

4. The Urban Environment

Civic self-perceptions

To Greeks and Romans of the early imperial period, city life was synonymous with the good life. True, among upper-class Romans, the lifestyle of the country gentleman still enjoyed a certain moral and ideological prestige, but even a self-professed lover of rural life like the younger Pliny spent little time in his Tuscan villa, even less in his native town of Comum, and preferred his *villa suburbana* at Laurentum, within commuting distance of the capital. Greeks, for their part, regarded the *polis* and its institutions as the centre of civilized life; regions with a large rural population and few cities – e.g., Boiotia and Cappadocia – were thought to produce sturdy, slow-witted people.

This self-perception of town-dwellers versus country folk may seem surprising, given the fact that in the ancient world, the vast majority lived in the countryside. Perhaps for this very reason, the city-dwellers cherished their urban identity.

What set the city aside from the country? First, legal status. A city, even an unimportant one, was a *polis*, a self-governing community, unlike a *kômê*, village, which was defined by its subjection to a *polis*. But of course every *polis* did not enjoy the same prestige; some were so small that they were not much better than *kômai*. Writing in the second century AD, Pausanias described the once prosperous city of Panopeus as a community that was a *polis* in name only, having “no government building, no theatre, no *agora*, no aqueduct and no fountain”.¹

To Pausanias and his readers, a true *polis* was defined not only by its legal status but by possessing public buildings and amenities. The theatre, council house and *agora* may be taken as a minimum; more important cities would also have monumental temples, a gymnasium and colonnaded streets. The pride that cities took in their public buildings, especially their walls and temples, was reflected in their coinage (figs. 7 and 34).

The same dichotomy of town and country, the same fear that the city may sink to the functional level of a rural settlement, is found in the seventh, or “Euboian”, oration of Dion, where a speaker deplores how “men are farming the gymnasium and grazing cattle in the market-place ... having made the gymnasium into a ploughed field ... the statues of gods and heroes are hidden by the standing corn” and “when strangers first come to our city, they either laugh at it or pity it”.² It is not the jungle but the farmland that

is encroaching on the unnamed Euboian *polis*, which has sunk to the level where strangers deride it as resembling a village, much in the same way that Pausanias mocks Panopeus.

In the fourth century, the same theme is taken up by Basil the Great in an impassioned letter to an old friend, Martinianus, whom Basil asks to use his influence with the emperor to prevent a planned reorganization of Cappadocia.³ Under the new scheme, Basil's episcopal city, Kaisareia (mod. Kayseri) would no longer be a provincial capital, and Basil goes on to describe what consequences the loss of status will have on city life. He paints a depressing canvas of a Kaisareia reduced to the moral and intellectual status of a village. No more "meetings and conversations, the encounters of respected men in the *agora*"; an "educated man trained in speaking" is a rare sight and instead, the "uncultured lifestyle of Scythians or Massagetes" – proverbial barbarians – pervades the city. The only sounds heard in the *agora* are usurers arguing with their debtors and the cries of criminals being whipped, "gloomily echoed by the colonnades on either side". In the struggle for our daily existence, Basil continues, we will hardly notice the "abandoned *gymnasia* and nights without lights" (*nyktas alampeis*).⁴

Clearly Basil is out to make a point and has no time for objectivity in his evocative description of the despondent prospects facing Kaisareia, nor in his dismissive characterization of the rival community Podandus (mod. Pozanti) as a hole in the ground, "emitting noxious fumes".⁵ Of greater interest to us is his general comparison of rural and urban life. Urban life is *a priori* taken to be vastly superior to the half-civilized existence of the country village, where there is little education (*paideia*) and men are not "trained in speaking".

In Basil's view, country folk are culturally on a level with barbarian tribes living outside the borders of the empire: Scythians and Massagetes. The sinister gloom of the colonnades surrounding the marketplace symbolizes the penurious state of social organization, and within the *agora* itself, the cultured intercourse of the past has given way to brutal exploitation ("the arguments of usurers and their victims") and savage punishment.

It is striking how closely Basil's indicators of urban culture correspond to those of Pausanias and Dion. As in Dion's Euboian city, the *agora* and gymnasium of Kaisareia are given over to other purposes or abandoned for beasts to graze in. The phrase "nights without lights" further underscores the urban-rural dichotomy. The juxtaposition of (urban) *paideia* and (rural) ignorance as light and darkness is a convenient metaphor, and one that would come naturally to a churchman; here, it is elegantly exploited to create the powerful visual image of the dark colonnades. At the same time, "nights without lights" reminds Basil's reader how the daily cycle of a city sets it apart from rustic villages. In a village, the daily cycle follows the age-old pattern: rising early to tend the fields and the flocks, retiring early as darkness sets in and makes manual chores impossible. In the city, where much of the population earns a

living as artisans, in the tertiary sector and as hangers-on or slaves of urban households, the daily life cycle has a different rhythm and activity does not cease at sundown but continues well into the evening and night.

Titles and status

As Basil's letter makes clear, titles and administrative functions were important prizes in the *agôn* between the leading cities of a province. In the second century, the Nikomedians erected a statue to one of their citizens, the athlete T. Aelius Aurelianus Theodotos, at Delphi; the accompanying inscription, enumerating the many games in which Titus had participated, opens with the impressive list of the city's titles: "The metropolis and first city of Bithynia-Pontos, Hadrianic, *neôkoros*, sacred and with the right of asylum, longtime friend and ally of the Roman people".⁶

In his speech to the Nikomedians *On Concord*, Dion ridicules the competition of Nikomedia and Nikaia for "empty names" without substance.⁷ On another occasion,⁸ however, Dion enumerates the practical and economic advantages of a city having its own assize district instead of being part of another city's circuit. In other words, not every title was an "empty name"; some were indicators of important political and cultic functions in the city.

The most important function was clearly that of administrative centre or "provincial capital". Since neither Greek nor Latin writers had a technical term for this function, they used the word *mêtropolis*, "mother city".⁹ In Strabon's time, Nikaia was the metropolis of Bithynia¹⁰ but shortly afterwards,¹¹ it was demoted and the rank of metropolis passed to the Nikomedians.¹²

Another important epithet was *neôkoros*, "custodian of the temple". The word is used in a general sense for the temple of any deity¹³ but more specifically of a city with a temple to Rome and the emperor. Two imperial cults were established in Bithynia – in Nikomedia and Nikaia – but it would seem that by the mid-first century, that of Nikaia had lapsed.¹⁴ From the second century onwards, numerous coin types struck in Nikomedia – both the city's own issues and those struck on behalf of the *koinon* – include the title *neôkoros* and/or depictions of the imperial temple(s).

Shortly after the accession of Commodus and thanks to the influence of Saoteris, an intimate of the emperor and native of Nikomedia, the city established a separate temple to Commodus and henceforth styled itself *dis neôkoros*, "twice neochore" (fig. 3a).¹⁵ Within a few years, Saoteris had been eliminated by his rivals at the court; if the new cult survived his fall, it certainly came to an end when Commodus suffered *memoria damnata* in 193.

Within five years, Nikomedia was once again *dis neôkoros*, having established a cult of Septimius Severus as a mark of its loyalty to the new dynasty; twenty years later a further Severan cult, that of Elagabal, was added and the city now styled itself *tris neôkoros*. Once again, *memoria damnata* intervened and

Nikomedia found itself reduced to two neochorates until the mid-century, when a cult was established in the name of Valerian. Coins struck during his reign bear the legend *Nikomêdôn tris neôkorôn* and images of the three temples¹⁶ (fig. 7b).

In the contest with the Nikomedians, Nikaia was down, but not out: the city still styled itself *prôtê polis tês eparcheias*, “first city of the province”. The earliest known occurrence of this title is a Nikaian coin from the proconsulate of L. Cadius Rufus, AD 47/48.¹⁷ Possibly the Nikaians adopted the title “first city” as a compensation for the city’s loss of metropolitan status.¹⁸ The claim to *proteia* reappears throughout the Flavian period on Nikaian coins bearing the legend “first of the province” or “first in Bithynia”.

Towards the end of the century, the war of titles escalated. Some Nikaians still resented the city’s loss of metropolitan status and one coin issue, struck at Nikaia in the reign of Domitian, names Rome – not Nikomedia! – as the *metropolis* and Nikaia as “the first city of Bithynia and Pontos”.¹⁹ It was a blow below the belt – “une perfide intention”, in the words of Louis Robert²⁰ – that was not repeated. It did nothing to improve the tense relationship between the two cities.

By this time, the Nikomedians had also adopted the title “first” on their coins. We do not know all the details of the conflict that followed. The Nikaian may have been first to protest at this arrogation of “their” title; the Nikomedians may well have responded condescendingly that their city and not Nikaia was the real “first city” of the province. Dion’s proposed solution to the problem – that *both* cities should be allowed to call themselves “first”²¹ – reveals that unlike *neôkoros* and *mêtropolis*, “first” was not a title granted by the Roman authorities, but as Dion himself describes it, an empty epithet that a city could apply to itself.

From the evidence of the coinage – admittedly *e silentio* – it appears that from the early second century, the Nikaian no longer used the title “first”, whereas the Nikomedians continued to do so into the Severan period. It would seem that Dion’s conciliatory proposal was not followed and the Nikaian were forced to abandon their claim to *proteia* – at least on their coins.

It soon resurfaced, however, in the inscriptions set up c. AD 123 over the north and east gates of the city. Here, Nikaia proudly introduced itself to the visitor as “*neôkoros* of the imperial cult, founded by Dionysos and Herakles, first city of Bithynia and Pontos, metropolis by the decision of the Emperors and the Senate”. Deliberately ambiguous in its wording, the inscription was not a claim to present status but a historical statement about its glorious past;²² as such it could not be challenged by the Nikomedians and probably remained in place for seventy-five years until it was erased following the civil war of 193-194 (p. 150).

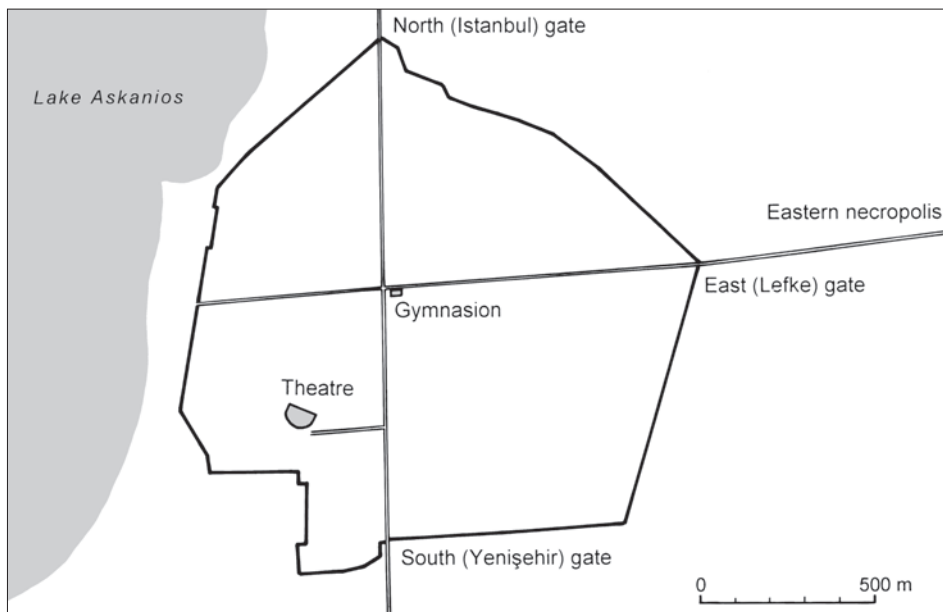


Fig. 8. Map of Nikaia (Inger Bjerg Poulsen)

City plan and architecture

As we have already seen, a city's monuments and physical appearance was assumed to reflect the intellectual and cultural superiority of urban life. A regular plan was one of the characteristic features setting the city apart from a village and a regular, harmonious appearance drew positive comments:

The city [Nikaia] is sixteen stadia in circuit and is quadrangular in shape; it is situated in a plain, and has four gates; and its streets are cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from one stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium (Strabon, first century AD).²³

It is difficult to find elsewhere a city plan like that of Nikaia; one would think it a model set for all cities on account of its regularity and beauty, which are such that the tops of all its buildings, adorned with an equal symmetry, appear to offer a splendid view to the beholder. It is decorated and harmonious in every respect (*Expositio totius mundi*, fourth century AD).²⁴

As one would expect of a Hellenistic city, Nikaia had a Hippodamic street plan laid out around the two main axes described by Strabon, east-west and north-south. Today, the two main streets of Iznik still intersect in the centre of the city, at the site of Strabon's gymnasium, and it is still possible to see all four gates from this point.



Fig. 9. Remains of the southern wall of Nikomedia's citadel in the Medrese Sokak, northwest of the city centre (author's photo).



Fig. 10. The course of the late antique east wall can still be traced through the gardens and backyards of the Terzebayiri district in north-eastern Izmit (author's photo).

The *agora* was the social and economic centre of the city. In more than one sense, it was also the visual expression of the city's vitality. A bustling *agora* surrounded by temples, public buildings or colonnades was the hallmark of a prosperous and cultured urban community and conversely, for Dion or Basil, a deserted or overgrown *agora* was visible evidence that a community had come down in the world. A monumental *agora* might be surrounded by *stoai*, colonnades; in the largest and richest cities, the principal streets might also be lined by columns. Among the Bithynian cities, Dion seems to imply that in his time, Nikomedia possessed a colonnaded street; Libanios also mentions *stoai* among the monuments of the city.²⁵ Dion undertook to beautify Prusa in a similar manner.²⁶ By the third century Prusias ad Hypium, too, possessed a colonnaded *plateia*.²⁷ Nikaia – which the fourth-century source quoted above describes as *ornata* – probably also possessed a street colonnade.

Defenses

The city wall and its gates marked the dividing line between town and country and served as visual indicators of urban status. In Dion's seventh oration, the presence of "a strong wall with square towers"²⁸ is at once a historical testimony to the former greatness of the Euboian city and a mental barrier that separates the wrangling politicians in the city from the pastoral tranquility outside.²⁹ Since only the larger and more important cities were walled, the mural crown, representing a city wall with turrets, was often used as iconic shorthand for "city", for instance on coin issues showing a goddess – most commonly *Tyche* – wearing a mural crown to identify her as a city's protecting deity (fig. 30). On the fourth-century *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the cities are marked with pictographs that illustrate their relative importance; the second highest class – which includes both Nikaia and Nikomedia – is indicated by a stylized silhouette of a city with curtain wall and towers (fig. 6).

Under the year AD 123, the seventh-century *Chronikon Paschale* records how "in Nikomedia and Nikaia, Hadrian erected markets and *tetraplateiai* (four-street intersections) and the walls towards Bithynia".³⁰ Conversely, tearing down a city's walls was a severe blow not only to the security of its citizens but to their self-esteem, as when Valens punished the Chalkedonians for supporting the usurper Prokopios by having their walls demolished. In this case, insult was added to injury: the building materials were ferried across the strait and used to build the Carosian baths in Constantinople, the upstart city which had recently eclipsed Chalkedon as the leading settlement on the Bosphoros.³¹

It goes without saying that a royal capital such as Nikomedia was walled, for defense as well as representation. A tight perimeter surrounded the Acropolis, presumably the first part of the city to be walled. A larger defensive circuit some 6km in length stretched in a semicircle from the shore west of the city, along the hills and behind the Acropolis to meet the shore again to

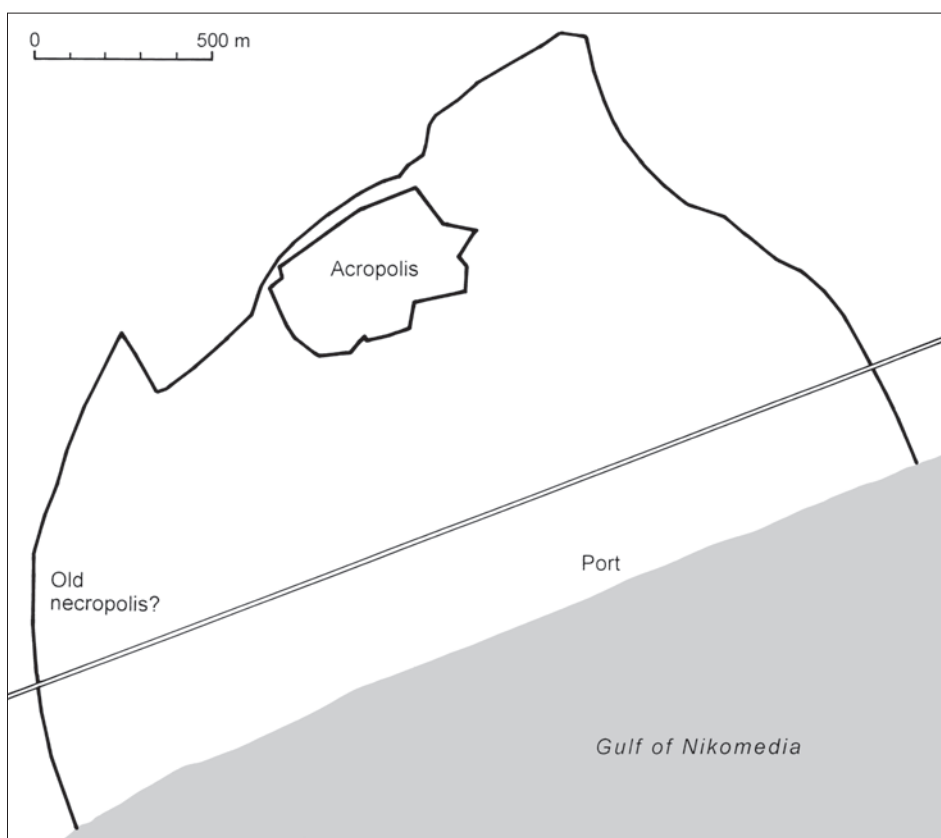


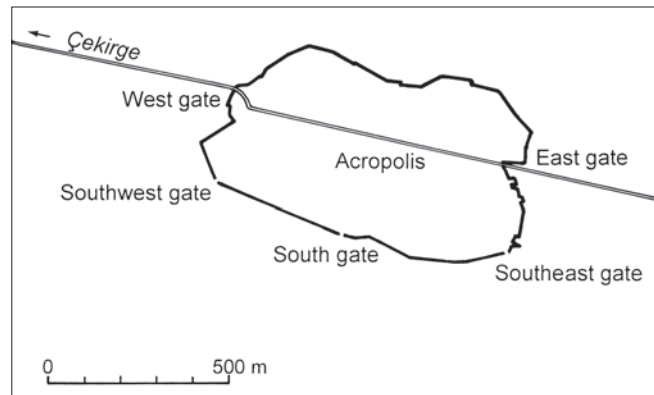
Fig. 11. Map of Nikomedia (Inger Bjerg Poulsen)

the east. As we have heard, Nikomedia was besieged in 149 BC, when the defenders opened the city gates to the forces of Nikomedes Epiphanes and Prusias II took refuge in the temple of Zeus, which must thus have been inside the walls; this suggests that the larger defensive perimeter was in place by then. On the other hand, as noted by Dörner,³² the city's western necropolis is located to the east of – thus inside – the line of the present walls. This clearly indicates that when the necropolis was in use – that is, well into the third century AD – this area was still outside the *pomerium*. The most likely explanation is that at some time in the late third century the line of the western wall was shifted some hundred metres westward, perhaps by Diokletian when he made Nikomedia his residence.

Around the Acropolis and along the eastern flank of the outer perimeter, remains of the wall are visible in places and even if little of the present fabric is of ancient date, they convey a general impression of the strength of the city's defenses in the late third century AD.

The steep slopes of the Prusan acropolis formed a natural defensive perimeter to the west and north. The weakest section was to the south, facing

Fig. 12. Map of Prusa
(Inger Bjerg Poulsen)



mount Olympos across a broad, level area. Along this line, substantial sections of the ancient and early medieval walls remain standing. Parallel to the southern wall, a subsidiary outer wall (on the model of the Theodosian defenses of Constantinople) was later added.

Since the choice of site seems to have been guided by considerations for its defense, the city no doubt possessed a fortified perimeter from its earliest stage. According to Paulus Orosius, writing in the fifth century AD but drawing on the works of earlier historians, by the time of the Mithradatic wars Prusa was already “a strongly fortified city” (*munitissima civitas*).³³

Nikaia’s walls as they stand now are the product of more than a thousand years’ construction, reconstruction and modification. Until c. AD 400, four stages can be dated with reasonable accuracy:

- a. Hellenistic – presumably the first walled circuit of the city, nearly 3km in length, which was still standing in the early first century AD and described by Strabon, who gives the length of the wall circuit and testifies to the existence of four gates.³⁴
- b. Flavian – new north and east gates dedicated shortly after AD 70, dated by inscriptions over the gates (fig. 25); possibly also new south gate in AD 78/79.³⁵
- c. Hadrianic – reconstruction after the earthquake of 120, commemorated by a second set of honorific inscriptions over the north and east gates,³⁶ and mentioned in the *Chronikon Paschale* (“the wall toward Bithynia”)
- d. Mid-third century – heightening of the walls, construction of new gates to the south and west, *terminus ante quem* established by inscription in honour of Claudius Gothicus (268-270); third-century walls also depicted on coins of Gallienus (253-268), Macrianus and Quietus (260-261).

Very little remains of the pre-third century walls. A small gate or postern (“Tor 6”) built of dressed stone blocks, now standing alone and half buried some distance northeast of the Lefke gate, has been claimed as Hellenistic



Fig. 13. Now standing a little distance northeast of the eastern (Lefke) gate of Nikaia, the small "Gate 6" may be a remnant of the Hellenistic defense perimeter (author's photo).



Fig. 14. The earlier walls of Nikaia have all but disappeared under the massive third-century fortifications, but just west of the north (Istanbul) gate, the later walls were built up against the Hadrianic wall. That is now gone, but a negative impression of its plaster facing, scored to imitate masonry blocks, remains (author's photo).

(fig. 13);³⁷ and in a section of wall immediately to the west of the north (Istanbul) gate, the inner face of the wall clearly shows the imprint of its predecessor, a plaster-faced wall scored to imitate masonry (fig. 14). Dalman, Fick and Schneider, who surveyed the defences of Nikaia in the early 1930's, rejected a Hellenistic date for "Tor 6" because it is constructed from re-used blocks (given the seismic history of Nikaia, hardly a clinching argument)³⁸ and dated the wall imprint by the north gate to the Hadrianic period on stylistic grounds. In the absence of evidence for an earlier building stage, Schneider (1938) tentatively concluded that the Flavian gates were not connected by walls until the Hadrianic period³⁹ while "Tor 6" was not constructed until the third century.⁴⁰

The chronology proposed by Schneider poses several problems. First, it implies that for half a century the new Flavian gates stood alone, not joined up by walls. Secondly, the fate of the Hellenistic circuit is not discussed by Schneider: was it maintained during this period, with the new gates standing some way outside the enclosed area; or was the Hellenistic perimeter abandoned, leaving the city unwallled? On reflection, neither scenario seems likely. In any case, the archaeological *e silentio* argument for the absence of a Flavian wall is somewhat dubious, since the investigators likewise failed to find remains of a Hellenistic wall (which is known to have existed).

Accepting the dating of Schneider (1938) for the plaster-faced wall at the north gate to the Hadrianic period, a more probable sequence of events is the following: due to the extension of the urban area in the early Flavian period, the Hellenistic defensive circuit was abandoned on three sides of the city (but retained towards the west). The new gates to the north, east and south were joined up by a curtain wall, re-using the building materials from the Hellenistic walls⁴¹ (which explains why the older wall circuit is untraceable). Half a century later, the earthquake of 120 caused sections of the Flavian wall to collapse; these were repaired and replastered with financial support from the *fiscus*, commemorated by additional gateway inscriptions in honour of Hadrian. In the third century, the walls were reinforced and heightened; the gates were provided with flanking towers and a new superstructure to accommodate a portcullis.

The small gate or postern ("Tor 6") remains undated and unexplained; if it is not Hellenistic, then the Flavian-Hadrianic walls must have made an inward deviation (of which no trace remains) along this sector. Another interpretation of "Tor 6" would see it as a – possibly rebuilt – remnant of the Hellenistic perimeter, retained and re-used either in the new wall itself or as the gate of a courtyard.

Like the inhabitants of other cities, Nikaia clearly took pride in their walls. Over the gates of the Flavian perimeter, inscriptions declared the loyalty of the city to the régime, without ignoring the chance of a little self-advertisement (fig. 17, 25). They honour the emperor Vespasian, the imperial house "and the first [city] of the province, Nikaia".⁴² The ostensible dedicant was the



Fig. 15. North (Istanbul) gate seen from the inside. Originally, the gates were flanked by statues in the niches on either side. In the third century, the walls were raised and the gate was completely rebuilt, with a new brick superstructure added to accommodate a portcullis and its lifting gear. The slot for the portcullis, which was cut through the existing arch, is visible in the eastern wall of the archway. Compare fig. 17 (p. 63) and fig. 34 (p. 159). (Jesper Majbom Madsen)

provincial governor, M. Plancius Varus, who appears in the nominative case, but the work was done under the supervision of a local notable, C. Cassius Chrestus (of whom we shall hear more below, p. 113-114).

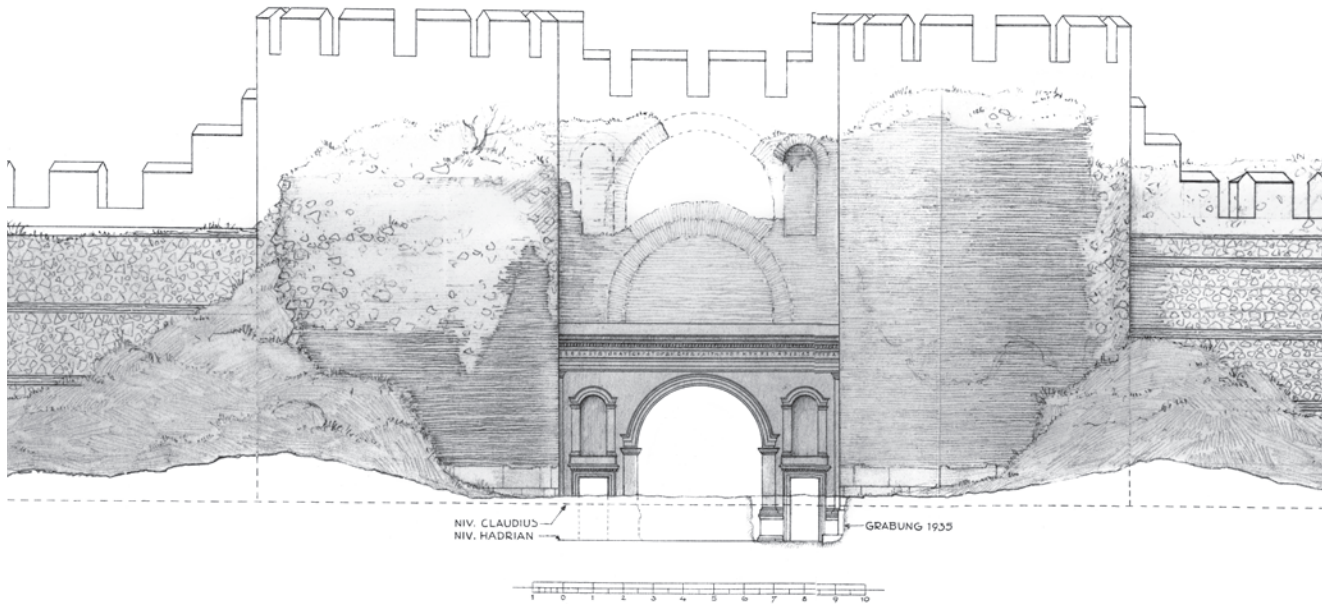


Fig. 16. Elevation of the north (Istanbul) gate from the outside. (Schneider & Karnapp 1938).

Notes

- 1 Pausanias, 10.4.1. Panopeus was sacked by Sulla's troops in 86 BC (Plutarch, *Sulla* 16.4) and apparently never recovered.
- 2 Dion, *Or.* 7.38-39.
- 3 Basil, *Ep.* 74; for the historical background, Van Dam 2002, 28-31; for the sequel, Courtonne 1973, 366-367.
- 4 *Ep.* 74.2-3.
- 5 *Ep.* 74.3.
- 6 TAM 4.1.34, reign of Antoninus Pius; the inscription is now lost. For a later variant of the same titulature, see TAM 4.1.25 (AD 214); for a commentary, Robert 1977, 28-29.
- 7 *Or.* 38.24.
- 8 *Or.* 35.15.
- 9 As in the late Roman *Notitia Galliarum*, where *metropolis civitas* is used to identify the capitals of the Gallic provinces (Harries 1978).
- 10 *Geo.* 12.4.7: *Nikaia hē mētopolis tēs Bithynias*.
- 11 Bosch (1935, 224) takes the reorganisation to be the work of Germanicus during the latter's sojourn in Bithynia on his way to Syria in AD 18-19. The governorship of L. Mindius Balbus (c. 43-47) provides a *terminus ante quem*, cf. RGMG 1.3 Nikomedia 14-17 and Rémy 1988, 23.
- 12 In the fourth century, Nikaia became a titular metropolis, but Nikomedia retained the position as provincial and dioecesan capital.
- 13 E.g., Acts 19.35: *neōkoros Artemidos*, "guardians of the temple of Artemis".

- 14 Three Nikaian inscriptions mentioning priests of the imperial cult: *IK* 9.116 (late first century), *IK* 9.60 (early third century) and *IK* 9.64 (late third century) probably refer to the imperial temple of Nikomedia; cf. Fernoux 2004, 527. Had the Nikaiaans won a neochorate for themselves, one would surely have found the title *neôkoros* on some of the city's coins.
- 15 Cassius Dion 72.12; Bosch 1935, 229; for the career of Saoteros, see also *SHA Commodus* 3-4.
- 16 RGMG 1.3 Nikomedia 405-421. The exact date is not known, probably c. 254; a coin issue in the name of Gallienus as *augustus* but bearing the reverse legend *Nikomêdeôn dis neôkorôn* (RGMG 1.3 Nikomedia 414) provides a *terminus post quem* of October 253.
- 17 Robert 1977, 4; RGMG 1.3 Nikaia 30.
- 18 Dräger 1993, 238 claims that *prôtos* and *mêtropolis* were official titles introduced under Claudius as an expression of "eine besondere Wertschätzung des Kaisers für die Stadt", but this accords ill with Dion's detailed discussion of these two titles in *Or.* 38.23-39. Dion makes it quite clear that *mêtropolis* and *prôtos* are titles of a different nature, one formal and indivisible, the other informal (38.39); as for *prôtos*, it is said to be "so petty, so commonplace, things upon which fools might pride themselves" – hardly the words in which Dion would describe a title bestowed by the emperor who had enfranchised Dion's much-admired maternal grandfather.
- 19 RGMG 1.3 Nikaia 61.
- 20 Robert 1977, 4.
- 21 *Or.* 38.39.
- 22 Most modern readers, e.g. Robert 1977, 18-19, Şahin 1978, 24-25, Merkelbach 1987, 26, have assumed that the inscription lists the *current* titles of Nikaia (in 123), of which she was later stripped (in 194): "Es zeigt sich, dass der Stadt drei Ehrentitel aberkannt worden sind ... Nikaia war nun nicht mehr Verwalterin des Kaiserkultes, nicht mehr erste Stadt der Provinz Bithynien und Pontos, nicht mehr Metropolis" (Merkelbach). By the early second century, however, Nikaia was no longer a metropolis and Dion explicitly says (*Or.* 38.39) that this title was reserved (*exairetos*) for Nikomedia. He is supported by the inscription of Matidianus Pollio at Ephesos (*IK* 13.627), put up *before* 193 and naming only Nikomedia, among the three leading cities of Bithynia, as the metropolis. As for a second-century neochorate, this is not mentioned on any Nikaian coin issue; by 123, Nikaia had also ceased to use "first city" on its coinage. The solution to the apparent paradox lies in the phrase "by decision of the emperors and the senate". As Robert (1977, 18) notes, the plural need not indicate two specific emperors but may refer to past emperors in a more general sense; the inclusion of the senate (somewhat unexpected in the context of the early Hadrianic period) also indicates that the text is not a list of current titles, but an historical overview of past distinctions.
- 23 Strabon 12.4.7, translated by H.L. Jones.
- 24 *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 49, translation from Foss 1996, 9.
- 25 *Or.* 47.17; cf. also Libanios, *Or.* 61.17: *stenôpoi ... stoai.... dromoi*.
- 26 *Or.* 47.16-17.
- 27 *IK* 27.9.
- 28 *Or.* 7.22.

- 29 Cf. also *Or.* 36.6, where Dion uses the sorry state of Borysthenes' walls to illustrate the plight of the city, within which the inhabitants struggle to preserve the last remnants of *paideia* and *urbanitas*.
- 30 *Chr.Pasch.* 475 (Dindorf). It is not quite clear from the passage (and may not have been clear to the compiler of the *Chronikon*) whether both cities received new markets, *tetraplateiai* and walls. A Hadranic reconstruction of Nikaia's gates is epigraphically attested, but there is no comparable supporting evidence for the walls of Nikomedia.
- 31 Ammianus, 31.1.4.
- 32 Dörner 1941, 24-26.
- 33 Orosius, *Historiae adversum Paganos* 6.2.23.
- 34 Strabon, 12.4.7.
- 35 The extension will have taken place between the *terminus post quem* of Strabo's description and the *terminus ante quem* provided by the Flavian inscriptions on the north and east gates, dedicated in the proconsulate of M. Plancius Varus (Şahin 1978). A fragment of a monumental architrave discovered in 1986 in the south-eastern sector of the walls bears an inscription in honour of the Flavian emperors, dated to Domitian's fifth consulate, March 78 to January 79 (Adak 2001; *SEG* 51 (2001) no. 1709). The eccentric position of the intersection at the Aya Sofya Camii in relation to the present defensive circuit suggests that the walled area was extended on three sides, but – for obvious reasons – not towards the lake; in that case, the inscription of AD 78/79 could belong to the south gate. The present south gate is partially constructed from re-used blocks, which may originate from an earlier, Flavian gate.
- 36 *IK* 9.29-30. For a discussion of the inscription, see note 22.
- 37 Körte 1899, 398.
- 38 Schneider & Karnapp 1938, 26 and plate 19b.
- 39 Schneider & Karnapp 1938, 2-3.
- 40 Schneider & Karnapp 1938, 24.
- 41 The third-century foundation courses of the eastern and northeastern wall are replete with large, squared stone blocks, resembling those used to construct "Tor 6". These are more likely to originate from the Hellenistic phase than from Schneider's hypothetical Hadrianic wall.
- 42 *IK* 9.25-28.

