

PROCOPIOUS
BUILDINGS
GENERAL INDEX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (ὃν δὴ καὶ φύσει βασιλέα καλῶν τις, οἷμα, ὀρθῶς αὖ εἶπον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ὡς ἡμῶς ἐσσι, καθ' Ὀμηρον), εἴ τις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν βασιλείαν διασκοποῖτο, 16 παύσαι τῶα τῇ Κύρου ἀρχὴν οὐδένα εἶναι τεκμηριώσκει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἢ μὲν πολυτεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἢ πῦρ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται, τῇ τε χάρι καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ δυναμεί πλεῖν ἢ διακρίνα γεινημένη, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ σκαλωσμένοι μέγαρα ἐς φόρον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τὸδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίτοι ἐξέληγον μένοι διαφωῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγούμενοι Ἰωυλιανῶν 17 ἐτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπέρτων ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσαν ἀξίωμα.

17 Ταῦτα δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς αἰκοδομίας τοῦτον δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἵτεον, ὡς μὴ ἀμυσταῖν τῷ τε πλῆθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεὶν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτῶς² θεωμένοις ἐπιβαλὴν ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς 18 ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα. πολλὰ γὰρ ἦδη τῶν προγενημένων οὐκ ἐμπροσθεντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβαλόντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμυστα γέγονεν. εἴη δ' αὖ εἰκότως τὰ ἐν Βουλαιῷ παρὰ πάντα τῷ 19 λόγῳ κορηίς. ἀγορευμένου³ γὰρ ἔργου, κατὰ δὴ τῶν παλαιῶν λόγων, πρόσσωπον Χορὴ θέμεναι τηλαυγές.

20 Ἄνδρες ἀγέλατοι ποτε καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς οἶος

¹ τελοῦσαν A: om. V.

² αὐτῶς Hoeschel: αὐτὰ V.

³ ἀγορευμένου Dindorf: ἀγορευέτω V.

⁴ οἶος suggested by Henry (appendix, p. 385): ὄχλος.

¹ Odyseus, II. 47, XV. 152.

² In the original there is a play upon the words παιδεία

But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by inheritance, since he is, as Homer says,¹ "as gentle as a father"), if one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child's play.² The proof of this will be that the Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other hand, those who treacherously formed the plot³ against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

But now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man. For already many works of men of former times which are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a foundation for my narrative. For "o'er a work's beginnings," as the old saying has it,⁴ "we needs must set a front that shines afar."

Some men of the common herd, all the rubbish of ("education," the title of Xenophon's book mentioned above) and παιδεία ("child's play").

¹ *Wars*, VII. xxxii.

² Pindar, *Ol.*, VI. 4, translated by Sandys (L.C.L.)

Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιστρώσαντες
τὴν Νίκα καλουμένην οὐρανὸν εἰργάσαντο, ἥτις ἐστὶν
μοι ἀποκαλούμενη ἀκριβοθυμωμένη ἐν τοῖς
21 ὕπερ τῶν πολλῶν δεδογμένη λόγους. ἐνδεκνύ-
μενοι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων μόνον, ἀλλ'
οὐδὲν τι ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀρετὰ ἀποφάδες τὰ ὅπλα
ἀντὶ τῆς, ἐμπλησθῆσαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ἐκκλη-
σίαν ἐπὶ δόξῃ (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι
τὸν νεῶν επικαλούμενα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπιστομὴν
ἀπεργασάμενοι), ἐπεχώραει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς
22 διαπραξάσθαι τὸ ἀτέβημα, προεὶδὼς εἰς ὅσον τι
καλὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν μεταστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.
ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηρακωμένη τότε ξύμπασα
ἔκειτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιαύτην ἀπο-
τερόνενται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὥστε, εἰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν
τις ἐπύθετο πρότερον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς
διαλαλέειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἴη καὶ τοῦδε γενέ-
σθαι, δέξας τὴν αὐτοῖς τῶν νῦν φανομένων ἐκτρώμα,
δοκοῦσαν αὐτοῖς ὡς συμπορεύματα εὐχασθαι πε-
23 πούμεναι σφίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεάσασθαι, ὅπως δι᾽
αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν μεταβῶντο οὐχ ὅτι. ὁ μὲν
οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀφροντιστήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων
ἐς τὴν οικοδομὴν σπουδῇ ἔειτο, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας
24 ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἤγειρεν πάντας. Ἀνθέμιος δὲ
Τραλλιανός, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλούμενῃ μηχανικῇ
λογιστάτος, οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων,

1 τ. Haury: ἐς τὸ V, om. A.

1 I. xxiv.

2 "Wisdom"; cf. Wars, III. vi. 26.

3 See the plan and section of St. Sophia on pp. 14 and 15.

the city, once rose up against the Emperor Justinian
in Byzantium, when they brought about the rising
called the Nika Insurrection, which has been described
by me in detail and without any concealment in the
Books on the Wars.¹ And by way of shewing that
it was not against the Emperor alone that they had
taken up arms, but no less against God himself,
unholy wretches that they were, they had the hardi-
hood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the
people of Byzantium call "Sophia,"² an epithet which
they have most appropriately invented for God,
by which they call His temple; and God permitted
them to accomplish this impiety, forseeing into what
an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be
transformed. So the whole church at that time lay
a charred mass of ruins. But the Emperor Justinian
buit not long afterwards a church³ so finely shaped,⁴
that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before
the burning if it would be their wish that the church
should be destroyed and one like this should take its
place, shewing them some sort of model of the build-
ing we now see, it seems to me that they would
have prayed that they might see their church de-
stroyed forthwith, in order that the building might
be converted into its present form. At any rate
the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense,
eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction,
and began to gather all the artisans from the whole
world. And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned
man in the skilled craft which is known as the art
of building,⁵ not only of all his contemporaries,

¹ Literally, "roundly turned," as by a lathe, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 234e.

² On the use in this translation of the terms "building" and "master-builder," see the *Introduction*, p. xiv.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προεγενημένων πολῶν,
τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὑποῦνται σπουδῇ, τοῖς τετραυνομέ-
νοις τὰ ἔργα βυβύλιν, τῶν τε γενησομένων
προδιασκευάζων ὑπόγραμμα, καὶ μηχανισμοῖς
σὺν αὐτῷ ἔτερος, Ἰσιδωρος ὄνομα, Μιλήσιος γένος,
ἐμφορῶν τε ἄλλους καὶ πῶς τῶν ἰουδαίων
ὑποῦνται βασιλεῖ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς
τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς, προκατασκευά-
μενος τοὺς ἐς τὰ πραχθησόμενα χρησιμωτά-
τους αὐτῷ ἑομένους. καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως
τὸν νοῦν εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγασθείη τοῦτου δι᾽
ἑκκα, ὅτι δι᾽ ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα τοὺς κεραιώτερους ἀπο-
λέσασθαι ἔσχε.

27 Θάλασσα τοῖνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλωτευμένην
γεγένηται, τοῖς μὲν ὁρώσιν ὑπερβύς, τοῖς δὲ
ἀκούουσιν παρὰ τοῦ ἀπύτου ἐπηγοῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐς
ὑψὺς οὐρανῶν ὅσον, καὶ ὡς περ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομη-
μάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινέεικεν ὑπερκευμένη
τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει, κοσμοῦσα μὲν αὐτήν, ὅτι αὐτῆς
ἔσται, ὑπαίξιμένη δέ, ὅτι αὐτῆς οὖσα καὶ ἐπεμ-
βαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε δι᾽ ἐνθέρδῃς ἡ
πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται. εὖρος δὲ
αὐτῆς καὶ μήκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτηδείᾳ ἀποτετάρ-
νεται, ὥστε καὶ περιμήκης καὶ ὅλως εὐρεία
οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται. κάλλει δὲ ἀμυθίτῳ

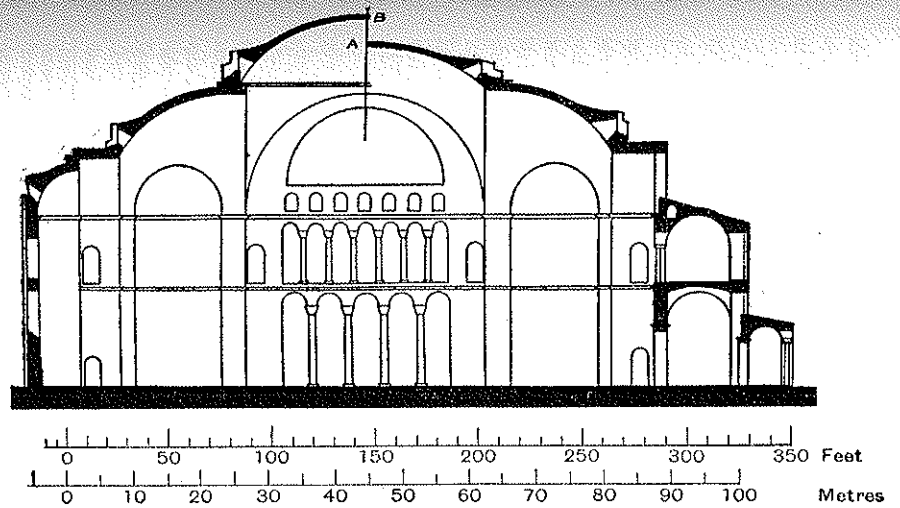
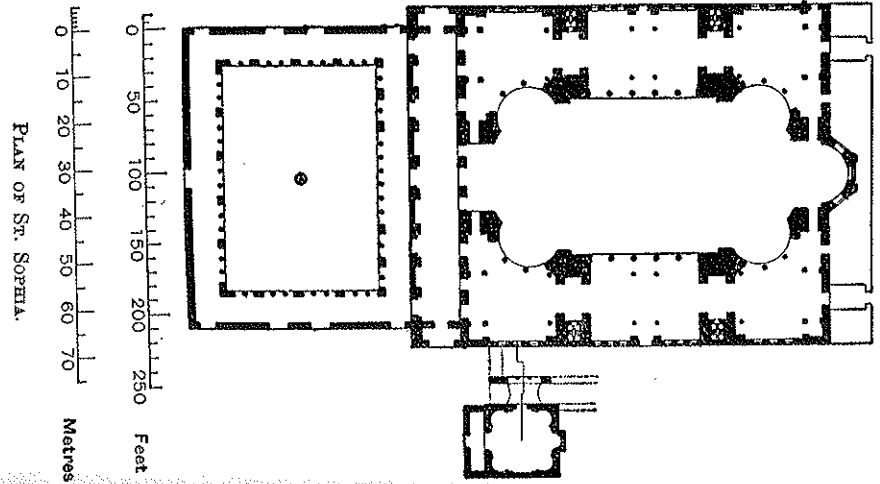
¹ In the *Secret History* (xxi. 7-25) Procopius gives a differ-
ent account of the way in which Justinian chose his subordi-
nates.

² On Procopius's description see G. Wulf, "Das Baumer-
lebnis des Naos im Spiegel der Ekphrasis," *Byzantinische
Zeitschrift*, xxx, 1929-30, pp. 531-539. Cf. also K. Kumaniecki,

but also when compared with those who had lived
long before him, ministered to the Emperor's en-
thusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various
artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the
future construction; and associated with him was
another master-builder, Isidorus by name, a Milesian
by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to
assist the Emperor Justinian. Indeed this also was
an indication of the honour in which God held the
Emperor, that He had already provided the men who
would be most serviceable to him in the tasks which
were waiting to be carried out. And one might
with good reason marvel at the discernment of the
Emperor himself, in that out of the whole world he
was able to select the men who were most suitable
for the most important of his enterprises.¹

So the church has become a spectacle of marvellous
beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to
those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible.²
For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if
surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands
on high and looks down upon the remainder of the
city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but
glorying in its own beauty, because, though a part
of the city and dominating it, it at the same time
towers above it to such a height that the whole city
is viewed from there as from a watch-tower. Both
its breadth and its length have been so carefully
proportioned, that it may not improperly be said
to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually
broad. And it exists in an indescribable beauty.

¹ "Eine unbekannte Monodie auf den Einsturz der Hagia
Sophia im Jahre 558," *ibid.*, pp. 35-43 (especially the note on
p. 41).



A, the original dome as built by Anthemius and Isidorus.
 B, reconstruction of the dome in A.D. 558 by Isidorus the Younger.

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29 ἀποσεμνύμετα. τῷ τε γὰρ ὄγκῳ κενόμεναι
καὶ τῇ ἀγωνίᾳ τοῦ μέτρου, οὕτε τι ὑπερβύται
οὕτε τι ἐνδεὲς ἔχουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ξυμβουσιμένου
κοιμωδιστέρα καὶ τοῦ ἀμέρου κοσμητέρα ἐνεί-
κως ἔσται, φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαριμαρυγὰς ὑπερ-
φύως παύει. φάτις αὖ οὐκ ἐξώθει καταδάμπεσθαι
ἡλίῳ τὸν χώρον, ἀλλὰ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐν αὐτῷ φέεσθαι,
τοσαύτη τις φωνὴ περυσία ἐς τοῦτο διῇ τὸ
ἱερὸν περικέχνηται.¹ καὶ τὸ μὲν τὸ πρὸς πρόσωπον
(ἐπὶ δ' αὖ αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίου, ὅσα διῇ τῷ
θεῷ ἱεουργοῦσι τὰ ἄρρητα) πρόπω τοιῶδε δε-
32 δημιούργηται. οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχευ, οὐκ
ἐπ' εὐθείας πεποιμένη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλάγιων
ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βραχί, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέσα
ἰσοχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ σχημὰ τε κατὰ ἡμισυ τὸ στρογ-
γύλον ἰσῶσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ
ἡμεκιδνίδρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς ὅσον ἀπότομον
33 ἔπαιεσθαι. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὑπερβολὴ
ἐς σφαίρας τεταρτημόριον ἀποκρίεται, ὑπερθεῖν
τε μνησίδες τι αὐτῇ ἔτερον τοῖς προεχέται τῆς
οἰκοδομίας ἐπὶ τῇ, τῇ μὲν εὐπρεπείᾳ θαυμασίως,
τῷ δὲ σφαλερῷ τῆς συνθέσεως δοκοῦντι εἶνα
34 φοβερὸν ὄλως. δοκεῖ γάρ πῃ οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ
ἐπισηρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐμικνιδνὺς τοῖς ἐνθάδε οὐδα
μετρωρίζεσθαι. καὶ τοὶ διαφέρουσιν ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ
35 τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστηρίχθαι. τοῦτων δὲ διῇ ἐπ'
ἐκτέρεα κίονες ἐπ' ἐδάφους εἰσὼν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ

¹ περικέχνηται VL: διακέχνηται A.

¹ Procopius regularly describes the plan of an apse or semi-circular niche by saying that it "retreats" or "recedes," though he does not often say, as he does here, that it is semi-circular, or that, in elevation, it forms a half-cylinder. He

For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither any excess nor deficiency, since it is both more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than those which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and in the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble. Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine. And the face itself of the church (which would be the part which faces the rising sun, that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God) was constructed in the following manner. A structure of masonry (*oikodomia*) is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding at the middle, so that it forms the shape of half a circle, which those who are skilled in such matters call a half-cylinder (*hēmitylhndron*); and so it rises precipitously to a height.¹ The upper part of this structure ends in the fourth part of a sphere (*sphaivn*), and above it another crescent-shaped (*menoides*) structure rises, fitted to the adjoining parts of the building, marvellous in its grace, but by reason of the seeming insecurity of its composition altogether terrifying. For it seems somehow to float in the air on no firm basis, but to be poised aloft to the peril of those inside it. Yet actually it is braced with exceptional firmness and security. On either side of this are columns arranged on the pavement; these likewise do not

sometimes uses the same locutions to describe the arrangement of columns.

κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστῶτες, ἀλλ' ἐστῶ κατὰ στήματα τὸ
 ἡμικύκλιον ὡς περ ἐν χορῶ ἀλλήλοις ὑπεκλιόμενοι,
 καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεκλινέντες οἰκοδόμημα, μνησθεὶς
 ἀποκρίμαται. τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐφ' οὗ κατ' ἀντικρὺ 1
 τὰς εἰσοδοὺς ἔχων ἐγήγερται τοῦχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἐκτρέψεν οἱ τε κίονες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπερθεῖν
 οἰκιστὰς τοῖς δεδιημένοις ἐν ἡμικύκλιῳ ἐστῆ-
 37 κασι. κατὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νεῦ μέγα λόφοι χειρο-
 ποιήτοι ἐπανεστῆκασιν τέσσαρες, οὓς καλοῦσι
 πεσσούς, δύο μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν, δύο δὲ πρὸς ἀνέμον
 νότον, ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀλλήλους, κίονας ἐν
 μέσῳ ἐκάτεροι κατὰ τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἔχοντες.
 38 πεποιήνται δὲ οἱ λόφοι λίθους ἐπιγέθει στήθετοι,
 λογάδην μὲν συνεκγεμένους, ἐς ἀλλήλους 2 δὲ
 πρὸς τῶν λιθοδόγων ἐπικραμένους ἐναρμολογῶν,
 39 ὅρων ἀποτόμους. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀψίδες τέσσαρες
 ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀέχουσι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν
 ἄκρα ξυῦδου ξυνόντα εἰς ἀλλήλα ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ
 ἡρῆνται τῶν λόφων τούτων, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἀλλὰ
 40 ἐπηρμένα εἰς ἀνέμων ὕψος ἡγώρηται. τῶν δὲ
 ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο κατὰ κειρὸς τοῦ αἴετος ἐπανεστῆ-
 κασι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον,
 αἱ δὲ λοιπόμενα οἰκοδομῶν τέσσα καὶ κίονας

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1 So Hoeschel: τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐα, οὐ κατακταρὸν V, τοῦ δὲ δὴ νεῦ
 οὐκ ἀντικρὺ L.
 2 ἐς ἀλλήλους A: ἐπ' ἀλλήλους VL, ἐς ἀλλήλους corrector of
 V in margin.
 3 ἐναρμολογῶν VL: ἐναρμολογῶντες A.

1 It seems clear from the context that Procopius here uses
 μάλιστα in the sense of "just," either in order to indicate
 18

stand in a straight line, but they retreat inward
 in the pattern of the semicircle (*hemikylon*) as if
 they were yielding to one another in a choral dance,
 and above them hangs a structure of crescent shape
 (*menoides*). And on the side opposite the east is
 reared a wall containing the entrances (*eisodoi*),
 and on either side of this there stand in a semi-
 circle (*hemikylon*) not only the columns themselves
 but also the structure above them, all this being
 very similar to the columns and structure I have
 just described. And in the centre of the church
 stand four man-made eminences (*lophoi*), which
 they call piers (*presso*), two on the north side and
 two on the south, opposite and equal to each
 other, each pair having between them just four
 columns.¹ The piers (*lophoi*) are composed of huge
 stones joined together, carefully selected and skil-
 fully fitted to one another by the masons, and rising
 to a great height. One might suppose that they
 were sheer mountain-peaks. From these spring four
 arches (*apsides*) which rise over the four sides of a
 square, and their ends come together in pairs
 and are made fast to each other on top of these
 piers (*lophoi*), while the other portions rise and soar
 to an infinite height. And while two of the arches
 rise over empty air, those namely on the east and
 the west sides, the other two have under them
 certain structural elements (*oikodoma*), including

that he is giving the number exactly, or in order to give it as
 his impression that the number four is a rather small one in
 relation to the large size of the building. He uses μάλιστα in
 this sense elsewhere in the *Buildings*: it certainly means
 "just" in I. vi. 9 and II. ii. 3, and may have this meaning
 also in I. vii. I, II. vii. 14 and IV. x.

41 μικροὺς¹ κομῶδη ἐνέβην ἔχουσιν. ὑπέβην δὲ
 αὐτῶν κυκλωτέρας οἰκοδομία ἐν στρογγύλῳ ἐπ-
 ῆσται. ὅθεν αἰεὶ διαγελῶ πρῶτον ἡ ἡμέρα.
 42 ὑπεραίρει γὰρ, οἷμα, τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, καὶ
 διαλείπει τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κατὰ βραχὺ, ἐξέπληγδες
 παρεμμένον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τοὺς χώρους, οὗ διὰ
 τὸ διηρημένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας συμβαίνει εἶναι,
 43 φέγγους διαρκῶς ἀγνοοῦν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἀμίδων
 τῆς συμπακοῦς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐξειργασμένης,
 44 ἐς τριγῶνα τέσσαρα μετὰ τὸ ἐργον ἀποστελέσθαι.
 καὶ ἡ μὲν τριγώνου ἐκάστη² κρητὶς πεπιεσμένη
 τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν ἀμίδων ἐνέψει δέξιναι ποιεῖται.
 τὴν κάτω γωνίαν, συναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν
 εὐρυνομένη τῇ μετὰ ξὺ χώρᾳ ἐς τὸ κυκλωτέρας
 45 πελευτῇ, ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς λοιπομένας
 ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ κυκλωτέρους παμ-
 46 μεγέθους ἐπαυστακυδιά τις σφαυροειδὴς θόλος
 ποιεῖται αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον. δοκεῖ δὲ
 οὐκ ἐπὶ στερεῶς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἔσθαι, ἀλλὰ
 47 τῇ σφαίρᾳ³ τῇ χρυσῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη
 καλῶνται τὸν χώρον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐς ἀλλήλα
 τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐν μεταστάῳ ἐναρμοσθέντα, ἕκ τε
 ἀλλήλων ἡνωμένα καὶ μόνος ἐναπρεσθόμενα τοῖς
 ἀγχοῖς αὐτοῖ, μίαν μὲν ἀρμονίαν ἐκπρεπεστάτην
 τοῦ ἔργου ποιοῦνται, οὐ παρέχονται δὲ τοῖς
 θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τινι ἐμφύλογαρεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν
 48 ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ μέθεται τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἑκαστου, καὶ
 μεταβιβάζει ῥᾶστα ἐφ' ἑαυτό. ἀγχοτροφὸς τε

¹ μικροὺς L.A.: μικροὺς V.² ἐκάστη VI.: ἐκάστου Hoeschel.³ σφαίρᾳ Haury: σφαῖρα.

a number of rather small columns. Upon the crowns
 of the arches rests a circular structure (*kyklotérās*
oikodómia), cylindrical (*strongylon*) in shape; it is
 through this that the light of day always first smiles.
 For it towers above the whole earth, as I believe,
 and the structure is interrupted at short intervals,
 openings having been left intentionally, in the
 spaces where the perforation of the stone-work
 takes place, to be channels for the admission of light
 in sufficient measure. And since the arches where
 they are joined together are so constructed as to
 form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between
 the arches produces four triangles (*trigóna*).¹ And
 while each supporting end (*krepis*) of a triangle,
 having been contracted to a point by the coming
 together of each pair of arches, makes the lower
 point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its
 width is extended by the intermediate surface, it
 ends in the segment of a circle (*kyklotérās*) which it
 supports, and forms the remaining angles² at that level.
 And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome
 (*sphaeroídes thólos*) which makes the structure ex-
 ceptionally beautiful. Yet it seems not to rest upon
 solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden
 dome (*sphaira*) suspended from Heaven. All these
 details, fitted together with incredible skill in mid-
 air and floating off from each other and resting only
 on the parts next to them, produce a single and most
 extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not
 permit the spectator to linger much over the study
 of any one of them, but each detail attracts the eye
 and draws it on irresistibly to itself. So the vision

¹ Pendentives.² The two upper angles of each spherical triangle.

ἡ τῆς θέας μεταβολὴ ἐς αὐτὴν γίνεταί, ἀπολέξασθαι τοῦ ἐσομένου οὐδ' αὖτις ἔχοντος ὁ τι αὖ ποτε ἀγασθῆναι μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέστη. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀποσκοποῦντες¹ πανταχοῦ τοῦ νοῦ, τὰς τε ὁφρὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι συνενευκότες, οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι ξυνεῖναι τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτὴ ἐνθάδε καταπεληγημένοι τῇ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἀμνηστικῇ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πη εἶχει.

50 Μηχανὰς δὲ πολλὰς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Ἀνθέμιος ὁ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰεωδῶρῳ οὕτω δὴ μετρωλόμενῃ τὴν ἐκκλήσιαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεκρίβαντο εἶναι. ὡν περ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπείκαστο ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι τε ἀπορον καὶ λόγῳ φράσαι ἀμύχανον, μία δέ μοι μόνον ἐν γέ τῳ παρόντι γερράβηται ἡ δύναμις² αὐτῆς σύμπεσσαι τοῦ ἐργου τεκμηριώσαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἔχει γὰρ ὡς οἱ λόφοι, ὡν περ ἐπεμνήσθη ἀπρίως, οὐ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομίας πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ πρὸ πᾶσι τοῖσι. ἄλλων ἐπιβολὴ ἐν τερπαγῶν δὲ διαπεπρωμένη, σκληρῶν μὲν φύσιν, ἐργασίαν δὲ λεῖαν, ἐντολὴν³ δὲ, εἰ μὲν τὰ προύχοντα ποιεύσθαι τῶν τοῦ λόφου πλεονῶν μέλλουσιν, ἐργαζομένων, εἰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ κελήρῳ χύρῃ, ἐν τερπα-
53 πλεονῶν γεγενημένων. συνήρμοσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ τίτanos, ἦν περ ἀσβεστον οὐ μάλιστος, οὐκ ἀσφαλ-
τος, ἡ Σελμυράμιδος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλοισμῶν, οὐκ

¹ ἀποσκοποῦντες: Haury proposes ἀποσπρέφοντες.

² δύναμις: Dindorf: δύναμις VL. ³ ἐντολὴν V: ἐντολὴν L.

¹ In describing the great piers, which are actually quite irregular in plan, Procopius uses the word "four-cornered" to convey a general impression of their somewhat rectangular appearance as they rise above the spectator.

constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others. But even so, though they turn their attention to every side and look with contracted brows upon every detail, observers are still unable to understand the skilful craftsmanship, but they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight. So much, then, for this.

It was by many skilful devices that the Emperor Justinian and the master-builder Anthemius and Isidorus secured the stability of the church, hanging, as it does, in mid-air. Some of these it is both hopeless for me to understand in their entirety, and impossible to explain in words; I shall record only one of them for the present, from which it should be possible to gain an impression of the strength of the whole work. It is as follows: The piers (*lophoi*) which I have just mentioned are not constructed in the same way as other structures, but in the following manner. The courses of stone were laid down so as to form a four-cornered shape, the stones being rough by nature but worked smooth; and they were cut to the angles when they were destined to form the projecting corners of the sides of the pier, but when they chanced to be assigned to a position between the angles, they were cut in rectangles (*tetrapleuron*).¹ These were held together neither by lime (*titanos*), which they call "asbestos",² nor by asphalt, the material which was the pride of Semiramis in Babylon, nor by any other such thing,

¹ Because lime "cannot be quenched" by water; cf. *Hyg.* VI. xxvii. 21.

² Cf. Diodorus, II. 12. Babylon was famous for its asphalt (Strabo, XVI. 743; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV. 178).

ἀλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μόλιβδος ἐς τέλμα
 χυθείς, καὶ μεταξὺ παταχόσε χωρήσας, τῶν τε
 λίθων τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ ἐντερικῶς καὶ συνδέων ἀλλήλους
 αὐτοὺς. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ἐπὶ
 τὰ λειπούμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῦ ἵαμεν.

Χρυσὴ μὲν ἀκρόδηλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ
 πῦα, κερανύσα τὸν κόμην ¹ τῷ κάλλει, νικῇ
 μέντοι ἡ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐτῇ ἀντασπαράσσουσα
 τῷ χρυσῷ. στοιὰ τέ εἰσι ἐκατέρωθι διό,
 οἰκοδομία μὲν τοῦ νεῦ οὐδεμιᾷ διεργόμενα,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγαν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦσα τοῦ εὐρους τὸ
 μέτρον, καὶ τῷ μηκείᾳ μέγχι ἐς τὸ πέρας συνέ-
 55 κνουμένη, τὸ δὲ γε ὅλον καταδέσσερα. καὶ
 αὐταῖς δὲ ἡ τε ὀροφὴ θόλος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐγκα-
 λήπτομα. ταύταιν δὲ ² τῶν στοιῶν ἀνέρα μὲν
 τοὺς αὐδρας εὐχομένους διακρίνησται, γυναι-
 57 δὲ ταῦτο ποιομένης ἡ ἀλλῇ ἀνέται. παρα-
 λὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ διαφέρουσι δήπου
 ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὅσον αὐταῖν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς

¹ κόμην I.A.: κόμην V.
² αὐταῖς δὲ V.L.: ταύταις A.

¹ Procopius evidently misunderstood what he had been told about the way in which the lead was employed, for it can scarcely have been poured into the joints in the manner which he describes. Paul the Silentary, in his *Description of Saint Sophia*, says that sheets of lead were used in the piers (P. Friedländer, *Johannes non Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 240, lines 476-480):

ἀμυνίας δ' ἐνέρεκε πλάκας μαλακοῦ μολύβδου,
 ὅσρα κε μὴ λείγες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους δεθείαι
 καὶ σπυδαῖα σπυδαίοισιν ἐπ' ἀγέλαν ἐχέαι θέσαι
 νότα διαβιβύσαι. μεσοδύτης δὲ μολύβδῳ
 ἡσέια πλῆθετα βάσις μαλίσστρο πέποι.

but by lead (*molibdos*) poured into the interstices (*telma*), which flowed about everywhere in the spaces between the stones and hardened in the joints (*harmonia*), binding them to each other.¹ Thus were these parts constructed; but let us proceed to the remaining portions of the church.

The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold, which adds glory to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails, shining out in rivalry with the gold. And there are two stoa-like colonnades (*stoa*),² one on each side, not separated in any way from the structure of the church itself, but actually making the effect of its width greater,³ and reaching along its whole length, to the very end, while in height they are less than the interior of the building. And they too have vaulted ceilings (*strophē tholas*) and decorations of gold. One of these two colonnaded stoas has been assigned to men worshippers, while the other is reserved for women engaged in the same exercise. But they have nothing to distinguish them, nor do they differ from one another in any way, but their very equality serves to beautify the church, and

¹ "In the joints they have put sheets of soft lead, lest the stones, as they lie on one another, and heavy weight bears upon heavy weight, should have their backs broken; with the lead between, the stone foundation is pressed softly and is gently burdened." Cf. Lettaby and Swanson, *Santa Sophia*, p. 259.

² The procedure followed in rendering Greek *stoa* in this translation is explained in the Introduction, p. xvi.

³ Literally, Procopius says "the measure of its width." He seems to have been aware that the colonnades of the aisles and galleries, which he describes as stoas, increased the scale of the interior by making the great width of the nave seem more measurable and impressive in relation to the apparent size of the side aisles.

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68 κάλλος δὲ καὶ ὠραῖαι τὸ ἐμμερές. τίς
 69 δ' αὖ τῶν ὑπερώων τῆς γυναικωνίδος ἐρημνυ-
 70 γένοιο, ἢ τὰς τε παμπληθεῖς διηροῖτο στοάς καὶ
 71 τὰς περικλυτοὺς αἰλὰς, αἷς ὁ νεὸς περιβέβη-
 72 ται; τίς δὲ τῶν τε κίωνων καὶ λίθων διαρῶμη-
 73 σαιτο τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἷς τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώ-
 74 πισται; λεγόντι τας αὖ ἐντετυχηκέαι δοξέειν
 75 ὠραίαι τὸ ἄνθος. θαυμάσειε γὰρ αὖ εἰκότας
 76 τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοῶδον, καὶ
 77 οἷς τὸ φουκοῶν ἐπαμβέλει καὶ αὖ τὸ λευκὸν ἀπ-
 78 αστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὗς τὰς ἐναυρωτάτας
 79 ποικίλῃ χροαὶς ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος ἡ φύσις.
 80 ὁπνύκα δέ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ τοῖ, ξυνήτοι μὲν
 81 εὐθὺς ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρωπεία δύναμις ἢ τέχνη, ἀλλὰ
 82 θεοῖ ῥοπή τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτερόμεναι. ὁ
 83 νοῦς δέ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαρόμενος ἀροβρεῖ,
 84 οὐ μακρῶν που ἡγουμένος αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
 85 τοῦτο οὐ τὴν πρῶτην μόνον ἰδόντι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ
 86 διηκεῖς ἐκάστῳ ταῦτό τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ
 87 ἐνταῦθα τῆς οὐχέως ἀει ἀρχομένης. τοῦτου κόρον
 88 οὐδεὶς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ παρόν-
 89 τες μὲν¹ τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνθρώποι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γεγῆ-
 90 θασιν, ἀπύοντες δὲ τοῖς ὤτεσιν αὐτοῦ διαλόγους
 91 ἀποσεμνύνονται. ἔτι μέντοι² τῶν κειμήλιων τοῦ
 92 νεῦ τοῦδε τὰ τε χρυσωμάτια καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ
 93 λίθοις ἐντέλεις ξύματα μὲν φράσαι ἀκαρβο-
 94 λογούμενῳ ἀμύχανον ἀπερ³ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασι-
 95 λεὺς τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν. ἐνὶ δὲ μούρῳ τεκμηριουῦσθαι
 96 τοῦς τὰδε ἀναλεγόμενους ἐβόημι. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ

¹ μὲν: μὲν ἐν Wahlst.² μέντοι: μὲν A.

their similarity to adorn it. But who could fittingly describe the galleries (*hypodæ*) of the women's side (*gynaikeiis*), or enumerate the many colonnades and the colonnaded aisles (*peristylai aulæ*) by means of which the church is surrounded? Or who could recount the beauty of the columns (*iones*) and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom. For he would surely marvel at the purple of some, the green tint of others, and at those on which the crimson glows and those from which the white flashes, and again at those which Nature, like some painter, varies with the most contrasting colours. And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen. And this does not happen only to one who sees the church for the first time, but the same experience comes to him on each successive occasion, as though the sight were new each time. Of this spectacle no one has ever had a surfeit, but when present in the church men rejoice in what they see, and when they leave it they take proud delight in conversing about it. Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church—the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here—it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example. That part of the shrine which is

ἱερῶν τὰ μάλιστα χώρος ἀβέβηλος καὶ μόνος
ἱερῶν βατός, ὅππῃ καλοῦσι θυσιαστήριον, ἡ-
τρῶν ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἐπιφέρεται τέταρτος.

66 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλη-
σίας, ἥππῃ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, συνελόντι
τε καὶ ἀκραυ διακτιλῶ διαρβήματα ἐῖναι,
λόγῳ τε βραχυτάτῳ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιό-
λογώτατα φράσαι, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδμη-
νίσταται βασίλει. οὐ γάρ ἡμας δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ βασι-

P 9

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67 αὐργαται βασίλει. ἀλλὰ καὶ πονομένη τῇ
δυναμείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ὡς περ

68 ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τῶν ἀμίδων, ὅππῃ ἐπ-
εμνήσθη ἀρτίας (λόγους δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μηχανο-
ποιοὶ ἐπικαλοῦσι) μία τις, ἥ πρὸς ἀνταχόνα
ἡλὸν ἔσται, ἐπαιεσθήκει μὲν ἐκαστῶθεν ἡδῆ,
οἷα δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὸ μέσον συνετελέετο.

69 ἀλλ' ἐμεινεν ἔτι. οἱ δὲ πεσοὶ ὦν δὴ ὑπερβεν ἥ
οικοδομία ἐγένετο, τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν οὐκ
ἐνεγκόντες τὸ μέγεθος, ἀμνηστέῃ ἔξαινωσίως
ἀπορηγνύμενοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν διαλυθῆσομεν

70

ἐξέκεσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμύλι τε Ἀνθέμιον καὶ

71 Ἰσίδωρον τοὺς συμπετακίους περιόδοβοι ὄντες
ἐπὶ τὸν βασίλειά τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, δυνάστηδες ἐπὶ

72

τῇ τέχνῃ γεγεννημένοι. αὐτίκα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς,

73

ὅτῳ¹ μὲν ποτε ἡγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῶ δέ, οἷμαι,

74

οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μηχανικός, ἐς τὸ πέρας αὐτοῖς

75

περικέξαι τὴν ἀμίδα ταύτην ἐπήγγελλεν. αὐτῇ

76

γάρ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνεχομένη τῶν ἔνερθεν

77

28

especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the Inner Sanctuary (*thyastērion*), is embellished with forty thousand pounds' weight of silver.

So the church of Constantinople (which men are accustomed to call the Great Church), speaking concisely and merely running over the details with the finger-tips, as it were, and mentioning with a fleeting word only the most notable features, was constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian. But it was not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul, as I shall straightway shew. One of the arches which I just now mentioned (*lōrē*¹ the master-builders call them), the one which stands toward the east, had already been built up from either side, but it had not yet been wholly completed in the middle, and was still waiting. And the piers (*peasōē*), above which the structure was being built, unable to carry the mass which bore down upon them, somehow or other suddenly began to crack, and they seemed on the point of collapsing. So Anthemius and Isidorus, terrified at what had happened, carried the matter to the Emperor, having come to have no hope in their technical skill. And straightway the Emperor, impelled by I know not what, but I suppose by God (for he is not himself a master-builder), commanded them to carry the curve of this arch to its final completion. "For when it rests upon itself," he said, "it will no longer need

¹ Greek *lōrēos*, from Latin *lorus*, meaning a "thong" or "leash," and, in the plural, "reins."

¹ ὅτῳ . . . μηχανικός VL: θεοδὲν ἡγμένος A.

72 περὶ οὐκ ἐν δειρήν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ λόγος
ἀμάρτυρος ἦν, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι κολαξί τε αὖ εἰδοξεν
εἶναι καὶ ἀπιστος ὄναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μάρτυρες
πάρεισαν τῶν τῆς καὶ πεπραγμένων πολλοί, οὐκ
ἄκηρτά ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου λεγόμενά εἰσιν.
73 οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῆται τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποίησαν, ἡ
δὲ ἀβὶς ἐπὶ ἀσφάλους ἠώρητο πᾶσα, ἐπισφραγί-
74 ζουσα τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς ἐνείας ἀλήθειαν. τοῦτο
μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀλλὰς
ἀμίδας αἱ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένηαι εἰσι
καὶ βορρᾶν ἀνέμων, τοιοῦδε ξυμπέχθη γενέσθαι.
75 οἱ μὲν λῶροι καλούμενοι τοῦ νεῦ τῇ οὐκοδομῇ
ἐξωγκυμένοι ἠώρητο, βαρυνόμενα δὲ αὐτοῖς
ἐπεσυνήκει τὰ ἐνερθεῖν πάντα, κλονέσ τε οἱ τῇδε
ὄντες χάλυκας σμικρὸς ὥσπερ ἀποξυσθέντες
76 ἀφίεσαν. καὶ αὖθις μὲν ἀβυμοὶ τοῖς συμπεπτα-
κόσων οἱ μηχανικοὶ γεγενημένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ
B 181 77 τὰ σφῆρα παρόντα ἐσήγγελλον. αὖθις δὲ ὁ βασι-
λεὺς ἀντεπετεχνήσατο.¹ τῷδε. τοῦτων δὴ τῶν
πεπονηκότων τὰ ἄκρα, ὅσα τῶν ἀβίδων ἐπέλυσε,
διελθεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκῃ ἐκέλευεν, ἐπιδιδέμεναι
δὲ πολλῶν ὑσπερον, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τῆς οὐκοδομίας
78 ὑγρὸν ἀπολαφύσκειν αὐτοῖς μάλαστα.² καὶ οἱ μὲν
κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν. ἡ δὲ κτίσις διαέγρονε τὸ

¹ ἀντεπετεχνήσατο A: ἀντετεχνήσατο VL.

² μάλαστα VL: οὐα. A.

the props (*person*) beneath it."¹ And if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible; but since there are available many witnesses of what then took place, we need not hesitate to proceed to the remainder of the story. So the artisans carried out his instructions, and the whole arch then hung secure, sealing by experiment the truth of his idea. Thus, then, was this arch completed; but in the process of building the other arches, indeed, those namely which are turned toward the south and the north, the following chanced to take place. The so-called *lōri* had been raised up, carrying the masonry of the church, but everything underneath was labouring under their load, making the columns (*lōnes*) which stood there throw off tiny flakes, as if they had been planed. So once more the master-builders were dismayed at what had happened and reported their problem to the Emperor. And again the Emperor met the situation with a remedy, as follows. He ordered them immediately to remove the upper parts (*akra*) of the masonry which were strained, that is, the portions which came into contact with the arches, and to put them back much later, as soon as the dampness of the masonry should abate enough to bear them. These instructions they carried out, and thereafter the structure stood

¹ This passage is at first sight ambiguous because Procopius is using *person* in two quite different senses. Obviously the statement that once the arch was completed it would no longer need the *person* beneath it cannot refer to the main masonry piers (which Procopius has just called *person*), but must refer to the scaffolding or centering (*person*) which was holding up the great arch before its completion.

λοιπὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ οὖσα. φέρεται¹ δέ τι καὶ μαρτύριον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου τοῦδε.

Β'. Ἀγορά τις πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐτήγχευεν οὖσα. καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀβγυσταίων τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ἐνταῦθα ξυνηθήκα Ἰλλων οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἑπτὰ ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποιήγτα, κατὰ μὲν ἀπὸ βῶτον ξυγκείμενα πᾶσα, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκαστῇ τῆς ἐνεσθὲν οὐρας ἑλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν Ἰλλων ἑκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθυὺν γεγυμέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείῃ ἀγευμένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βάθρων ἀκαθίσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν Ἰλλων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπαύσατο ἐξαισίων ὄσον, οὐ μοιοεδὴς μέτρον, ἀλλὰ λίθους ἐν περιβολῇ οὖσαν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐγγυμνίαι μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ οὖσαν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλλων ἐκαστον ἐναρμολύειν. χαλκὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τε πύλαι καὶ στεφάνους διαχυθεὶς περιβάλλει πανταχόθι τοὺς λίθους, ἐν μὲν τῷ βεβαίῳ συνδέων, ἐν κόσμῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς συγκρατοῦν, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι πάντα καὶ διαφέρωντας τὰ τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐς τοῦ κίονος τὸν τύπον ἀπομιμούμενος. ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὖσαν τὸ μὲν χρῶμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ ἀκιδήλου πρᾶστερος, τῇ δὲ ἀξίᾳ οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδὲν τοσοῦτος ἄργυρον εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ

¹ φέρεται . . . ὑπερβολῇ: ἐν δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ ἀβγυσταίῳ Α.

¹ Procopius's account is not entirely clear, either because he did not understand what had happened, or because he was unable to describe the processes in technical language, or possibly because he wished to avoid a complicated technical description. His account suggests that the builders constructing the north and south arches used the walls and galleries

secure.¹ And the Emperor, in this way, enjoys a kind of testimonial from the work.

ii. Before the Senate House there happened to be a sort of market-place, which the people of Byzantium call the Augustæum. In that place there is a structure of stones, which is made up of not less than seven courses, laid in a rectangle, all fitted to each other at their ends, but each course being narrower than that beneath, and set back, with the result that each of the stones becomes, from the way it is set, a projecting step, so that people assembled there sit upon them as upon seats. And at the top of the stones there rises a column of extraordinary size, not a monolith, however, but composed of large stones in circular courses, cut so as to form angles on their inner faces, and fitted to one another by the skill of the masons. And finest brass, cast in panels and garlands, covers the stones on every side, both serving to bind them securely, and covering them with adornment, and giving the shaft throughout, but particularly at the base and the capital, the appearance of a column. This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver. And on the

at the sides as permanent centering for the great arches, with the result that the weight of these arches, before their keystones were in place, was too much for the thin clerestory walls and columns beneath, which were not designed to carry so much weight and would not have to do so after the arches were completed. It is even possible, from Procopius's description, that the builders were building up the spandrels of masonry above the haunches of the arches before they had completed their curve. Therefore, when Justinian ordered them to take out the strained portions and replace them later, he made it necessary for the builders to complete the arches before filling in the clerestory wall.