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THE SKYLLA GROUP IN CONSTANTINOPLE’S HIPPODROME

The Skylla group was among the most famous bronze sculptures installed in the hippodrome at Constantinople. This paper suggests that the Skylla was a feature of Constantinople at its re-foundation, but perhaps originally stood facing the Bosphorus. In around AD 400 it was moved to the hippodrome where it stood until its destruction in 1204, and where it may for some time have served as a fountain.

Keywords: Skylla, Sculpture, Hippodrome, Harbour, Fountain

The Skylla group was among the most famous bronze sculptures installed at Constantinople. It was well placed on the central reservation of Constantinople’s hippodrome, because the spina comprised seven water basins and was called euripos after the water channel between Attika and Euboea. The Skylla was closely associated with a narrow strait: she prowled one shore of a narrow channel, traditionally identified as the Strait of Messina, opposite the whirlpool Charybdis. Sculpture groups featuring the Skylla were placed in artificial water features in Roman villas and grottos, imperial and aristocratic, notably in Italy. Most famously, a fragmentary marble version of the Skylla group was discovered in 1957 at Sperlonga, at a villa held to have been owned by the emperor Tiberius.¹ It was placed on an island in the central pool of a grotto facing a triclinium, or dining area.² The group was reconstructed by the sculptor S. Bertelin, advised by B. Andreae and B. Conticello, and since then a digital recreation has been

¹ Notably by Andreae in various publications since the discovery of the fragments in 1957, including at B. Andreae, Laokoon und die Gründung Roms, Mainz 1988, 69–70; Idem, Odysseus. Mythos und Errinnerung, Mainz 1999, 205–6. See also Stewart 1977, with a lengthy argument for Tiberius’ ownership. However, the grotto should not be understood to have been owned by Tiberius simply because he is known to have been dining there during a tragic rock-fall in AD 26.

² A. Kuttner, Delight and danger in the Roman water garden: Sperlonga and Tivoli, ed. M. Conan, Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion, Washington D.C. 2003, 121, has suggested that the beast devouring men might be seen as a humorous allusion to dining, and might have said the same for nearby Polyphemos and the wine-sack. See also B. A. Robinson, Histories of Peirene. A Corinthian Fountain in Three Millennia, Princeton and Athens 2011, 240–2.
produced by A. Tayfun Öner.3 Skylla emerges from the water beside Odysseus’ ship, its stern rising up near her right hand, which is clasping the head of the steersman, and in her left a the steering oar which she wields above her head as a weapon. Her two writhing fish trails grasp Odysseus’ travelling companions, pulled from the boat, which the dogs around her waste are mauling and biting. Odysseus stands behind the doomed steersman holding his sword and shield.4

This is not the form of the Skylla described by Homer, but rather follows a later type, which had emerged by the fifth century BC, as a terracotta from Melos now in the British Museum demonstrates (fig. 1). It was the preferred Roman form, as described by Virgil (Aeneid 3. 427–8), and Ovid (Metamorphoses 13. 898–968).5 Andreae has dubbed the composition the Sperlonga – Constantinople type, because he believed that the Sperlonga group was based on a Hellenistic bronze original, probably from Rhodes, and perhaps the very one later installed in Constantinople.6 A second type, a sculptural group reconstructed from marble fragments preserved from Hadrian’s villa at Tivoli, lacked a boat. Nonetheless, it was placed on an island in a scenic canal artificial lake. Similarly, Domitian placed a Skylla group in a round pool in the gardens of his villa at Castel Gandolfo.7

Let us trace the history of Constantinople’s Skylla group backwards from the moment of its destruction. Niketas Choniates, writing shortly after the sack of the city in 1204, described ‘the ancient Skylla’ of Constantinople as she appeared when she was destroyed by the forces of the Fourth Crusade. She was ‘depicted leaning forward as she leapt into Odysseus’ ships and devoured many of his companions: in female form down to the waist, huge-breasted and full of savagery, and below the waist divided into beasts of prey.’8 The Patria Konstantinoupoleos, compiled at the very end of the tenth century, confirms that the boat was part of the ensemble and suggests that seven men were depicted, being Odysseus and the six companions that he allowed Skylla to devour.9

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4 Andreae, Laokoon, 76–86, provides expansive description and analysis of the Sperlonga fragments, which is reprised more briefly but with better photos at Andreae, Odysseus, 205–15.
5 It was this form of the Skylla that would re-appear in the Latin west, in a rare, perhaps unique fresco at Corvey, dated to c. AD 850–900. Here Skylla is not slaying Odysseus’ men, but rather being slain by Odysseus, who pierces her with a spear in the manner of a warrior saint. See G. Hanfmann, The Scylla of Corvey and her Ancestors, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1987) 249–60.
7 For the extensive literature on the Roman villas, notably at Tivoli and Sperlonga, see Kuttner, Delight and danger, and Robinson, Histories of Peirene, 239–45, with notes.
9 According to Homer, Odyssey, 12.85–110, who tells the tale first, the beast had six necks and heads, each with three rows of teeth that would seize a man. Up to her middle she was hidden in a grotto. This form is shown, albeit with only three of the six necks, in the Chiisi ivory (dated to c. 600 BC). See Buitron D., Cohen B. and Austin N., The Odyssey and Ancient Art: An Epic in Word and Image,
And there is another [statue] which includes a boat: some say it is Skylla who devours men from Charybdis. And there is Odysseus whose head she holds in her hand. Others say this is the Earth and the Sea and the seven ages which are devoured by the deluge, and the present age is the seventh.¹⁰

The first interpretation is incorrect to identify Odysseus in Skylla’s grip, for we know this to have been the steersman. In the alternative, prophetic interpretation, each man represented an age, six of which have passed, and the last – presumably this is Odysseus, the only man not in the Skylla’s grip – will soon join them.

In the eighth century, the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai devoted six chapters to the statues of Constantinople’s hippodrome, comprising various enigmatic allusions to monuments that can or cannot easily be identified.¹¹ Among these are the so-called ‘Dragon Statue’ (τὸ δρακονταῖον) and ‘Epigram of the Medes’ (τῶν Μήδων τοῦ ἐλεγείου). The latter is often taken to mean the Serpent Column, which was inscribed with a list of Greek cities who defeated the Persians, i.e., Medes. The Parastaseis states the following of the drakontaion:

Philip the dynast expounded many things, in the course of which he passed this on: that while the drakontaion is a likeness (ἐκτύπωμά) of Arkadios, it is a display (ἐπίδειξις) of his brother Honorius reigning in Rome.¹²

It has been suggested that the drakontaion refers to the Skylla group, and therefore that it was installed on the euripos by Arkadios (ektypoma being either his ‘erection’ or ‘likeness’, both possible translations offered by Cameron and Herrin, and contrasted with epideixis). ‘Likeness’ seems a perfectly sensible English translation in the context of this work, for the authors of the Parastaseis set themselves the task of identifying for each statue both its historical and prophetical meanings, only some of which had hitherto been revealed.¹³ For example, a statue of an elephant in the Basilika was revealed to have been a metaphor for Justinian II’s use of barbarians to regain the throne, but also for his subsequent inability to control them. By the same reasoning, the ‘likeness’ of the Skylla, may have been taken as a metaphor for Arkadios’ victory over the Goths, in 401, and for the decapitation of the Gothic king Gainas, whose head was sent to the emperor. Skylla, as we have noted, was gripping the head of the steersman in one hand, while she wielded his steering oar as a weapon, as if to behead him.


¹⁰ Patria II.77, ed. T. Preger, Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum, Leipzig 1901–1907, 190.


¹³ B. Anderson, Classified knowledge: the epistemology of statuary in the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 35 (2011) 1–19, suggests that the ‘philosophers’ of the city, who compiled the work as a dossier through the eighth century, were compelled by those objects that would reveal their true meanings through time, like the elephant that had revealed the fate of Justinian II.
However, Skylla cannot be seen on extant illustrations of the Column of Arkadios, as has frequently been claimed. The column depicted the celebration of Arkadios’ victory over Gainas, and which was completed in the early decades of the fifth century, featured on the lowest spiral of its winding narrative frieze, illustrations of the Forum of Constantine and its statues as they must have appeared at the end of the fourth century. It has frequently, and mistakenly, been stated that this is the hippodrome. On the eastern side of the Column of Arkadios, depicted immediately to the left the schematic sketch of the circular forum, is a male upper torso wielding a club, who in the place of legs has two writhing serpents. This is a typical depiction of a giant, at least since the Hellenistic period, who appears to be engaged in combat with another male figure, around whose arm a beast, or a living pelt, is wrapped. This is clear in a high-resolution illustration supplied by Trinity College Cambridge (The Freshfield Album, Trinity College Library Cambridge, MS 0117.2) (fig. 2).\(^{14}\)

The identification of the *Parastaseis*’ *drakontaion* as the Skylla is plausible, therefore, but far from certain.\(^{15}\) Indeed, the identification appears to be undermined by the fact that the *Parastaseis* has just described the Skylla group, referring to it not as a dragon, but as ‘among the female statues ... giving birth to wild beasts that devour men’, referring thus to the serpents and dogs issuing from parts of the she-beast. The group is ‘accompanied also by a boat’ and it ‘reveals the story of the godless Justinian’, meaning the second reign of Justinian II (705–11).\(^{16}\) However, if one accepts that the *Parastaseis* was a compilation which reflected various opinions on the same objects, and notes that we are expressly told that the *drakontaion* was interpreted by ‘Philip the dynast’, then this duplication need not be an obstacle to identification.

The Skylla was already on the *euripos* in c. 500, when a satirical poem preserved in the *Greek Anthology* (XI. 271) reveals that an iron statue of Anastasios was placed near to it:

Near to Skylla they set up cruel Charybdis, this savage ogre Anastasios. Have fear in your heart Skylla, lest he devour you too, turning a brazen goddess into small change.

Anastasios was famous for his parsimony, and reputed to have melted down statues to mint coins. Another epigram has been preserved in the *Greek Anthology*:

On Skylla in Bronze. Unless the bronze glistened and betrayed the work to be a product of Hephiastos’ cunning art, one looking from afar would think that

\(^{14}\) See Bardill J., *The monuments and decoration of the hippodrome in Constantinople*, ed. B. Pitarakis, Hippodrom / Atmeydan. A stage for Istanbul’s history, 2 vols., Istanbul 2010, 168, 181; and Bassett, Urban Image, 229, who have followed Freshfield himself in interpreting the lowest spiral as depicting the hippodrome rather than the forum, and therefore have misinterpreted the giant as a depiction of Skylla.

\(^{15}\) Parastaseis 62, edd. Cameron, Herrin, 138–9, 140–1, suggesting that the Skylla may be the *drakontaion*. Bassett, Urban Image, 215–16, 227–9, has provided reasons to support this identification.

\(^{16}\) Parastaseis 61, edd. Cameron, Herrin, 138–9, 250–1.
Skylla herself stood there, transferred from sea to land, so threatening is her
gesture, such wrath does she exhibit, as if dashing ships to pieces in the sea.\textsuperscript{17}

It is clear that the Skylla here described was accompanied by a boat, and
therefore was of the type identified by Andreae as the Sperlonga – Constantinople
type.

If it was on the \textit{euripos} of the hippodrome by AD 500, there is clear evidence
that the Skylla group was already in Constantinople in the fourth century. A epigram
attributed to Palladas, but preserved only in a Latin translation collated in c. AD 400 in
the \textit{Epigrammata Bobiensia}, is entitled ‘On the Skylla in the circus at Constantinople’:

There is fear that the gnashing Skylla has been set up in this manner near the
coast, O Caesar; fashion restraints before (she strikes). For the excellence of the
breathing bronze has the power to deceive, that she might seize the sailor before
he is on his guard.\textsuperscript{18}

The hippodrome is, perhaps, sufficiently close to the sea to justify the rhetorical
claim that real sailors would join those cast in bronze in falling victim to the Skylla.
Certainly, the Sphendone, but not the \textit{euripos}, might have been visible from the shore
of the Sea of Marmara. However, it may also be taken to indicate that the Skylla was
placed first ‘near the coast’ (prope littoram), when the epigram was composed, and
subsequently ‘in the circus’ (in circo), when it was copied into the collection and
given an identifying title.

The epigram must have been translated into Latin from the Greek original
before 400. If the Greek epigram was the work of Palladas, as scholars believe, then
the Skylla will have been present in Constantinople when he wrote.\textsuperscript{19} Kevin Wilkinson
has recently argued that the epigrams of Palladas date from the reign of Constantine,
which would place the Skylla among those bronzes brought to Constantinople by
agents despatched by the emperor to Greece, whose plunder included the ‘Delphic
Tripods’. If we retain a late fourth-century date for Palladas, we must still conclude
that the Skylla group was in the city before 400, and possibly decades earlier. Either it
was an original feature in the hippodrome, or it was located near the coast in the reign
of Constantine, and it was transferred to the hippodrome before c. 400. The latter
solution appears better to fit the available evidence.

It is perfectly possible that the citizens of Byzantion had erected a statue of
Skylla by their harbour. This appears to have been a common practice among

\textsuperscript{17} Greek Anthology ed. and trans. \textit{W. Paton} (Cambridge, MA and London, 1916–18) 9.755. See
also \textit{G. Becatti}, \textit{La colonna coclide istoriata. Problemi storici, iconografici, stilistici}, Rome 1960, 200–2;
\textit{Alan Cameron}, The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes. Oxford 1993, 94; \textit{Berger}, Hippodrome,
204, n. 15. Clearly, this is distinct from the earlier Latin epigram and its Greek original attributed to
Palladas.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Epigrammata Bobiensia}, ed. \textit{W. Speyer}, Leipzig 1963, 62, no. 51: In Scyllam Constantinopolitanum
in circo: Frendentem Scyllam metus est prope litoris oram / sic sisti, Caesar: vincula necte prius. / nam
potis est virtus spirantis fallere aeni, / ut prius astringat \[arripiat\?], navita quam caveat. \textit{K. Wilkinson},
Palladas and the foundation of Constantinople, \textit{Journal of Roman Studies} 100 (2010) 181, provides the
translation. See also \textit{Cameron}, Greek Anthology, 93–5.

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Wilkinson}, Palladas and the foundation of Constantinople, 191–2.
sea-faring cities, and one might note further that Byzantion sat at the end of a narrow channel, such as that over which the Skylla was held to preside at Messina. Moreover, Skylla had long been a symbol for naval victory, since Pompey first defeated the pirates. For this reason, the reign of Constantine again suggests itself as an appropriate time for the placement of the Skylla in Constantinople, for Constantine (in fact his son Crispus) had enjoyed a great victory in the Hellespont in 324, weeks before his final victory at Chrysopolis. This would lead us to wonder whether the Skylla was placed on the coast facing the Sea of Marmara. According to the *Patria*, Constantine was responsible for the harbour later completed by Theodosios and which bears the latter’s name.  

Scholars, following C. Mango, are now generally agreed that Constantine, like the citizens of Byzantion, relied upon the two smaller ports on the Golden Horn, the Neorion and Prosphorion. This may be elucidated when the full results of excavations at Yenikapi are published, but in any event the Skylla need not have graced a large harbour, nor even some basic moorings, to be ‘prope littoram’. It is conceivable that when Theodosios excavated the artificial harbour that took his name, Skylla was moved from that location to the hippodrome. In this regard, it is interesting to note that a number of contorniates, bronze medallions produced for aristocrats to distribute as new year gifts, were produced under Theodosios showing the Skylla, and the form she takes echoes both surviving examples and the descriptions provided by later sources.

Throughout the Byzantine period, from as early as the fourth century until its destruction in 1204, the Skylla stood in the hippodrome. Placed in one of the seven water basins of the *euripos*, the Skylla stood in line with several features that served for some time as fountains, including the Theodosian Obelisk, Masonry Obelisk and the Serpent Column. It is possible that the Skylla also served as a fountain. Since no trace of the Skylla group survives, we cannot prove this hypothesis, but it is

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20 Patria, II. 63; III.91, ed. Preger, II. 184–5 and 248, states that Constantine set up a marble statue of Eleutherios, and presumably also other pertinent monuments; it continues to note that Theodosios I filled up the harbour. See also R. Janin, Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique, 2nd edition, Paris 1964, 225–7; W. Müller-Wiener, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls, Tübingen 1977, 60–1. But see Codex Theodosianus XV.1.23. Far too much is attributed to Constantine in the patriographical works that was undertaken by others, and they are bound up by the ninth century with legends of Constantine the Great. Most recently see Anderson, Classified knowledge.

21 C. Mango, Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe-VIIe siècles), Paris 1985, 38–40, 55 n. 25, contra Janin, Constantinople, 226, and others. Mango states that the Theodosian harbour was abandoned, allowed to silt up and given over little by little to gardens between the seventh and fifteenth centuries. Recent excavations contradict the impression that the harbour fell out of use so early. See also A. Berger, Der Langa Bostan in Istanbul, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 43 (1993) 467–77.

22 Altföldi A., Die Kontorniaten, 2 vols., Berlin and New York 1943, 112, and plate XXVII; Altföldi and Altföldi, Die Kontorniat-medallions, revised edition, Budapest 1976, 1990, I, 201, nos. 83–86; II, 61, 156–7, plates 63–4. Contorniates are known to have been produced between 356 and 394, after which Theodosios is alleged to have suppressed them, due to their pagan iconography. Others featured two sculpture groups not otherwise known at Constantinople, but famous from finds at Rome: Laokoon, and the Farnese Bull. See Andreae, Laokoon, 106–7, and figs. 31–4. It seems probable, therefore, that the contorniate of Skylla reflects a sculpture then present in Rome, similar to that at Sperlonga, and it remains possible that this Skylla, perhaps but not necessarily the Skylla group in the hippodrome, arrived in Constantinople after c. 354 but before c. 400. This would fit with the later tradition that Honorius sent a Skylla sculpture to his brother Arkadios.

worth pondering because it has recently been suggested that the Skylla was brought to Constantinople from Corinth, where it had stood for at least two centuries within a fountain basin.24

B. Robinson has argued that a statue of the Skylla was placed in the sunken courtyard, the hypaithos krene, at Peirene during the second century AD, after which it appeared on a series of coins struck by the Antonines and Severans.25 'An issue of Septimius Severus poses a typical figure of Scylla with her basin beside a standard representation of the nymph Peirene seated upon a rock’, indicating location. On coins of Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus a more elaborate setting is indicated, the Skylla flanked by two Tritons is placed within a square with a scenic facade represented along its top, surely representing a courtyard. Numismatists were the first to suggest that the Skylla was placed in the courtyard of the Peirene fountain, and Robinson agrees, observing that a spout extended to the middle of the hypaithos krene, risking loss of hydraulic head to service a large fountain and sculpture group placed in a basin.26 One cannot determine whether the water flowed through or behind the sculpture, although since it could be viewed from all sides from above, a pipe placed within the group would have been more pleasing. No traces of the Skylla have been found at Corinth (in contrast to Sperlonga or Tivoli, for example). Robinson suggests reasons for this, if any are needed: that it was in bronze, not marble (like those others for which fragments might be left), and that it was taken to Constantinople in the fourth century, shortly after it ceases to appear on Corinthian coins.

In 1927 and 1928, excavations along the axis of the hippodrome, for 48 metres both parallel to and at right angles to the posited line of the euripos, revealed many water conduits. According to Stanley Casson, the director of excavations for Oxford University and the British Academy, seven water conduits were identified in the vicinity of the Serpent Column, which stood close to the Skylla.27 Perhaps the Skylla was connected to a pipe that allowed water to flow to it from a conduit. No source records that the Skylla served as a fountain, but nor do extant sources reveal that the obelisks were fountains, although one can still see traces of their plumbing, for example at the base of the Masonry Obelisk (fig. 3).28 According to Casson, a trench large enough to admit a man ran beneath the obelisk, which would have allowed for the drilling and plumbing of the base. It is drilled along its vertical axis, under which

26 Robinson, Histories of Peirene, 349, n. 1, lists pertinent works.
27 Casson S. et al., Preliminary report upon the excavations carried out in the hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927 on behalf of the British Academy, London 1928, 25–6. These had nothing to do with the seven water basins identified in the hippodrome in the tenth century, on which see C. Mango, L’Euripe de l’Hippodrome de Constantinople, Revue des Études Byzantines 7 (1949) 180–93.
28 We know less about the Theodosian Obelisk, as excavations at its base were not so extensive. Casson, Preliminary report, 14–15, reported finding a ‘water conduit of small dimensions … [that] was identical in type and size with that at the Column of Porphyrogenitus’, and like it [ran] exactly along the axis’. However, it is clear that the Theodosian Obelisk also served as a fountain, and this is explored by G. Bruns, Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel, Istanbuler Forschungen 7 (1935) 85–6.
the man-sized tunnel ran, and has four intersecting horizontal drillings that meet at the vertical axis, and which were fitted with lead pipes ‘of a type often used in Byzantine buildings’, but with no discernible markings reported. ‘This at once made it clear that the monolithic pedestal served as a four-spouted fountain. The excavation outside the podium on the north-west produced, at the level of the podium itself, fragments of loose mosaic, and it seems possible that there were basins of mosaic into which the water fell.’29

The Serpent Column is described as a fountain only centuries after it ceased to operate, but it is clear that it once expelled water from its base. This much is still apparent from the base of the coils, where a large hole punctures the bronze, below which the marble base has been carved to form a channel (fig. 4). In Casson’s words, the ‘basis of the Serpent Column is of peculiar importance in this connexion, since it proves to be founded not on masonry at all, but upon a water-conduit which runs at right-angles to the axis, and which is itself bedded in the yellow clay’, a layer that defines the Byzantine levels of the hippodrome, at that time beneath 4.5m of black earth. The Serpent Column stood in a tank constructed simply from rubble lined with mortar, from which a larger conduit allowed the water to run off. The column had been raised on a marble base, which Casson determined to be ‘an old column capital trimmed and reused’. A hole had been bored in this, through which is it possible to look up from the conduit inside and through the column itself’. Casson conjectured that a lead pipe would have been inserted in this hole.30 A single fistula about a metre long, which happens to be the only Byzantine stamped lead pipe ever discovered during excavations in Constantinople, had earlier been found within the Serpent Column.31 If the obelisks and Serpent Column were all plumbed to serve as fountains, it is possible that the Skylla also served as a fountain, even if it the sculpture group was not brought from Corinth.

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ГРУЛА СКИЛА НА ЦАРИГРАДСКОМ ХИПОДРОМУ

Група Скила је била једна од најчувенијих бронзаних скулптура на хиподрому у Цариграду. У чланку се предлаже да се Скила сматра обележјем Цариграда, од његовог оснивања, али да је првобитно стајала окренута према Босфору. Око 400. године је премештена на хиподром, где је била до свог уништења 1204, и где је можда неко време служила као фонтана.