

## THE ANTIQUITIES OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

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It is unnecessary to state before an educated audience reasons for calling attention to a place which stands alone amidst the great cities of Europe—unique equally in its history and in its present appearance. At first sight we are entertained by the matchless beauty of the prospect, where the eye wanders with delight over the waters now expanding into the Sea of Marmora, now contracting into the Channel of the Bosphorus; or follows with no less delight the ridges of the hills and mountains ascending to the summit of the Bithynian Olympus. But on closer inspection the monuments of former ages reveal themselves—Greek Churches converted into mosques, pre-eminent as specimens of Byzantine art; the ancient walls of Stamboul with their numerous towers and inscriptions; and in obscure corners many a trace of occupation by Venetians, Genoese,<sup>1</sup> and strangers from the distant north.<sup>2</sup>

I. The walls of Constantinople may justly be regarded as the most remarkable antiquities of their kind in the whole world. This statement will appear to some exaggerated, but arguments in support of it can easily be

<sup>1</sup> The antiquarian traveller will be greatly aided in researches of this kind, if he is able to secure the assistance of Mr. George Skirakis, whom I engaged as a dragoman on the recommendation of the Rev. Canon Curtis, minister of the English Memorial Church at Constantinople. Mr. Skirakis is not an ordinary guide; he has carefully studied the monuments of the city and the literature connected with them.

<sup>2</sup> Information concerning Varangian monuments would be best obtained by application at the Swedish Consulate. The Varangian body-guard appear in a mosaic at San Vitale, Ravenna, of which there is a coloured copy in the South Kensington Museum. For references on

this subject see my paper on the Antiquities of Scandinavia, section ii, Byzantine influence, "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxv, p. 261, note 2. The testimony of Codinus shows that some at least of these soldiers were English, Πολυχρονίζουσι Βάραγγοι, κατὰ τὴν πατριὸν καὶ οὗτοι γλωσσῶν αὐτῶν, ἔχουσι Ἰγκλιονιστί, p. 90 [p. 57, ed. Bonn], quoted by Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. liii, vol. vii, p. 22, edit. Dr. Wm. Smith. A series of seals relating to the Varangians has been discovered; they are described by Dr. Mordtmann in the "Revue Archéologique;" one of them is remarkable as belonging to the διεκριμηνεὺς or chief dragoman.

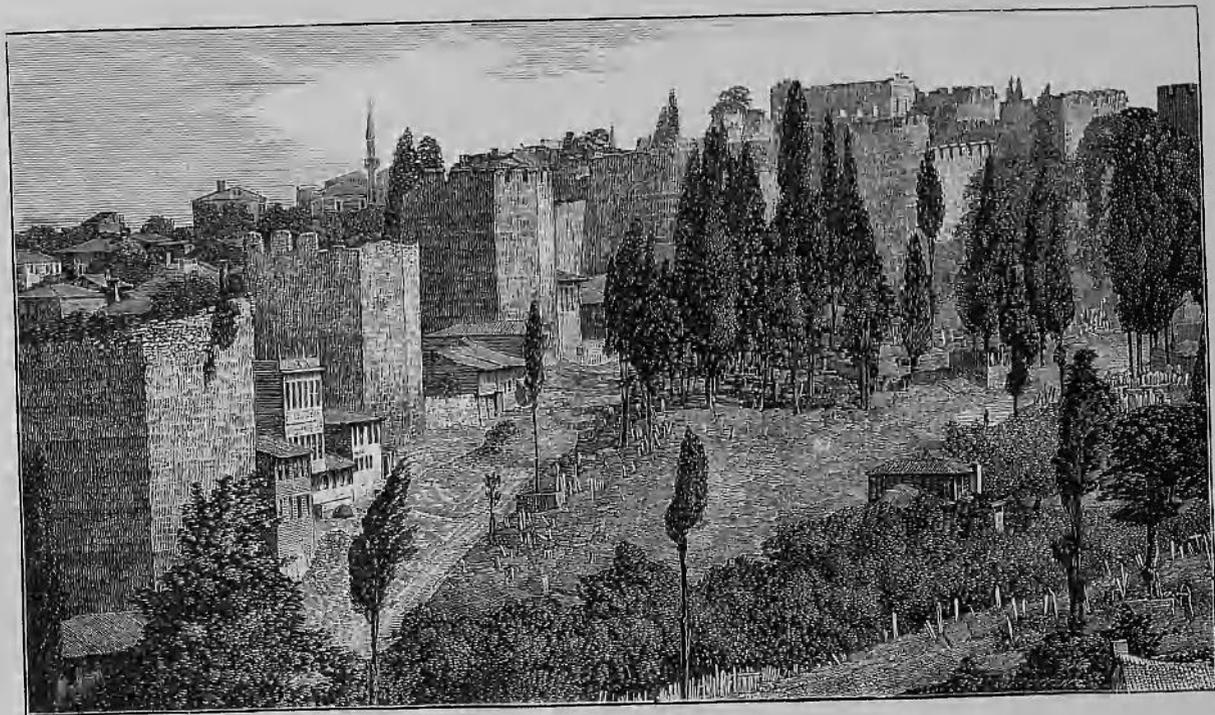
adduced. Our curiosity has often been excited by the Cyclopean fortifications of Greece, Italy, and Spain. But these were rude structures, for the most part, if not altogether, without towers, erected by semi-barbarous races, and connected with poetry and mythology rather than with the facts of history; they either consist of uninscribed stones, or bear some mysterious characters, which successive generations of antiquaries have failed to decipher. Again, the walls of Hadrian and Antoninus in Britain, and the Teufelsmauer from Hohenstaufen to the Main<sup>1</sup> were boundaries of great importance, and will always be objects of special interest to the nations in whose territories their ruins still exist. But the ancient ramparts on the land side of Constantinople far surpass those to which I have alluded, whether we consider their picturesque situation between the Golden Horn and the Sea of Marmora,<sup>2</sup> the inscriptions upon them extending over many centuries and containing most exact dates, or lastly, the series of events which they have witnessed, ending in the long decay and death-struggle of the Roman empire.

The best work on this subject is that published by Dr. Paspati in the year 1877, and entitled *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται*,

<sup>1</sup> The following works concerning the great Roman wall in Germany may be consulted with advantage—"Geschichte und Topographie des Maingebietes und Spessarts unter den Römern" . . . von Hofrath Dr. Steiner, Darmstadt, 1834; "Der Römische Grenzwall (Limes Transrhenanus) von Hohenstaufen bis an den Main," von Edward Paulus, Stuttgart, 1863; "Die Vermessung des Römischen Grenzwalls in seinem Lauf durch Württemberg," von Dr. Ernst Herzog, Stuttgart, 1880. "The Pfahlgraben," by Thomas Hodgkin, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 8vo, 1882. These books contain useful maps. Mr. James Yates has appended to his valuable essay, "On the Limes Rhaeticus and Limes Transrhenanus," 1852, a very copious list of books relating to this Roman boundary.

<sup>2</sup> This line of fortifications, carried over hills and valleys, is far more pleasing to the eye of the spectator than any similar structure on a flat surface; the architectural beauty is also enhanced by the richness and variety of the surrounding vegetation. The walls are well represented in M. Berggren's photographs,

taken from many points of view. This artist is specially employed by the local savants to copy ancient monuments. Dallaway notices the hilly site and the trees growing in the fosse; he justly compares the projecting battlements with those in the castles at Conway and Carnarvon: "Constantinople, ancient and modern, with excursions to the shores and islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad," by James Dallaway, M.B., F.S.A., late chaplain and physician of the British Embassy to the Porte, 1797. Compare also a memoir by the same author in the "Archæologia," vol. xiv, pp. 231-243, which is illustrated by four large engravings. Dr. Mordtmann's "Guide to Constantinople" contains a coloured map of the city and its suburbs by Stolpe, in which the walls are clearly exhibited, the circular towers being distinguished from the rectangular. This map is corrected to the year 1880; it gives the ancient and modern names, with descriptions in French and German; and it supplies much information by means of signs and abbreviations.



Walls of Constantinople.  
*(From a photograph by M. Bergeron.)*

“Byzantine Studies;” it is written in modern Greek approximating as much as possible to the ancient, which renders the perusal comparatively easy to the classical scholar. Dr. Paspatis’s treatise exhibits a profound acquaintance with the mediæval historians, and communicates the results of laborious investigations, which none but a resident at Constantinople could have pursued.<sup>1</sup> To this work I am indebted for a large part of the present memoir, and in many cases I shall only translate the learned author, being conscious that I cannot improve upon what he has already said so well.

The land walls (*τὰ χερσαῖα τεῖχος*) were built about A.D. 413, under Theodosius II, by the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius; having been overthrown by an earthquake they were rebuilt thirty-six years later by Cyrus within two months—an almost incredibly short space of time, which, however, is attested by inscriptions as well as ancient authors.

After an interval of 200 years Heraclius, well known as the greatest general of the Byzantine dynasties, erected a new wall to include the church and palace of Blachernae; this was called *Μονότειχος* or *Καστέλλιον τῶν Βλαχερνῶν*.<sup>2</sup> Two centuries more had elapsed when Leo the Armenian added a wall in front of the Heraclian; but being only one-hundred metres long it scarcely deserves to be mentioned together with the gigantic structures of his predecessors. The land walls join that on the Golden Horn near a gate now closed,<sup>3</sup> by the side of which a colossal bas-relief of Victory, carrying a palm branch in her left hand, may still be seen. It is a very conspicuous object on the traveller’s right as he returns from Blachernae to his quarters at Pera. A

<sup>1</sup> As a proof of the success that has followed Dr. Paspatis’s researches, I may mention that he has discovered fifteen Greek Churches at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> Blachernae is a district on the South side of the Golden Horn, through which the traveller passes on his way to the mosque of Eyub. This name is probably the same word as the English *bracken* and the Danish *bregne*: Sophocles, “Lexicon of Byzantine Greek,” *Βλάχιον* or *Βλήχιον* = *πτερίς* fern, with references: Ferrall, Repp and Rosing, Danish Dictionary, *Bregne fern*; (i *Massevis voxende*)

*brake*, (prov.) *bracken*. Codinus proposes three explanations of the etymology, “De Originibus Constantinopolitanis,” Venet., ed. Lambec, p. 38 (edit. Paris, p. 48), *ἡ ὅτι Βλάχια ἦσαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ . . . ἢ ἐκλήθη λακέρνα καὶ βλαχέρνα, ἔτι λακκώδης ἦν ὁ τόπος καὶ διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ὕδατα, ἢ ὅτι Βλάχου τινὸς κέρμα ἦν ἐκεῖσε.*

<sup>3</sup> This gate is called *Jagdtbor* in Stolpe’s map, and *Porte du Chasseur à Balata* in Berggren’s photograph; it is close to Blachernae,

local antiquary describes this figure as Michael the archangel (*ἀρχιστράτηγος*)<sup>1</sup>; but the face, breasts and drapery show unmistakably that a female is here represented. Comparing this gate with the triumphal arches of the Romans, of which so many examples remain, I feel little doubt that this Victory was one of the original ornaments decorating an important entrance into the city.<sup>2</sup>

Between the palace of Belisarius and the Old Harbour Bridge, not far from this Victory, there is a remarkable slab with reliefs on it. My attention was directed to it by the Rev. Canon Curtis, who kindly assisted me to explore this part of Stamboul. The *plaque* is high up in the wall; partly on this account, and partly from the general excellence of the workmanship, one might mistake it for a fragment of classical art; but the subject is taken from the Old Testament, as Mr. Curtis ascertained by examining it with a glass from a window in an upper storey of the house opposite. He was able to read the the letters Π Α Ι of the word *παῖδες*, and discovered that one of the figures was winged, so that we have here the Three Holy Children mentioned in the Book of Daniel, and the Angel of the Lord appearing with them.<sup>3</sup> This interesting monument has been assigned with great probability to the fourth century, because this period is specially distinguished by the development of Christian

<sup>1</sup> Ducange, s. v. *Ἀρχιστράτηγος*; epithetou vulgo S. Michaeli a Graecis attributum; quo unico etiam vulgo appellari solet. He also quotes the phrase, *ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἄνω τάξεων*.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the well-known example in the arch of Titus at Rome, compare Montfaucon, "Antiquité Expliquée," vol. iv, Part I, p. 170, Plate, Restes de l'Arc de Cavaillon: Supplement, vol. iv, p. 78, Plate—L'arc de St. Remi en Provence. "Au-dessus de la porte il y a sur chaque côté une victoire." But it is still more to the purpose to observe that in Constantinople itself at the Porta Aurea a statue of the goddess Victory, of bronze gilt, was placed upon the platform over the gate together with one of the emperor Theodosius: Dallaway in the "Archæologia," xiv, 241.

<sup>3</sup> Daniel iii, 25. The letters ΠΑΙ correspond with the Greek title of The Song of the Three Holy Children in the Apo-

crypha, *τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν ἕνεσις*; and the winged figure is explained by verse 26: The Angel of the Lord came down into the oven together with Azarias and his fellows. The same subject appears on a remarkable Sarcophagus in the church of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan; on one side of the medallion-portraits of the deceased we see the three kings adoring the infant Saviour, and on the other the three youths refusing to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. This symmetrical arrangement, which is quite in accordance with the practice of ancient art, exhibits the contrast between Christianity and idolatry. Lübke, "Grundriss der Kunstgeschichte," vol. i, p. 253, and engraving p. 254, fig. 172; comp. Lübke, "History of Sculpture," English translation, i, 341, and illustration in "Oesterreich Denkm." of Heider, Eitelberger, &c., vol. ii, p. 27 et seq.

sculpture, preceding the grand mosaics executed in the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

We may note three principal epochs in the reparation of the walls, though of course on many other occasions alterations and additions were made. After an earthquake which took place in A.D. 740, Leo the Isaurian, first of the Iconoclast Emperors, levied a tax for this purpose. About a hundred years later Theophilus directed his attention specially to the ramparts on the sea-side, parallel to the Golden Horn, from Haiwan Serai Kapousou, near Blachernae, to Baluk-Bazar-Kapousou, near the New Harbour Bridge.<sup>2</sup> He is said to have raised the walls, to have effaced the traces of age, and to have made the defences inaccessible to enemies. As this emperor was engaged in foreign wars with the Arabs during nearly the whole of his reign, we can easily understand the causes of his extraordinary activity in fortifying his capital. During the few years that immediately preceded the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, many repairs were effected by John VIII Palaeologus, last but one in the series of Byzantine emperors.

Those who cannot visit these wonderful fortifications may be interested in learning that a contemporary illustration exists in Byzantine coinage. A concave gold *solidus* of Michael VIII Palaeologus has on its reverse the Virgin with uplifted hands, surrounded by a plan of Constantinople, in which towers and crenellated walls may be distinctly seen. The same type appears on the coins of this emperor's son, Andronicus II; they were wrongly assigned by Ducange and Banduri to Andronicus I Comnenus.<sup>3</sup> Their mistake was corrected by Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vol. viii, p. 267, sq.; and there

<sup>1</sup> "Sarcophagi bearing a distinctly Christian character scarcely appear before the fourth century." Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1864. Je viens de citer un Sarcophage de l'année 273; il en est peu d'un pareil âge: Le Blant, "Étude sur les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles," Introduction, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See "Alt-Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel," vom v, bis xii, Jahrhundert, von W. Salzenberg, Plate xxxviii, Geometrical patterns in marbles and tiles of the Hebdomon; Inscription

on Wall, ΠΥΡΤΟCΘEOΦ, fig. 14. The map in Murray's "Handbook" shows the Hebdomon a little north of the Palace of Belisarius.

<sup>3</sup> Ducange, "Familiae Augustae Byzantinae," edit. Paris, page 169. Banduri, whom Eckhel contemptuously calls *assecla Ducangii*, has copied the engraving of his predecessor, "Numismata Romanorum a Trajano Decio ad Palaeologos Augustos," vol. ii, Plate on p. 753; the description of the coin above-mentioned is given at p. 760. Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Plate lix, No. 3.

can be no doubt on the subject, as Pachymeres, lib. vi, cap. 8, expressly informs us that Michael VIII changed the old devices, and engraved the city on the reverse.<sup>1</sup> It might be supposed that he only intended to exhibit the Virgin as patroness of Constantinople; but on closer examination we shall see that, in some cases at least, the reference was local. In Sabatier, Plate LX, No. 4, we have the letters B--A on either side of the bust of the Virgin, and these are evidently the first letters of Βλαχερναι or Βλαχερνίτισα. As Andronicus II repaired and adorned the church of St. Mary in this suburb, it was natural that he should commemorate the fact by placing her effigy on his money.<sup>2</sup>

In the coins above mentioned the walls of Constantinople are represented with as much accuracy as could be obtained in so limited a field; at an earlier period we find only an emblematic bust of the city, like that of the goddess Roma. The device on the obverse is a female head with laureated helmet, and imperial mantle on the shoulders; on the reverse we see a galley rowed by five men, the captain seated at the stern, and three military ensigns in front of him, while a Victory stands on the prow, holding a crown in one hand and a palm-branch in the other. From its rude execution M. Cohen infers that this type should be assigned to successors of Constantine down to the time of Justinian.<sup>3</sup>

II. These walls suggest many topics for investigation, but amongst them I have selected the inscriptions, because they are very interesting, and have been scarcely

<sup>1</sup> Sabatier, ii, 241, *μετεγεγράφω μὲν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν σημεῖων, τῆς πόλεως χαραττομένης ὕπῃθεν.* Comp. F. de Saulcy, "Essai de Classification des Suites Byzantines," p. 428, Pl. xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> In Borrell's "Catalogue," p. 96, a coin of Constantine XII Monomachus is mentioned; it has on the obverse a full-faced bust of the Virgin, with nimbus and hands elevated; the legend is Η ΒΑΑΚΕΡΝΙΤΙΣΑ. This type is very fully explained by Mr. Madden in the "Numismatic Chronicle," 1878, Part III, New Series, No. 71, p. 207. He gives at p. 186, *ib.*, the representations of Christ and the Virgin on coins in chronological order.

<sup>3</sup> "Médailles Impériales," vol. vi, Pl. iv, No. 4; the coin is described p. 175,

and the date of it is discussed in a note, p. 174. The same plate contains the head of Urbs Roma, No. 7. The earlier Byzantine coinage exhibits some remarkable devices; one of them is the Star and Crescent, afterwards adopted by the Turks as their national emblem: Leake, "Numismata Hellenica," p. 31; Murray's "Handbook," introductory historical sketch, prefixed to the account of Constantinople, p. 48. In the reign of Gallienus we see upon a reverse two cones joined by their bases; these are probably baskets used in the fisheries for which Byzantium was renowned, Leake, *ib.* Other types may be seen in Hunter's "Catalogue," pp. 74, 75, Tab. 13, Nos. xvii-xxv; *cf.* "Eckhel Doct. Num. Vet.," vol. ii, pp. 26-32, especially 27.

noticed by English antiquaries. It would be difficult elsewhere to find a line of fortifications containing memorials of this kind extending over a thousand years; the earliest belong to the reign of Theodosius II, A.D. 408-450, and the latest to that of John VIII Palaeologus, A.D. 1425-1448. Dr. Paspati has carefully examined these records, and in the work above-mentioned has transcribed forty-one of them.<sup>1</sup> But his account, though copious and learned, does not altogether supersede the compilation of Bockh in the "Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum;" for the latter writer gives the forms of the characters more accurately in his text, and adds many references to the works of travellers. A comparatively small space is allotted to the epigraphy of Constantinople; it will be found between Nos. 8664 and 8794.<sup>2</sup>

Most of these inscriptions are Greek, but some are Latin, as we might expect from the mixed population, which contained doubtless, in ancient as in modern times, many residents who did not understand Greek. Prose is the form usually employed; there are however instances of hexameters, and one of elegiac verse. They relate chiefly to the building of walls by emperors or prefects; in a few cases they are sepulchral. It has been truly remarked that, if all histories of Imperial Rome had perished, the chief events therein recorded would have been known to us from devices on large brass coins;<sup>3</sup> similarly, without the assistance of the Byzantine writers, we should have been able to ascertain the most important facts connected with these walls from the evidence of the letters still extant upon them. They exhibit the names of at least twelve emperors, and state sometimes not only the year but even the month, in which a reparation was made or a new construction added. On the other hand, as far as I recollect, the great wall from Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne supplies only a single inscription

<sup>1</sup> Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται, Κεφάλαιον δευτέρου, Ἐπιγραφὰν τῶν χερσαίων τεχνῶν, pp. 33-61.

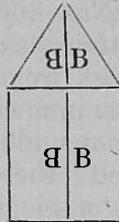
<sup>2</sup> The Inscriptions of Constantinople are contained in vol. iv of Corp. Inscr. Graec.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral W. H. Smyth, "Descrip-

tive Catalogue of a Cabinet of Roman Imperial Large Brass Medals," Introduction, p. 5. "They record a greater number of remarkable events; fix precisely more chronological dates; and afford better traces of manners and customs, than any other class of coins."

from which we can infer that Hadrian built it;<sup>1</sup> and in the earth-work (*murus cespitiatus*) between the Clyde and the Forth one legionary tablet has been found mentioning Q. Lollius Urbicus, the Imperial Legate, who erected the Antonine rampart.<sup>2</sup> Again, if we pass from our own country to the line of defence connecting the Danube with the Main, we should search in vain among the stones of the Teufelsmauer for the chronological details which abound at Constantinople.

As many of the inscriptions closely resemble each other, it would be a tedious and unprofitable task to investigate them all; I shall therefore discuss only those which are more interesting than the rest on account of their relation to history or antiquities.



No. IX, p. 42 in Dr. Paspatis's *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* is on the Theodosian wall, where it joins that of Heraclius, a little to the north of the Gate of the Incorporicals (*Ἀσωμάτων*) i.e., Angels. There are here six windows which are supposed to have belonged to the church of the Nine Orders; on one of them is a shield divided into four compartments, with the letter B in each. We have here the initials of *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων, Βασιλέων Βασιλέουσι*. This abbreviation appears also on the walls of Galata.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bruce, "Roman Wall," p. 16. Inscription found in Castle-Nick Mile-Tower, Imp. Caes. Trajan. Hadrian. Aug. Leg. II. Aug. A. Platorio Nepote Leg. Pr. Pr. "Lapidarium Septentrionale," No. 199, p. 106, comp. Nos. 200-202

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," vol. ii, p. 40. The name of the Emperor Antonius Pius appears on an inscribed and sculptured stone found at Bridgeness on the Forth, and preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh; it is described in their Catalogue, No. 157\*.

<sup>3</sup> Other interpretations of the four B's have been proposed. Jacques Gretser thought they were the armorial bearings

of Constantinople, and that they represented the steel used to strike a light, being similar in form to this utensil. So Ducange, *Palaeologorum insignia, quae plenam crucem cum quatuor igniariis focilibus praeferunt*. But this explanation seems improbable, as the heraldic usages of the West were not adopted by the Byzantines. Some say that these letters denote the kingdom of Christ extending over the four quarters of the world. Lastly, it has been suggested that we have here an allusion to four Emperors reigning together. The legend AVGG NN shows that there was more than one Augustus at the same time, but Constans II associated his three sons

Our inscription may be illustrated by Byzantine coins, *e.g.*, of John I Zimisce, who reigned A.D. 969-976, in the century succeeding the Iconoclasts, when Christian art and symbolism began to revive. Accordingly at this period we meet with the legend IC-XC-BAS-ILE-BAS-ILS, and the bust of our Lord on the reverse holding the Gospels in his hand. A little later, Constantine XII Monomachus, expressed the same idea in Latin words, *Rex regnantium*.<sup>1</sup> Among the Parthians this title was first assumed by Mithridates I (Arsaces VI), and often adopted by his successors, as the coins abundantly testify.<sup>2</sup> But if we look to the material employed, a rock-tablet at Behistan supplies evidence more apposite for our present purpose; it contains the figure of Gotarzes pursuing his enemies and crowned by Victory, together with the inscription ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΑΤΡΑΠΩΝ, Satrap of Satraps, which is equivalent to *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων*.<sup>3</sup> I need scarcely add that this Eastern title has for us an additional interest, an account of its application by the writers of the New Testament. St. Paul says that our Saviour is the blessed and only Potentate (*δυνάστης*), the King of kings and Lord of lords; and a similar phrase occurs twice in the Apocalypse.<sup>4</sup>

with himself in the government of the empire, so that they formed-a τετρα-*βασιλεια*. "Revue Archéologique," *Fevrier*, 1877, pp. 92-101, Sur les quatre B, Lettre à M. Schlumberger, par M. G. Sathas.

<sup>1</sup> Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, p. 142, Pl. xlvii, 17, *Cf.* xlviii, 2, 3, 4, 5. The words "Rex regnantium" occur on the gold coins of John I Zimisce, Sabatier, *ib.* p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay, "History and Coinage of the Parthians," p. 213, Appendix, No. 2, Titles on the coins of the Parthian kings; of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ there are many instances, but Arsaces XII alone uses the form ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. The Parthian monarchs by this appellation proclaimed their supremacy over dynasties of dependent kings and viceroys who governed provinces (*Vitaxae*, *Βίστακες*); Rawlinson, "Sixth Oriental Monarchy," pp. 87, 88. For Mithridates I *Cf. ib.* p. 90 and foot-notes. But the most remarkable example occurs in a letter from Phraataces to Augustus; the Parthian calls-himself King of kings and addresses the Roman Emperor as *Cæsar* ('*ἐκείνον δε Κάισαρα μόνον ονομάσας*.) Rawlinson, p. 218 and note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Sir R. Ker Porter, "Travels in Georgia, Persia," &c., vol. ii, p. 150, has an engraving of the mountain called Besitoun, which is variously spelt Behistun, Bihstun, Bisutun and Baghistan. At p. 151, describing the inscription of Gotarzes, he says that very little of it can now be discerned; accordingly his copy is quite fragmentary. The words are better given by Rawlinson, who has profited by the researches of more recent travellers, p. 260, note 1; see also chap. xxii, "On the Architecture and Ornamental Art of the Parthians," p. 389, woodcut of the Bas-relief of Gotarzes from Flandin and Coste. Victory is a frequent device on Parthian coins: Lindsay, Pl. iii, No. 61, Two Victories crowning King's head; *cf.*, Pl. v, No. 11, and Pl. vii, No. 5.

<sup>4</sup> I Tim. vi, 15, *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριεύοντων*, parallel passages will be found in Bloomfield's note. The margin of the Revised Version renders the participles accurately—King of them that reign as kings, and Lord of them that rule as lords.—*Rev.* xvii, 14; xix, 16.

† THEODOSIJJUSSISGEMINONECMENSEPERACTO  
 CONSTANTINUSOVANSHAECMOENIAFIRMALOCAVIT  
 TAMCITOTAMSTABILEMPALLASVIXCONDERETARCEM †<sup>1</sup>

† Theodosii jussis, gemino nec mense peracto,  
 Constantinus ovans haec moenia firma locavit ;  
 Tam cito, tam stabilem Pallas vix conderet arcem. †

“ By order of Theodosius and in less than two months Constantine rejoicing made these walls strong : Minerva would scarcely have built a fortress so quickly and so permanent.”

Paspati, No. XXII, p. 50. This inscription on the Melandesian gate, in all probability, belongs to the fifth century, and is therefore one of the earliest at Constantinople. It was discovered by Guys, a French archaeologist, in 1770 ; at the present time the latter part of it is difficult to read, as the stone is overgrown with moss produced by water dripping from the cornice. Theodosius here mentioned is the second of that name ; Constantine, the architect, is the same as Cyrus, who occurs several times in the Byzantine writers. His career was a remarkable one. The skill and energy he had shown in repairing the walls made him famous, and the populace exclaimed—“ Cyrus will gain other victories and higher promotion.” Whereupon the Emperor became jealous, compelled Cyrus to take orders, and appointed him Metropolitan of Smyrna, with the hope that this dignity would prove fatal, as four of his predecessors in the see had been murdered.

With the Latin inscription quoted above another on the same gate should be compared :—

† ΗΜΑ ΙΝΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑΦΙΛΟΚΗΠΤΡΩΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ  
 ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΤΗΑΡΧΟΥΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟΤΕΙΧΕΙΤΕΙΧΟΣ †

† “ Ημασιν ἐξήκοντα φιλοσκήπτρω Βασιλῆι  
 Κωνσταντίνου ὑπαρχου εδείματο τείχει τείχος †

“ In sixty days for the scepter'd king the prefect  
 Constantine built a wall in addition to a wall.”

Paspati, No. XX, p. 47, in his interpretation, has printed the last word of the former line Βασιλῆι ; it should be Βασιλῆι to complete the hexameter : it is given correctly by Dallaway, *Archaeologia*, vol. xix, p. 241, note. But

<sup>1</sup> In *Theodosii* the first two syllables must be pronounced as one, by Synæresis ; so Virgil, *Georgics* II, 453, ends the line with *ilicis alveo*. Similarly the

Attic dialect, by Crasis, contracts *θεο* into *θου*, e.g., *Θεοκυδίδης* *Θουκυδίδης*, *Θεοκλής* *Θουκλής*.

he has made a still worse mistake in the second line by omitting the verb *ἰδείματο*, which is required for the sense and metre alike. The trench must have been excavated subsequently to the outer wall mentioned above as *additional*: otherwise we could not account for the distance of the trench from the inner or great wall.<sup>1</sup>

† ANENEΩΘΗΤΟΠΡΟΤΕΙΧΙΣΜΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑΚΟΥΤΕΙΧΟΥΣΕΠΙ  
ΙΟΥΣΤΗΝΟΥΚΑΙΣΟΦΙΑΣΤΩΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΣΤΑΤΩΝΗΜΩΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΩΝ  
ΔΙΑΝΑΡΣΟΥΤΟΥΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΟΥΣΠΑΘΑΡΙΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΚΑΙΑΑΡΙΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΑΝΗΚΟΝΤΟΕΙΣΤΗΠΟΥΡΓΙΑΝΔΟΥΛΟΝΤΟΝ  
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΤΑΤΟΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΝ. †

† *Ἀνευεώθη τὸ προτείχισμα τοῦ θεοδοσιακοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ  
Ιουστ(ί)νου καὶ Σοφίας τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν  
διὰ Ναρσίου τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου Σπαθαρίου καὶ Σακ(ε)λ(α)ρίου  
καὶ Στεφάνου ἀνήκοντος εἰς ὑπουργίαν δούλ(ω)ν τ(ῶ)ν  
σεβαστοτάτ(ω)ν δεσποτ(ῶ)ν.* †

"The outer wall of the Theodosian fortification was renewed in the reign of Justin and Sophia, our most pious lords, by Narses the most glorious Swordbearer and Treasurer, and Stephanus employed for this service, slaves of the most august lords."

Paspatis, No. XXI, p. 49. This inscription is one of the most remarkable in the whole series, as it contains the name of Narses, the famous general of Justinian, exarch of Ravenna, and rival of Belisarius; it also gives us some insight into the Byzantine Court, and shows how far the Romans had degenerated from the better days of the early Empire, when every citizen would have scorned to use the terms of adulation which are repeated here.<sup>2</sup> Justin above mentioned was the second emperor of that name and nephew of Justinian; he and his wife Sophia (surnamed *Λωβή* leprous) are said by Codinus, *De Originibus Constantinopolitanis*, to have erected many public buildings,<sup>3</sup> so that his statements harmonize perfectly with

<sup>1</sup> It is now impossible to ascertain how deep the trench was originally, because it is to a great extent filled up with manure and stones from the adjoining gardens and plantations. Opposite the Golden gate the depth is now more than ten metres; between the gates of Selymbria and of the Seven Towers one, and in some places three metres. Near the Sea of Marmora the trench is almost on a level with the road. From the gate of St. Romanus to the Melandesian the depth varies between three and seven metres.—Paspatis, p. 7. According to

Gibbon, *clxviii*, vol. viii, p. 158, ed. Smith, the depth was one hundred feet. Paspatis says this is one of very many mistakes made by the profound (*Babynous*) historian, who had never travelled in the East.

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, c. iii, vol. i, p. 206, ed. Smith: The emperors . . . disdained that pomp and ceremony which might offend their countrymen, but could add nothing to their real power.

<sup>3</sup> Codinus "De Originibus Constantinop." p. 35, ed. Lambec. Venet., mentions Justin, Sophia and Narses together,

the sentence inscribed on the wall. The empress, we are told, had observed from the balcony of the Palace the vessels tossing on the stormy waves; she therefore induced the Emperor to order the construction of a harbour, which Narses superintended. Justin and Sophia built the Orphanage of St. Paul and the church of St. Zoticus, with a hospital for lepers attached to it. Three churches are mentioned as having been erected by Narses, who also converted a residence of his own into a lodging-house for strangers and an asylum for the aged.<sup>1</sup>

It is with hesitation that I differ from so great an authority as Dr. Paspatis, but "aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus," and in this case I venture to remark that his interpretation is incorrect. He says that Narses repaired the wall with the assistance of the Sacellarius and Stephanus, as if the Sacellarius was a different person from Narses. But it seems clear from the context that Sacellarius (treasurer) is a title of Narses, like Spatharius (sword-bearer), the word immediately preceding it. Stephanus seems to have been the architect employed under the direction of Narses. Lastly, the word *Σακαίλαριον* should be noticed; it contains three irregularities, and would be correctly written *Σακκελλαριον*. It is derived from the Latin *saccus*, *sacculus* (a bag), and bears only an accidental resemblance to *sacellum* (a chapel).<sup>2</sup>

ΙΩΝΕΝΧΩ  
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ  
ΤΟΡΟΤΟΥΠΑΛΑΙ  
ΟΛΟΓΟΥΚΑΤΑΜΕΝΑΟΚΤ  
ΤΟΥΣΘΜΣΕΤΟΥΣ

Ἰω(άννου) ἐν Χ(ριστῷ)  
αὐτοκρά-  
-τορος τοῦ Παλαι-  
-ολόγου κατὰ μῆνα Ὀκτ(ώβριον)  
τοῦ 5<sup>ῃ</sup> Μς εἶτους

6946 — 5508 = 1438 A.D.

"(The work) of John Palaeologus Emperor in Christ  
in the month October of the year 6946."

Paspatis, No. XXIV, p. 52. It is worthy of remark that the date is here reckoned from the creation of the

as they occur in the Inscription. Speaking of four columns which Sophia placed in the middle of the harbour, he adds: ἑφ' ὧν ἔστησε τὰς στήλας ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Ἀραβίας τῆς ἀνεψίᾳς αὐτῆς καὶ Ἰουστίνου τοῦ ἀδερῶς αὐτῆς καὶ Ναρσῶν τοῦ ἐκείσε παρισταμένου.

<sup>1</sup> Codinus, ib, p. 42, μετετέθη εἰς ξεγῶνα καὶ γηροκομῆϊον παρ' αὐτοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange, "Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis," Σπαθάριος, Spatharius, Armiger. Chronicon Alexandrin. in Juliano, καὶ ἀνέστησαν οἱ κούβουκουλάριοι ἐννοῦχοι καὶ Σπαθάριοι. Σακελλάριος, Sacellarius, Dignitas Palatina. . . qui Sacelli seu Fisci Imperatorii curam habebat. Σάκελλα, Σακέλιον, Saccellum, Sacculus, Crumena, Fiscus.

world, which is supposed to have taken place 5508 B.C.;<sup>1</sup> the month is also mentioned, and similarly on other tablets we find January, April and June. Seven inscriptions, from 1433 to 1444 A.D. bear witness to the great zeal of this emperor in strengthening the fortifications of Constantinople, which had suffered during the siege by Sultan Murad (Amurath II) in 1422, when the Turks employed cannon for the first time.<sup>2</sup> The pains which John VIII Palaeologus took to repair these walls are not mentioned by the historians; but his activity in this matter is quite in accordance with his energetic endeavours to promote the union of the Greek and Latin churches, in order to obtain military assistance from the Western Powers.

In some of the letters on the walls we may observe small round holes, which can easily be explained. The Greek characters were cut, like an intaglio (*κατάλυπτος*), not in relief (*ανάλυπτος*), as some have stated; the cavities were then filled up with lead, fixed in its place by pegs inserted in these holes. The contrast between the dark colour of the lead and the white marble slab made the words very legible; and this was necessary, because they were at a considerable height above the spectator. At present the difficulty of deciphering is considerably increased by the disappearance of the lead and the accumulation of dust during so many centuries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon, "Palaeographia Graeca," gives many examples from manuscripts of this mode of computation, *e.g.*, p. 50, *σφνδ* 6554, *i.e.*, A.D. 1046; *σφνη*, 6558, A.D. 1050.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay, "History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires from MLVII to MCCCCLIII," p. 611, notices the egregious exaggeration of Gibbon, chap. lxxv, vol. viii, p. 71, ed. Smith; following Phrantzes and Ducas, he makes the besiegers two hundred thousand.

The present condition of the Turkish Empire in its degradation and diminishing extent presents a striking parallel with that of the Greeks during the former half of the fifteenth century; see Finlay, *ib.* p. 613.

At p. 615 he quotes a curious passage from the Travels of a Burgundian Knight, Bertrand de la Brocquiere (A.D. 1432, 1433), describing a visit of the empress to the Church of St. Sophia. He says that he found more probity in the Turks

than in the Greeks—a statement which modern travellers would confirm. For Bertrand's account of Constantinople see Bohn's "Antiquarian Library," Early Travels in Palestine, pp. 334-342; this volume contains much information concerning other countries besides that mentioned in the title.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of attending to holes of this kind in ancient monuments is well known: by this means it was discovered that the inscription on the attic of the Church of Septimius Severus at Rome had been altered; originally it contained the name of Geta, this was expunged and other words substituted. Nibby, "Roma Antica," Parte I, pp. 478-479, Una gran confusione apparisce ne' fori de' perni, imperciocchè i primitivi non si poterono affatto cancellare. Similarly in the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon the holes that still remain show that the brides were made of metal, probably gilt bronze. Michaelis, Der

III. There are many ancient Greek churches at Constantinople, and the number of those known to us has been greatly increased by recent investigations; but I propose on the present occasion to notice only two. The Church of Chora was the residence of some learned writers who shed a ray of genius athwart the gloom of the declining Empire; and it contains even now most precious remains of mosaics, which rival, and perhaps surpass, the master-pieces that we admire at Rome and Ravenna. This monastery, *Μονὴ τῆς χώρας*, is now called Kahrieh or Kakrieh Jamisi; but the modern Turkish name seems to be only a corruption of the Greek *χώρα*, which has been frequently misunderstood. It means the space left vacant, probably for a distance of sixty cubits, on either side of the city walls; a precaution obviously taken for purposes of defence, that invaders might not be able to shelter themselves in any buildings, so as to assail the fortifications advantageously. The mosque, for so it may be called from its present use, is now within the walls, but was originally outside them; it is so described by Byzantine writers, and is classed by Ducange with the *Monasteria Suburbana*.<sup>1</sup>

That an edifice for Christian worship existed here long before Justinian appears from the account of the martyrdom of St. Babylas, who was put to death A.D. 298.<sup>2</sup> This Emperor, however, seems to have restored the Church; it was afterwards rebuilt by the mother-in-law of Alexis Comnenus, but specially adorned and enriched by Theodorus Metochita, who died and was buried here. He was a friend of Andronicus the Elder (Palaeologus), held the office of Magnus Logotheta (Accountant)

Parthenon, S. 248, Erklärung der Tafeln, Tafel xiii. Im ganzen Reiterzug des Südfrieses waren Metallzügel angebracht, zu deren Befestigung regelmässig drei Locher dienten, eines im Maule und eines hinter dem Ohre des Thieres für den Kopfriemen (*κορυφαία*), ein weiteres in oder neben der Hand des Reiters für den Zügel (*ἡνία, χαλινός*). Comp. Sir H. Ellis, "Elgin Marbles," vol. i, p. 196.

<sup>1</sup> Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christiana," lib. iv, c. xv, *Monasteria Suburbana*, Sec. V. *Chora seu χώρα*, pp. 126-127, ed. Venet., relates the history of this Church.

<sup>2</sup> Ducange, *ib.* 126, s.f. *Extra urbis muros statuitur in Meneis ad iv Sept., ubi de S. Babylae . . . reliquiis, quas in hoc monasterium allatas ait Synaxarion: 'εν τῷ βορείῳ μέρει ἔξω τειχέων . . . ἔνθα ἔστι μονὴ Χώρα ἑπονομαζομένη.*

D. Pulgher, "Les Anciennes Eglises Byzantines De Constantinople," p. 31, inaccurately translates *Μονὴ τῆς Χώρας* by "Couvent de la ville." He also makes an erroneous statement in the line immediately following, *Premièrement l'église avait été construite par Justinien I<sup>er</sup>.*

Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, and attained great distinction as an author; he displayed a versatile genius in commentaries on Aristotle and miscellaneous essays, both philosophical and historical.<sup>1</sup> His pupil also, Gregoras Nicephorus, a learned mathematician and astronomer, wrote the history of Byzantium within these walls.

Crispus, son-in-law of the Emperor Phocas, was suspected of sedition by Heraclius; he was, therefore, according to a practice common in those times, compelled to embrace the monastic life, and imprisoned here: the same punishment befell Cyrus, Patriarch of Constantinople, under the Emperor Constantine Copronymus.

During sieges a very famous picture of the Virgin Mary, with the title Hodegetria, was carried in procession on the walls of Constantinople in order to encourage the defenders; it was afterwards deposited in this monastery for the adoration of the faithful, and, as the Turks in 1453 entered the city by the Cercoporta only a few paces distant from the Church, it was one of the first objects that became a prey to their violence; they plundered the sacred edifice, stripped the picture of its ornaments, and divided it in four pieces. Different explanations have been given to account for the name Hodegetria. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Painting*, Plate lxxxvii, has an engraving of a copy of this picture, in which the Virgin appears standing, with our Lord as a child, seated on her left arm;<sup>2</sup> and he says that the title inscribed here means "Protectress of armies and travellers." But I think he is mistaken, and that the correct interpretation

<sup>1</sup> In the Parecclesion (side-chapel) of this church is deposited an arch decorated with beautiful foliage; above it is the bust of our Lord with crucigerous nimbus and hand raised in benediction; an angel occupies the spandrel on either side. The frieze is covered by a long inscription in six lines, consisting of twenty-four iambic verses. It was previously considered to refer to Metochita, but Mons. Veludo has shown that it was probably composed in honour of Demetrius Tornices. An incorrect copy is given by Pulgher, p. 38, which is in some parts quite unintelligible; but he has repeated it, p. 43, as emended by Veludo. For an engraving of the arch and facsimile of the inscription see Pulgher's "Atlas of Plates," No. xxvi.

Some interesting particulars concerning Metochita will be found in Fabricius, "Bibliotheca Graeca," vol. x; biography, pp. 412-414; edited writings, pp. 414, 416; unedited writings, with the titles of cxx chapters, pp. 416-425. Gregoras calls him a living library, and Reinesius justly describes him as *Vir plane summus et major saeculo suo*.

*Metochita* means prior; so *Metochium* is defined by Ducange to be Cella monastica a monasterio aliquo principall dependens; cf., *Μετόχιον*, Stephens' "Lexicon," ed. Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> *Madonna greca*, *Pittura in tavola a tempera xiii sec.* The word *Ὁδηγήτρια* appears in the inscription on the right of the Virgin.

is to be found in Codinus De Originibus Constantinopolitanis, who informs us that Michael the Drunkard built the church of the most holy mother of God, called Hodegus (guide), where there had been an oratory previously. In this place there was a sacred spring frequented by the blind, who bathed and recovered their sight; hence the Virgin received the epithet Hodegetria, as if she guided their steps, and the picture of her would naturally be named after the Church in which it was at one time kept.<sup>1</sup> According to tradition it was painted by the Evangelist St. Luke on a panel (ἐπὶ σανίδι). It was sent as a present from Jerusalem by the Empress Eudocia to her sister-in-law Pulcheria; subsequently it used to be carried, like an imperial palladium, into the battle-field, and on this account may be compared with the *sanjak sherif* or sacred banner of Mahomet, which all Mussulmans are bound to follow.<sup>2</sup>

But the chief interest of this Church lies not so much in the historical associations that gather around it, as in the frescoes and mosaics that adorn its outer and inner vestibules. They are in a good state of preservation, and quite unparalleled at Constantinople, because they present a departure from the dry and hard style, which is characteristic of Byzantine art; in fact they astonish us by their animation and variety. Dr. Paspatis dwells with enthusiasm on the

<sup>1</sup> Codinus, p. 33, edit. Venet., διὰ τὸ ἀναβλέψαι δυν ἐκείσε τοὺς τυφλοὺς ἐκλήθη ὁδηγός.

The writer of the Article Mary, in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," vol. ii, p. 1152, seems not to have understood the origin of this appellation.

Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christiana," p. 5, has a map of the city as it was in the year 1422; he marks the church of the Hodegetria near the sea-wall, and East of Santa Sophia. In the same work he gives an account of this church amongst those dedicated to the Virgin, lib. iv, c. ii, No. 24. Montfaucon, "Palaeographia Graeca," p. 51, mentions this monastery, and another in Calabria de lo Patire, or de Patirio, which was distinguished from the former by the name *veas* Ὁδηγητρίας.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Paruta, "La Sicilia descritta con Medaglie da L. Agostini," Lione, 1697, p. 96, and Plate. Signum

Wilielmi Regis Magni Siciliae. Hoc signum (i.e., crucem) sibi praeferri a vexillifero facit, cum ad bellum aliquod procedit.

The Sanjak sherif is preserved in the Treasury of the Seraglio, but it is not shown; Murray's "Handbook," p. 73. Von Hammer-Purgstall, "History of the Ottoman Empire," translated into French by J. J. Hellert, vol. i, p. 243. The Prophet had chosen for his standard the colour of the sun (yellow), the Fatimites that of the earth (green), &c. *Ib.*, vol. vii, p. 277, Reign of Mourad III. Towards the end of November, 1594, the sacred standard, said to have belonged to the Prophet, which had been kept at Damascus as one of the most precious relics conquered from Egypt, was transported for the first time to Constantinople by the Syrian Janissaries, and then sent, under an escort of a thousand men of the militia, to the army operating on the Hungarian frontiers, to decide fortune in favour of the Ottomans.

colouring of the drapery, the symmetry of the limbs, and the expression of the faces. At first sight we are surprised to find in a Greek Church features so different from those that usually prevail; but I think the reason is not far to seek, if we bear in mind the period in which these works were executed. Many writers have noticed the influence of the Byzantine School on Italy, and the proofs of it are well known: on the other hand, Italy must have acted powerfully upon the Greeks at Constantinople. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Italian republics were rapidly developing free institutions; art and literature were awaking to a new life; and at this time Venice, Genoa and Pisa were establishing colonies in the capital of the Lower Empire.<sup>1</sup> Theodorus Metochita, who may be regarded as the founder of the church that we now see, died A.D. 1332, so that he was contemporary with Cimabue and Giotto, the greatest painters who preceded Raphael, the former of whom died in 1300, and the latter in 1336. If we also take into account the prominent part which the Italians played at Constantinople during the Crusades, this comparison of dates seems sufficient to explain the cause of the difference observable between these monuments and the works of earlier Byzantine artists.<sup>2</sup>

In the outer narthex the first subject on the spectator's left hand as he enters the church is the Dream of Joseph; the second is probably the journey to Bethlehem in order to be taxed, not the Flight into Egypt, as no child is represented. Next we have the Magi travelling on horseback, and standing before Herod, so that two scenes of the same story appear as it were in one picture. Lastly, at the opposite end of the corridor Herod's massacre of the Innocents is portrayed with frightful

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, chap. lxii, vol. vii, p. 368, ed. Smith. Instead of banishing the factories of the Pisans, Venetians, and Genoese, the prudent conqueror accepted their oaths and allegiance, &c. See also chap. lxiii, *ib.*, pp. 406-112.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Curtis traced a resemblance between the mosaics in this church and the works of Jacobus Torriti who flourished in the latter part of the thirteenth century, so that he synchronizes nearly with Metochita; see engravings of the Tri-

bunes of S. John Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, Kugler, "Handbook of Painting," ed. Eastlake, vol. i, pp. 113, 114. The latter is more important on account of its beautiful composition, and because it represents the coronation of the Virgin; we see here the severity of the old style revived with much freshness of feeling; Lübke, "Grundriss Der Kunstgeschichte," i, 382; English translation, i, 463.

realism ; he is issuing his decree, and mothers are weeping for their children.<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding to the second Narthex we find as a principal subject the Virgin Mary surrounded by Jewish kings and prophets ; the former wear crowns, and the frequency of this head-dress produces some resemblance to the group of four-and-twenty elders ; where, however, the crowns are only derived from a passage in the Apocalypse. Names are attached to each personage, in some cases legible, in others very difficult to decipher, *e.g.*, Hezekiah and Abraham are clear, Malachi is obscure. Instead of Rehoboam, the form occurring in the Septuagint, Roboam, is written (I Kings, xi, 43.)<sup>2</sup> As these figures adorn the cupolas and are therefore at a considerable distance above the spectator, he should provide himself with a good glass to examine the details. This church sometimes bears the name of our Saviour (*Σωτήρ*) instead of the more usual title, *Moné tés Choras* ; hence our Lord is appropriately represented here healing the deaf and blind and Peter's mother-in-law, who was sick of a fever. To the right of the door of the mosque there are two very large figures of Christ and the Virgin ; among the mosaics recently discovered are Saints Peter and Paul, the latter has a book of a rectangular form, which is more modern than the scroll.<sup>3</sup> Many scenes in these decorations relate to the life of the Virgin, and (as I have remarked on other occasions) undue prominence given to this subject indicates a late period. But from an historical point of view and considered in connection with the church itself, one group transcends all the rest ; it consists of Theodorus Metochita offering a model of the sacred edifice to our Lord seated on a throne. This design is executed in mosaic, and placed over the great door leading to the interior ; Metochita wears a turban, which corresponds

<sup>1</sup> Pulgher, *Eglises Byzantines*, Atlas, Vienne, 1880, Planches xviii, xix, Coupe longitudinale de l'Exonarthex et du Narthex. These engravings give a general idea of the ornamentation, but they do not reproduce all the subjects which the vestibules contain.

<sup>2</sup> *Καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Ῥοβοὰμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἀντὶν.* The Vulgate also has Roboam.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly there is a mosaic in the

porch of S. Sophia, where our Lord appears holding a book of this form. Lubke, "Grundriss Der Kunstgeschichte," i, 263, 264, Fig. 177. It occurs very frequently on the coins of the later Greek Emperors : Sabatier, "Monnaies Byzantines," vol. ii, Pl. xlvi, Constantine X ; Pl. xlvi, John I Zimisces ; Pl. xlix, Constantine XII Monomachus, &c. De Saulcy, "Classification des Monnaies Byzantines," Pls. xxi-xxvi, &c.

with the date already assigned to these works of art.<sup>1</sup> On the right and left of our Saviour the letters IC-XC are inscribed, and below them ΗΧΩΠΑ ΤΩΝ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ "the land of the living" apparently with allusion to the name, *Μονὴ τῆς χώρας*,<sup>2</sup> like canting heraldic mottoes. Numerous analogies present themselves to the enquirer, who compares the churches of Constantinople with those of Ravenna; and here we have a striking example of them; Ecclesius who built San Vitale in the latter place appears performing the same act of homage as Metochita.<sup>3</sup>

Till within the last few years a colossal figure of our Lord remained uncovered in the interior of the mosque, accompanied by the inscription, "Come unto me all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you." Very touching must have been the sight of these words, placed conspicuously in the midst of a suffering people, and inviting them to a divine source of consolation. The Russians had expressed a wish to obtain the mosque for the purpose of converting it into a church; this proposal excited the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, who in their fury destroyed the mosaic.

Though the Greek rite forbids images, a few bas-reliefs may be seen here; one of them represents the column on which Symeon Stylites, or some other pillar-saint, passed his life. It deserves notice that a staircase and a window of an apartment at the top are clearly indicated; hence we should be disposed to infer that the holy man purchased his reputation for asceticism rather cheaply, enjoying a considerable amount of comfort, and seeing his friends whenever it suited his convenience.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The turban is distinctly seen in Pulgher's Plate, No. 19, Fig. 1; the model of the church is also drawn accurately, and shows the three cupolas. A mitre like a turban is still worn by Greek ecclesiastics; see the engravings accompanying a work by the Rev. John Glen King, D.D., Chaplain at St. Petersburg, entitled "Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia," containing an account of its doctrine, worship, and discipline, 4to. Lond., 1772.

<sup>2</sup> With the explanation of *Χώρα* given above compare P. Gyllii "De Constantinopoleos Topographia," lib. iv, translated by John Ball, 1729; in Book I, Of the Walls of the City, he says, "The country

opening without the walls is not incumbered with buildings."

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Edwin Freshfield's Paper in the "Archæologia," vol. xlv, On the Byzantine Origin of the Church of St. Vitalis at Ravenna, &c. The account of Ecclesius, pp. 420-422, is derived from Agnelli, "Liber Pontificalis," Modena, 1708. In Murray's "Handbook for Northern Italy," ed. 1863, p. 532, Euty chius is incorrectly substituted for Ecclesius.

<sup>4</sup> Fabricius mentions three saints of this name, vol. x, pp. 522-525. The first ascended his column near Antioch in Syria, A.D. 419, and lived on it till A.D. 460. Johannes Phocas informs us the

The church of Sergius and Bacchus, now Kuchuk Aya Sophia, *i.e.*, Little Santa Sophia, is not less interesting than the one just described, but its claims on our attention are founded on a very different basis. It belongs to a brilliant period in Byzantine history, it possesses high architectural merit, and it seems to have been the model followed in San Vitale at Ravenna. Justinian, before his accession, inhabited the palace of Hormisdas, and built this church close to it, so that both were often called by the same name.<sup>1</sup> They were situated behind the Hippodrome, and near the Sea of Marmora. At present a space of about 700 mètres separates the church from the western boundary-wall of the palace, but the expressions of the historians prove that in ancient times they were more closely connected. This topographical relation should be borne in mind, because it enables us to understand why the church was visited by the Emperor in state during Easter week, and a portion of it appropriated to the performance of the Latin ritual by ambassadors from the Pope.

column grew up spontaneously (*αυτοφύης*), and that Stylites remained in the open air—a statement which does not agree with the window in the bas-relief.

In Pulgher's "Eglises Byzantines" the text is sometimes inaccurate, but the Atlas of Plates will be found most useful. He says of the Kahrije Dzamissi (so he spells the words), C'est l'unique eglise qui reste a Constantinople avec toutes ses mosaïques historiques, decouvertes et bien conservees, ainsi que les fresques et les sculptures en haut relief.

Of thirty Plates, half, Nos. xvi-xxx, are devoted to this church, and six of them are beautifully coloured. The following deserve special notice :—xvi, the principal Façade ; xxii, fifteen details showing a great variety of patterns ; xxv, part of a Cupola, Roboam between Solomon and Abia (Abijam in the Authorised Version), under a medallion of the Virgin with the infant Christ on her lap, both nimbated ; the letters MP—SV are also inscribed. Comp. Sabatier Pl. xlvii, No. 18, John I, Zimisces ; Pl. L, No. 12, Romanus IV and Eudocia. The representation on the coins is similar to that in the mosaic, but not identical.

An engraving of the church, on a very small scale, is given in the "Archæol. Journal," vol. xxiii, p. 5, as an illustration

of Remarks on Mediaeval Architecture in the East, by the Rev. J. L. Petit. The name is there written Mone tes Koras (*sic*) ; this error apparently derived from Mr. Fergusson's "History of Architecture," would lead to a wrong interpretation, substituting *κῶρη* puella for *χώρα* locus.

Photographs of the mosaics of the Kakrieh Jamisi have been taken for Mr. Freshfield, and I saw them at the Syllogus (Greek Literary Society) in Constantinople, but they were not for sale. The result was rather unsatisfactory, probably in consequence of defective light.

<sup>1</sup> This name is evidently Oriental. "En pehlwi, Okhromazdi ; en parsi, Aourh-mazdaï ; en persan, Aourmouz et Hormouz ; en arménien, Ormizt ; en arabe, Hormizdan." Nouvelle Biographie Générale, Didot, Paris, 1858.

Ducange, "Constantinopolis Christ.," lib. iv, c. vi, No. lxxxviii, quotes from the Synaxaria, vita S. Theophanis, "Ὁς παραληθῆς ἐν τῇ Ὁρμισδοῦ μονῇ Σεργίου καὶ Βακχίου τῇ παρακειμένῃ τῷ Παλατίῳ."

The palace may have taken its name from Hormisdas mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus, fil. regis Persarum (exul), xvi, 10, 16 ; xxiv, 1, 2. His son occurs in xxvi, 8, 12, edit. Eysenhardt.

Vigilius, a contemporary of Justinian, who attained a scandalous notoriety by purchasing the Papal throne for 200 pounds of gold, took refuge here, when he had incurred the emperor's displeasure by excommunicating the Patriarch Menas. About three hundred years later the Iconoclast patriarch John, tutor of the Emperor Theophilus, presided over the church as abbot (*ἡγούμενος*), an orthodox historian calls him a serpent lurking in a hole.<sup>1</sup>

Gyllius, who wrote within eighty years after the taking of Constantinople, visited this edifice, and has described it accurately.<sup>2</sup> He says that the round cupola of brick rests on eight piers, and that between them there are two rows of Ionic columns; sixteen on the basement, of which six are green, ten white marked with spots; eighteen above them, of which eight are green, ten white with red spots; the former support galleries, the latter semidomes. These galleries were set apart for women, as was also the case in San Vitale. The same usage still prevails, as I had the opportunity of observing at the inauguration of the new Greek cathedral at Constantinople, when only one lady, and she an invalid, appeared in the basement amidst a congregation of several thousands. At present the various colours that pleased the eye of Gyllius are no longer visible, and a dingy brown tint pervades the interior. When I visited it last Autumn (1880) swarms of pigeons were flying over our heads, the roof was falling in, and part of the floor had been destroyed for fire-wood. Much mischief was done by Mussulman refugees from Bulgaria, a loathsome and barbarous race, who left the building in a state of the vilest pollution. During the occupation by these savages it was simply impossible for the tourist to enter, and even long after their departure he paid a heavy fine for gratifying archaeological curiosity, and returned to his quarters covered with vermin.

Unfortunately an external agency assisted the des-

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ τρισκατάρατος, thrice accursed: Paspatis, Βυζ. Μελ., who gives copious references.

<sup>2</sup> Some account of P. Gyllius will be found in the preface to Ball's "Translation." He was a Frenchman sent by

Francis I. to Italy and Greece to collect manuscripts; he also travelled in Asia and Africa, and resided for some years at Constantinople. He was well acquainted with the ancient authors, and competent to criticise them.

troyers who were at work within. The Adrianople railway passes close to the building, so that the motion of the trains has shaken it severely, and caused some fissures in the cupola. Several stones and bricks have fallen out, disclosing faults of construction formerly concealed by whitewash. Partly from poverty, partly from the decline of art, Justinian's successors were unable to repair the walls as he had originally built them.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most striking features in this church is an inscription in large Greek capitals on the frieze above the lower row of columns. Notwithstanding the size of the letters they are very difficult to read in consequence of the height at which they are placed, and the discoloration resulting from causes already mentioned. This inscription is in hexameter verse, and extends over the whole circle of the interior; its purport is as follows:— 'Other kings have honoured dead men whose labours were inconceivable,<sup>2</sup> but Justinian has erected a splendid temple to commemorate Sergius, a servant of Christ, who was not terrified by fire, sword or tortures, and won heaven by his blood, dying for Christ. May he guard the sovereignty of our sleepless king, and increase the power of divinely-crowned Theodora, whose mind brightens up with piety, whose labour and expenditure are fostering and liberal.' Under these verses we see vine leaves and clusters of grapes figured above the pilasters, with allusion to the name of the Saint, Bacchus, just as the inscription *χώρα τῶν ζώντων* refers to the name *Μονὴ τῆς χώρας*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The railway almost touches the church at the south-east corner, and this part of the building is ready to fall (*ετοιμώρροπος*): Paspatis, *Βυζ. Μελέ.* p. 334; Pulgher, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀνόητος* has two meanings: 1, passive—not to be conceived; 2, active—not understanding, senseless. Salzenberg, who reproduces the inscription in Greek capitals, translates the words *Ἀνέρας ὡν ἀνόητος ἔην πόνος* on the second line, by *Weil im Leben sie Grosses vollbracht*. On the other hand, in the "Acta Sanctorum," edit. Antwerp, vol. 49, Oct., Tom. iii, p. 842 E, Sec. 37, the Latin version is *Quorum haud sana fuerat vitæ ratio*; so Pulgher, *Dont les actions étaient insignifiantes*. But I think the first meaning is preferable here.

As the inscription stands in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the words *τῶν* in the fifth line and *ἀκομήσιοι* in the ninth line violate the metre, the margin therefore proposes *δς* and *ἀκομήσιοι* respectively.

Pulgher's Pls. ii and iii show the ground-plan of the church, section and details, the semi-circular apses between the piers, part of the inscription, clusters of grapes below it, and foliated capitals. Comp. Salzenberg, "Alt - Christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel," Pl. v. *Agios Sergios, Grundriss, Längenschnitt, Detail der oberen Säulen, des unteren Gebälkes, des oberen Kämpfersims*.

<sup>3</sup> Procopius, "De *Ædificiis Dni Justiniani*," lib. i, c. iv, p. 400, ed. Venet., describing the churches of SS. Peter and

Mr. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, speaking of San Vitale at Ravenna, remarks that there is nothing at all to justify the title of Byzantine usually applied to it:<sup>1</sup> but in the second volume of the same work he almost contradicts himself; for, describing the Church of Sergius and Bacchus, he says—"Internally the arrangement of the piers, of the galleries, and of the pillars which support them are (*sic*) almost identical with those of San Vitale at Ravenna."<sup>2</sup> In a former Paper I expressed an opinion that the architecture of San Vitale could only be explained on the supposition of Byzantine influence, and that Mr. Fergusson was consequently mistaken in treating it as Romanesque. I am now confirmed in this opinion partly by having seen the church of Sergius and Bacchus, partly by the perusal of Mr. Freshfield's memoir on this subject in the *Archaeologia*.<sup>3</sup> Of course the most conclusive evidence is derived from a comparison of the two buildings, and it is of such a nature as to strike even a superficial observer; but we may notice the following facts as corroborative arguments.

1. San Vitale is contemporary with SS. Sergius and Bacchus, for it was begun by Ecclesius and consecrated by Maximianus, both of whom appear in the mosaics with their names affixed; it was in course of erection from 526 to 546 A.D.
2. Both these prelates visited Constantinople.
3. At this period Ravenna was very closely connected with the capital of the Eastern Empire, and Narses resided there as exarch. A monastery at Ravenna bore the name of S. Maria ad Blachernas,<sup>4</sup> which doubtless came from the quarter of Constantinople mentioned above.
4. This was a most flourishing epoch of Byzantine art, as the cathedral of S. Sophia alone sufficiently proves; but there are other monuments whose remains illustrate the treatise of Procopius, in

Paul and SS. Sergius and Bacchus, says that the splendour of the marbles surpasses the brightness of the sun, and that on every side the buildings display an abundance of gold and costly offerings  
 ὁμοίως μὲν γὰρ ἑκάτερος (ναὸς) τῆ ἀγλῆ τῶν λίθων ὑπεραστράπτει τὸν ἥλιον. The word ἀγλῆ corresponds exactly with ἀγλήεντι in the fourth line of the inscription;

Σεργίον ἀγλήεντι δόμω θεράποντα γερᾶρει  
 Χριστοῦ παμμεδέοντος.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, vol. ii, pp. 313, 314.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xlv, Art. XXI, pp. 417-426, quoted above.

<sup>4</sup> Gyllius calls Blachernæ a barbarous word; Book IV, chap. 5. Of the Blachernæ, the Triclinium of the Blachernæ, of the Palace, the Aqueduct, and many other places of antiquity. This remark confirms the opinion that the name is connected with *bracken* and *bregne*.

which he, an eye-witness, describes the public buildings erected by Justinian. Hence it is natural to suppose that they would serve as models to those who were erecting similar edifices at Ravenna.

Sergius and Bacchus suffered martyrdom in Syria during the persecution of Maximianus II, commonly called Galerius, who reigned 305-311 A.D. The anniversary festival of these saints was observed on the 7th October, and under this date a long account of them will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*.<sup>1</sup> It is stated that Bacchus was beaten to death with thongs made of undressed hides, and that Sergius was beheaded after having been compelled to walk nine miles with spikes in his boots. This Sergius must not be confounded with another, who is a patron Saint of Russia. The latter lived 1314-1392 A.D.; we are informed that he began his career as an anchorite, and built a cell, in a forest sixty versts from Moscow, where he shared his meals with a bear; afterwards some human companions came and imitated his austerities.<sup>2</sup>

IV. Lastly, I beg permission to make a few remarks on the Museum at Constantinople, with the view of calling attention to its treasures; and I do so partly because the account given in Murray's *Handbook*, under the heading 'Repository of Antiquities,' is so brief and inadequate that it might even deter a traveller from visiting the collection.<sup>3</sup> It is easily accessible, though not on every day, being deposited in the Palace of Mohammed II, near the Church of St. Irene, now used as an armoury. An introduction to Dr. Dethier, the curator, should be obtained from a local resident; this gentleman deserves credit for some important discoveries, but his attribution of antiques cannot be implicitly followed.

(1.) The first object that meets the eye is a colossal figure of Hercules, placed at the end of the corridor leading to the apartments of the Museum.

We have here a very ancient representation of a deity

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit., pp. 833-833; the narrative is full of tedious repetitions. See especially p. 834 r, section 7; and p. 835 r, section 11. While suffering torture, the holy martyr of Christ replied to his persecutor, Antiochus, Your punishments are not bitter to me, but sweeter than

honey and the honeycomb (dulces super mel et favum).

<sup>2</sup> Nouvelle Biographie Generale, s.v. Serge (Saint).

<sup>3</sup> Constantinople, section 10, The Seraglio, p. 73.

whose worship can be traced back to the earliest times. Underneath the admirable photograph by M. Berggren it is described as "Statue d'Hercule Silène-Fontaine en grès de Chypre, prov. d' Amathounte." I am at a loss to understand why the name of Silenus should be introduced here; he is usually the attendant of Bacchus and shows the effects of intoxication, but he plays no part in the myths relating to Hercules.<sup>1</sup> That this statue is the Phœnician Hercules may be inferred from the style of execution and the place whence it came; the square proportions and the position of the hands are similar to those observable in a group on a marble sarcophagus discovered at Amathus, a seat of the worship of this deity, whom the Phœnicians called Melika or Melkarth.<sup>2</sup> The lion's skin held in front is the only attribute; from its head, in which a large aperture has been made, water seems to have issued. In antiquity lions' mouths were the most common form used for fountains, spouts or gargoyles, as we see them in the remains from Himera preserved at Palermo, or in the Attic Temples published by the Dilettanti Society. I am inclined to think that the image was originally set up as an object of adoration, and that its adaptation to a fountain was an afterthought of some Greeks or Romans into whose possession it came.

In support of the attribution given above we may remark that the *provenance* is an element too important to be disregarded. Amathus retained more distinct traces of Phœnician origin than Paphos or Citium; Ash-tareth, the goddess of the Sidonians, after whom Solomon went, had a temple here; and the name of the city calls to mind the Hamathite descended from Canaan.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor Percy Gardner suggested that the mention of Silenus here might be traced to the idea of the Satyric Hercules. Sileni and Satyrs can hardly be distinguished: K. O. Müller, "Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst," section 386, Eng. Transl., p. 499. Hercules is introduced into the thiasos of the Bacchian attendants, and reposes among the satyrs: *ib.*, section 411, Eng. Transl., p. 559.

<sup>2</sup> Kenrick's "Phœnicia," pp. 320-323. Pl. ii, No. 7, exhibits a coin of Heraclea, otherwise Minoa, in Sicily. The legend means "Head (*Ras*, promontory) of Melkarth," from whom the promontory Heracleum had its name.

The Sarcophagus found at Amathus is described in chap. x, p. 264, of General Di Cesnola's "Cyprus, its ancient tombs, cities and temples"; comp. Pl. xv, opposite p. 256. Mr. King thinks the figures, repeated four times at the end of the Sarcophagus, are not Hercules, but the Pataci represented as Pygmies: Herodot, III, 37, τοὺς οἱ φοίνικες ἐν τῆσι πρῶτησι τῶν τριτηρῶν περιόδουσι . . . πυχμαλοῦ ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστίν.

<sup>3</sup> Genesis, x, 15-18, Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, . . . and the Arvadite (Aradus), . . . and the Hamathite.

Amathus was undoubtedly a very ancient city, but Di Cesnola is wrong in saying that Tacitus, Ann. III, 62, calls

(2.) Two statues, about six feet high, of Roman ladies, found at Aptera.

They have been described as Diva Claudia and her mother Poppaea, but there are strong reasons for doubting the correctness of these appellations. The features of the elder figure bear no resemblance to those of Poppaea, as she appears on a coin struck at Alexandria;<sup>1</sup> secondly, the arrangement of the hair in several rows of small curls over the forehead and a coil at the back of the head is equally at variance with the attribution proposed for the other statue. Tacitus informs us that Claudia, daughter of Nero and Poppaea, died before she was four months old; however, divine honours were paid to her memory, and on a small bronze coin we see the legend DIVA CLAUD. NER.F., and a woman standing in a temple of six columns for the device.<sup>2</sup> Though dying thus early she may have been worshipped in this form at Rome, but it would seem strange to find a statue of her as a full grown woman at Aptera in Crete. Here, as in many other cases, we find it much easier to disprove than to prove. An elaborate mode of dressing the hair in artificial curls belongs to a period extending from Titus to Hadrian, and the example under consideration is in this respect very like Julia, daughter of Titus, engraved on a beryl by Evodus;<sup>3</sup> hence it would follow that the statue must be assigned to a date later than Diva Claudia. As to the so-called Poppaea, the more simple

it *Vetustissima* (*sic*); Tacitus uses the word *Vetustissimum* with reference to the temple (*delubrum*) of Venus at Paphos.

After further inquiry I have come to the conclusion that the Colossal statue in the Museum at Constantinople would be more correctly described as Bes or Bessa, an Egyptian deity, but probably of Asiatic origin. Many particulars relating to him will be found in Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," edited by Dr. Birch; vol. i, p. 419, Bes figured on wooden pillows; *ib.*, p. 469, playing on a trigon, a triangular instrument with nine strings; vol. ii, pp. 6, 7, 13, often on boxes or other objects of the toilet—distinct from Typhon; but see especially vol. iii, pp. 149-153, Bes a short, deformed man, with tail and curly beard, approaches near to the figure of Hercules, Pl. XXXIII. Compare Pierret, "Pantheon Egyptien," who has an engraving of this deity.

Mr. Poole thought the statue at Constantinople might be dated about B.C. 900.

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, "Medailles Imperiales," vol. i, Pl. XII, opposite p. 176, No. 3, ΠΟΠΠΑΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Λ. ΙΑ; the coin is described *ib.*, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, Ann. xv, 23, *quartum intra mensem defuncta infante, with Orelli's note*: Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vi, 287; Suetonius, ed. Burmann, plates at the end of vol. ii, Tab. xxv, No. 3, ad Patini *Not. in Sueton. Comp. Tacitus, ed. Brotier, "Stemma Caesarum,"* No. 38, vol. i, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> C. W. King, "Antique Gems and Rings," vol. ii, p. 69; Pl. L, No. 1. "The masterpiece of Roman glyptic art." Mongez, "Iconographie Romaine," Pl. XXXV, No. 3; Text, vol. ii, pp. 310-312; compare Domitia, Epouse de Domitien, Mongez, same plate. K. O. Müller, "Denkmal," Part I, Pl. LXIX, No. 381.

arrangement of the hair, in large masses over the forehead and covering the nape of the neck, indicates a period antecedent or subsequent to that of the other figure.

Aptera, the wingless, is said to derive its name from having been the scene of a contest between the Muses and Sirens, in which the latter were defeated and deprived of their wings. Its situation is accurately shown in Admiral Spratt's map of Western Crete, and also in his engraving of Suda Bay.<sup>1</sup>

### (3.) Statue of Caracalla.

The head of this figure is laureated and inclined to the left side, a favourite posture with this Emperor, as Aurelius Victor mentions;<sup>2</sup> but the face does not wear the ferocious expression, which might be expected from Caracalla's well known cruelty, and which is very evident in his bust at the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> The costume is military, consisting of a cuirass with a paludamentum hanging from the shoulders. In front of the lorica we see two Victories crowning Pallas helmeted, who holds a shield in her left hand and stands upon a wolf suckling the twins, Romulus and Remus. A similar group of Victories and Palladium is given by Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture Ancienne et Moderne*, Plate 916B, No. 2504A; Tome v, p. 266.<sup>4</sup> Below these decorations hang a series of straps, which protect the thighs like a kilt. The left foot treads on the neck of a youth, doubtless with allusion to some victory gained by the emperor. This posture reminds us of types that appear on coins of a later age; Constantine I is represented kicking a prisoner, and dragging a barbarian by the hair; Constantine II places

<sup>1</sup> Aptera is on the north-western coast of Crete, east of Khania (Cydonia), and opposite Minoa. Admiral Spratt, "Travels and Researches in Crete," vol. ii, pp. 127-131, notices the remains of the city—walls, theatre, tombs and cisterns. Pashley discovered the position of Aptera, "Travels in Crete," vol. i, chap. iv, pp. 48-57, and vignette p. 25, at the head of chap. iii; some account of the coins of Aptera, with references, will be found, pp. 56, 57, and note 51; Murray, "Hand-book for Turkey in Asia," p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ad laevum humerum conversa cer-vice, Aurelius Victor De Vit. et Mor. Imp. Roman Epitome, c. xxi: the bust

in the British Museum has the head turned over the *right* shoulder.

<sup>3</sup> "Ancient Marbles in the British Museum," Part X, Pl. xii, p. 23; Mongez, "Icon. Rom.," Pl. xlix, and vol. iii, p. 166, Le regard farouche et le mouvement de la tête rappellent le soin qu'il apportait à se donner l'air terrible et à imiter Alexandre, dont la tête était inclinée.

<sup>4</sup> The helmeted female may be the Goddess Roma, who is often figured like Minerva: comp. the large brass coins of Nero, Galba and Vespasian. Clarac gives other examples of the Palladium on a cuirass; Pl. 914, No. 2,335; Pl. 919, No. 2326.

his foot on the knee of a suppliant Sarmatian.<sup>1</sup> In this instance reference is perhaps made to Caracalla's campaign against the Parthians, when he devastated Mesopotamia, took Arbela, dug up the tombs and scattered the bones of the kings who had been interred there.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, Caracalla wears cothurni, boots reaching half way up the leg, the upper part of which is ornamented with the head of some animal resembling a panther; but it may perhaps be a lion incorrectly executed, for we often see the latter animal in similar cases. The cothurnus was a part of the costume of deities, and hence probably it was transferred to emperors, along with other accessories, by the flattery of artists.

It may be objected to the attribution given above that the statue represents a tall man, whereas we are informed by the historians that Caracalla was short, and Dion Cassius expressly states that he was nicknamed Tarantus after a gladiator who was below the usual height.<sup>3</sup> But this objection has little force, for the same spirit of adulation that bestowed on emperors the ensigns of gods would not hesitate to add a cubit to their stature. Some of us can remember the portrait of a statesman, great in mind but little in body, on the walls of our own Academy, in which the painter had practised the same exaggeration.<sup>4</sup>

This statue was found at Hierapytna in Crete, so that the *provenance* harmonises with Caracalla's Eastern expedition. The place is now called, with a slight modification, Ierapetra or Girapetra. In ancient times it must have been a town of considerable importance, as it had, like Pompeii, two theatres and an amphitheatre. An interesting account of the state of its ruins in the sixteenth century was written by Onorio Belli, and some extracts

<sup>1</sup> Cohen, "Med. Imp.," vol. vi, p. 93, Pl. IV, No. 14; vol. vii, Supplément, p. 386, Pl. VIII, No. 1. M. Cohen characterizes the devices of this period, vol. vi, p. 264, note; Monotonie dans les types lorsqu'ils ne sont pas barbares, barbarie lorsqu'ils ne sont pas monotones.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius, lib. lxxviii, c. i, τὰ τε Ἄρβηλα παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰ μνημεία τὰ βασιλικὰ τῶ Πάρθων ἀνορύξας τὰ ὅσα ἐρρίψεν. Lindsay, "History of the Parthians," Arsaces XXX—Vologeses V and

Arsaces XXXI—Artabanus V—209-227, A.D., pp. 113, *seqq.* See especially Rawlinson, "Sixth Oriental Monarchy," pp. 349-357; he relates Caracalla's treacherous attack on Artabanus, and states reasons for preferring Herodian's account to that of Dion.

<sup>3</sup> Dion Cassius, lxxviii, 9, Ταράνταν, εἰς μονομάχου τινὸς προσηγορίας καὶ μικροτάτου καὶ κακοειδεστάτου.

<sup>4</sup> Lord John Russell,



From a Photograph by M. Berggren.

ROMAN EMPEROR.

from his manuscripts have been published by Mr. Falkener and Admiral Spratt.<sup>1</sup>

(4.) Draped female figure, of which the bust is wanting, 1.50 mètres in height.

Two opinions have been expressed regarding this statue; one that it is part of a group by Scopas, and the other that it represents Cyrenaica greeting the Emperor Hadrian. Thus the figure is placed at epochs differing by an interval of nearly 500 years, for Scopas flourished B.C. 395-350, Hadrian reigned A.D. 117-138. The attenuated proportions observed here distinguish the later Attic from the more vigorous and muscular school of Phidias, and they agree with the style of Scopas in the frieze of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; but there is no reason for assigning this work to Scopas rather than to any of the sculptors who were contemporary with him. It was found at Leptis Magna, a city situated on the north coast of Africa between the two Syrtes, and Scopas does not appear to have been in any way connected with this part of the Grecian world. He was born at Paros, and executed many statues for various places in Greece proper, *e.g.*, Tegea, Megara, Corinth, as well as for the

<sup>1</sup> According to Strabo, Hierapytna was in the narrowest part of the Island; Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of Classical Geography," s.v. Pashley, "Crete," vol. i, p. 271, gives a coin of this place, with the usual device, a palm-tree, on the reverse. Falkener's "Museum of Classical Antiquities" contains a valuable article on Crete, with a map; for Hierapytna, v. pp. 271-273; on the last page there is a Greek Inscription of twenty-six lines recording a treaty between the inhabitants of the city and the province of this name. Much information concerning Hierapytna is supplied by Admiral Spratt's "Travels in Crete," vol. i, pp. 253-288, with engravings and map at the end of the volume; see also "Appendix vii on the Greek Inscriptions found in Crete" by the Rev. Churchill Babington, vol. ii. p. 422, No. 21, Plate i.

Mr. Goold says that the figure described above is Q. Metellus Creticus, "Catalogue du Musée Imperiale de Constantinople," 1871; but this conjecture may be dismissed as highly improbable. M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny thinks that we have here a statue of Hadrian, "Gazette Archeologique," published by J. De

Witte and François Lenormant, 1<sup>re</sup> Livraison, 1880, p. 52; he gives a minute account of the ornaments and other details. The face certainly resembles Hadrian's, well-known from his numerous coins; on the other hand, this Emperor is not represented in a cruel attitude, trampling on a prostrate foe, but raising up suppliant provinces, who kneel before him, *e.g.*, Achaia and Bithynia. There are some signs of joining in the neck of the figure; hence it seems most likely that the head of Hadrian has been placed on the body of some other Emperor, perhaps Caracalla, whose ferocious character is quite in accordance with the posture.

The height of the marble is two metres, 81 centimetres.

Amongst other particulars M. Sorlin Dorigny notices the two lemnisci (bandettes) of the Emperor's crown, which fall down on his shoulders. He refers to Winckelmann, "Monumenti Inediti," Plates, No. VIII, where there is a figure which he calls an Archigallus, but according to Winckelmann it is Cybele. A more apposite illustration is derived from a picture of Victory in the pyramid of C. Cestius; she holds a lemniscus in one

Troad, Caria and Ionia; but we do not read of any by him in Africa.<sup>1</sup>

The second hypothesis is plausible; however, I can see no arguments strong enough to prove it. Hadrian was a great patron of art and visited every province of his vast empire, conferring favours on the inhabitants wherever he went. Hence it was most natural that statues should be erected in his honour, and that they should personify the countries that hailed his approach. Moreover, Spartianus mentions that he quelled an insurrection in Mauretania, which is commemorated by the legend on his medals *RESTITUTORI MAURETANIAE*.<sup>2</sup> His stay in Egypt, where his favourite Antinous died, is well known, and it contributed much to the introduction at Rome of rites peculiar to that country. These circumstances favour the supposition that the statue represents the district of Cyrenaica or some African city; on the other hand, the absence of an inscription and the mutilated condition of the figure prevent us from maintaining positively any opinion concerning its motive or its author.<sup>3</sup>

Septimius Severus was born in the neighbourhood of Leptis Magna, and is said to have adorned his native city with various buildings, so that the existing remains have chiefly been attributed to him; but I think the figure under consideration cannot be included in this category, because its style belongs to a better period. Sculpture had already declined in the age of the Antonines, but the reliefs on the Arch of Severus at Rome

hand, and a corona lemniscata in the other; Rich, "Companion to the Latin Dictionary," s.v.

The same writer calls attention to the symbolical owl and serpent on the cuirass; they seem to indicate that Pallas, not Roma, is represented here.

Lastly, he observes that this is one of the finest iconographic statues of Roman Emperors that remain to us from antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, lib. viii, c. 45, Sec. 4, ἀγάλματα πολλαχού της αρχίας Ἑλλάδος, τὰ δε καὶ περὶ Ἴωνιαν τε καὶ Καρίαν ἐποίησε.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, "Geschichte des römischen Kaisers Hadrian und seiner Zeit," p. 32.—In Mauretania war ein Aufstand ausgebrochen, den Hadrian dämpfte, wofür ihm der Senat Supplikationen zuerkannte; note 1, *ib.*, Spart. Hadr.

c. xii. Münzen mit dem Titel *RESTITUTORI MAURETANIAE*. Birag. p. 177. See also Spart. Hadr., c. v, Martio Turbone, Judaeis compressis, ad deprimendum tumultum Mauritaniae destinato.

I have not found this legend in Cohen's "Méd. Imp.;" but he gives *RESTITVITORI AFRICAE, LIBYAE*. Cf. Spart. Hadr., c. 13, multum beneficiorum provinciis Africanis attribuit; *ib.* c. 22, ab Africanis dilectus est. Eckhel, "Doct. Num. Vet." vol. vi, pp. 488, 497, 498.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. C. T. Newton thinks that this figure may be a Niobid. It must be admitted that the posture of the limbs and arrangement of drapery resemble what we see in the daughters of Niobe at Florence, marked *h* and *i*, Plate XXXIII, Müller's "Denkmaler," Part I.

and other monuments show that in his day the deterioration was still more marked.<sup>1</sup>

(5). Cenotaph of Euripides.

A marble sarcophagus in this collection has been so named, and the following inscription has been placed over it :

ΟΥ ΣΟΝ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΤΟΔ ΕΣΤ ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗ ΑΛΛΑ ΣΥΝΟΥΔΕ  
ΤΗΣΗΙ ΓΑΡΔΟΞΗΙ ΜΝΗΜΑ ΤΟΔ ΑΜΠΕΧΕΤΑΙ.<sup>2</sup>

"This is not thy memorial, Euripides, but thou (art a memorial) of this,  
for this memorial is surrounded by thy glory."

The sentiment here is paradoxical, and the antithesis strained ; but there is sufficient resemblance to remind us of a better epigram on the poet's monument near Athens.

Μνήμα μὲν Ἑλλάς ἅπασ' Ἐυριπίδου ὄστέα δ' ἴσχει  
Γῆ Μακεδῶν ἧπερ δεξάτο τέρμα βίου.  
Πάτρη δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς Ἀθηναί' πολλὰ δὲ Μούσας  
Τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.<sup>3</sup>

"All Greece is a memorial of Euripides ; but Macedon has his bones, for there he received the end of life. His native country was Athens, the Greece (*i.e.*, the soul) of Greece ; he delighted the muses much, and has also praise from many."

A cornice of egg and tongue decorates the top of the sarcophagus. Its front exhibits two distinct scenes ; but both are, I think, connected with the same hero, Meleager. On the left we see three females standing, one of whom supports an infant kneeling on a cippus or altar ; another female, seated, is apparently the mother of the child. It seems most probable that these three women are the Fates, who are said to have appeared when Meleager was only seven days old, and to have announced that his life would last as long as a brand on the hearth was unconsumed. Behind the group just described a

<sup>1</sup> Spartianus, Severus c. i, Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit ; cui civitas Leptis. The ruins of Leptis Magna are very extensive, and correspond with the important position which the city held under the Romans. Cf. Sallust, Jugurtha, cc. 77, 78.

<sup>2</sup> It should be observed that this inscription is a recent addition, and that it is not on the Sarcophagus ; consequently it has no authority.

<sup>3</sup> See "Euripidis Bacchae," edit. J. E. Sandys, Camb. 1880, Introduction, Sec. 3, Euripides in Macedonia, p. xxxiii. Anthologia Pal. vii, 45 ; Brunck, "Ana-

lecta Vet. Poet. Graec.," vol. ii, p. 236. Mr. Sandys gives a poetical version, in which he translates *πάτρη* by *home*. This word seems unsuitable here, because the contrast is between Athens, the native country of Euripides, and Macedonia, where he died and was buried. It may be objected that the poet was born at Salamis, but this island belonged to Athens, and was one of the Attic demi.

Pausanias saw the cenotaph of Euripides (*μνήμα Ἐυριπίδου κενόν*), as he went from Pieraeus to Athens ; lib. I, c. 2, sec. 2.

boy stands, who is cutting with an axe a branch of a leafless tree above his head: this figure may be regarded as referring to the same legend, and, therefore corroborates the interpretation I have adopted. If the low column on which the child kneels is an altar, it may indicate some religious initiation, corresponding to our christening. The mother has both arms raised as if in supplication; her attitude betokens that she deprecates the fulfilment of the terrible prophecy, which menaces her offspring with an early doom.<sup>1</sup>

Proceeding towards the right, we observe a man seated, holding a spear in his left hand, and an attendant engaged in removing an animal that looks like a wild boar from the back of a horse, who is drinking out of a shallow vessel. There can be little doubt that these figures represent the return of Meleager from the famous hunt at Calydon. As the hero would be fatigued with the chase and the horse with his burthen, the postures assigned to them are natural and pleasing; the former enjoys repose, while the animal slakes his thirst.<sup>2</sup> Upon

<sup>1</sup> Ovid "Metamorphoses," viii, 451—  
Stipes erat, quem, cum partus enixa  
jaceret  
Thestias, in flammam triplices posuere  
sorores:  
Staminaque impresso fatalia pollice  
nentes;  
Tempora, dixerunt, eadem liguoque  
tibique,  
O modo nate, damus.

<sup>2</sup> For the illustration of this Sarcophagus by other monuments the following references will be found useful:—Millin, "Galerie Mythologique," secs. 410-415; especially 414, the bas-relief exhibits two scenes—Meleager fighting with his mother's brothers, and the burial of the hero. Winkelmann, "Monumenti Inediti," Tome II, Part II, pp. 116-119, Plates 87, 88. "Catalogues," Vente de la Galerie Pourtales, p. 47, No. 204, La chasse du Sanglier de Calydon—couleur brune qui rehausse le sanglier. "Antiques du Cabinet Pourtales," Pl. xi, pp. 57, 58, Vases Grecs en terre peinte, with which compare Crater in the Second Vase Room of the British Museum. Clarac, Pl. 805, No. 2021, Meleager of the Vatican. It should be observed that his left hand originally held a spear, of which traces remain on the pedestal: Comp. Crystal Palace, Roman Court

Catalogue, No. 293, p. 51. Catalogue of Vases in the Brit. Mus., No. 930, probably Meleager and Atalanta conversing. C. O. Müller, "Archæol. d. Kunst.," sec. 134, Remark 3.

Philostratus Junior, Icones, xv, ed. Kaiser, p. 18, gives us a vivid description of the wild boar; "Ὁρᾶς γὰρ ὕφαιμον μὲν ἀντὶ τὸ ὄμμα, λοφία τε φρίττουσα, καὶ πολὺς ὁ κατὰ τῶν ὀδόντων ἄφρδος, ἐς πολὺν ἀνεσθηκότων, καὶ τὴν διχμήν ἀτριπτων. In the edition of "Olearius," Lipsiae, 1709, fol. p. 886, there is an engraving taken from Spon, "Miscellanea," p. 312. Cf., Philostrati Icones, xxviii, Σποθήραι, ed. Kaiser, p. 402.

Pausanias VIII, 45, 4, account of sculptures in the pediments of the temple at Tegea.

The boar hunt was a favourite subject with ancient artists: Dodwell's "Classical Tour in Greece," vol. ii, pp. 197-200, with two beautiful coloured plates of an archaic vase, opposite p. 197; Thersandros and other names are written on the cover. C. O. Müller, "Denkmaler," Part I, Pl. III, No. 18. It is sometimes indicated on coins and gems: e.g., Denarii of the gentes Durmia and Hosidia in Cohen, "Med. Consulaires," and Riccio, "Monete delle Antiche Famiglie di Roma;" Intaglio in Cesnola's "Cyprus,"

and around this sarcophagus are grouped many miscellaneous objects—statues, busts and reliefs. Some are Greek or Roman, others evidently Oriental; amongst the former we can easily recognise Pan with a shepherd's pipe and goatskin, a head of Medusa with snaky locks, and, in very low relief, Aesculapius and Hygieia (Salus) seated, feeding a serpent. The latter class show considerable variety, as we might expect from the *provenance*, for they are executed in Cyprian limestone. We have here specimens of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Phoenician styles, just as they appear in the engravings of Di Cesnola's work on Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

(6.) No. 1, Battle of the Amazons, is a fragment of a frieze containing three figures nearly complete and parts of others. On the spectator's left stands a female, perhaps a goddess, fully draped and much taller than the rest, so that the head rises into the cornice, which it supports like a Caryatid.<sup>2</sup> Next comes an Amazon, helmeted, holding up a shield with her left arm behind a horse's head, wearing a short tunic that leaves the knees uncovered—*nuda genu*, as the huntress is described by Virgil. The costume and general appearance of the Amazon remind us of the sculptures in the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, preserved in the British Museum.<sup>3</sup> Before the other figures is a naked warrior falling on the ground, and supporting himself on his knees and left elbow.

No. 2. Death of Neoptolemus. This bas-relief, like the last, is in a very fragmentary condition. On the left we see a warrior advancing and holding a shield; the greater

Pl. XXXVII, No. 9; "Gazette Archeol.," for 1880, p. 94, Peleus and Atalanta "se saisissent pour engager la lutte"—a boar's head is placed between them.

For the initiation of children mentioned above see the Commentary of Donatus and Stallbaum's note on Terence, *Phormio*, Act i, sc. i, v. 15, *Ubi initiabunt*.

At one end of the Sarcophagus a scene is represented, which has no connection with that in the front; it is probably the abduction of a heroine; she is seated in an attitude of grief, and male figures appear to be removing her to a vessel, the aplustre of which is distinctly visible.

<sup>1</sup> No attempt has been made to classify these antiques: the confusion in which they lie seems an emblem of the disorder produced by Turkish misrule; however,

we must be thankful that Mahometan barbarism, so often destructive, has in this case been contented with neglect.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Spratt, "Crete," vol. i, p. 279, gives an engraving of a Sarcophagus found at Hierapytna, which is now in the British Museum. A figure of Persephone, with the head rising into the cornice, stands at each end of the front. The subject of the reliefs is Achilles at the court of Lycomedes; they are minutely described in "The Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures in the department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Part I, second edition, p. 16, No. 44 A (1879).

<sup>3</sup> C. T. Newton, "Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae," Atlas of Plates, Nos. ix and x, Frieze.

part of his body is concealed by the shield of another warrior. On the other hand, a man without drapery or weapons of any kind, is kneeling on a cushion and hurling a stool at his assailants; his distorted features show that he is excited by pain and rage to the last degree, and form a striking contrast with the placid expression of his opponent. Neoptolemus had carried off Hermione, the wife of Orestes; and the latter, in revenge, instigated the Delphians to murder him. Virgil says that his death took place "*patrias ad aras.*"<sup>1</sup> At first sight I thought that the words of the poet found an apt illustration in the monument before us. But Professor Percy Gardner has pointed out that the object in the man's hands is not an altar, but a stool, which would have four legs, if complete. Hence, as well as for other reasons, it is impossible to connect this bas-relief with the story of Neoptolemus. Below is the upper part of a man with outstretched arms; as the figure is both mutilated and solitary, we cannot with certainty assign any probable motive to it.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, may I be permitted for one moment to refer to the circumstances under which I first saw Constantinople? A white mist from the sea rested on the city, concealing everything except the highest cupolas and minarets: gradually it lifted, and all the charms of a fairy scene were disclosed to view. I would fain regard it as an omen of success crowning the labours of modern scholars, whose investigations raise the veil drawn over the history and monuments of former times. My stay was too short to make, or even attempt, discoveries; but I shall rejoice, if any efforts of mine, however humble, cause the labours of others to be more widely known and better appreciated.

<sup>1</sup> Virgil, "Aeneid," iii, 330.  
*Ast illum, ereptae magno inflammatus  
 amore  
 Conjugis, et scelerum Furiis agitatus,  
 Orestes  
 Excipit incautum, patriasque obruncat  
 ad aras.*

<sup>2</sup> The names prefixed to the foregoing account of statues and reliefs are, for the most part, those printed on M. Berggren's Photographs, and were selected, I believe, by Dr. Déthier, but they are, as has been already shown, very questionable.

## APPENDIX.

In this Memoir I have omitted the church of Santa Sophia, because the great work of Salzenberg, published under the direction of the Prussian Government, supplies ample information concerning it. Some interesting remarks on the mosaics were made by Mr. Poynter and Sir Digby Wyatt at a meeting of the Archæological Institute; they are reported in the "Journal," vol. xii, pp. 94-96.

For the Serpentine Column at Constantinople the chief ancient authorities are Herodotus, viii, 82, ix, 81; and Pausanias, x, 13, 5. It stands in the Hippodrome now called Atmeidan. The modern name corresponds closely with the ancient; *At* meaning a horse, and *Meidan* an open space: Redhouse, Turkish Vade Mecum.

See also Rawlinson's "Translation of Herodotus" and foot notes, vol. iv, pp. 328, 329, and 451, 452. At p. 452 there are two engravings of the column, as seen by Spon and Wheler in 1675, and as drawn by Dawson Turner in 1852. The Excursus A, pp. 483-488, "On the Inscription recently found upon the stand of the tripod dedicated by the Greeks at Delphi out of the Persian spoils," contains the text of the Inscription, but not in fac-simile, an account of the archaic forms of the letters, and a comparison of the list of Greek States on this pillar with other lists in Herodotus and Pausanias. Spon and Wheeler's drawing, which shows the three serpents' heads entire, is copied in the Plates appended to Ball's "Translation of Gyllius."

The obelisk, now standing in the Hippodrome, was originally erected by Thothmes III in the earliest part of his reign. It is of great interest on account of its historical and geographical indications; the hieroglyphs inform us that the King has gone round the great waters of Naharaina, i.e., Mesopotamia: Dr. Birch, "Notes upon Obelisks, in the Museum of Classical Antiquities," edited by Falkener, vol. ii, pp. 203, 239, No. 7, Sept. 1852, especially p. 213. But for a full explanation of the sculptures see Dr. Birch, on the Obelisk of the Atmeidan in the "Transactions" of the Royal Society of Literature, Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 218-228, with a Plate of the Hieroglyphics.

Zoega, "De Origine et Usu Obeliscorum," fol. Romæ mcccxcviii, Synopsis, pp. ii, iv; Greek Inscription p. 55, Latin Inscription p. 56, both on the pedestal; Reliefs on the base, p. 58; account of the Obelisk, chiefly derived from Gyllius, pp. 88-91. Zoega, p. 91, mentions a drawing of this monument by Niebuhr, the celebrated traveller: Carsten Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern, Kopenhagen, 1774, tom. i, p. 32.

Seroux d'Agincourt, "History of Art by its Monuments"; Sculpture, Plate x, Bassirilievi del Piedestallo dell' Obelisco rialzato da Teodosio nell' Ippodromo di Constantinopoli: Medaglie dello stesso tempo, iv Secolo. "The Emperor is here represented receiving the petitions of his subjects, and presents from persons who are kneeling."

Compare with M. Berggren's Photographs, Plate viii, in Ball's "Translation of Gyllius."

The reliefs on the base are very curious, because they exhibit the

machines—ergatae, windlasses—by which obelisks were moved in ancient times : Wilkinson, “Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,” chap. x, vol. iii, pp. 324-334 ; at p. 328 there is a wood-cut, No. 390, “Mode of transporting a large colossus.”

Those who desire further information on the subjects discussed in this Memoir will find it in the following works :—

Jules Labarte, “Le Palais Imperial de Constantinople et ses Abords, Sainte-Sophie, le Forum Augusteum et l’Hippodrome, tels qu’ils existaient au Dixième Siècle,” Paris, 1861.

Charles Texier and R. Poppewell Pullan, “L’Architecture Byzantine,” Lond. 1864.

Guglielmo Heyd, “Le Colonie Commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente nel medio evo, dissertazioni recate in Italiano dal Prof. Giuseppe Müller,” Venice, 1866 and 1868.

These three books are included in the list of authorities prefixed to Dr. Paspatis’s *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* ; it is placed between the Preface (*Πρόλογος*) and the Table of Contents (*Περιεχόμενα*.)

Banduri, “Imperium Orientale,” Paris, 1711.

Charles Lebeau, “Histoire du Bas-Empire,” revue, &c., par M. St. Martin, 21 vols., 8vo., 1825-26.

J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton de Gifford,) “Journey through Albania, &c.,” Letters xlvi and xlix.

Ferdinand Hirsch, “Byzantinische Studien” ; this work gives an account only of *some* Byzantine annalists, their names will be found in the Table of Contents (*Inhalt*) immediately after the Preface.

E. A. Sophocles, “Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods” (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100.) This dictionary is useful for reference, but, as the title itself implies, far from complete ; in many cases the inquirer will obtain much better assistance from the Greek Glossary of Ducange.

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΙΣ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀνθολογίαν . . .  
Μετάφρασις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγγλικοῦ πονήματος τοῦ γραφέντος παρὰ τοῦ Ἀιδεσιμωτάτου κ. Κ. Γ. ΚΟΡΤΗΣ, ὑπὸ Π. ΚΟΝΤΟΓΕΩΡΓΗ.

G. Braun (Bruin) “Civitates Orbis Terrarum,” 1576, lib. i, has a curious map of Constantinople, showing the walls, towers, churches, columns, palaces, &c., and costumes of the period ; v. Index No. 51, at the end of vol. i.

“Mémoires du Syllogue de Constantinople.”

“Revue Archéologique,” April, 1876, Marques d’Ouvriers Byzantins, par M. A. Choisy.

“Revue Archéologique,” June, 1876, La Partie du Trésor Troyen au Musée de Constantinople, par M. le Dr. Déthier.

“Revue Archéologique,” August, 1876, Inscriptions Céramiques Byzantines, par M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny.

“Revue Archéologique,” October, 1880, Monuments Numismatiques et Sphragistiques du Moyen Age Byzantin, par M. Gustave Schlumberger—Méreux d’Eglises—Tessères servant aux Distributions Charitables—Secaux de Fonctionnaires de l’Assistance Publique à Byzance.

“Revue Archéologique,” August, 1881, Monnaies et Bulles Inédites de l’Empereur Focas, par M. Al. Sorlin Dorigny.

“Archæologia,” vol. xlv, pp. 383-392, with two Plates, Mr. Freshfield

on Byzantine Churches, and the Modifications made in their Arrangements owing to the Necessities of the Greek Ritual.

"Archæologia," vol. xlv, pp. 65-162, with two Plates, Mr. Fowler on the Process of Decay in Glass, &c. ; p. 93, Manufacture of Glass at Constantinople ; p. 94, reference to Theophilus ; p. 153, Illustrative example from S<sup>ta</sup> Sophia, No. 87.

"Proceedings" of the Society of Antiquaries, Second Series, vol. vi, p. 335. Print of Constantinople, 13 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, by about 15 inches wide—a series of eight views forming a Panorama.

"Catalogue of Glass," Slade Collection, 1871. Notes on the History of Glass-Making by Mr. Nesbitt ; Sec. 4, Glass of Byzantium and the Eastern Empire, pp. xxiii-xxvi. Catalogue of the Collection, Glass of Byzantium, A.D. 400-1300, pp. 57-59, Figs. 74, 75.

The popular works on Constantinople by Théophile Gautier and Edmondo de Amicis abound in animated descriptions of human life and external nature ; but they supply few of those exact details on which, as on a sure foundation, the science of Archæology reposes.

I have quoted the Byzantine Historians in folio, as I had not access to any other copies. The Bonn edition is better and more convenient in size ; however, the improvement is not as great as might have been expected from the eminent scholars who published it. Gibbon, chap. lxxviii, note 97, and Milman's remark (\*) in his edition of Gibbon, vol. xii, p. 248.

My special thanks are due to the Rev. Canon Curtis, who kindly pointed out to me many objects of art and antiquity, and enabled me to form a correct estimate of them.