf. *Cod. Just.* 11.42.1.

***Eusebius, Life of Constantine* 4.59**

(trans. Cameron and Hall (1999), 176)

Round it (the mausoleum of Constantine) was a spacious court wide open to the fresh air, and round this quadrangle ran porticoes which faced the middle of the court where the shrine stood, and official houses, washrooms, and lampstores extended along the porticoes, and a great many other buildings suitably furnished for the custodians of the place.

See the reference to the baths in Nikolaos Mesarites' description of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Downey (1957), 864–5.

***Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 73–4**

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 153–5)

73 The Constantinianai were built by Constantine the Great, as was the so-called Fossa. There were many remarkable statues in the Constantinianai which have been destroyed.

74 ... the cistern of the Basilica (was built) by Constantine the Great, the Chrysorrhoe by Licinius (308–24) at the order of Constantine.

The loss of the statues in the baths at Constantinianai (Constantianai) probably indicates that the baths themselves were no longer in use by the time this text was written (c. 800). The Chrysorrhoe is unlikely to have been a cistern, contrary to Janin (1964), 212.

***Patria* 1.67**

(ed. Preger II, 147–8; trans. Krausmüller)

The places have received their names from the names of those (the heads of the families who came to the city under Constantine). Philoxenus built the cistern that is called 'Philoxenos'. Modestus built a house in the area of Holy Apostles (called) 'of Lampros' (*tou Lamprou*).

On *tou Lamprou*, see Janin (1964), 379.

***Patria, Text C*, 3.191**

(ed. Preger II, 300; trans. Krausmüller)

About the (sc. cistern) of Philoxenus: near the forum there is a cistern (*kinsterna*) built by Philoxenus from Rome who was one of the twelve.

The 'forum' is that of Constantine. On the question of the identification of the cistern of Philoxenus, see Bardill (1999).

***Patria* 1.69–70**

(ed. Preger II, 149; trans. Krausmüller)

He (Constantine) also brought in the aqueducts from Bulgaria, and he built sumptuous vessels made of mortared rubble (*karabos enkhōrēgos*) all over the city that are as deep as the porticoes are high in order that there be no stench and no occurrence of many diseases, but rather that the stinking substances run through and run down to the sea. These, as has been said, were built by the *praepositus* Urbicius and the prefect Sallastius and the others, (Constantine) having left them six hundred *kentenaria* of gold for the porticoes and aqueducts and the walls.

On the city's drains, see Bardill (2004), 77–8.

***Patria* 2.40**

(ed. Preger II, 189; trans. Krausmüller)

About the imperial cistern (*basilikē kinsterna*): the so-called imperial cistern was built by the great Constantine. In fact, the cistern was built by Justinian I.

Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 8.4(PG 146, 20^a; trans. Krausmüller)

He (Constantine I) introduced a hippodrome and porticoes and storerooms for water (*tameia hydatōn*) and fountains (*krēnai*) and everything that indicates an extraordinary initiative and he decorated them and made them splendid.

CONSTANTIUS II (337–361)***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 534**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 25–6)

In the time of these consuls (345) the building of the Constantianae bath in Constantinople near the Apostles was begun by Constantius Augustus, from day 17 of the month of April.

***Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 85**

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984))

The statues of Perseus and Andromeda came, so we are told, in the reign of Constantius, after the completion of the church of Antioch, to the bath of Constantinianae.

On the statues, see Bassett (2004), 156–8.

Themistius, *Oratio* IV.58bc

(ed. Schenkl, Downey, 82.27–83.16; trans. Krausmüller)

And since shortly before the speech has mentioned Alexander, Pella did in no way receive a benefit or profit from the good fortune of Alexander, but after he had acquired such a great swathe of land for himself he did not make his hometown larger by a single *plethron*, whereas the city who is of the same age as the imperial office fittingly grows up together with the emperor. For I hear that the

father at the same time clad the city with the circular wall and the son with the purple gown. As a consequence having justly tripled his rule he has multiplied the one (i.e. the city) who is of the same age as it (i.e. the rule), not by extending the circuit but by devising additions to its beauty, *and by searching more bountiful sources of water and building baths that bear his name*, of which you already see the size, and whose beauty is expected to be in accordance with this size, by girding her (i.e. the city) with a covered course as with a colourful sash, and by braiding the imperial marketplace like some veil with gold and particles. But most lovely and desirable of all is that while he himself does not live in luxury he provides an abundance of luxury to the city, and while he closes off his own soul to pleasures he assembles for you the licit ones from everywhere.

Hesychius 41

(ed. Preger I, 17; trans. Krausmüller)

At that point after Constantius had taken over the rule, the conduit (*holkos*) of the waters was added to the city.

Libanius, *Letters* 251

(trans. Bradbury (2004), 66)

Many things in Constantinople have changed for the better — how could they not with you in charge? — the distinctions of the senatorial office, the beauty of the city's buildings, the fact that public interests are no less important, the abundant reservoirs, by which it is possible for you to rival even us.

The letter is addressed to Honoratus, prefect of the city 359–361, and is most likely to date to 360–361 (*PLRE* I, 439). This reference predates the work on the cistern of Modestus, which began in 363 (see below) and may be related to the cisterns supplied by the lower level Hadrianic line.

Libanius, *Letters* 827

(trans. Krausmüller)

This Elpidius is the son of the excellent Xiphidius, and while he is not lagging behind his father in his craft, he is the gentlest of men and, having cultivated modesty, he has preserved it from his youth to his old age and thus he has acquired many friends of whom I am one. That you should welcome him as one who has come as a helper for the city, was only proper, since it might well honour the man with an image, if — Poseidon granting — he makes you well-watered (*katarrytos*). However, he hoped to get something more from the fact that he knew full well the friendship that exists between me and yourself, and perhaps justly so, for it is common knowledge what you are to me and that whoever is a friend of mine is honoured by you. So then, confirm the hopes and make much of the man and honour him, partly because of the reason for which he has come and partly as our companion.

This letter is addressed to Modestus. Mango (1995), 14 n. 23 is probably right in suspecting 'that Elpidius had a wider remit than supervising the construction of the cistern of Modestus'. Work on the cistern of Modestus began in 363.

VALENS (364–378)

Themistius, *Oratio* XI.151a–152b

(ed. Schenkl, Downey, 226.27–228.16; trans. Krausmüller)

Blessed, happy Constantine! Do you sense that for you the emperor (Valens) has turned the beloved from an inanimate to an animate state, and that against expectation he has breathed life into this beautiful and desirable body that was still feeble, to say it with Homer, and that for you the city is truly a city and no longer a mere sketch? You and your son were clever in finding for her and giving to her many and manifold girdles and necklaces and bracelets and torques. And lest bedecked with much gold and precious objects she be more thirsty than those who are dressed in rags, you would have made great expenditure, but this honour was preserved and left to another, since God took care that the thank-offering of the emperor did not appear second to the imperial garb, which the beautiful city had first fixed on him. Now both exchange rivalling gifts with one another and not gold for bronze but things of quite equal worth. And it is difficult to pronounce which of them is more precious. For famous and renowned poets agree with both, one calling the imperial rank godlike and the other declaring water the best thing. But the originator of both of you rejoices and revels in this rivalry. I hear that he enquires with joy about the number of the nymphs and the course in order that with you as a leader and guide they appear from here and there and are invited to the Bosphorus. And the names are Thracian and manly, but the beauty and the splendour are exceedingly delicate. And one is tempted to call Pirene and Thisbe mere chatter and that Alpheus troubled himself in vain when loving Arethusa.

And I did not see winged Victories and Amores in bronze or in stone or in colours, but God let grow wings on the emperor's virtues alone. Thus they come to us faster than thought and neither rocks hold them back nor narrows nor the tops of high mountains nor craggy cliffs nor lightless ravines, but they run underneath the ones and around the others and they fly high above the third and they have come together into one place and have welcomed each other and have made a pact to flow together to the temple that is Constantine's by name but is already Valens' as far as its construction is concerned. For by right the origin of each thing does not belong to the one who started it but to the one who completed it. You, however, have both begun the headpiece of good fortune for it and completed it. And before, as it seems, it did not deserve its name and when we used the epithet 'rich' it was idle words. But since your expenditure and your love of honour have called the nymphs inside and have settled them inside, they are not only rich but are already thrice rich.

Themistius, *Oratio* XIII.167c–168c

(ed. Schenkl, Downey, 240.9–241.21; trans. Krausmüller)

For the city of Constantine and of the son of Constantine, with whose blood you have been mixed and the race of founders is already immortal and secure for us through the

blood that you share with them, this city was in a certain sense beautiful even before and did not shame the love of the founders but with all their zeal and eagerness both lovers ended up seeing it beautiful rather than making it so. It was as if somebody fell in love with a beautiful and noble woman and took care of rouge and makeup and cosmetics and other things (so that very many of them appeared on her) and by Jove also of precious bracelets and earrings and purple and gilded dresses, and dressed her up once with these and then again with others and applied makeup to her and brought things together from every land and sea, but saw her afflicted by thirst and drought and not far from vanishing together with the gold and together with the purple. From such a love the beloved has indeed great profit!

But your uncle who as I believe divined that you would wed the city, instead of making a mere sketch strove to inscribe the name of Constantine on an adamantine pillar and he made her the mother of imperial rank and soon gave the city clouds, which he took from Zeus out of heaven, having gathered as maidservants in one place these, which were situated here and there far apart from each other and which squatted in unpleasant and useless haunts. And they, faster than wings and thought, either fly high up through the air or run underneath steep jutting hills, in the earth and in the air, resembling a bunch of grapes as regards their backs, more than a thousand *stadia* uphill and downhill, neither running upwards nor downwards, and neither being held down nor being held in. And roofed over they come together and they have arrived here before the gates and they camp in the open waiting for the originator in order that with him as host they might settle in their temple, in which dance together Hephaestus and Asclepius and Panacea.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 556**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 45)

This Valens the brother of Valentinian was Arian, and had as wife Domnica, by whom he had a son, Galates by name, and two daughters, Anastasia and Carosa, and he founded two baths in Constantinople, the Anastasianae and the Carosianae, in accordance with their names.

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 5860 (A.D. 367/8)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 88)

The impious Valens had two daughters, Anastasia and Carosa, in whose names he built two baths and the aqueduct which even now is known as the Valentinianic.

***Consularia Constantinopolitana* A.D. 369**

(ed. Burgess (1993), 240; trans. Bardill)

In the time of the consuls Valentinian and Victor (369) work on the magnificent Constantinopolitan cistern was finished by Domitius Modestus *vir clarissimus* for a second time City Prefect, which he had started in the first prefecture.

See *PLRE* 1, 606 s.v. Modestus 2, work commenced in 363.

Jerome, *Chronicle*, A.D. 373

(trans. Donalson (1996), 54)

Clearchus, the prefect of the city at Constantinople was a famous man. He brought the necessary long-prayed-for water into the city with his aqueduct.

Clearchus was City Prefect of Constantinople in 372–373, 382–384 and consul in 384. See *PLRE* I, 211–12 s.v. Clearchus I.

***Consularia Constantinopolitana* A.D. 375**

(ed. Burgess (1993), 240; trans. Bardill)

At the time of these consuls (Modestus and Arintheus) the Carosianae baths were dedicated by the acting prefect *vir clarissimus* Vindalonius Magnus.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 560**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 48)

In the time of these consuls (375) the Carosianae gymnasium was inaugurated in the presence of the prefect Vindathnius Magnus.

Ammianus Marcellinus 31.1.4

(trans. Rolfe (1939), III, 379–81)

Finally, when the old walls of Chalcedon were torn down, in order that a bath might be built at Constantinople, and the rows of stones were taken apart, there was found on a squared block hidden in the midst of the structure of the wall an inscription containing the following Greek verses, clearly revealing what was to happen:

When gaily through the city's festal streets
Shall whirl soft maidens in a happy dance,
When mournfully a wall shall guard a bath,
Then countless hordes of men spread far and wide
With warlike arms shall cross clear Istrus' stream
To ravage Scythia's fields and Mysia's land.
But mad with hope when they Pannonia raid,
There battle and life's end their course shall check.

Socrates, *Church History* 4.8

(trans. Zenos (1891), 99)

Of the Oracle found inscribed on a Stone, when the Walls of Chalcedon were demolished by Order of the Emperor Valens.

An order was issued by the emperor that the walls of Chalcedon, a city opposite to Byzantium, should be demolished: for he had sworn to do this, after he should have conquered the usurper, because the Chalcedonians had sided with the usurper, and had used insulting language toward Valens, and shut their gates against him as he passed by their city. In consequence of the imperial decree, therefore, the walls were razed and the stones were conveyed to Constantinople to serve for the formation of the public baths which are called Constantianae. On one of these stones an oracle was found engraven, which had lain concealed for a long time, in which it was predicted that when the city should be supplied with abundance of water, then should the wall serve for a bath; and that

innumerable hordes of barbarous nations having overrun the provinces of the Roman empire, and done a great deal of mischief, should themselves at length be destroyed. We shall here insert this oracle for the gratification of the studious:

'When nymphs their mystic dance with wat'ry feet
Shall tread through proud Byzantium's stately street;
When rage the city wall shall overthrow,
Whose stones to fence a bathing-place shall go:
Then savage lands shall send forth myriad swarms,
Adorned with golden locks and burnished arms,
That having Ister's silver streams o'erpast,
Shall Scythian fields and Moesia's meadows waste.
But then with conquest flushed they enter Thrace,
Fate shall assign them there a burial-place.'

Such was the prophecy. And indeed it afterwards happened, that when Valens by building an aqueduct supplied Constantinople with abundance of water, the barbarous nations made various irruptions, as we shall hereafter see. But it happened that some explained the prediction otherwise. For when that aqueduct was completed, Clearchus the prefect of the city built a stately bath (*hydreion megiston* = large nymphaeum), to which the name of 'the Plentiful Water' was given, in that which is now called the Forum of Theodosius: on which account the people celebrated a festival with great rejoicings, whereby there was, say they, an accomplishment of those words of the oracle,

'their mystic dance with wat'ry feet shall tread through proud Byzantium's stately street.'

But the completion of the prophecy took place afterwards. While the demolition was in progress, the Constantinopolitans besought the emperor to suspend the destruction of the walls; and the inhabitants of Nicomedia and Nicaea, sending from Bithynia to Constantinople, made the same request. But the emperor being exceedingly exasperated against the Chalcedonians, was with difficulty prevailed upon to listen to these petitions in their favour: but that he might perform his oath, he commanded that the walls should be pulled down, while at the same time the breaches should be repaired by being filled up with other small stones. Whence it is that in the present day one may see in certain parts of the wall very inferior materials laid upon prodigiously large stones, forming those unsightly patches which were made on that occasion. So much will be sufficient on the walls of Chalcedon.

According to the *Notitia* of c. 425 the *nymphaeum maius* was in Region X, and therefore near, but not in, the Forum of Theodosius, which was divided between Regions VII and VIII, see the discussion in Chapter 6.

Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica***11.4**

(PG 146, 593; trans. Krausmüller)

The emperor (Valens) ordered that the walls of Chalcedon opposite Byzantium be torn down ... The wall then was torn down at the command of the ruler, and the stones

were immediately brought to Constantinople to the public bath of Constantianae.

Zonaras, *History* 13.16.33

(trans. Krausmüller)

Valens used the material from the walls of Chalcedon for the building of a conduit (*holkos*) of water, which the parlance of the people calls the aqueduct (*agōgos*), and also called it 'Valens', through which he caused the water to enter the city in order that it had water in abundance both for other uses and for baths (*loutra*).

***Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 74**

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 153)

The aqueduct was built by Valens the Arian (364–78), as Theodore writes.

***Patria* 2.69**

(ed. Preger II, 188; trans. Krausmüller)

The aqueduct (*agōgos*) with the big arches (*hapsis*) was built under Valens as one can see.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 1.544

(trans. Krausmüller)

In the fourth year (of the reign) he (Valens) built the aqueduct (*agōgos hydatos*), which he called Valentinian (*Oualentinianos*)

Ammianus Marcellinus 26.6.14

(trans. Rolfe (1939), II, 605–7)

So, as had been agreed, as soon as the sun's rays illumined the day, the aforesaid Procopius, full of conflicting emotions, went to the Anastasian Baths, named for the sister of Constantine, where he knew that the legions had their quarters.

The 'sister of Constantine' was Anastasia, wife of Bassianus Caesar. According to other sources the Anastasian baths were named from a daughter of Valens.

Socrates, *Church History* 4.9

(trans. Zenos (1891), 99)

But the emperor's (Valens') displeasure against this sect (the Novatians) was moderated by the efforts of a pious and eloquent man named Marcian, who had formerly been in military service at the imperial palace, but was at that time a presbyter in the Novatian church, and taught Anastasia and Carosa, the emperor's daughters, grammar; from the former of whom the public baths yet standing, which Valens erected at Constantinople, were named.

Sozomen, *Church History* 6.9

(trans. Hartranft (1891), 352)

Not long after his banishment, he (Agelius the Novatian) was recalled, received the churches under him, and boldly convened churches through the influence of Marcian, a man of extraordinary virtue and eloquence, who had for-

merly been enrolled among the troops of the palace, but at this period was a presbyter of the Novatian heresy, and the teacher of grammar to Anastasia and Carosa, the daughters of the emperor. There are still baths at Constantinople which bear the names of these princesses.

GRATIAN, THEODOSIUS I AND VALENTINIAN II (379–392)

Themistius, *Oratio* XIV.183b–184a

(ed. Schenkl, Downey; trans. after Dagron (1984a), 204)

The other emperors have given us a throng of columns and statues and an abundance of water; You (Theodosius I) consolidate our senate in honour and dignity.

Gregory of Nazianus, *Orations* 33, *Against the Arians* 6

(trans. Schaff and Wace (1893), 330)

'Your City, you say to me, is a little one, or rather no city at all, but only a village, arid, without beauty, and with only a few inhabitants.' But, my good friend, this is my misfortune, rather than my fault; if indeed it be a misfortune; and if it is against my will, I am to be pitied for my bad luck, if I may put it so; but if it be willingly, I am a philosopher. Which of these is a crime? ... But we, you go on, have walls and theatres and racecourses and palaces, and beautiful great Porticoes, and that marvellous work the underground and overhead river, and the splendid and admired column, and the crowded marketplace and restless people, and a famous senate of highborn men.

A tenth-century scholion by Elias of Crete is reported thus: 'He speaks, says Elias, about the river that Valens brought into the city through cylindrical structures, which river runs through the middle of Constantinople and fills the whole channel' (trans. Krausmüller).

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.2.3**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 430)

Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius Augustuses to Clearchus, Prefect of the City.

If the greatest houses are furnished with very elegant baths, We decree that they can have no more than two inches of water (i.e. pipes of two inches in diameter), or if, by reason of high rank, more than this amount is required, by no means shall they possess more than three inches each. We also decree that houses of mediocre or inferior merit shall be content with an inch and a half, provided that it appears that they have such baths. We order that all other persons who maintain houses of smaller dimensions shall enjoy the use of only one half of an inch. No opportunity for any surreptitious undertaking shall be open to anyone. Unless the office staff that obeys your orders should betray the unlawful users, they shall be stricken by a penalty of six pounds of gold, and the obtainer of a grant by deception shall forfeit the use of what he was granted.

Given on the tenth day before the calends of July at Constantinople, in the year of the consulship of Antonius and Syagrius (22 June 382).

Clearchus was City Prefect of Constantinople in 372–73 and 382–84. See *PLRE* 1, 211–12 s.v. Clearchus 1.

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.23**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 425)

The same Augustuses (Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius) to Cynegius, Praetorian Prefect.

All men shall contribute their work and shall zealously urge forward the restoration of the port and the aqueduct, and no person shall be exempted from such common duty by any privileges of rank.

Given on the fifteenth day before the calends of February at Constantinople in the year of the consulship of Richomer and Clearchus (18 January 384).

THEODOSIUS I AND VALENTINIAN II (383–392)

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.2.4**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 430)

Emperors Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius Augustuses to Pancratius, Prefect of the City.

If any man in the future with the audacity of forbidden madness should wish to injure the interests of this fair City by diverting water from a public aqueduct to his own farm, he shall know that the said farm shall be designated by the proscription of a fiscal title and shall be added to Our privy purse.

Given on the eighth . . . at Constantinople in the year of the consulship of Timasius and Promotus.

Pancratius was City Prefect of Constantinople in 381–82. See *PLRE* 1, 664 s.v. Pancratius 4. The consular date is false, since the consulship corresponds to 389. See *PLRE* 1, 750–1 s.v. Flavius Promotus, 914–15 s.v. Flavius Timasius. The law is repeated in *Cod. Just.* 11.42.2, trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 194.

***Corpus Iuris Civilis, Codex Justinianus* 11.42.6**

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 195–6)

The Same Emperors (Theodosius and Valentinian) to Cyrus, Praetorian Prefect.

Every servitude permitting water to be drawn from the aqueduct of Hadrian, whether for domestic use, for the irrigation of land, for country villas, or for baths, either by virtue of an Imperial Rescript, or secured by usurpation, is hereby absolutely abolished; for We prefer that the aforesaid aqueduct should be used to provide water for the public, hot and cold baths, and for Our palace.

We decree that this law shall, by all means, be observed hereafter, and that permission shall be granted to no one, in answer to a petition, to take water from the said aqueduct, nor shall anyone venture to pierce it for that purpose. All persons who, for any reason whatsoever, may think

that they are entitled to this privilege (or any official who dares to grant it, or even receive a petition for that purpose), are hereby notified that they will be fined a hundred pounds of gold for the benefit of the Treasury. We order that no trees shall be planted within ten feet of a public aqueduct, but that, on each side of the same, the space of ten feet shall remain unoccupied and unobstructed.

Moreover, We decree that the same rule shall be observed with reference to the leaden pipes which conduct water to the hot baths called by the name of Achilles, which We have learned that Your Highness has erected; for We desire that the above-mentioned pipes shall only be used for providing the hot and cold baths with water, which is the purpose for which you intended them.

Your Highness must also give authority to your subordinates to exercise supervision over houses, suburban villas, and baths, without running any risk, in order to prevent deception from being practised, or suppression, or any other illegal act from being committed by anyone against the public welfare, so far as the use of water is concerned.

Cyrus was Urban Prefect in 426 and 439–41, but Praetorian Prefect in 439–41 see *PLRE* 2, s.v. Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus.

***Corpus Iuris Civilis, Codex Justinianus* 11.42.7**

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 196)

The Same Emperors (Theodosius and Valentinian) *Eutychiano pp.*

All taxes on ladders which can be collected, as well as those paid by the labourers called *Cyziceni*, shall be employed for the repair of the aqueducts of this Renowned City. It should be remembered that none of those who have the right to use the water shall be subjected for any expenses for repairs, as it would be abominable for the inhabitants of this Beautiful City to be compelled to purchase water.

***CIG* 8611**

. . . in the time of the ex-consul and patrician and prefect of the new Rome . . .

A fragmentary text and apparently the only known example of a stamped fistula from Constantinople. Dagron 1984a, 250 suggests that this does not necessarily date from the time of Valens, but to the following century. He incorrectly states that it was discovered at the aqueduct of Valens, whereas it was in fact found in the nineteenth century as part of the fountain inserted into the serpent column on the Hippodrome. See Madden (1992), 117. See also *PLRE* 1, 1009 s.v. Anon. 20.

ARCADIUS (395–408)

Hesychius 9

(ed. Preger I, 4; trans. Krausmüller)

Keroessa, then, was raised by the nymph Semestra and was endowed with an extraordinary beauty and she by far outdid all young women of Thrace, and after intercourse

with the sea-god Poseidon she gave birth to the so-called Byzas, who took this name from the nymph Bizye who had raised him in Thrace and whose waters the inhabitants of the city draw until now.

Although the text dates to the sixth century, this is a key reference for the Theodosian extension of the water supply in Thrace to exploit sources near Bizye. For Byzas as the mythological founder of Byzantium see Dagron (1984b), esp. 68.

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.2.6**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 430–1)

Emperors Arcadius and Honorius Augustuses to Africanus, Prefect of the City.

If any man should suppose that his supply of water may be drawn from an aqueduct rather than from a reservoir, he shall also forfeit that privilege which he had formerly acquired by right of a special grant of imperial favour. He shall be visited with the severest punishment, in accordance with his legal status, if contrary to the statutes of this divine imperial response, he should be unwilling to restrain the reins of his greedy cupidity, and thus the measure of the conduit allotted to private persons may perform its service.

Posted on the fourth day before the calends of June at Constantinople in the year of the consulship of Olybrius and Probinus (29 May 395 or 396).

***Codex Theodosianus* 6.4.29**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 126)

The same Augustuses (Arcadius and Honorius) to ... (either Africanus or Claudius) Prefect of the City.

Recently, indeed, an imperial sanction had been issued to this effect, namely, that the theatrical expenditures that were to be made by the praetors should be diverted to the construction and repair of the aqueduct, but now with a just regulation you shall provide for the enforcement of the provision that the Roman and Laurate Praetors shall furnish theatrical amusements to the people on the birthday of Our Imperial Divinity.

Given on the fourth day before the calends of January at Constantinople in the year of the fourth consulship of Arcadius Augustus and the third consulship of Honorius Augustus (29 December 396).

***Codex Theodosianus* 6.4.30**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 126)

The same Augustuses (Arcadius and Honorius) to Eutychianus, Praetorian Prefect.

Of the five praetors who had been assigned to the Theodosiac Aqueduct, I command that the one who limits his munificence by the established expenditure of one hundred pounds of silver shall be assigned to the festivities of the birthday of the eternal Emperor, My brother Honorius.

Given on the day before the calends of January at Constantinople in the year of the fourth consulship of

Arcadius Augustus and the third consulship of Honorius Augustus (31 December 396).

Eutychianus was Praetorian Prefect in 396–7, probably of Illyricum, and again in 398, see *PLRE* 1, 320–1.

Marcellinus, *Chronicle* A.D. 394

(trans. Croke (1995), 6)

The Arcadian Baths were named after their founder (393/4).

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 566**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 56)

He (Arcadius) also had daughters, Pulcheria and Arcadia and Marina. And two of these, namely Arcadia and Marina respectively, founded the Arcadianae bath and the mansion of Marina.

Socrates, *Church History* 6.18

(trans. Zenos (1891), 151)

... the emperor therefore sent to tell John that he could not go to the church (Haghia Sophia), because two synods had condemned him. Accordingly Chrysostom was silenced, and went no more to the church; but those who were of his party celebrated Easter in the public baths which are called Constantianae, and thenceforth left the church.

Sozomen, *Church History* 8.21

(trans. Hartranft (1891), 412)

When the people perceived the plot, they did not use the church on the following day, but celebrated the Paschal feast in the very spacious public baths called after the emperor Constantius.

Marcellinus, *Chronicle* A.D. 407

(trans. Croke (1995), 9)

A very large reservoir was constructed beside the porphyry column of the emperor Constantine under the street-crossing in his forum (406/7).

THEODOSIUS II (408–450)

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.50**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 429)

The same Augustuses (Honorius and Theodosius) to Isidorus, Prefect of the City

The work that has been undertaken shall be constructed, and a portico with a line of columns shall extend in front of the Baths of Honorius ...

Given on the fourth day before the calends of November at Constantinople in the year of the ninth consulship of Honorius Augustus and the fifth consulship of Theodosius Augustus (29 October 412).

The *Notitia* refers to two baths of this name, one in Region V, the other in Region XIII.

Marcellinus, *Chronicle* A.D. 421

(trans. Croke (1995), 13)

The reservoir of Aetius was built (420/1).

The cistern is presumably the same as the 'cistern of the lady Pulcheria' mentioned by the *Chronicon Paschale* in the same year.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 578**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 68)

In the time of these consuls (421) water was let into the cistern of the lady Pulcheria Augusta, in the month Peritius, one day before the Ides of February (12 February), in the presence of lord Theodosius Augustus.

***Codex Theodosianus* 15.1.52**

(trans. Pharr (1952), 429)

Emperor Theodosius Augustus to Severinus, Prefect of the City.

Because it is reported that very many houses, with their shops, are in the porticoes of Zeuxippus, We order that the income from the aforesaid places, in the amount fixed therefore, shall be devoted without any exemption to furnishing lights and repairing the buildings and roofs for these baths of this imperial City.

Given on the fifth day before the Ides of January in the year of the consulship of the Most Noble Victor (9 January 424).

Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae

(trans. Bardill)

(c. A.D. 425)

First Region ... Contains in it:

... Arcadianae baths ... Fifteen private baths ...

Second Region ... Contains in it:

... Baths of Zeuxippus ... Thirteen private baths ...

Third Region ... Contains in it:

... Eleven private baths

Fourth Region ... Contains in it:

... Nymphaeum ... Seven private baths

Fifth Region ... Contains in it:

... Honorianae baths ... Theodosian cistern ...
Eudocianae baths ... Nymphaeum ... Eleven private
baths

Sixth Region ... Contains in it:

... Nine private baths

Seventh Region ... Contains in it:

... Carosianae baths ... Eleven private baths

Eighth Region ... Contains in it:

... Ten private baths

Ninth Region ... Contains in it:

... Anastasianae baths ... Fifteen private baths

Tenth Region ... Contains in it:

... Constantinianae baths ... Large nymphaeum ...
(Twenty-two?) private baths

Eleventh Region ... Contains in it:

... Arcadiaca cistern. Modestiaca cistern ... Fourteen
private baths

Twelfth Region ... Contains in it:

... Five private baths

Thirteenth Region (Sycæ) ... Contains in it:

... Honorianae baths ... Five private baths

Fourteenth Region (Rhegium?) ... Contains in it:

... Nymphaeum. Baths ... Five private baths

Collection of the city ... The Constantinopolitan city
therefore has:

... Eight baths (the regional list gives nine) ... Four
cisterns (only three were listed) ... Four Nymphaea
(correct) ... One hundred and fifty-three private baths
(if the total is correct, it suggests that there were
twenty-two in the tenth region).

See the discussion and translation into German of the *Notitia*
by Berger (1997a).

Marcellinus, *Chronicle* 427

(trans. Croke (1995), 14)

The Theodosian baths were dedicated (426/7).

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 581–82**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 70)

In the time of these consuls (427) the bath was inaugurated which was formerly the Constantinianae, but now the Theodosianae, after Hierius, twice prefect and consul had completed it in the month Hyperberetaeus, on day 5 before Nones of October (3 October).

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 582**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 71)

In the time of these consuls (433) there was a great conflagration from the Neorion; and the granaries and the bath called Achilles burnt, in the month Lous, on day 12 before Kalends of September (21 August).

Marcellinus, *Chronicle* 443

(trans. Croke (1995), 18)

The dedication of the so-called Baths of Achilles was held (442/3).

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 583**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 73)

In the time of these consuls (443) the public bath called Achilles was inaugurated, in the month Audynaëus, on day 3 before Ides of January (11 January).

MARCIAN (450–457)**Marcellinus, *Chronicle* 452**

(trans. Croke (1995), 20)

Marcian Augustus declared by his decrees that those who wished to become consuls should disburse no money among the people but spend the prescribed sum on repairing the city's aqueduct (451/2).

Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai 21

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 83)

The so-called Exakionion once held (a statue of) a hare, a hound, and a huge Faunus, all three from one piece of iron; and many other sights were preserved in this place. These Marcian (450–57) took away and placed in the region of St Mamas. And there was a large bath, in which many were endangered because they said they had not heard the prophecy.

Janin (1964), 220 wonders if these are the same as the Helenianae baths.

LEO I (457–474)**Chronicon Paschale, ed. Dindorf 593**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 85)

And in this year (459) Aspar the *magister militum* began to build the very large cistern near the old wall.

Cedrenus, History, ed. Bekker 1.610

(trans. Krausmüller)

In the fifth year (of Leo I) a fire broke out in Constantinople ... and the fire consumed splendid and extraordinary buildings, in the forum of Constantine an enormous house called 'of the Senate' ... and the nymphaeum that is situated opposite this house where the weddings of people without houses take place.

See Janin (1964), 64; Bauer (1996), 171, fig. 59.

Codex Justinianus 13.3.2

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 243)

The Emperor Leo

We wish to restore the Order of the Consulate to its ancient splendour, so that persons who obtain that honour may do so through their merits, and not by cultivating the favour of the people, and, laying aside the desire for gain, the candidates may have in view only the venerable practice of their ancestors and the auspicious ornaments of antiquity which are peculiar to the office. Therefore, We desire that the other Consuls shall have this example before them, and We shall not suffer them to incur great expense to no purpose. Hence, Consuls shall, hereafter, abstain from the vile practice of scattering money among the populace, and what they lose in this way and formerly squandered without any compensating advantage should be employed for better purposes, and in measures contributory to the public welfare. If, at the beginning of every consulate, a hundred pounds of gold is paid by the Consuls for the maintenance of the aqueduct of this great city, each of them will know that this sum has been given for the benefit of his country, and that what has been bestowed will remain a perpetual evidence of his generosity.

Patria 3.75

(ed. Preger II, 242; trans. Krausmüller)

The same (sc. Leo Makelles) also built a bath (sc. in the Blachernae).

ZENO (474–491)**Malalas, Chronicle 15.9**(ed. Dindorf 383; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 212)

During his reign the ex-consul Theoderic, the son of Valamer, who had been brought up and educated in Constantinople, was *magister militum praesentalis*. But after seeing what had happened to Armatus, he became afraid of the emperor Zeno. So he took his army and left Constantinople, making for Selymbria (modern Silivri) because of the *numeri* stationed there. He then rebelled and seized all Thrace (486). He marched against the emperor Zeno as far as Sykai, which is opposite Constantinople, across the strait, and cut the city's aqueduct (487). After remaining for a number of days without being able to harm the emperor, he left there and set off for Rome which was then controlled by Odovacer, king of the barbarians.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Excerpta de insidiis 34(ed. C. de Boor, *Excerpta historica* 163.7–10; trans. Krausmüller)

Theoderic ... marched against Emperor Zeno to Sycae opposite Constantinople. He interrupted the aqueduct (*agōgos*) of the city and spent many days there and when he could not harm Zeno he retreated from there.

Codex Justinianus 8.13.1 (486)

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 14, 252–3)

The Emperor Zeno to Arcadius, Praetorian Prefect.

We order that the Governors of provinces and the illustrious judges of different districts, that is to say, the Augustal Prefect, the Count of the East, and all Proconsuls and Viceregents, together with those composing their retinues shall, in conformity with the tenor of the general regulations established by Your Highness, refrain from interfering with any public works or aqueducts which either have been constructed at the public expense, or by the voluntary munificence of anyone, or which may hereafter be constructed; nor shall they, in any way or at any time, claim for themselves a single siliqua of the solidi out of the amount to be expended in handling the public revenues, whether the work has been completed or is to be undertaken hereafter; nor shall they acquire for themselves any gain, for they have no concern in matters of this kind, as the municipal bodies are charged with them when they are placed under their supervision ...

Codex Justinianus 11.42.8

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 196)

The Same Emperor to Adamantius Prefect of the City.

We order, by this law, that if any Urban Prefect should convert to other purposes money provided for the construction or maintenance of aqueducts, he shall be compelled to refund the amount out of his own property to be used for the said aqueducts.

A separate treasurer shall be appointed to receive the money provided by the illustrious Consuls, which has been donated by their liberality, or has been, or may hereafter, be obtained from other sources to ensure a supply of water for the public.

Codex Justinianus 11.42.9

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 196)

The Same Emperor to Sporacius.

We decree that careful investigation shall be made of fountains which were originally public, as well as those which, derived from private sources, have afterwards become public and then been converted to the use of private individuals, as well as such as have been surreptitiously obtained by Imperial Rescripts; and, by all means, where a privilege of this kind is known to have been secured unlawfully, and not under the pretext of imperial sanction, so that its rights may be restored to the Capital, and what was once public shall not become private, but shall be devoted to the use of the entire community.

Imperial Rescripts or pragmatic sanctions which have been obtained by any persons, contrary to the welfare of the City, should be declared illegal and void; nor can any prescription of long time be advanced for the purpose of curtailing the rights of the City.

Codex Justinianus 11.42.10

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 196–7)

The Same Emperor to Pentius (*Spontio*).

We decree that nothing shall be done by anyone, no matter what his rank, for the purpose of interfering with the smaller aqueducts, or the public fountains which flow into them. Whoever, either secretly or openly, relying upon his authority, diverts any of the water from the said branches of the aqueduct or fountains, or clandestinely takes water from the public aqueducts, shall be compelled to make complete restitution of the same.

We also order that hereafter no trees whatever shall be planted near the said aqueducts, in order that the walls of the latter may be not ruined by their roots. The prohibition is known to have been established by the ancient constitution, and all persons are notified that, hereafter, any villa, field, bath, mill, or garden in which public water is used, or in or about which trees have been planted by the owner thereof which may injure the aqueduct, will subject the man or the building to proscription, and his property shall be confiscated to the Treasury. This penalty shall not be revoked even by Imperial Rescript.

Again, We decree that all inspectors and guardians of water, who are styled *hydrophylaces*, (*quos hydrophylacas nominant*), who are appointed to have supervision of the aqueducts of this Imperial City, shall bear Our name stamped upon their hands for the purpose of identification, so that by this means they may well be known to all, and not be called upon to perform other services, either by the Stewards of Our Household, or by anyone else, and be employed as couriers, or discharge various public duties.

When any of the said water-inspectors dies, We order that whoever is summoned to take his place shall be designated with the same mark, so that, being thus associated in a common service, they must exercise constant vigilance for the preservation of the water, and not occupy themselves with other matters.

ANASTASIUS I (491–518)

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 5991 (A.D. 498/9)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 218)

A certain Olympios, an Arian, who was washing in the baths of Helenianai, died miserably in the pool after uttering terrible blasphemies.

***Patria* 3.84**

(ed. Preger II, 245–6; trans. Krausmüller)

Anastasius Dikoros built the Mocian (cistern). When he built it there was a famine in the city: a modius cost one nomisma. The factions called it so because of its being close to St Mocius.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 1.636

(trans. Krausmüller)

Since it had been prophesied that he (Anastasius) would give up his implacable ghost through fire, he had many outlets (*stomion*) opened from the cistern (*kinsterna*) in the palace that is called ‘Cold’ and had jars (*kaddos*) put next to each of them, as he was intent on proving this prophecy about him false.

It is unclear whether this ‘cold’ cistern is to be identified with that of the same description in the Sphendone of the Hippodrome.

Codex Justinianus 11.42.11 (517)

(trans. Scott (1932), vol. 15, 197)

The Emperor Anastasius to Sergius, Praetorian Prefect.

We order, by this law, that the Divine Constitution promulgated by the Emperor Theodosius, of illustrious memory, with those who wish to obtain the right to take water from the public fountains, shall be confirmed, so that no one, either in this Most Holy City, or in the provinces, shall be permitted to draw water from any public aqueduct or fountain without a special permit issued by the Emperor in the usual manner, and duly recorded, either by Your Highness, or by other officials having authority to do so.

Those who violate this law, or permit it to be done, shall not only be condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds of gold, but shall also be severely punished.

Scott’s translation associates this law with the emperor Justinian and an unattested praetorian prefect Servus; the reading in Krueger is to be preferred. Sergius was praetorian prefect in the East in 517 and he was probably an honorary consul, since his name does not appear in the Fasti of Ordinary Consuls, *PLRE* 2, 994–5 s.v. Sergius.

JUSTINIAN I (527–565)**Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.17**(ed. Dindorf 435–436; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 252)

The emperor (Justinian I) also completed the public bath in Constantinople known as Dagistheos', which the emperor Anastasios had begun to build. He built the central hall of the Basilican cistern (436), intending to bring the water of Hadrian's aqueduct into it. He also reconstructed the city's aqueduct (i.e. the supply line of Valens).

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 618–19**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 110)

The same emperor (Justinian I) also completed the public bath, the one in the quarter of Dagistheus, which Anastasios the emperor had formerly begun to build in Constantinople.

And the same emperor also made the central court of the Basilica of Illus a great cistern, wishing to send into it the water from the Hadrianic aqueduct. The same emperor restored this aqueduct, which had formerly been constructed by emperor Hadrian for the Byzantines to supply water before Byzantium had a water supply.

Compare Cedrenus, *History* 1.645.

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6020 (A.D. 526/7)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 267)

The same emperor (Justinian I) completed the public bath in the quarter of Dagistheos, which the emperor Anastasios had begun, and also made the inner court of the basilica of Illos into a large cistern.

Procopius, *Secret History* 26.23

(trans. Williamson (1966), 171–2)

The city's aqueduct had broken and was carrying only a fraction of the usual quantity of water into the city. But Their Majesties took no notice and would not spend a penny on it, though there was always a great crowd of people round the fountains with their tongues hanging out, and all the public baths were closed ... it was not the desire to save money but the set purpose of destroying his fellow-men that led him to neglect the rebuilding of the aqueduct.

Procopius, *Buildings* 1.11.10–15

(trans. Dewing and Downey (1940), 91–2)

As one sails from the Propontis up toward the eastern side of the city, there is on the left a public bath. This is called the Arcadianae, and it is an ornament to Constantinople, large as the city is. There this Emperor (Justinian) built a court which lies outside the city, and it is always open to those who tarry there for promenades and to those who anchor there as they are sailing by ...

I shall now describe the labours which were carried out here by this Emperor (Justinian I) to ensure an abundant

water-supply. In the summer season the imperial city used to suffer from scarcity of water as a general thing, though at the other seasons it enjoyed a sufficiency. Because that period always brings droughts, the springs, running less freely than at the other seasons, used to deliver through the conduits a less abundant flow of water to the city. Wherefore the Emperor devised the following plan. At the Imperial Portico, where the lawyers and prosecutors prepare their cases, as well as all others who are concerned with such matters, there is a certain very large court, very long, and broad in proportion, surrounded by columns on the four sides, not set upon a foundation of earth by those who constructed it, but built upon living rock. Four colonnaded stoas surround the court, standing one on each side. Excavating to a great depth this court and one of the stoas (that which faces toward the south), the Emperor Justinian made a suitable storage reservoir for the summer season, to contain the water which had been wasted because of its very abundance during the other seasons. For receiving this overflow of the aqueduct when its stream is spilling over, this cistern both furnishes a place for the water which for the moment can find no space, and provides a supply for those who need it when water becomes scarce. Thus the Emperor Justinian made provision that the people of Byzantium should not be in want of fresh water.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 1.610

(trans. Krausmüller)

He (Justinian) also completed the interior of the imperial cistern (*basilikē kinsterna*) of Illus, which he furthermore enlarged, and the bath (*loutron*) of Dagisteus, which Anastasios had begun.

Procopius, *Wars* 1.24.9

(trans. Dewing (1914), Vol. 1, 223)

(On the Nika riots of January 532) The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippos, and the portion of the imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place (forum) which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure.

Lydus, *On the Magistracies* 3.70

(trans. Bandy (1983), 245)

(On the Nika riots of January 532) ... the multitude rebelled and, having united in one ill-starred design, burned almost the entire city. And the Cappadocian disappeared, but the fire got its start at the gates of the court. Then from there it spread to the First Temple. From the latter it leapt to the Council-house of Julian called *Senatus* after the Assembly Hall of Augustus. From this it proceeded to the forum called *Zeuxippus* after King Zeuxippus, under whom, in the thirty-eighth Olympiad, Megarians who had emigrated to Byzantium called the forum thus in his honour, just as the Megarians who had

colonized Cyzicus named the Arcades of Charidemus after him. The latter, too, is mentioned as having reigned over the Greeks, as Castor recorded in his *Epitome of Annals*. As for the public bath, it was named *Severum* after Severus, a commander of the Romans, who, because he was afflicted with an illness of the joints, had the bath built for himself while he was tarrying in Thrace on account of his dispute with Niger. When structures of such grandeur had been turned into flames, the colonnades which lined the city all the way up to the Forum of Constantine and shaded the broad street with graceful contours by the beauty and size of their columns were inescapably caught up.

Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.71

(ed. Dindorf 474–75; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 276)

(14 January 532) Part of the public colonnade as far as the Zeuxippon (475) was burnt.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 622**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 118–19)

And on the Friday, day 16 of the same month (January 532), the people went to the *praetorium* of the prefects, and threw fire there, and the roofs of the two imperial houses were burnt and of the same *praetorium* only where the archives were. For a north wind blew and drove the fire away from the *praetorium*; and the bath of Alexander was burnt and the hospice of Eubulus in part and St Irene (. . .) which had been built by Illus the Isaurian, who rebelled against Zeno the emperor.

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6024 (A.D. 531/2)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 279)

Next they (the rioters) went and burned the baths of Alexander, the great hospice of Sampson (where the patients perished), and the Great Church along with all its columns. It collapsed entirely on all four sides.

Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.71

(ed. Dindorf 477; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 281)

(After the Nika riots of January 532) He built a granary and reservoirs near the palace so as to have supplies in times of crisis.

***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 629**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 127)

(After the Nika riots of January 532) And he built inside the Palace bakeries and granaries for the storage of grain; and likewise too a cistern for water in case of popular crises.

Procopius, *Buildings* 1.10.3

(trans. Dewing and Downey (1940), 81)

(After the Nika riots of January 532) At this point, only this shall be set down, that this Emperor's work includes the propylaea of the Palace and the so-called Bronze Gate

as far as what is called the House of Ares, and beyond the Palace both the Baths of Zeuxippos and the great colonnaded stoas and indeed everything on either side of them as far as the market-place which bears the name of Constantine.

Translatio Olympiadis

(ed. Delehaye, *An. Boll.* 16 (1897), 45; trans. Krausmüller)

Then after the aforementioned monastery (of St Olympias, following destruction by fire during the Nika riot) had been built by Justinian who is among the saints, he returned all those souls from St Menas again to their own monastery, having granted the same monastery three ounces (*oungias*) of water per day and civic bread.

The Greek *oungias* is presumably a transliteration of the Latin *uncias* or inch, the appropriate measure for the diameter of a pipe, see Mango (1995), 17.

Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.91

(ed. Dindorf 482; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 286)

In that year (541/2) Longinus was appointed city prefect. He paved the central hall of the Basilican cistern. He also built the colonnades of the Basilica (above the cistern) magnificently.

This appears to mean that he repaved the area above the cistern so as to restore the public space.

Inscription on Elkaf Dere aqueduct bridge (K20.3)

(trans. Crow (1999), 34 with fig. 2)

In the time of the renowned Longinus, ex-consul and prefect of the city, . . . was built

On Longinus, see *PLRE* IIIB s.v. Longinus 2, 795–6; in addition, Feissel (2000a), 600 no. 819 connects this Longinus with a prefect of that name on an inscription from Bursa; see also Feissel (1995), 570–1, no. 735.

Malalas, *Chronicle* 18.139

(ed. Dindorf 492; trans. Jeffreys *et al.* (1986), 301)

In the month of November (562) a severe drought occurred in Constantinople so that many fights occurred at the cisterns.

Zonaras, ed. Büttner Wobst III, 157

(trans. Krausmüller)

He (Justinian) also destroyed a very big conduit (*holkos*) made of lead through which water was brought into the city because he needed much of this material for his buildings.

***Diegesis* 26**

(after Dagron (1984b), 207)

Justinian began the church (of Haghia Sophia) alone, and alone he completed it, without anyone else contributing to the expenses or taking charge of any building. And it was a marvel to see, in the church's splendour and glistening, the gold and silver sparkling everywhere. For those who

entered it was a marvel to see the variety of marbles on the floor similar to the sea and to the waters of a river running without respite. In fact, to the four demarcations of the nave he had given the name of the four rivers which go out of Paradise, and laid down that those whose sins had separated them from communion should stay there. At the fountain all around he made twelve vaulted basins and stone lions that spouted water for the ablutions of the ordinary people. In the right-hand part of the right-hand gallery he made a sea of one hand-width to make the water go up there, and a staircase so that the priests could pass over the sea. Opposite, he built a reservoir of rain water and sculptured twelve lions, twelve panthers, twelve deer, eagles, hares, bulls, crows, twelve of each, so that by a machine water spouts from their mouth for the ablutions of the clergy alone. He called this spot Leontarion (the Lions), and Metatorion the fine gilded chamber that he fitted out there to stop there when he came to the church.

For commentary, see Dagron (1984b), 254–6, 282–3.

JUSTIN II (565–578)

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6062
(A.D. 569/70)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 359)

He restored the public bath of the Tauros and named it Sophianai after his wife Sophia.

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6068 (A.D. 575/6)
(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 367)

In this year Justin repaired the great aqueduct of Valens and supplied the city with abundant water.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 1.685
(trans. Krausmüller)

In the eleventh year (of his reign) the emperor (Justin II) built the great aqueduct (*agōgos*) and the other aqueduct (*agōgos*) which is called Adranes and he gave the city an abundance of water.

TIBERIUS (578–582)

John of Ephesus, *Church History* 3.23
(trans. Mango (1972), 128)

... As he was unwilling to use constraint against queen Sophia so as to take up his residence in the Great Palace, he was obliged to remodel the whole of the northern side and build a palace for himself. For which purpose he demolished many spacious buildings and destroyed a beautiful garden which had existed in the middle of the palace and been a great pleasure to former kings. After pulling these down on all sides, he erected larger and more magnificent buildings, including a splendid bath which he built anew, and spacious stabling for his horses at the upper end of the palace, and many other things.

Leo Grammaticus, *Chronicle* 137–8
(trans. Mango (1972), 128)

He (Tiberius) built and decorated the public bath of the Blachernae, and he restored many churches and hospices. He also splendidly decorated the so-called Chrysotriklinos in the palace which had been built from the ground up by Justin (II).

***Patria* 3.197**

(ed. Preger II, 277; trans. Krausmüller)

Ta Smaragdes together with the bath (*loetron*) were built by the patrician and general Smaragdus in the time of the Thracian Tiberius, because his house was there.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 1.690
(trans. Krausmüller)

In his fourth year Tiberius built the public bath (*dēmosion loutron*) of the Blachernai.

MAURICE (582–602)

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6079 (A.D. 586/7)
(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 382)

Maurice built the Carian portico at Blachernai and had painters depict in it all his deeds from his childhood until his reign. He also completed the public bath which is at the portico.

Compare Cedrenus, *History* 1.694.

Theophylact Simocatta, *History* 8.13.17
(trans. Whitby (1986), 232)

It is reported that the emperor Maurice also remitted for his subjects a third part of the taxes, and bestowed thirty talents on the Byzantines for the renovation of the aqueducts.

John of Nikiu 95.15–17
(trans. Charles (1916), 153)

And the latter (Maurice) accepted all that he (Aristomachus) presented, and thereupon appointed him prefect of the imperial city. And the empress Constantina appointed him controller of all her house and loaded him with honours, until he was second only in rank to the emperor, and he became a very great personage in the city of Byzantium. (16) And he constructed aqueducts throughout all the city, for its inhabitants complained greatly of the want of water. And he had a reservoir of bronze made for them by a clever engineer, such as had never been made previously. And so the water flowed into the reservoir of bronze which had been appointed. (17) And the city was thus delivered from disquiet through the abundant supply of water; and when a fire broke out in the city, they went to the reservoir and extinguished the fire.

For Aristomachus see *PLRE* IIIA, 118–19.

***Patria* 3.59**

(ed. Preger II, 237–8; trans. Krausmüller)

The *magister* and *curopalates* Peter the brother of Emperor Maurice built the more-than-holy (church of the) Theotokos in the region of Areobindus, because there was the house of Areobindus wherefore the place also took on the name, at the time of the most powerful Justin the Thracian (Justin I), and ninety-two years after Areobindus the church and the bath were built.

***Patria* 3.62**

(ed. Preger II, 238–9; trans. Krausmüller)

Stephen the *parakoimomenos* of Emperor Maurice built the cistern ‘the Rams’ (*Krioi*) and the old people’s home and the bath in *ta Armantiou* twelve years later.

PHOCAS (602–610)***Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf 698–99**

(trans. Whitby and Whitby (1989), 148)

In this year (609) was completed the composite column which was built by Phocas the emperor, as well as the

cistern, by the eastern part of the church of the Forty Saints near the bronze Tetracylon.

HERACLIUS (610–642)***Patria* 2.72**

(ed. Preger, II.189; trans. Krausmüller)

The patrician Bonus built the cistern (*kinsterna*) of Bonus after having come from Rome and he covered it with cylindrical vaults (*kylindrikos tholos*). His house was there. He lived under Emperor Heraclius.

See Mango (1995), 16, n. 36; Bonus was Heraclius’ deputy in the city during the emperor’s campaigns against the Persians from 622–26, see *PLRE* IIIA, 242–44. See also *Patria* 3.83 (ed. Preger II, 245).

EARLY MEDIEVAL**JUSTINIAN II (685–695)****Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6197 (A.D. 704/5)**

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 522)

In the same year Justinian reached the Imperial City together with Terbelis and the latter’s Bulgars, and they encamped from the Charisian gate (the Adrianople Gate) as far as the Blachernai. For three days they parleyed with the inhabitants of the City, who insulted them and refused any terms. Justinian, however, together with a few of his countrymen made his way in, without fighting, through the aqueduct and, after raising a shout of ‘Dig up the bones!’, he won the City. For a short time he established his residence in the palace of Blachernai.

Nicephorus, *Short History* 42.44–9

(trans. Mango (1990), 103)

(705) For three days (Justinian) encamped by the walls of Blachernai and demanded the inhabitants of the City to receive him as emperor; but they dismissed him with foul insults. However, he crept with a few men at night into the aqueduct of the City and in this way captured Constantinople.

***Patria* 3.79**

(ed. Preger II, 244; trans. Krausmüller)

At St Anna of the so-called Deuteron there stood on a pillar a statue of Justinian whose nose they cut off. This statue was taken down by Caesar Bardas, the uncle of Michael, who smashed it, and it was called Deuteron

because Justinian was exiled to Cherson by the patrician Leontius and having spent there ten years he fled to Tervilis the leader of the Bulgars and took as wife the daughter of Tervilis who was named Theodora. And he (sc. Tervilis) gave him fifteen thousand people and he (sc. Justinian) entered the city and when he was not accepted he retreated to Palaia Petra and having entered the aqueduct (*agōgos*) he came out at the foundation of the pillar inside the city and again took the city. And the place was called Deuteron.

It has been inferred from other evidence that the church of St Anne in Deuteron was on the northern branch of the Mese, between the Kalenderhane Camii and the Adrianople Gate. See Mango (1993), Study X, p. 9 with n. 24; Berger (1997b), 459 fig. 3. If the *Patria* is correct in claiming that the church of St Anne and the adjacent column (known to have been built by Justin II) were precisely on the line of a water channel, which is far from certain, two conclusions would follow: (1) it would seem that the location proposed for the church cannot be quite correct, since the water channel running closest to the Deuteron was that of Valens, which, according to our estimates based on the topography, passed a good distance north of the Mese; (2) it would seem unlikely that the column is to be identified with the *columna virginea* seen by Gilles, since this was on top of the Fifth Hill, roughly where Nişancı Mehmet Paşa Camii now stands. See Asutay Effenberger and Effenberger (2004), 369–76.

Leo Grammaticus, ed. Bekker 1.543

(trans. Krausmüller)

Justinian with a few relatives entered through the aqueduct (*agōgos*) due to the treason of some people in the city and he emerged at St Anna, which because of him is called Deuteron (second).

PHILIPPIKOS (711–713)

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6205

(A.D. 712/13)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 533)

Philippikos having meanwhile reigned two years, when the hippodrome games of the City's birthday (11 May 713) had been celebrated and the Greens had won, the emperor decided to make on the Saturday of Pentecost (3 June 713) an entry on horseback, to bathe in the public baths of the Zeuxippos and to lunch with citizens of ancient lineage.

***Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* 82**

(trans. Cameron and Herrin (1984), 161)

The coloured image in the ancient bath, that is to say the Zeuxippos, is of Philippicus the gentle, who was deceived through ignorance. As the story goes, it is just like its model. Painters greatly praised the artist, because he did not depart from the emperor's appearance with regard to the archetype.

CONSTANTINE V (743–775)

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6238 (A.D. 745/6)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 585–6)

(During the plague of 747/8) When all the urban and suburban cemeteries had been filled as well as empty cisterns and ditches, and many vineyards had been dug up and even the orchards within the old walls to make room for the burial of human bodies, only then was the need satisfied.

Theophanes, *Chronicle* AM 6258 (A.D. 765/6)

(trans. Mango and Scott (1997), 608)

On 16 November of the same 5th indiction (766) the eunuch Niketas, a Slav, was unlawfully ordained by the emperor's decree patriarch of Constantinople. There ensued a drought, such that even dew did not fall from heaven and water entirely disappeared from the City. Cisterns and baths were put out of commission; even those springs that in former times had gushed continuously now failed. On seeing this, the emperor set about restoring Valentinian's (Valens') aqueduct, which had functioned until Herakleios and had been destroyed by the Avars (in 626). He collected artisans from different places and brought from Asia and Pontos 1,000 masons and 200 plasterers, from Hellas and the islands 500 clay-workers, and from Thrace itself 5,000 labourers and 200 brick-makers. He set taskmasters over them including one of the patricians. When the work had thus been completed, water flowed into the City.

The types of labourers mentioned in this passage are discussed by Dalman (1933), 6.

Nicephorus, *Short History* 85.1–12

(trans. Mango (1990), 161)

In the 5th indiction there was a drought. The weather became parched and dry, so that even the aerial dew

disappeared and the flow of the springs was interrupted. For this reason the baths remained idle, since the reservoirs were empty. Consequently Constantine decided to renew the aqueduct which had been built by Emperor Valentinian (Valens) and had been destroyed by the Avars in the days of Emperor Herakleios. He collected from the Roman dominions a great number of artisans skilled in construction, on whom he lavished many allowances from the public treasury and so completed this work.

Constantine V as dragon slayer

(trans. Donald Hill)

They say that this Constantine was a pretty tough man in that he killed a lion, a very ferocious beast, in fighting it, and put himself up against a dragon and killed it. For while one (the dragon) was blocking an aqueduct with its bulk and overcoming many men with its stench, and he could find no other strategy, Constantine in front of them all gave himself to the danger, placing himself to be in conflict with the snake. And he made for himself a breast-plate equipped with curved swords which he provided with the sharpest razors on every side, and he went down to the place where the very horrible snake was resting. Without any delay, he left his men and approached it alone.

Gero (1978), 155–6; Auzépy (2002).

We are grateful to Professor Auzépy for drawing our attention to this excerpt.

LEO V (813–820)

Symeon Magister, ed. Bekker 610

(trans. Krausmüller)

As he suspected him (i.e. the future Emperor Michael II) of planning a revolt he (i.e. Emperor Leo V) incarcerated him in the Pithekeion bath (*loutron*) of the palace.

THEOPHILUS (829–842)

***Patria* 3.174**

(ed. Preger II, 269–70; trans. Krausmüller)

The so-called great bath (*mega loetron*) near the Bous was built by the eunuch and *ex-epi tes trapezes* Nicetas in the time of Emperor Theophilus.

Pseudo-John Damascene, *Letter to Theophilus*

(ed. Chrysostomides; trans. Krausmüller)

And Sabbatius wrapped around his neck a huge chain and bound himself with iron fetters and enclosed himself in the vaults of the furnaces of the great bath of Dagisteus. And Basil (i.e. the *chartularius*) fulfilling quickly the wishes of the emperor brought him to the prophet of the Python. It was deep night and palpable darkness, and behold the emperor, guarded by lance-bearing troops, on his own unaccoutred and without weapons, came to the subterranean and infernal cheerless places . . .

MICHAEL III (842–867)

George the Monk, ed. Bekker 822

Theoctistus went to the bath of the region of Areobindus as was his wont and afterwards he went to the bureaux . . . and then entered the Lausiakon.

Theoctistus was *logothete* and tutor of Michael III.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE

BASIL I (867–886)

Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker 336

(trans. Krausmüller)

And as for the most beautiful and huge and most splendid bath (*loutron*) of the palace, which is situated above the so-called Phiale, which preserves the name of the fountain (*phialē*) of the faction of the Blues that stood there before, he was the one who built it tastefully: it is a work of beauty as well as luxury and physical well-being and respite.

Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker 338

(trans. Krausmüller)

And in the palace of Hiereia, he (Basil I) built a sacred oratory of the same prophet Elijah, which as regards beauty and prettiness is judged second to no other. When he stayed there on his imperial circuit he also saw a great and spacious cistern (*dexamenē hydatos*), which was a work of the emperor who had first adorned this place, but which was filled with earth by the emperor Heraclius and which had been planted with trees and vegetables, just like those inside the imperial palace, the one in front of the Magnaura and the one between the banqueting hall of Justinian and that of the Ekthesis, which also had had water in abundance and fish that were bred in order to delight the emperors and in order to be caught by them but which had been turned into dry land by the same emperor and which had served for the creation of gardens because the mathematician Stephen who established the horoscope of the aforementioned emperor had said that he would die through water. For this reason then the cistern in Hiereia was turned into a garden. When the famous emperor Basil saw that the palace had sufficient and adequate space for planting gardens but was somewhat lacking in water that was drinkable and clean he dug out the earth again through the employment of many hands and with zeal and he returned to its original shape the meadow that shortly before had been full of plants and instead of a garden he made it a receptacle of abundant and sufficient water.

See also Cedrenus, *History* 1.694.

***Patria* 3.186**

(ed. Preger II, 274; trans. Krausmüller)

Emperor Basil erected the monastery of St Euphemia and the graves in Petri(o)n and the bath (*loetron*) and there he had his daughters tonsured.

See Janin (1969), 127–8

LEO VI (886–912)

Haroun-ibn-Yahya

(after Izeddin (1941–46), 61)

There is at Constantinople an aqueduct where one has laid on water from the country called Bulgaria. This water flows towards the aqueducts from a distance equal to a voyage of twenty days; and, when it enters the city, it divides itself into three sections: one part goes towards the imperial palace, a second part into the prisons of the Muslims, and the third part into the baths of the patricians, and the population of the town drinks from the water which is lightly salted.

See the comments of El Cheikh (2004), 147.

Leo Choirosphaktes, anacreontic ekphrasis of the bath of Leo VI

For full text and translation, see Magdalino (1988), 116–18 (correcting Magdalino (1984)).

Magdalino (1984), 233 has identified this bath with that of Leo built in the House of Marina, and which Constantine VII later restored. He has also (1988, 99–100) identified it with the ‘great bath of the Oikonomion near the Tzukanisterion’ mentioned in the *Patria*. Mango (1991) has argued that this bath was not a new foundation under Leo, but that Leo restored an early fifth-century private bath built to serve the House of Marina. On the location of the bath and the House of Marina, see Bardill (2006), 39–40.

CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITUS (912–958) AND ROMANUS I (920–944)

Glycas, ed. Bekker 566

(trans. Krausmüller)

At the time the plague called ‘krabra’ increased, again afflicting and killing the cows. They say it started in the days of Romanus the Elder. When Romanus built himself a palace near the cistern (*kinsterna*) of Bonus as a respite from the summer heat . . .

See Cedrenus, *History* 2.343.

Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker 460–1

(trans. Mango (1991), 323)

Constantine VII did not allow any of his father’s buildings to fall down ‘including that great bath that had been contrived by his father Leo in the House of Marina,

spacious as it was and the wonder of our State, which formerly had been neglected to the point that through carelessness and indifference it had been reduced to an ugly and unadorned condition and exhibited nothing but foundations. Constantine, then, taking pride and pleasure in his father's works as if they were his own, made it new and restored it, not only bringing it up to its former adornment, but, indeed, making it even finer by beautifying it all round and affording to the bathers the delights they had enjoyed before. It causes as much admiration to strangers as it astonishes the natives'.

Hero of Byzantium, *Geodesia* 9

(trans. Sullivan (2000), 139–41)

Let us then use a parallelogram-shaped and oblong construction or reservoir similar in form, for example, to the cistern of Aetius, to make clear the measurement of the solid. It is rather easier with that of Aspar because of the equal dimensions of its base, the figure being a plinth ... Let the base then be assumed as the length of the cistern of Aspar, 70 *orgyai*, having likewise the same width, and a height of 12 *orgyai*. I seek then to find of how many *orgyai* the volume of the cistern consists, and how many *keramia* of liquid it is capable of holding. Multiplying the 70 of the length by the same 70 of the width, I have the plane on the base as 4,900 <square> *orgyai*. These then in turn I multiply by the 12 of the height and there are 58,800 ...

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Book of Ceremonies* 1.8

(after Vogt (1935), I, 51)

For the Feast of the Ascension ...

(The emperor is returning from a sanctuary with a holy water source, presumably that of the Pege)

First reception outside the vault of the portico where the column stands ...

Second reception at the aqueduct in which water flows ...

Third reception at St Mokios ...

Fourth reception at the Exakionion ...

Fifth reception at the Xerolophos, opposite the chapel of St Kallinikos ...

Although Vogt (1935), I, 88, thought that the 'aqueduct' was the Bozdoğan Kemer, and that therefore the manuscript must be topographically confused at this point, it is much more likely that an aqueduct in the vicinity of the church of St Mokios (and the adjacent open-air cistern) is meant, as recognized by Mango (1995), 14.

BASIL II AND CONSTANTINE VIII (978–1025)

Inscription from near Karacaköy

(trans. R. Jordan)

Time threatened a wondrous piece of work, not only time, but (also) a multitude of barbarians. But routing the barbarians the wondrous emperor Basil restored (it) again along with Constantine his young brother.

Basil the Goth, who was appointed *archegetes* for the year together with Elpidios Brachames, the *taxiarchos*, assisted him.

Inscription (0.50 m high by 0.49 m wide) in Kourouniotis (1897), 291–2. Later publications are Schuchhardt (1901), 114 no. 1; Seure (1912), 568–9; Asdracha (1989–1991), 306–9 no. 89.

Patria 3.214

(ed. Preger II, 283; trans. Krausmüller)

Basil the Younger, who was modest and doing good and full of pity, the son of Emperor Romanus the Younger, who was born in the purple, pulled down the holy bath of the Blachernai (*hagion louma*) and erected it anew having decorated it in a grander and better fashion than it had been before. And he provided it with pictures and décor of silver and gold.

Skylitzes, *History*, ed. Thurn, 366

(trans. Krausmüller)

The emperor (Basil II) renovated the aqueduct (*agōgos*) of the Emperor Valentinian in order that the inhabitants of the city might have an abundance of water.

See also Cedrenus, *History* 2.477.

ROMANUS III (1028–1034)

Skylitzes, *History*, ed. Thurn, 389

(trans. Krausmüller)

The emperor (Romanos III) added to the channels (*holkos*) of water that bring water into the city and the castles (*kastellos*) that received them.

See also Cedrenus, *History* 2.504.

Cedrenus, *History*, ed. Bekker 2.505

(trans. Krausmüller)

Wishing to bathe in the bathhouse (*balaneion*) in the great palace he (Romanos III) entered it and was then wretchedly suffocated by the men around Michael in the pool (*kolymbēthra*) of the bath (*loetron*).

CONSTANTINE X DUCAS (1059–1067)

Anonymous English Pilgrim 30

(ed. Ciggaar (1976), 258; trans. Bardill)

In the cistern of Bonus is a small church and in it are the relics of the martyr St Eustachius and his friends.

ALEXIUS I COMNENUS (1081–1118)

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* 3.355.4

(trans. Mynors *et al.* (1998), 625)

The Danube, also called Hister, flows by hidden channels underground into the city; on appointed days it is admitted

by the opening of a sluice, and carries the dirt of the streets into the sea.

Description of the city at the time of the arrival of the First Crusade in 1098.

MANUEL COMNENUS (1143–1180)

Odo of Deuil, De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem

(trans. Van der Vin (1980), 519)

Below the walls lies open land, cultivated by plough and hoe, which contains gardens that furnish the citizens all kinds of vegetables. From the outside underground conduits flow in, bringing the city an abundance of sweet water.

Visit in c. 1150.

Kinnamos, Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus 6.8

(trans. Brand (1976), 205–6)

(After the victory over Hungary in 1167) The emperor (Manuel I Comnenus) paid attention to the walls of Constantinople, which in many parts had been ruined by time, and when a lack of water (275) beset it (the capital), he carefully cleansed the channels. Since he noted that the old arcades which conveyed water to Byzantion were long since collapsed, and that it would be a difficult task to reconstruct them, one requiring much time, after he had considered a place not far distant from Byzantion, which was named Petra, he constructed an underground reservoir. Being situated in a hollow amidst hills on either hand, it was capacious, with many intakes into it, and, gaping, received water which descended to it through clefts and hollows as if from myriad channels. It communicated this (water) to the city through the usual underground ways.

The location of Petra is unknown, although it was clearly in the hills outside the city, and is therefore not to be confused with the area of that name inside the land walls, Janin (1964), 406–7. Janin (1964), 215, 465 suggests Petra was in the vicinity of Eyüp, although Mango (1990), 41 n. 28 suggests it may have been in the Belgrade Forest. As to the date, Brand (1976), 256 n. 19 comments: 'Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed an oration to Manuel on the water shortage in Constantinople, ed. W. Regel, *Fontes rerum byzantinorum* (Petrograd 1892–1917), I, 126–31; the editor (xvi–xvii) dates the shortage to the winter of 1168 and Manuel's construction to 1169, but on what grounds are unclear. The oration was definitely prior to 1174, when Eustathius was appointed to the see of Myra.'

ANDRONICUS COMNENUS (1183–1185)

Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten 329

(trans. Magoulias (1984), 182, adapted)

At great expense Andronikos rebuilt the ancient underground aqueduct which ran to the middle of the agora bringing up rainwater which was not stagnant and pestilential but sweeter than running water. He had the Hydralēs River conducted through sluices into this water conduit,

and near the streams that fed the river at its source, he erected a tower and building especially suited as a summer resort. Now all those whose dwellings happen to be in the vicinity of Blachernai and beyond are supplied with water from this source. He did not, however, restore the entire water conduit so that the water could be channelled into the centre of the agora, for the thread of his life had reached its end. Such was the concern of those who reigned after him, especially those who presently hold sway, to complete this work of common utility that Isaakios, who removed Andronikos from both throne and life, demolished the tower and razed these most delightful buildings in envy of Andronikos's magnificent work.

Since the ancient supply line that Andronicus restored is said to have supplied both the Blachernai and the 'agora' (presumably the Strategion), it is almost certainly the Hadrianic line. In the mid-sixteenth century, Pierre Gilles first attempted to locate, in the Belgrade Forest, the Hydralēs River and the tower that Andronicus built (see below).

ISAAC ANGELUS (1185–1195, 1203–1204)

Nicetas Choniates, ed. van Dieten 441–2

(trans. Magoulias (1984), 242)

On alternate days when he took pleasure in the baths, he smelled of sweet unguents and was sprinkled with oils of myrrh, and he surpassed the likeness of a temple ...

Above all, he had a mad passion for raising massive buildings, and carried away by the magnitude of his duty, he pounced upon the City's beloved structures. Within both palace complexes he built the most splendid baths and apartments ...

Anthony of Novgorod 23

(trans. Bardill after Khitrowo in van der Vin (1980), 539)

There are also many cisterns at Saint Sophia. Above the galleries are located the cisterns and the store-rooms of the patriarchs and of the church. Vegetables of all kinds destined for the patriarchs' table, melons, apples, and pears, are kept at the bottom of cisterns in baskets attached to ropes; when the patriarch wants to eat, he pulls them up fresh; in this way the emperor too eats them. The bath of the patriarch is also above the galleries; the water of the fountains goes up through pipes, and rainwater is kept in the cisterns. In the galleries are painted all the patriarchs and emperors of Constantinople and those who share their heresies.

Nikolaos Mesarites, Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople 4.1–3

(ed. and trans. Downey (1957), 863)

For the rest of the churches of God lie, so to speak, in the middle of confusion, and the ministers of god are jostled by the mob and cannot sing their hymns with freedom; but this is free and untroubled by all such things. (2) A man

who stands inside it or even passes by outside and hears the songs of the priests singing hymns would say truly that the church had been gifted with its location not on earth but in heaven, or indeed planted by god in the east. (3) Indeed one can see in it and in the regions surrounding it inexhaustible treasures of water and reservoirs of sweet water made equal to seas, from which as though from four heads of rivers the whole City of Constantinople receives its supply.

The four reservoirs have been identified as those of Aspar, Aetius, Mokios and possibly Bonus; see Magdalino (1996), 57,

n. 37 with earlier references. However this may also be an allusion to the four heavenly rivers, see Dagron (1984b), 282, n. 75. Later in this passage Mesarites extols the fertility of the gardens and orchards around the church and includes a reference to 'pleasant aqueducts and a multitude of springs', although this sentence is copied verbatim from Libanius' description of the road from Antioch to Daphne; Downey (1957), 863, nn. 8 and 9.

LATE BYZANTINE AND OTTOMAN

Stephen of Novgorod, ed. and trans. Majeska (1984), 32–3, 232 (1349)

St Sophia has many fountains with sweet water in addition to those in the walls of the church and between the walls. You would not know it, but they are at the level of the church floor. There are iron rings driven into the marble. (Very beautiful smooth stone is called marble.)

For commentary, see Majeska (1984), 234.

Ibn Battuta, trans. Gibb from van der Vin (1980), 570–1 (mid-fourteenth century)

No one is prevented from entering the enclosure (of Haghia Sophia), and in fact I went into it with the king's father, who will be mentioned later; it is like an audience-hall, paved with marble and traversed by a water-channel which issues from the church. This (flows between) two walls about a cubit high, constructed in marble inlaid with pieces of different colours and cut with the most skilful art, and trees are planted in rows on both sides of the channel. From the gate of the church to the gate of this hall there is a lofty pergola made of wood, covered with grape-vines and at the foot with jasmine and scented herbs.

Ibn Battuta, who was not granted access to the interior of Haghia Sophia, is apparently describing the western atrium, its fountain, and the gateway leading into the atrium from the street. His claim that the water flowed from inside the church is perhaps somehow related to the tradition that there was a great cistern beneath Haghia Sophia.

Russian anonymous description of Constantinople, ed. and trans. Majeska (1984), 142 n. 50, 243 (1389–1391)

Constantine's Baths is near the walls, high up over the sea. Emperor Leo had water brought there and had a marvelously designed large stone cistern built, and the poor come to this cistern. A large wooden barrel encircled with iron bands was placed in a corner of this bath with seven taps which supplied whatever kind of water anyone wanted. There was no charge for anyone washing (there) and he (Leo) even placed a stone statue of a man in another corner as a watchman to hold a bronze bow in his hand, and bronze arrows, so that if anyone attempted to

exact a fee from someone, he would shoot the barrel so that there would be no more water from it. Alongside the barrel he built a lighthouse encircled with Latin glass, and it burned continuously day and night. Some people told me that this bath lasted three hundred years after Emperor Leo. People washed in it and the water never stopped flowing from this barrel, and the lighthouse continued to burn until the Franks began to charge a fee, and then this statue shot an arrow and hit the barrel. The barrel broke and the lighthouse went out. The Franks then cut the head off the statue, as they broke many decorations.

For commentary, see Majeska (1984), 247.

Manuel Chrysoloras, *Epistula ad Johannem imperatorem* (late fourteenth-early fifteenth century)

(PG 156, 44A–B; trans. Krausmüller)

I pass over in silence ... the subterranean aqueducts (*agōgoi hydatōn*) and also those that are suspended through walls and that can be called airborne rivers, which as they say arrive from some distant place through a journey of a very long span of days, and the channels (*diōruges*) through the mountains that are in their way, and the reservoirs (*dexamenai*) that received them once and at that time at least played the part of seas and lakes for them, either covered and invisible or open and visible, which could be sailed on with ships — some of these now grow huge trees either inside in the cavern (*kytos*) or above on the roofs, and for those who own them they serve as fields and gardens — and the multitude of the pillars (*kiones*) and arches (*hapsides*) in them, and again others that are subterranean and excavated, which turn the city into an upper storey and make it suspended and which make a hollow what is underneath, and the public water-pipes (*dēmosioi hyponomoi*), of which a great many also exist there. And what should I say about the baths (*loutra*) whose multitude one does not believe when told of their existence and about the water fountains (*krēnai*), which flow in houses and through the city?

Chrysoloras was in Italy at the end of the fourteenth century and this highly rhetorical account forms part of his comparison between the ruins of old and new Rome, see Bauer (1996), 144–5.

Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Le Strange (1928), 76)

There are many cellars and cisterns and chambers below ground in Santa Sophia which are wrought in a fashion that is very marvellous to behold, also we saw many houses with other outbuildings round and about, but these for the most part are already falling to decay. The outer walls here are all in ruin, and various doorways that lead into the church have recently been walled up or are blocked by fall of stones. But indeed they say (that of old) the outer circuit of the church buildings enclosed a space that measured ten miles round. There is in Santa Sophia underground an immense cistern, holding much water, and it is stated to be so large that a hundred galleys might easily float in it. All these marvels that we have spoken of, we were shown in this church of Santa Sophia with many others, and they are so innumerable that it was impossible in brief to describe all, or even to enumerate the greater part.

See also van der Vin (1980), 632–3. Dagron (1984b), 282–3 believes Clavijo is referring to the Yerebatan Sarayı cistern, which was a short distance to the west of, but not underneath, Haghia Sophia. The tradition of a cistern beneath the church, he suggests, may have had scriptural and cosmological origins, ‘celle d’une église non plus surgie d’un terrain fertile, mais descendue sur une plate-forme flottante.’ Yet in addition Buondelmonti, Pero Tafur and, more importantly, Covell refer to such a cistern beneath Haghia Sophia.

Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Le Strange (1928), 87)

There is to be seen in Constantinople a very beautiful cistern, which is called the Cistern of Muhammad; it is domed in cement, and this roofing is supported from below by marble columns. These are arranged to form six naves, and the ceiling rests on 490 of the aforesaid columns, all very stout in size. Much water can be stored in this place, sufficient to supply the need of a great number of folk.

The description of this cistern corresponds to the reality of neither the Yerebatan Sarayı nor the Binbirdirek. The impressive cistern of Muhammad is also mentioned in similar terms by Buondelmonti.

Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane* (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Le Strange (1928), 87–8)

There are within its compass many hills and valleys where corn fields and orchards are found, and among the orchard lands there are hamlets and suburbs which are all included within the city limits . . . Within its area are many fountains and wells of sweet water. In that part of the town which lies adjacent below the Church of the Holy Apostles, there stretches from hill to hill, rising above the houses and orchards the Aqueduct (Bozdoğan Kemer), and this carries water that is used to irrigate all those orchards.

Buondelmonti, Greek translation of *Liber insularum* (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Bardill from Legrand in van der Vin (1980), 668)

Today, no more than the dome of the church (Haghia Sophia) remains; all its outbuildings have fallen into ruins and destruction. Its height, from the ground to the vault, is 134 cubits; and that of the foundations, from their foot, where the cistern of the church is located, to ground level, is 22 cubits.

This would suggest that the foundations of Haghia Sophia, and hence the cistern beneath the church, were about 11 m deep. The cistern is also mentioned by Clavijo, Pero Tafur, and Covell. See the comments of Majeska (1984), 234.

Buondelmonti, Greek translation of *Liber insularum* (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Bardill after Legrand as in van der Vin (1980), 668)

Constantinople possesses, besides admirable churches, vast cisterns built with inimitable skill, but which time, which brings an end to everything, has already brought to ruin. In each of them, one has planted vines, which provide four barrels of wine annually. These are the cisterns of the aforementioned Saint John, Pantocrator, Holy Apostles, Mahomet, in which the columns are arranged with a skill so perfect that description of it would seem difficult to believe, and several others yet.

The main and the largest of the churches is that of Saint Sophia, which Justinian built in fifteen years. Next come other churches which differ from each other in size and beauty. Such are: Saint George of Mangana, Sainte Irene, Saint Lazarus, the Mother of God, the Nine Legions of Angels, Saints Peter and Paul, the Forty Martyrs, with a cistern of excellent water, the depth of which is unknown, so considerable is it, Saint Anastasia, the Peribleptos, Saint John of Stoudios, Saint Andrew, the Blachernai.

It is difficult to imagine vines being grown in small subterranean cisterns unless their roofs had been partially ruined, so Buondelmonti's information may refer to the larger reservoirs. Nevertheless, there is a clear indication here that by the early fifteenth century many of the cisterns were no longer used for storing water.

Buondelmonti, ed. Gerola (1931) 276 (beginning of the fifteenth century)

(trans. Bardill)

There are, finally, countless churches throughout the city and cisterns of marvellous size and carefully fashioned, such as Saint Sophia, which is the more important of them . . . the Forty Holy Martyrs, which has almost fallen into desolation, beneath which we see an immeasurable cistern full of water and of vast extent.

The huge cistern near the church of the Forty Martyrs is that built by Phocas near the bronze Tetrapiyon. Given its size, it seems unlikely that it should be equated with F7/1. See Bardill (2004), 128–30.

Zosima the deacon (1419–1422)

(trans. Majeska (1984), 194–5, 232)

There are seven wells in St Sophia, and a lake beneath it.
For commentary, see Majeska (1984), 234.

Pero Tafur (1435–1439)

(trans. van der Vin (1980), 698)

Beneath this chapel (Haghia Sophia) there is a great cistern which, they say, could contain a ship of 3,000 *botas* in full sail, the breadth, height and depth of water being all sufficient. I know not if such a statement can be supported, but I never saw a larger in my life and do not believe that one exists.

The same cistern is also mentioned by Clavijo, Buondelmonti, and Covell.

Pero Tafur (1435–1439)

(trans. van der Vin (1980), 701)

On the other side of this square (the Augustaion) is a bath with doors on either side opposite each other, and any woman accused of adultery was ordered by the judges to be brought there, and they made her go in by one door and come out by the other, and if she was innocent her skirts and chemise raised themselves on high without her perceiving it, so that from the middle downwards everything could be seen. This also it may be no sin to doubt.

Van der Vin (1980), 701 suggests that this might refer to the Baths of Zeuxippos.

Ibn al-Wardi

(trans. Bardill after Taeschner in van der Vin (1980), 710)

There is also a bridge there (Bozdoğan Kemer), which belongs to the wonders of the world; it had a length that so astonished the reporter in regard to his ability to describe it that he could be accused of lying about it.

Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* 2.55 (mid-fifteenth century)

(trans. Riggs (1954), 105)

He (Mehmet II) also ordered them (the overseers of construction work) to construct splendid and costly baths and through aqueducts to bring into the City from the countryside an abundance of water. Many other such things he also ordered to be done for the building up and beautifying of the City, and for the benefit and needs and comfort of the inhabitants.

Tursun Bey, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (mid-fifteenth century)

(trans. Bardill after Wittek in Dalman (1933), 60–1)

(After the conquest Sultan Mehmed began) to make provisions for the maintenance and increase of the population (of Constantinople). First, that the various foodstuffs should come in ample quantity in countless ships on water

and in wagons by land from the towns and villages. For the sake of remedying the water shortage, however, he deigned to make inquiries. Now, in the time of Istanbul's blossoming, water had come from a distance of six or seven days' journey. The old lines were found. Breaking through the inside of the mountains, one had led these (lines) through these (mountains) and had a river from far away flow over water channels parallel to the level of the soil and built, by placing one arch of blocks of pure marble next to another, one aqueduct next to another. But under the influence of the weather and the change from day to night and night to day, the work had become completely dilapidated. The Sultan sent capable technicians to restore and renew the destroyed arches and collapsed tunnels, and probably also to furnish and strengthen them with lead. And in the neighbourhood of the line one found several waters, which he (the Sultan) had connected to the main line, so that he, diverting all the water of the (surrounding) rivulets, made a mighty river flow to the city, a river like the Tigris —

In abundance like the tears of the lover

In sweetness like the beloved friend —

harmonious as the temperament of the Sultan and flowing pleasingly like the temple-locks of the loved-one, a water, which with the loveliness of its breeze makes enjoyment like darlings, and with the sweetness of its favour/grace satisfies the blood-coloured fire of the thirsty. Its channel-system is as heart warming as the expression of a stylist and the movement of its current is as powerful as the blood-stained tear. Such water he (the Sultan) therefore divided between his paradisiacal palace, the baths and the various city quarters. And in a suitable place at an aqueduct he made forty wells (Kırkçeşme). And in this place he built on the model of Haghia Sophia a great mosque (Ulu Cami) ...

For this Ottoman restoration see Çeçen (1991), 141; (1996), 33. Tursun Bey is referring to a group of fountains built by Mehmet just north of the Bozdoğan Kemer, and the mosque appears to be the nearby Ulu Cami. These fountains were called the Kırkçeşme and were supplied by the springs in the Cebeciköy area. For the Kırkçeşme, see Dalman (1933), 11. For the location of the fountain, see Müller-Wiener (1977), 275. The fountain was demolished in 1943. For a photo, see Çeçen (1991), 29 or Çeçen (1996b), 175.

List of the Seven Wonders, codex Matritensis graecus 86, ed. Brodersen (1992), 154 no. 32a (late fifteenth century)

(trans. Bardill)

Haghia Sophia

The Hippodrome

The Great Palace

The Kontoskalion

The Aqueduct (for *ho agōgiē* read *hē agōgē*)

The (Theodosian) walls with the ditch

The (Anastasian) Long Wall from the sea (of Marmara) to the church of St George (at Evcik)

**List of the Seven Wonders, Codex Matritensis
graecus 86, ed. Brodersen (1992), 154
no. 32b (late fifteenth century)**
(trans. Bardill)

The Augoustios (= Justinian's Column in the Augustaion)
The Tauros and the Xerolophos (= Theodosius' column
and Arcadius' column in their respective fora)

The reservoirs of the aqueducts:

Of the Prodomos (= the cistern of Aetius, near St John
Prodomos in Petra)

Of the Pantepoptes (= the cistern of Aspar)

Of Gonos (= the cistern of Bonos)

Of Mukusia (= the cistern of Mokios)

Of the Archangel (= presumably a cistern close to St
Michael's column set up by Michael VIII Palaiologos)

See the discussion in Mango (1998). The column of Michael
VIII Palaiologos is said by Zosima to have been at the
entrance to the church of the Holy Apostles (hence to its
west). Could this be the cistern on the north flank of the Fatih
Camii (D5/5)? Mango wondered whether it could be the
cistern at Saraçhane (D5/4), but this seems to have been too
far east of the Holy Apostles.

**Gilles, *De Bosphoro Thracio Libri III* 2.3
(mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. in Çeçen (1996b), 23–6)

Two tributaries join Barbyzes (Kağıthane deresi) from the
right bank. These two tributaries which have water
throughout the whole summer season flow from the east.
One of these tributaries has clear water somewhere in the
middle of its whole length and the other near its spring.
The second one has plenty of water, even enough to turn
water mills throughout the whole summer. The (Byzan-
tine) authors call this tributary Hydralis. At present, some
people who do not know its name call it Belgradus after
the name of a village located near its bank and some
others call it Aqueducts Stream (*flumen ... Camerarum*)
since it has aqueducts (*fornicibus*) which convey water to
Constantinople. Emperor Andronikos started the work to
convey water from this stream to the city through the
splendid aqueducts and underground structures he had
commissioned to be built. The emperor started this work
to supply more water to the rest of the city, especially to
the people who live in the vicinity of Blachernai (the
emperor was planning to build a large fountain in this
area). But this work stopped after his death and the con-
struction of the system left unfinished. The succeeding
emperors ignored this work because of its expense.
Emperor Isaakios, who had Andronikos dethroned and
killed, also destroyed the splendid tower and palace
Andronikos had built (to spend the summer season) near
the aqueducts of these streams. At present there is a village
which is widely called Pyrgos (Kemerburgaz) in the vicinity
of the aqueducts which crossed the Barbyzes. Although
neither a tower nor a palace existed in this village since
long, the inhabitants of Pyrgos say that they existed at one
time, and they assert that they had found stones on which
the name of Andronikos was inscribed.

Since the aqueducts which conveyed water to Constan-
tinople were demolished, the Hydralis stream joins the
Barbyzes. The Kydaros Stream (Alibey Stream) widely
known as the Makhleva (Mağlova) has aqueducts which
crossed over it just like the aqueducts that conveyed water
to Constantinople by crossing over the Hydralis and partly
over Barbyzes. The Kydaros is longer than the Barbyzes but
it has less water, and although having different intervals it
meanders like the Barbyzes and flows parallel to it. There
is a hilly area of approximately four mile stones wide
between the aqueducts of both streams, the two streams
have different courses. Although I have not gone beyond
the aqueducts, I have seen that the Kydaros flows in the
west–east direction and then turns to the south and finally,
approximately more than two mile stones long flows in the
south–north direction ending in Keras Bay.

The two tributaries joining Barbyzes (Kağıthane Deresi) from
the east are the Kuru Dere (which meets the Kağıthane Deresi
near the Kovukkemer bridge) and the Kurt Deresi (which
meets the Kağıthane Deresi near the Uzunkemer bridge). See
the comments of Çeçen (1996b), 27. It was presumably the
Kurt Deresi that, in Gilles' time, some people called the
Belgradus or the River of Aqueducts (*Camerarum*), since this
is supplied by the Belgrat stream. The Belgradus carried
enough water to turn water-mills throughout the summer, and
it was this river, Gilles believed, that had been known to the
Byzantines as the Hydralis, from which (according to Nicetas
Choniates) Andronicus' system drew its water. Gilles'
historical information concerning the building activities of
Andronicus and Isaac is derived from Nicetas Choniates (see
above), contrary to Çeçen (1996b), 27, who thought it was
unreliable gossip of the locals living near Kemerburgaz. For
further comments on the topography, see Dalman (1933),
9–10; Andréossy (1828), 397–8; Gilles (2007), 116–17.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
1.10 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 30, corrected)

The merchants of Galata frequent the Grand Bezestan or
Place of Exchange. It is situated partly at the head of the
valley and partly on an eminence of the third hill. In the
year of Our Lord 1546 it was wholly burnt to the ground
by a sudden fire, except two halls roofed with brickwork,
which were locked up every night and their windows
secured by iron bars.

After the fire I was allowed to view their grand forum. I
found it to lie so level that it had only a small ascent either
from west to east or from south to north. I observed that
the perimeter of the burned market was more than five fur-
longs. On the western summit, I visited a cistern adorned
with forty-five marble pillars, which supported a brick roof.

The cistern was perhaps in the vicinity of E6/4 or Sarnıçlı Han
(Müller–Wiener (1977), 258 fig. 290). It is catalogued as E6/9.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
1.16 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 41)

There are two lower hills (near the sixth hill) separated by
a small valley that runs between them. At the foot of the

lower hill that stands nearest the city wall there is an aqueduct.

Between this hill (the sixth hill) and the bay (the Golden Horn) there formerly stood the Church of the Blachernae, which has been recorded in the writings of many historians. The foundation of this church still existed when I first arrived at Constantinople. From the foot of this hill, which stands above the church I have mentioned, there rises a spring whose waters are conveyed through arched subterranean passages into the city. Appearing above ground there, they flow constantly into a marble cistern.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
1.18 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 43)

On the ridge of this (seventh) hill there is a plain of some length and breadth. The hill itself is bounded by the land wall; and on the top of it is a cistern that is called Mocisia, which is wholly unroofed and stripped of its pillars. This cistern is nine hundred and seventy paces in circumference. Its walls, which are made of squared freestone, are still standing, and the ground where it stands is now turned into a garden.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
2.7 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 72)

There is nothing of the Zeuxippum remaining at present, nor of many other fine baths; although we have many inscriptions relating to them, as, for example, that famous one celebrated by Agathius, in which Venus is said to have bathed herself; or another called Didymum, in which both sexes used to wash, described in verse by Paulus Silentarius, and a third made memorable by an inscription of the learned Leontius. Besides these, there was another named Cupido, described by the ingenious Marianus; yet all of them are either entirely ruined or so defaced by the Mohametans that you cannot discover who built them or to whom they belonged.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
2.18 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 104)

On the south-west side of the Church of St Sophia, a small distance from the water pipes of an aqueduct running from a conduit situated in the Forum Augustaeum where the Pillar of Justinian was erected, seven Corinthian pillars still remain.

Gilles here refers to a Turkish reservoir and conduits built on the site of Justinian's equestrian statue. Gilles (2007), 347, 353.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
2.20 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 111–12)

The Imperial Portico is not to be seen, though the Cistern remains. Through the inhabitants' carelessness and con-

tempt for everything that is curious it was never discovered except by me, who was a stranger among them, after a long and diligent search for it. The whole area was built over, which made it less suspected that there was a cistern there. The people had not the least suspicion of it, although they daily drew their water out of the wells that were sunk into it. By chance I went into a house where there was a way down into it and went aboard a little skiff. I discovered it after the master of the house lit some torches and rowed me here and there across through the pillars, which lay very deep in water. He was very intent upon catching his fish, with which the Cistern abounds, and speared some of them by the light of the torches. There is also a small light that descends from the mouth of the well and reflects on the water, where the fish usually come for air.

This Cistern is three hundred and thirty-six feet long, a hundred and eighty-two feet broad, and two hundred and twenty-four Roman paces in circumference. The roof, arches, and sides are all brickwork covered with terracotta, which is not the least impaired by time. The roof is supported by three hundred and thirty-six marble pillars. The space of the intercolumniation is twelve feet. Each pillar is over forty feet, nine inches high. They stand lengthwise in twelve ranges, and broadways in twenty-eight. Their capitals are partly finished in the Corinthian style, and part of them are unfinished. Over the abacus of every pillar is placed a large stone, which seems to be another abacus that supports four arches.

There is an abundance of wells that empty into the Cistern. When it was filling in the winter time I saw a large stream of water falling from a great pipe with a mighty noise until the pillars were covered with water up to the middle of the capitals. This Cistern stands west of the Church of St Sophia a distance of eighty Roman paces.

Gilles account of the Basilica Cistern (Yerebatan Sarayı) presents one of the most evocative descriptions of the Byzantine water supply system; see the translations and discussions of this passage by Byrd (2002) and Gilles (2007), 357–9.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
2.25 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 124)

... underground on the north side of Ibrahim Pasha's house ... Its roof was supported by four hundred and twenty-four marble pillars, two hundred and twelve supporting the same number of pillars above them. I measured one of them for they all seem to be the same size, and I found it to be six feet, nine inches in circumference (Binbirdirek cistern). There is another cistern on the west side of the same house, whose arches are supported with thirty-two Corinthian pillars, standing in four ranges, each range consisting of eight pillars, whose shafts are nine feet in circumference.

The first cistern is F7/5. The second still survives underneath the Eminönü Belediyesi (F7/3).

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
3.6 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 150, 153, 154, 156, adapted)

Beyond the bath (of Beyazıt) northwards there is a broad way where there are three booksellers' shops and an ancient cistern . . . This broad way widens eastward into a large area, at the farther end of which is the Sepulcher of Emperor Bejazıt, with a mosque and a caravansaray . . .

The author of the *Ancient Description* (*Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*) writes that the Carosian Baths were so named from Carosia, the daughter of the Emperor Valens; but does not tell us in what part of the third hill they stood, nor could I discover when I was in Constantinople whether or not they are entirely in ruins and others built in their place, since there are now very large ones built on the top and sides of the third hill by the Turks (Merdivenli Haman) . . .

Some authors write that the Church of Anastasia was built where the new Bezestan, or new Basilica, now stands. Others say that it was situated near the Cistern, supported by an abundance of marble pillars and stood between the halls of the bazaar and the tomb and caravansaray of Emperor Bejazıt . . .

In the seventh ward I saw three ancient cisterns not noted in the Description of the Wards. One in the Forum of Taurus, another between the Tomb of Beyazıt and the Bezestan (presumably the same as that mentioned earlier), both of which are supported by marble pillars. The third was built on a cliff of the third hill that faced north. Of these there still remain six Corinthian pillars, very large and tall, made of Arabian marble and curiously wrought. Below the pedestal's base was an earthen pipe that conveyed water into a cistern made of brick, whose roof, which is brickwork, is also supported with twenty square brick pillars.

The cistern north of the bath of Beyazıt might be E6/8. That between the bazaar and the tomb of Beyazıt is perhaps that described at 1.10. It is catalogued as E6/9. Regarding the last cistern (E5/12), Forchheimer and Strzygowski (1893), IIC note that there were reports (probably exaggerated) of a cistern the size of Binbirdirek between Vefa Kilise Camii and the Suleymaniye Camii.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
3.9 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 165)

When the aqueduct was finished (by Constantine V) the city was again supplied with water, which was conveyed into the town through a passage lying between the ninth and the tenth ward.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
4.2 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 173–4, 184)

Nothing remains of this church (of the Holy Apostles) at present. No, not even its foundation. You see only the ruins of an old cistern (D5/4?) that supplied the church and the

clergy with water. There are now standing on the same spot of ground over two hundred saddlers' shops and workhouses, where they make and sell not only all kinds of horse gear but also leather buckets, quivers, and trunks.

A little above this cistern stands a mosque (Fatih Camii) with a caravansaray adjoining it, situated on a plain. This was built with square stone on the plan of the church of St Sophia out of the ruins and sacrilege of the Church of the Apostles and other Christian churches by Mohamet, who took the city . . . In short this mosque (Fatih Camii), with the adjacent buildings around the court with the caravansarays and gardens, takes up an area six furlongs in compass. Mohamet, the same emperor, built in this place the largest baths in all the city (Çukur Hamamı, at the east corner of the Fatih Camii complex) where the old cistern of Arcadius or Modestus had formerly been.

On top of the fifth hill stands the Palace of Selim the Grand Signor, with a caravansaray and his tomb. Near it is a very large cistern in a pleasant meadow, which is despoiled of its roof and pillars (Cistern of Aspar, D4/6).

Of the surviving cisterns seen close to the site of Holy Apostles, Janin (1964), 207 wonders if the one that was replaced by the Çukur Hamamı might have been the cistern of Bonus; Mango also considers the cistern replaced by the baths may have been the cistern of Bonus (1998, 88, n. 10), and that Gilles might not have been wrong in suggesting that it was the cistern of Arcadius if that later changed its name to Bonus (1995, 16 n. 36). On the location of the cistern of Bonus to the north-east of the Fatih Camii (Holy Apostles) and to the north-west of Zeyrek Camii (the Pantokrator monastery), see Majeska (1984), 296–8.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
4.4 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 186–7, corrected)

The suburbs called the Hepdomum stood on the sixth hill, which is now enclosed within the walls of the city. This is plain from the location of the Church of St John the Baptist, which even at this time the Greeks call the Πρόδρομος or forerunner of our Saviour. This church is situated on the eastern side of the city (i.e. on the north-east side, at the Golden Horn?). It is almost entirely demolished by the Mohametans, and nothing of it remains but a few marble pillars, expecting the last effort of their sacrilege.

This was a costly and magnificent building, as appears among other evidence from the Cistern of Bonus, which was built by a nobleman of that name and situated above it. It was three hundred paces long; its roof and columns are entirely ruined, and its site at present is turned into a garden.

This description is confused. The Hebdomon was, as van Millingen first demonstrated, in fact outside the city walls at modern Bakırköy. The huge cistern without columns or roof is presumably the reservoir of Aetius see Janin (1964), 204, although this is some distance south of the area that Gilles defined as the Hebdomon.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
4.8 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 204)

I have seen some remains of the Church of Mocius near a large cistern (B6/1, built by Justinian on the top of the seventh hill. All its pillars are standing, and it still goes under the name of Mocius. Some historians and Suidas the Grammarian say that this cistern was built by Anastasius Dicorus.

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
4.9 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 205)

In the courts of the mosque (İmrahor Camii) is a cistern. Its roof, which is brick-work, is supported by twenty-three lofty Corinthian pillars (B9/1).

**Gilles, *De Topographia Constantinopoleos*
4.11 (mid-sixteenth century)**

(trans. Ball and Musto (1988), 216)

We can guess only so far from the rules of usage of architecture that the Theatre and Forum of Honorius stood at the bottom of the hill on a plain, where theatres are generally built, as I observed in my travels through Greece. When I first came to Constantinople there was standing a forum on level ground near the haven where a caravansaray is now built in the ruins of a church dedicated to St Michael. This forum was well supplied with water by an ancient subterranean aqueduct. In short, there is nothing to be seen of old Sycae at present. Those ancient pillars we see in some mosques in Galata are said to have been imported by the Genoese. Some of them are of very ancient workmanship and well finished. The cistern of St Benedict, now despoiled of its roof, and three hundred pillars that supported it — now turned into a cistern for watering the priests' gardens — shows it to be a very ancient and expensive work.

Janin (1964), 205 suggests that the çukurbostan near St Benedict's indicates that there had indeed been a cistern here, although nothing survives.

Gerlach (1674), 455–6 (1578)

(trans. Bardill)

Not far from here (i.e. St John in Petra) is a very beautiful church *tés aetiou* (the Chora monastery (Kariye Camii), not far from the reservoir of Aetius) which had earlier been a very large and wide cloister, and many houses of teachers and pupils had been there. Now there is no more to be seen there than the collapsed wall of a noble gate and a dry cistern where Jews prepare silk thread.

Petra, where the monastery of St John was located, was near the reservoir of Aetius, see Janin (1964), 406–7. For the archaeological remains of this cistern (C3/7), see Ousterhout (1985), 120 with fig. 3.

Nakkaş Sâî Mustafa Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'l-Biinyan* (1583–1584)

(trans. Özer in Çeçen (1996b), 37, 42)

While he (Süleyman the Magnificent) was walking in the deserted fields of Kağıthane in Istanbul, his road chanced upon verdant greenery and grass of resplendent green. There, a little stream trickled, first disappearing among the bushes, then overspilling its banks. It had, like the fountain of life, concealed itself from the eyes of the world within the dark depths of the soil.

... On seeing this fresh water, our felicitous Sultan, ruler of the whole world, feasted his eyes upon it as he would upon a beloved. At first glance, the channelling of this running water to the city of Istanbul seemed an easy task to His Majesty, who was the apple of the world's eye. He intended to capture this escapee and perform the good work of quenching the people's thirst. Thus, he spurred his fine horse along the road. When his majesty arrived at the royal palace, he gathered the leading men of the realm around him and commanded them to investigate by which methods the running water which had been the cause of the city's growth and development in the past could again bring coolness to the city. According to historians, the legends of ancient time ran as follows:

'In the olden days, when Yanko, son of Madian, founder of this city was engaged in its building, he enclosed seven hills with its walls and named it "The City of Seven Hills". At that time canals leading to cisterns had been built to collect the rainwater from tall buildings. There are still some of them left at today's Çukurbostanlar (sunken gardens) and Binbirdirek near Atmeydanı (the Hippodrome). The people of Istanbul made do with the water that accumulated in these cisterns. A later ruler (Andronicus I Comnenus?) had the Kırkçeşme aqueduct built and water was distributed from there. Afterwards, however, the water just flowed away into the soil and was lost.'

When the Sultan, who was the ruler of the world, was thus informed, His Late Majesty, who had been pardoned by God, had this to say: 'Every art has its maestro and every mountain has its Ferhad to challenge it. We need an architect for this task. What this needs is not theory, but a practical approach.' Süleyman, lord of all living creatures, thus conveyed his exalted orders to this mere minion: 'Let the capable architect concern himself with the way in which to bring this flowing stream to the heart of Istanbul. The accomplishment of this unparalleled good work is our most honourable wish,' said he, commissioning his humble servant to build the aqueducts.

... I, God's humble servant, placing myself in God's hands measured the heights and depths of the valleys with an aerial scale and investigated those old waterways from all angles.

... The aqueduct that had borne this flowing stream had crumbled away, leaving its water to run to waste.

... 'O felicitous Sultan, I, your servant, have specialised knowledge in the field of water supply. One thing is clear;

there must be marble basins and pipes from ancient times in all these watercourses. They have crumbled away with the passage of time and, buried in the soil, are lost to our eyes. It is hoped that in the prosperity of our Sultan, ruler of this world, these remains will emerge,' said I.

... With God's wisdom, in each of those watercourses, stone stairs and decorative marble pipes came to light. The afore-mentioned Overseer sent news of every find to our felicitous Sultan. Some time later, our magnificent Sultan would arrive with his entourage and examine the basins and pipes that had been dug out of the ground. His Majesty gave his humble servant a kaftan and, paying me compliments and showing me respect that would have made the leading men of the time jealous, filled my heart with happiness.

... Afterwards, by repairing all the old aqueducts and with much expenditure of labour and money, we brought the flowing waters to the Kırkçeşme region.

Extract from the diaries of John Covel (1670–1679)

(ed. Bent (1893), 170)

We went to see the vaults under Sta. Sophia; they were full of water, then 17 ft. deep, and overhead from the water up to the top of the arch, about 2 yards and 6 inches. Every pillar is square 4½ feet, and distant one from another just 12 feet. The bricks very broad, thin, well baked; not playstered within; the mortar very hard. They say it goes under Atmaidan (the Hippodrome); we could not enter it. The waste water of the aqueduct enters into it and out of it, passing through the Seraglio goes into sea by the dunghill. Severe punishment to have houses with offices into it, or throw any filth into it; the well of Sta. Sophia runs into it, and many wells in the Seraglio, etc.

