COCKERELL AT THESSALONIKI

In the Students’ Room in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum* are preserved letters, journals, sketch books and numerous drawings made by Charles Cockerell during his five year sojourn in Greece and Turkey between 1810 and 1815. They were presented to the Museum by the widow of Charles Cockerell’s son, Samuel Pepys Cockerell, who had himself made use of the letters and journal to write an account of his father’s travels.¹ The sketches and drawings were the subject of a brief article by Miss C. A. Hutton designed merely to bring them to the notice of the public, ² but the only scholar to have made immediate use of the material was A. J. Reinach who wrote two articles incorporating extracts from the journal and relevant sketches, occasionally supported by photographs, one on Cockerell’s visit to Delos in 1810, and another on his visit to Delphi in 1813.³

The part of Cockerell’s journal that deals with Thessaloniki has never been published, ⁴ and while it does not add very much to our knowledge of the antiquities of the place, or of contemporary history (apart from an attack on the city by an English frigate which, so far one can tell, is otherwise unattested p. 53 and n. 19 below), it does give us some interesting side-lights on life in early nineteenth century Thessaloniki as seen by an intelligent and sympathetic observer.

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¹ I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these extracts from Cockerell’s journal and to reproduce the sketches, to Mr D.E.L. Haynes, the Keeper of the Department of Antiquities for his kindness, to Dr Richard Clogg, Dr M. Kiel and Dr Hans Peter Laubscher for advice on various points, and to Dr Clogg for reading through my manuscript.


⁵ Written in pencil in a small leather-bound notebook, 0.09m. x 0.12m., begun on 17th July 1810 at Constantinople and completed on 18th November at Syros.
Cockerell left Constantinople by sea on September 10th on a Cephalonian vessel which, after calling at Alexander Troas, Tenedos, and Lemnos, arrived at Thessaloniki in the evening of September 19th. His journal reads as follows:

C. R. Cockerell, *Journal*

Sept. 19. We coasted up the bay and arrived at Salonica at 8 o’clock, too late for the Gates which are always shut at Dark. We wrote to Mr Charnau and waited in an apartment of the Douan until his arrival. He soon came. We were admitted through a small door in the bottom of a large tower, the doing which obliged us to stoop. On each side within stood two Albanians with Torches, who led us through courts and winding staircases. The effect of this was beyond measure striking. We walked but a short distance into the town before the arrival of Mr Charnau with whom [at] home we supped.

All the coast along the side of the Gulf of Salonica to the East is a prodigious fair corn country and supplies a great part of Greece. That on the west is mountainous and the sea exceedingly dangerous, having many shoals and

5. Some slight changes from the punctuation of the original have been made in the interests of clarity.

6. Cockerell presumably landed at the Harbour, the fortifications of which, in common with those of the sea front, were demolished during the latter part of the nineteenth century. For a discussion of the date of their construction and the position of the Harbour gate, see M. Vickers, “The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki,” *Balkan Studies* xi (1970) 261-80.

7. François Charnaud, English Consul at Thessaloniki from November 1792 until May 1814, and again from 1815 until 1825 (information from Miss J. M. Biffen of the Library and Records Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London), won the praise of many travellers who visited the city. Henry Holland says something of his background and family: “He is of a Levant family, and has resided in this city more than twenty years. His lady, who is a native of Holland, and his daughters, who have never quitted Turkey, are unacquainted with the English language, but speak Romaic with fluency, and as their ordinary medium of intercourse. At their dinner table, we found some approach to the English manner of living, but combined with that common throughout the south of Europe.” (Travels in the Ionian Isles, Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc., during the Years 1812-13 [London, 1815] 312). John Twedell found him “a very worthy and upright man, and extremely attentive to the interests of his country.” (Rbt. Twedell [ed.], *Remains of the Late John Twedell*, 2nd edition [London, 1816] 334), and Edward Clarke records how “at a time when the plague was so rife that his gates had been closed against all intruders, and even his provisions were daily received through one of those turning machines that are used in convents, he nevertheless threw open his doors for us, and welcomed our coming, in a manner which we can never forget.” (Travels in Various Countries of Europe, Asia and Africa, 4th edition, vii [London, 1818] 441 f.)
rocks, and to this may be attributed the decay of Pella on which not a stone now stands nor is there a Town of any consequence there. The South winds which come about 20 of September are very violent.

The road to Athens is at present dangerous. Mr Charnaugh says that the Albanian robbers are in companies of 14 to 20 and more. They never attack openly, but sticking caps in hedges deceive Travellers who fire at them while the robbers behind seize them. Mr Foster was stopped in coming from Athens, but the Tartar showed a firman on which they let him off for 5 piastres.

The cowardly disposition of some Greeks was shown a few days ago in an accident which happened to a poor Cephaloniot going to Smyrna, a large ship. Greeks, not believing their declaration that they were honest men and no pirates were going to run them down, however this the Cephalonian avoided. The Greeks, however, being close alongside shot and killed seven of them and took their property. Mr Charnaugh hopes to recover the property.

Sep. 20. We had slept at Mr Charnaugh's and were obliged to wait till a dilatory breakfast was prepared. The getting our house then occupied us until 1 o'clock when we dined with Mr Charnaugh. After dinner I was glad to employ myself in a walk round the town in which we saw several Greek churches converted into mosques, one of St Demetri of considerable size. Here we saw much of that mosaic work, used in St Sophia. I found in the courts of two of these churches rostra of the Bishops richly sculptured. On their sides


9. Foster is mentioned frequently in Cockerell's letters home (also preserved in the British Museum), though his account of him varies according to the recipient: "Mr Foster, son of an architect of Liverpool, a very rational person." (Letter to his father, written at Pera, 25th June 1810); "Mr Foster... draws ill, I find him exceedingly good humoured and if things accord we may make some trips together. When I say that he is idle do not fear that he is an example in any way of sufficient eminence to seduce me." (Letter to his sister, Anne Cockerell, written at Pera, 29th June 1810); "Mr Foster... a soft and simple youth who fell so violently in love with a French girl at Buyirk Dire that he had done all but promise himself to her. I succeeded in persuading him to give up so unprofitable a scheme and leave the place. Accordingly on the 9th of September, in the evening we embarked and left the famous Constantinople soon behind us." (Letter to his brother, John Cockerell, written at Thessaloniki, 4th October 1810).

were represented the Greek Bishops, Saints etc., in their pontifical dress. 11
We also saw the antiquities, the Triumphant arch 12 and the Caryatid, 13 also
some sculptures in a wall near a gate which was very beautiful to the East of
the Town. 14 In the evening our Servant had prepared everything for us and we
were comfortably lodged in our new house.

Sep. 21. Sketched in the morn[ in]g before breakfast. After it I went with
Mr C.'s dragoman to the Jews House opposite the Caryatides where I drew all
day. 15 In the evening I made out the Cornice and the dimensions I had taken
in the morn[ in] g.

Baillie is the name of the young man who turned Turk and was such a

11. Cockerell is clearly referring to the two halves of the white marble ambo removed to
Constantinople in 1900 and now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Mendel, Catalogue, No 643). The right side was found near the Rotunda and the left side at the church of
St Panteleimon, then known as İşakiye Cami. The ambo to which they belonged must once
have stood inside the Rotunda and have been installed around the middle of the fifth cen-
tury A.D. at the time when the Rotunda was converted into a church (see M.Vickers, “The
Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda at Thessaloniki,” Papers of the British School at Rome
xxxv [1970] 183-7). The base of the ambo was found by Hébrard (Bulletin de Correspondance
Hellenique xlv [1920] 28-30, pl. III-IV) in the position (just outside the Rotunda) to which
it must have been moved after the church had been converted into a mosque.

12. First shown to have been built by Galerius to commemorate his victory over the
Persians in 297 by K.F.Kinch, L'Arc de Triomphe de Salonique (Paris, 1890). Now illustrated in
detail by Ch. Makaronas, 'Η Καμάρα, το θριαμβικό τόξο του Γαλερίου στη Θεσσαλονικη
(Thessaloniki, 1969); a study by H.-P. Laubscher is said to be forthcoming.

13. A mid-second century colonnade surmounted by piers decorated in high relief with
mythological figures (not true Caryatids). The sculpture was removed to the Louvre in 1864.
The Spanish-speaking Jews of the city referred to them as Las Incantadas - 'the enchanted
ones,' in the belief that they were people turned into stone. The most recent discussion is by
L.Guerrini, “Las Incantadas” di Salonicco, Archeologia Classica xiii (1961) 40-70, pls XIII-
XXVIII. Their precise position is unknown, but judging by the accounts of nineteenth cen-
tury travellers, they were situated slightly to the north of the main street, the present Odos
Egnatia, in the centre of the old city, e.g.: “On the left of the main street, between the Vardar
entrance and this arch [of Galerius], and in a side alley there are four Corinthian columns....’

14. This could well be a reference to the eastern gate of Thessaloniki mentioned in the
Palatine Anthology ix, 689, which was decorated with a statue of a prefect. Cockerell, so far
as I know, is the only traveller to mention this gate.

15. Cf. J.B.G. d'Ansse de Villoison: “C'est chez le chakam, ou chef de la nation Juive,
que j'ai vu à Salonique un des plus beaux monuments de l'antiquité ... les Incantados.”
favourite with Selim. Brown of the philosopher of whom so many speak who adopted the manner of the Turks entirely and was so accomplished in the languages as to be taken for a Turk. 16

Interest for money in Turkey (when lent) commonly from 12 to 18 and sometimes 35 p[e]r Cent.

Sep. 22. Walked around the walls of Salonica. Found some remains of the ant[ien]t wall composed of tile and stone in courses. By them it appears the ant[ien]t city was much larger. 17 Found a sculpture in the East wall of the city which I could not unders[tan]d. It was Roman. It was near the others I had found. We returned thro[ugh] the S. East angle of the city wall and [in] a large Genoese Tower 18 we saw a number of Albanian Soldiers, many of whom I understand to be Greeks. Here was a large cannon of l. b at least Draw for a ball abo. 6. It was a cast one, the base not in the middle. In this and the other angle they have a number of large cannon wh[ic]h when an Engl[is]h Frig[at]e sent her boats to fire on the Town did not carry their balls half so far as the fri­gate, her guns went over the Tower. 19

16. William George Brown (1768-1813), the writer of Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria (London, 1799), a man whose “demeanour was precisely that of a Turk of the better order” who met his death in 1813 on the road from Tabriz to Tehran: “being in Turkish dress, and not known to be an Englishman, he was murdered by some wandering tribe of Kurds or Turkomans.” (W. Beloe, The Sexagenarian or, the Recollections of a Literary Life, ii [London, 1817] 58-60).


18. Now known as the White Tower, Λευκός Πύργος. Built by the architect Sinan in A.H. 942 (1535/6): F. Babinger, Ewlija Tschelebi’s Reisewege in Albanien (Berlin, 1930) 25, n.3 (= Aufsätze und Abhandlungen ii [Munich, 1966] 76, n.3), citing an inscription recorded by Eviya in the seventeenth century, Seyahatname viii (Istanbul, 1928) 150, and a similar tower at Valona (Vlore) in Albania built by Sinan during Süleiman’ Corfu campaign. (I am grateful to Dr Kiel for drawing my attention to this fact and for providing the references. At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was known as Kanli Kule, the Bloody Tower, for there it was that condemned Janissaries were strangled (Tafrali, op. cit., 94; A. Vakalopoulous, A History of Thessaloniki [Thessaloniki, 1963] 113).

19. A possible explanation for this attack on Thessaloniki by an English frigate is provided by a letter from John Twedell to John Spencer Smythe, the English ambassador to the Porte, written from Thessaloniki in 1789. Vessels were leaving Turkish ports laden with corn bound, apparently, for neutral ports, but in reality for ports in Italy under French domination and the Turkish authorities were proving very amenable to bribes. Twedell suggest-
Sep. 23. Made drawing of the caryatides on the opposite side which took me greater part of the day.

Sep. 24. Made some sketches. Went into the interior of S[ant]a Sop[hi]a of which I made a Sketch. The church is richly mosaicked. The figure of Christ is pasted over with gold characters. The figures of the saints still remain and at the altar is the Virgin; abo[v]e is Moses as large as life. 20 I made a sketch of the interior of this church this day: there are many in Salonica which antiently and still has a patriarch.

Sep. 25. Copied a drawing of Preaux's belong[in]g to the consul.

Sep. 26. Made a sketch of Salonica and of a Church built by the Patriarch, which I finished.

Sep. 27. Was very idle this day. Got up late [and] read Barthelème. Made enquiries abo[u]t the Cap[tai]n as we were desirous of getting away with success. Made a slight sketch which I p[ai]nted. For the first time this evening went to the Billiard Table.

Sep. 28. Here I find I have been for some time too late in my dates by a day.

Sep. 29. We resolved to stay here until the departure of a large Greek vessel for Andros and made a bargain. I made a drawing of a gate into the court of a mosque which occupied the day. We became acquainted with Mon[sieur] D'oo(?), a very intelligent French[ma]n. He opined us the weight of the poll Tax falls chiefly on the poor, they paying a considerably larger proportion than the rich. This is 15 piastres a year. The Jews pay less being under a capitulation made between them and the Turks on their arrival from Spain. They had great privileges which in course of time have decayed and they are now in great ed to Smythe that there should be a general prohibition of the export of corn “or, if the Porte refuses to grant this, by the summary justice which the English are authorised to render to themselves, in having an armed vessel cruising off every suspected port, but this above others, which should examine the papers and pretensions of every laden vessel, and decide upon the probabilities of advantage or disadvantage to the allies by the delivery of the cargo.” (Twedell, op. cit., 333).

20. A study of the mosaics of St Sophia is promised by Dr R.S.Cormack.
distress. Their business is chiefly banking and agency. The Pashas and beys borrow from them without mercy, then pay them some part of the debt, but always remain 20,000 - 30,000 or 10,000 pias[tre]s in debt, thereby in fact defrauding the poor bankers.

The poll Tax on the Greeks was originally 11 Pias[tres] a head and this has not increased, but as that sum is levied on a village of for example 100 persons, which amounts to 1100 Pias[tr]es. If this village diminishes the money is still raised, if it increases, the karatch on each is of course less.

Georgi Osman was the Pasha who restored the city to discipline. He was a very just but severe character. He abolished the Janissaries. He cut down with his hatchet himself the Janissary who had killed the son of a Greek woman. He also killed a man who disobeyed his order for the cleaning of the streets. He had become too powerful. The Port[e] sent for him to join the army and he was assassinated in the way.

Mr D’oo (?) says again that the Greeks pay 16 p[iastres], the inferior order 15, and so on according to their means. But this varies according to the regular lien or Tyranny of the Pasha, who farms the karatch. They pay so much to the port [= Porte] and exact the rest as they find convenient, so that what Dimetri tells me as to the assessment on a village is not correct.

The Greeks have an ambition to excell and improve themselves. Greek merchants settled at Leghorn, Vienna and other places have established schools in which the Greek literae and the first principals [sic] of philosophy are taught. 2 at Salonika, 2 at Mitylene, 1 at Smirna. Mr D’oo[?] tells of a scholar of Mitylene, a most profound Genius. The schools are supported by the community and the poorest children are admitted Gratis. A press is wholly employed at Leghorn in Greek books translated from other languages wh[ich] are given Gratis to the schools. A Greek told D’oo if he could [obtain] 500,000 Pias [tre]s (25,000 £ sterling) he would establish a factory of cottons here which sho

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21. For the position of Jews at Thessaloniki in the eighteenth century cf. the (French?) consular report of March 10th 1744 quoted by Vakalopoulos: “As for the Jews, they all of them live in the most utter misery. The authorities oppress them more than other groups and continually humiliate them in the way in which they are subjected to forced contributions and ruined in order that they may pay.” (Op. cit., 97).

22. Intellectual life in Greece during the years 1770-1820 is discussed by C. Th. Dimaras, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières* (Études de philosophie et d’histoire, 9 [Geneva 1969]). I am grateful to Dr Clogg for this reference.
Michael Vickers

Jul[d equal the Eng[lish]h on the improved plans of manufacture. This shows their desire of improv[emen]t. At a place near Chalcis was an establishm[en]t for the tinting red of cotton thread which florish[e]d exceeding [and] had advanced very quickly. The nature of it was that Greek [?] labour should [share] the profits. Aly Pasha destroy[e]d them. There are now only 50 or 60 who susta­in the factory.

Many mines are found near here [?] in which silver grains are found and produce a small profit. They are not worked. Story of the Pasha who, breaking a jar found by a Greek in a coffin, discovered that varnish celebrated in anti­quity which gave an effect of gold.

At Salonica are more specimens of the lower empire than I have before seen. I made several sketches of Churches I found which seem [?] very various, and some pretty, in their plan and exterior, except that there was a littleness in the style which gave a trifling effect.

4 Oct. We went to the 7 Towers which are exceedingly uninteresting. They lie on the upper part of the city but are commanded by other hills. The first en­closure with high walls and Towers are capable of holding 15,000 men. It seemed to be but slightly garrisoned. The 7 Towers above that are in a second in­closure. 23 We observed the Turks in solemn sadness sitting with their hands before them. They however gave us coffee and pipes. There are some old Hel­mets which, however, we could not see. I did not hear if they were Greek or more modern, which is more likely. It is a serious matter to offend a Turk in the Ramazan, for theirs is indeed sober sadness. Much good humour certainly rises from the belly. It is said that Poor men get on the minaret declaring that if their wants of rice or any other kind are not supplied he will throw himself from the gallery. Some pious Turk from below offers them whatever they may demand for if the threat should be put into execution the feast of the Ramazan would be put to an end too. I never heard such an event did take place. Their fast of the day is made up hansomely at night, when they make very merry. In travelling it is not necessary to keep the Ramazan. A few days ago some of

23. The walls of the Seven Towers (Ἐπταπύργιον or Yedi-Kule) were examined during the 1914-18 war by the archaeological section of the Armée Française de l'Orient and found to have Hellenistic foundations (Annual of the British School at Athens xxiii (1918-19) 38; Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1918, 16-17). It was customary in Hellenistic fortifications to have such a fort within the acropolis area; see M. Vickers, "Hellenistic Thes­saloniki," Journal of Hellenic Studies xciii (1972) 156-170.
he troops of Velly Pasha took the Horses of a poor man, a carrier, a Turk. They did not even pay him for them, but while one took them, another stayed to beat the man and prevent his following them. These carriers, who transport Cotton from Salonica to Vienna are so honest that merchants never consider it necessary to send a person to accompany their goods. The Khans here are very numerous occupying a whole street. They import much cotton from Smirna which they send up to Vienna, sending out Corn and Tobacco to Constantinople and other places. Although there is a prohibition at all times in war to exporting of Corn to Constantinople, it was also necessary to evade it by bribing the commander of the Frigate stationed at the Entrance of the Gulf, but corvettes are sent out everywhere through the Archipelago to prevent the exportation, the distress for it being so great at Constantinople. None of the wine we have drunk was good as up the Ravenna, which was the best I have drank.

Society here extremely confined and ignorant, they have a conversation each night at various Houses by them [?]. The prettiest custom they have is among the Girls, the Daughters of the House, who always hand round the coffee and at supper take around a dish that may be of a nicer kind than the rest, lighten you downstairs and among other striking attentions that are peculiar and most agreeable. They all talk Turk, Greek and Italian, many French. The account of the population very different, some saying 60,000. More than

24. The son of Ali, Pasha of Ioannina. Elsewhere in his journal, Cockerell writes: "Now Ali Pasha has sent his son Veli with 15,000 men to join the Sultan’s army against the Russians, but he on his way has encamped near Salonica and threatens to take possession of it." (Quoted by S.P. Cockerell, op. cit., 41).

25. Very different figures are given for the population of Thessaloniki at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Clarke quotes Charnaud as saying that the population was 53,000 (Travels, 463); Félix de Beaujour puts it at 60,000 (Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce [Paris, 1800] 53); W.M. Leake says: "The population of Saloniki is reckoned at 80,000 but probably does not exceed 65,000, of whom 35,000 are Turks, 15,000 Greeks, and 13,000 Jews, the remainder Franks and Gypsies." Travels in Northern Greece iii [London, 1835] 248); Holland states: "The population of Salonica... probably exceeds seventy thous. and souls. I have heard it estimated as high as ninety thousand; but in this statement there appears to be some exaggeration." (Travels, 319). Writing a century later, G. Abbott gives an explanation for this lack of precision: "But official statistics in Turkey, excellent as works of the imagination, make no pretence to realistic accuracy in matters of fact. A government employé once... explained to me that as... [the] census is held with a view to taxation, it cannot reasonably be expected that the people should be very anxious to give in their names! "Indeed, sir," he said... "it is the custom of the people, when the man with register goes round, to telegraph his arrival from house to house by means of signals, such as broomsticks, bed-
half, however, are Jews. They are always seen in greater numbers. They have out all the first business, as well as every kind of menial one. On account of their circumcision they are always more respected by the Turks. On Saturday morning the 6 we didn’t set off as was intended so that I finished my letter to John and enclosed to Barker of Malta.

On 6 of Oct we dined with Charnaugh and got out of the Town just before the gates were shut. We supped on board Cap[tain] Distar’s ship, and went to our Greek captain who was under weigh.

Mr Vascelini told us much of Ali Pasha to whom he had once been to arrange some pistols etc he had been using, giving him an excellent set of apartments near him. His policy seems to be to encourage Europeans to come to his court. To anyone who will agree to remain with him he gives a woman out of his seraglio whom he may marry or keep as he likes. While Vascelini was there he had taken some robbers whom he condemned to be roasted & more cruelly made them roast each other. This Vascelini says was done publickly—heads are seen for ever at the Gates of his seraglio.

Chapau, Abbot are the principal English Merchants, Fouquet.... the French at Salonica. Coque, the imperial consul, sal[ary]..., Clarambeau the French, sal[ary]..., Charnaugh Eng[lis]h, sal[ary] 2000 p[e]r an [num]. Pisani, 15,000 piast[re]s p[e]r an[num], the French Drag[oma]n has even twice that sum.

*The Sketches*

Comparatively few of the drawings which we know that Cockerell did during his stay in Thessaloniki have survived amongst his papers. Even a view of the Incantadas, marked out for special comment by Miss Hutton when she wrote about the collection in 1909, has since disappeared. The same is regretfully true of a plan of the basilica of St. Demetrius which also used to be in the collection.

sheets and the like, and so the *rayahs* have plenty of time to send their children, especially the males, out of the way.” (*The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* [London, 1903] 19).

26. Cf. Holland: “The Jews of higher class obtain a livelihood chiefly as brokers, or retail dealers in the Bazaars; the greater number are employed as porters on the quays, and in other similar offices,” (*Travels*, 320).
The surviving drawings consist of two general views of the city, a view of the Rotunda, and details and a reconstruction of the Arch of Galerius.

Both views (Plate I) are from the west, probably from the spot that used to be known as Bes Cinar before the modern harbour was built. One view is in fact a continuation of the other and they constitute the only accurate drawing I know of the city walls standing to their full height. The Seven Towers can be seen in the background of the upper picture with the walls descending the hill on either side; going straight down to the sea on the east, and following the crests of the hills on the west, until these too make for the sea, running across the foreground of the sketch. Remains of the προτείχισμα 27 can be seen in front of the Vardar Gate, then to the right, the towers, pointed in plan, on the stretch of wall leading to the Tophane (Ordnance) Barracks. 28

The continuation to the right shows first the harbour, then the sea wall with towers at each end of it (the White Tower furthest away). Ships can be seen riding at anchor.

The view of the Rotunda (Plate II) adds little to what we already know of the appearance of the building in the early 19th century. Cousinéry’s illustration of the Rotunda is much the same as Cockerell’s. 29 There too, we see the Turkish additions: the covered fountain, the minaret, and the wooden porch. On both drawings, the large lower windows of the Rotunda itself are blocked up to some degree, but they differ in that Cockerell shows two of the windows which lit the passage running round the top of the building larger than the others. He also includes a buttress, or the like, immediately below them, a feature which does not appear on Cousinéry’s drawing.

The drawings of the Arch of Galerius, however, are more interesting, not so much the view and detail of the south west pier (Pis III and IV) as his reconstructed plan and elevation of the original form of the Arch (Pl. V). As Dr. Laubscher points out to me, Cockerell seems to be the first to have realized that the Arch originally consisted of eight piers and to have had colonnades connected to it.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

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27. Cf. Tafrali, op. cit., 70.
28. For a recent plan and photographs of this wall and of Tεφερε, see I. Ercsoyanni Arch. Delt. xviii (1963) Chron., 242-3, fig. 2, pls 272-3.
29. M.-E. Cousinéry, Voyage dans la Macédoine i (Paris, 1831) plate opposite p. 34, reproduced in Tafrali, op. cit., 156, fig. 14,
Plate I. View of Thessaloniki from the west, by C.R. Cockerell, 1810
Plate II. The Rotunda at Thessaloniki, by C.R. Cockerell 1810
Plate III. Arch of Galerius, Thessaloniki, south-west pier, by C.R.Cockerell, 1810
Plate IV. Arch of Galerius, southwest pier (detail) by C.R. Cockerell, 1810
Plate V. Arch of Galerius, reconstructed elevations and ground-plan by C.R. Cockerell, 1810