

APPENDIX 6

Catalogue of sites with *verde antico* finds

Arrangement of the material

In most cases, it is impossible to date *verde antico* itself. Consequently, it was thought safer to arrange the material according to the date of the archaeological context, where *verde antico* is present (the date then, of the *verde antico* pieces, i.e. whether they are *spolia* or not, is given in square brackets under each entry). Such an arrangement also reveals changing tastes towards coloured marble in various periods. The distinction between *verde antico* within and outside Thessaly reveals the main export destinations and the amount of consumption of this material within and outside its production area.

ROMAN CONTEXT (=ROM)

(ROM)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

(ROM)-A.I: Public architecture (cult)
 (ROM)-A.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (ROM)-A.III: Domestic architecture
 (including movable finds)
 (ROM)-A.IV: All around sculpture
 (ROM)-A.V: Sarcophagi
 (ROM)-A.VI: Miscellaneous

(ROM)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

(ROM)-B.I: Public architecture (cult)
 (ROM)-B.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (ROM)-B.III: Domestic architecture
 (including movable finds)
 (ROM)-B.IV: All around sculpture
 (ROM)-B.V: Sarcophagi
 (ROM)-B.VI: Miscellaneous

LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT (=LA)

(LA)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

(LA)-A.I: Public architecture (ecclesiastical)
 (LA)-A.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (LA)-A.III: Domestic architecture
 (LA)-A.IV: Sarcophagi

(LA)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

(LA)-B.I: Public architecture (ecclesiastical)
 (LA)-B.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (LA)-B.III: Domestic architecture
 (LA)-B.IV: Sarcophagi

BYZANTINE CONTEXT (=BYZ)

(BYZ)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

(BYZ)-A.I: Public architecture (ecclesiastical)
 (BYZ)-A.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (BYZ)-A.III: Domestic architecture
 Imperial residences in Constantinople
 and other palace structures

(BYZ)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

(BYZ)-B.I: Public architecture (ecclesiastical)
 (BYZ)-B.II: Public architecture (secular)
 (BYZ)-B.III: Domestic architecture

OTTOMAN CONTEXT (=OTT)

(OTT)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

(OTT)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

MODERN CONTEXT: 19th-20th c. (=MOD)

(MOD)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

(MOD)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

The brackets, under each entry, indicate the type of the *verde antico* architectural elements discussed, using the following abbreviations:

Col = Columns, Clsl = Closure slabs, Dfr = Door frames, Frevsl = Floor revetment slabs, OpSec = *Opus sectile*, Wfr = Window frames, Wrevsl = Wall revetment slabs and SF = Sanctuary furnishings, which include Altcol = Altar columns, Cibcol = ciborium columns, Clsl, Scrcol = Screen colonettes, Styl = Stylobate.

Other abbreviations: IAM = Istanbul Archaeological Museum

ROMAN CONTEXT

(ROM)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly**(ROM)-A.I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (cult):** None**(ROM)-A.II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (secular):** None**(ROM)-A.III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE****1) *Villa Hadriana* at Tivoli, Rome**

[118-133] (OpSec)

The first securely dated appearance of *verde antico* (in limited quantities) occurs in the *opus sectile* pavement of the NE rectangular room (ca. 11.80x7 m) of the Arcaded Triclinium in the *Villa Hadriana* at Tivoli. The *verde antico* tiles are not preserved and, as Guidobaldi notes, are only known from the study of Chillman¹.

2) *Villa maritima* at Durreli di Realmonte (10 km, W of Agrigento), Sicily

[Late 2nd c.] (OpSec)

Edging strips of *rosso antico* from Asia Minor and *verde antico* were used in the *opus sectile* floor of the NE room of the N wing of the *Villa maritima* at Durreli di Realmonte, Sicily. Archaeological evidence indicates that the *villa* belongs to the second half of the 1st c. or early in the 2nd c.. In Wilson's view, these marbles are unlikely to have reached rural Sicily much before the mid. 1st c., and possibly belong to one of the later building phases of the villa, dated to the late 2nd c.²

3) Houses on the site of the Unexplored Mansion in Knôssos, Crete

[2nd to early 3rd c.] (Wrevsl and Frevsl)

Many pieces (212) of marble in thin slabs for panelling, veneer, tiles, etc., were discovered during the excavation of five Roman houses in Knôssos, in contexts dating mainly between the 2nd and the early 3rd c.. Nearly 100 fragments among them were of imported marble and 7 were of *verde antico*. *Verde antico* was also imitated in the painted decoration of some of the rooms of the houses³.

4-5) Two table tops, Rome: Musei dei Vaticani (Museo Pio Clementino, Sala degli animali)

[Roman?]

The origin is unknown⁴.**6) A phiale, Agios Mênas hill, Aianê**

This was discovered on the Agios Mênas hill (2km S of Aianê). No photo or dimensions have been published⁵.

(ROM)-A.IV: ALL AROUND SCULPTURE (or veneered statues)**1) Statuette of a sitting woman, Schloss Klein-Glienicke (inv. no. GL 420)**

[Roman?]

This is the headless and armless statue of a woman (h: 0.565 m; w: 0.27 m; thickness: 0.36 m), wearing a tunic and sitting on a throne with back and footstool. The origin of the statue is unknown⁶.

2) Torso of a statuette of Artemis, Turin: Museo di Antichità

[Roman?]

The origin of this statue (h: 0.80 m) is unknown⁷.

¹ Chillman, *Casino* (1924), 115-6, Table L; Guidobaldi, *Villa Adriana* (1994), 131, Tavv. XI/2 and fig. 11(11A) on p. 119 (plan of the room). Cf. also, Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), 162; Salvatori *et al.*, *Hadrian's villa* (1988), 182; Olevano *et al.*, *Specie* (1989), 143.

² Wilson, *Sicily* (1990), 198 and fn. 61.

³ Paton and Schneider, *Splendour* (1999). I own this reference, as well as all the information on Roman *verde antico* all around sculpture outside Thessaly to Prof. Schneider, who very kindly sent me a copy of his and Sara Paton's article on imported marble on Crete well before its publication.

⁴ Amelung, *Vatican* (1903-8), vol. 2, 398, nos. 244-5.

⁵ *AD 22* (1967), B2, 414.

⁶ Goethert, *Klein-Glienicke* (1972), 3, no. 12, pl. 11, fig. 12.

⁷ Dütschke, *Bildwerke* (1874-82), IV, 44, no. 60.

3) Bust of a Roman man, Rome: Musei dei Vaticani (Braccio Nuovo)

[Roman?]

This bust (h: 0.78 m, including the head - h: 0.28 m) is veneered (at a later date?) by various coloured marbles (*verde, rosso and giallo antico*). The Roman head does not belong to the bust. The origin is unknown⁸.

(ROM)-A.V: SARCOPHAGI: None**(ROM)-A.VI: MISCELLANEOUS****1) Funerary inscription at the Epigraphic Museum, Athens (inv. no. 8935)**

[Roman]

This is a fragmentary slab (0.22x0.19x0.02 m) with a funerary inscription, from Thessalonica. Only parts of the last words in the three last lines of the inscription are preserved. Traces of bright red colour can be clearly discerned in the incisions of the letters⁹.

2) The Sile wreck

[100-125]

The cargo of a Roman shipwreck, discovered in 1972 on the Black Sea coast of Turkey off Sile, included a number of roughed-out objects and some architectural elements. Among the objects were an imperial cuirassed statue (h: 4.5 m), a female bust, a sarcophagus lid, a stele and two bowls. The architectural elements included one column base, two columns (h: 3.5 m, each), five half-finished Ionic capitals, three large blocks of marble and a plaque. All the architectural elements are of Prokonnesian marble, apart from the columns and one of the large marble blocks, which are of *verde antico*¹⁰.

3) The wreck at Cape Granitola A

[225-275]

The ship carried marble blocks from Prokonnesos. Fragments of other marble (apparently from previous cargos) were also found. Among them, some were of *verde antico*¹¹.

4) *Verde antico* slab, Ostia

[Roman]

Among the numerous pieces of rough marble blocks that reached Rome via the port of Ostia, is a slab of *verde antico* (0.99x0.86 m; h: 0.10 m) with obvious marks of sawing on one of its surfaces¹².

5) Roman Crete

Unstratified fragments of veneer and tile have been found either as stray finds or during excavations at Chersonnêsos (near the Roman theatre), Knôssos and Gortys¹³.

(ROM)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly**(Rom)-B.I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (cult):** None**(Rom)-B.II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (secular)****1) Roman bath at Neromyloi Agias (ca. 30 km E of Larisa)**

[2nd c.] (Frevsl)

In 1990, a large bath complex (22x16 m) was excavated at the site "Kerasies" of the village Neromyloi, ca. 30 km E of Larisa. On the basis of its architecture (type of masonry) and the excavated finds (pottery, mosaic floors), the bath was dated to the 2nd c.. During the excavation of the *caldarium*, it was observed that the floor of the *piscina* had two phases: an original of square clay slabs and a later of *verde antico* slabs (only a few fragments survived)¹⁴.

⁸ Amelung, Vatican (1903-8), vol. 1, 8-9, no. 4, Tafel I.4.

⁹ Papakônstantinou-Diamantourou, Lithou (1993), 141-3, pl. 26.

¹⁰ Beykan, Sile (1988), 127-8, figs. 1-2 and 8 and Parker, *Shipwrecks* (1992), 1088. Cf. also, *Marble in Antiquity* (1992), 29, fn. 36; Asgari, Prokonnesus (1978), 480; Gelsdorf, *Wrackfunde* (1994), 765, no. 46.

¹¹ Parker, *Shipwrecks* (1992), 115, no. 229; Gelsdorf, *Wrackfunde* (1994), 762, no. 16.

¹² Pensabene, *Vie del marmo* (1994), 117, no. 51, fig. 140.

¹³ Paton and Schneider, *Splendour* (1999).

¹⁴ AD 45 (1990), B1, 217.

2) Fragments of *verde antico* columns, Larisa

[Roman?]

During a rescue excavation on 4, Papastaurou St. [BL: D. Chadelês], fragments of *verde antico* columns were discovered (stray finds)¹⁵. The excavated architectural remains (part of an ancient street with its sewer) belonged to the Roman period.

3) Fragment of a *verde antico* column, Larisa

[Roman?]

One fragment of a *verde antico* column (dimensions not reported) was retrieved during a rescue excavation at the intersection of Papakyriazê and Rousvelt St., at the NW corner of the modern Post-Office Sq., which has been identified with the agora of ancient Larisa¹⁶. The excavation trench revealed an area paved with marble slabs, which was superimposed at a later date, by two parallel walls (one of them exclusively built of *spolia*). The finds included two Late Roman copper coins [one of them of Constans I (337-350)], and small fragments of coarse pottery. Based on the coins and the presence of the *verde antico* column, the excavator (N. Verdelês) interpreted the two parallel walls as foundations of (possibly) a Late Antique bath or a church. This interpretation is far from certain, as the excavation evidence is hardly sufficient; thus, the identification of the context to which the *verde antico* column belonged remains unknown.

(Rom)-B.III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE: None**(Rom)-B.IV: ALL AROUND SCULPTURE****1) Statuette, Museum of Larisa**

[Pl. 182a]

[Roman]

This is the headless statuette of a boy with his left hand behind his back, supporting (possibly) the basket (?) he is carrying. Only the upper half of the body is preserved (h: 0.25 m). Provenance unknown.

(ROM)-B.V: SARCOPHAGI**1) Sarcophagus, Larisa**

[Roman]

This is the only *verde antico* sarcophagus known from the whole of Thessaly, which is attested, however, not archaeologically, but from Edward Brown's description, who saw it in a barber's shop during his visit to Larisa, in 1669: "In one of these Barbers-shops in the city of Larissa I saw an ancient large Tomb of Stone of a Lappis green colour, a noble monument, but taken little notice of there, and the Barber had caused a hole to be digged through the top-stone and put water into it, and made it to serve him for a Cestern"¹⁷. The present location of this sarcophagus is unknown. There is of course no way to date this piece. Bearing in mind, however, that during the Late Antique and Byzantine period *verde antico* sarcophagi were reserved for the imperial milieu in Constantinople, I suppose it is safer to assign it to the Roman period (possibly, it was commissioned by a local aristocrat). Unless, it was the roughly dressed product of a Late Antique imperial commission, which (for unknown reasons) never reached the capital.

(ROM)-B.VI: MISCELLANEOUS**1-3) Two gravestones and a rectangular base(?), Museum of Larisa**

[Roman]

G. R. Lepsius recorded that two gravestones and a rectangular base(?), kept in the museum of Larissa and dated to the Roman period, are made of *verde antico*¹⁸. (Unfortunately, I was unable to check this information during my fieldwork in Larisa in 1999).

4) Milestone, Museum of Larisa

[ante 293-307]

This milestone (h: 0.119; d: 0.28 m) belongs to a group of eight, known to have been put up in Thessaly during the Tetrarchy (293-307). Of the total of 25 Roman milestones from Thessaly, this is the only one of *verde antico* and is obviously a *spolium*. It was found at Ambelôn, ca. 15 km NW of Larisa¹⁹.

¹⁵ AD 29 (1973-4), B2, 562.¹⁶ PAE 1955, 147-9.¹⁷ Brown, *Account* (1673), 60-1.¹⁸ Lepsius, *Marmorstudien* (1890), 108, no. 385 and fn. 2 on p. 40-1.¹⁹ Mottas and Decourt, *Voies* (1997), 350, no. 15.

LATE ANTIQUE CONTEXT

(LA)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly**(LA)-A.I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (ecclesiastical)****1) San Giovanni in Laterano, Rome****[Pl. 183]**[*post* 138, reused in the Constantinian basilica from Hadrian's tomb?] (Col)

The basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano was built by Constantine I, probably towards the end of 312. Little remains of the Constantinian structure and its appearance today is heavily influenced by Francesco Borromini's remodelling of the nave and aisles from 1646 to 1650, upon the commission of Innocent X Pamphili. Borromini's major alteration was to substitute the columns separating the aisles of the five-aisled Constantinian basilica, with piers. When O. Panvinio visited the church in 1570 he recorded that: "the four *portici* [of the church] (i.e. the aisles), two on either side, are separated in their upper part by a wall, which is supported by forty-two small columns *di marmo verde preziosissimo di Tiberiade de' Lacedemoni, piu vago et allegro di tutti l' altri sorti, detto hoggidi, mischio verde, con bellissimi capitell'*". The marble that Panvinio refers to is none other than *verde antico*. His description of it as being "*di Tiberiade de' Lacedemoni*" is due to the usual confusion of *verde antico* with other types of green marble²⁰. All these columns belonged, according to tradition, to the mausoleum of Hadrian (thus, the date of *post* 138 that I propose). Twenty-four of them can still be seen incorporated in Borromini's remodelled church: they flank in pairs the statues of the twelve apostles, standing in niches in the twelve massive piers of the nave. The statues (not in the original program) were executed between 1708 and 1718. The position of the 42 *verde antico* columns, which separated the lateral aisles in the Constantinian basilica can be seen on Krautheimer's reconstructed plan of the church²¹.

2) San Sebastiano on Via Appia, Rome**[Pl. 182b]**[Late Antique *spolia*] (Wrevsl)

In the Basilica of San Sebastiano, a Constantinian structure completed after 337, *verde antico* slabs decorate the façade of a funerary monument constructed in 1711. The provenance of these pieces is unknown²².

3) St. John of Stoudios, Constantinople**[Pl. 186a]**

[450] (Col, Wrevsl, SF: Scrcol, Styl.)

In the church of St. John Studios at Constantinople a great part of the sumptuous interior decoration consisted of *verde antico* pieces. The nave was divided from the aisles by two rows of seven *verde antico* columns, each (only the N row is preserved today) and the columns of the galleries (five on each aisle) were, according to travellers' descriptions²³, also made of the same stone. The chancel, which projected into the nave on a *verde antico* stylobate, had moulded posts of the same stone. *Verde antico* slabs may have also been used as wall revetment, which decorated the church originally.

Verde antico slabs can be still seen today in the preserved parts of the fine interlace floor of the church. According to W. Salzenberg²⁴, who visited the church in the 1850's, the floor consisted of large *verde antico* slabs, framed with strips of *giallo antico* and another light coloured marble, and had bands of *serpentino*, porphyry and many other less well known marbles. The maximum dimensions of the *verde antico* floor slabs were 2.10x0.87 m (measurements based on the scale given in Salzenberg's drawings). This is not the original floor, but was laid during the renovation of the church, initiated by Isaac Komnênos soon after the middle of the 11th c.. There is no detailed account of the renovation works, but according to Scylitzês, they were so extensive that "to tell in detail what the emperor and the empress did for the embellishment of the church would surpass the labour of Hercules" (sic!)²⁵. When the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo visited the church in 1403 he noticed that: "the roof of the hall and the walls are of mosaic work". It is within reason, therefore, to suppose that during the major, mid. 11th c. renovation of the church, the original wall revetment slabs were taken down, in order to decorate the walls with mosaics, while the slabs were used in the newly laid floor. A fire in 1782 greatly damaged the marble decoration of the church, discolouring the columns and reducing their diameter.

²⁰ Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), 163 and fn. 2.

²¹ Krautheimer, *Corpus* (1977), 17-8 and Pl. 1.

²² For the information on the *verde antico* pieces in the Italian monuments (San Sebastiano, San. Apollinare, San Vitale) and the church of St. Sophia at Surrey (cf. below), I am grateful to Ms. Maria Kouroumali.

²³ Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, cited in Millingen, *Churches* (1912), 54-5.

²⁴ Salzenberg, *Baudenkmal* (1854), 13 and Blatt IV.

²⁵ Millingen, *Churches* (1912), 37.

It is important to note that the marble elements of the church (columns, capitals, and so forth) are uniform, which means that they were made-to-order. The Basilica of St. John Stoudios has been dated in 463, but Mango proposes an earlier date to ca. 450²⁶.

4) Acheiropoiêtos, Thessalonica

[*post* 447/8; possibly in the decade 450-460] (Col)

In the church of Acheiropoiêtos at Thessalonica, *verde antico* was used for the columns of the tribelon leading from the narthex to the nave²⁷. The church has been dated *post* 447/8, on the basis of the indiction dates inscribed on the bricks that were used in its construction. A date in the decade 450-60 has also been supported by the identification of a certain Andrew, who is mentioned in the mosaic inscription over the middle arch of the tribelon, with the “priest Andrew”, who represented the archbishop of Thessalonica in the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451, and also by the style of the capitals in the nave, which look similar to the capitals in the Stoudios Basilica²⁸.

5) St. Dêmêtrios, Thessalonica

[third quarter of the 5th c.] (Col)

In the most famous church of Thessalonica, *verde antico* was used, as in the Acheiropoiêtos, for the columns of the tribelon leading from the narthex to the nave²⁹. On the basis of its masonry, the style of the capitals and the *opus sectile* on the wall of the tribelon, the church has been dated around the third quarter of the 5th c.³⁰

6) Basilica A, Philippoi

[ca. 500] (Col, SF: Altcol, Cibcol, Clsl, Scrcol)

In Basilica A at Philippoi, *verde antico* was used in the atrium and in the sanctuary. In the atrium, twenty *verde antico* columns (twelve on the ground floor and ten on the first floor) decorate its W façade. In the sanctuary, the screen, the columns supporting the ciborium and the colonettes supporting the altar are all made of *verde antico*. The screen uprights are square in section in their lower part (up to the height of the closure slabs), but then turn into octagonal colonnettes, supporting a grey marble epistyle³¹. On the basis of the style of the capitals used in the nave, the construction of the basilica was placed in the years around 500³².

7) S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna

[Pl. 184]

[ca. 500] (Col)

This was built by Theodoric as his palace church and sixty years later (in 561, when Ravenna was recaptured by the Byzantines), it was dedicated to St. Martin of Tours. Some *verde antico* colonettes with relief crosses (very similar to the *verde antico* column at the Archaeological Museum of Volos; cf. Pl. 195a) and some *verde antico* veneer has been used in the decoration of the side chapels. The colonettes are almost certainly of Late Antique date, but it is far from certain whether they belonged to the original decoration of the church.

8) St. Polyeuktos, Constantinople

[524-527] (SF: Styl)

The church was erected by the wealthy princess Anicia Juliana, who spared no expense to decorate her foundation with a variety of coloured marble, columns inlaid with glass and amethysts and floor and wall mosaics. Three or four pieces of *verde antico* found during the excavation of this monument belonged (probably) to the stylobate of the chancel screen. One of them shows the heavy wear of a doorsill. The fact that no more pieces of this stone were discovered during the excavation may be due to the particular appeal that coloured marble had to looters. Abandoned in the 11th c., the church of St. Polyeuktos was thoroughly pillaged and many of its carved elements, such as the so-called Pilastrî Acritani, found their way to Venice after the Fourth Crusade³³.

²⁶ Mango, *Architecture* (1986), 38-9 and fn. 6, on p. 200.

²⁷ Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 410, fn. 1.

²⁸ *Thessalonica* (1985), 59-61; Gioles, *Naodomia* (1994), 108.

²⁹ Sôteriou (G. and M.), *St. Dêmêtrios* (1952), 93; Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 410, fn. 1.

³⁰ Gioles, *Naodomia* (1994), 109.

³¹ Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 363-4, 369, 409; Pl. XXII (reconstruction of the W façade of the atrium) and Pl. XXXII, 7 (closure slab), 8-9 (templon uprights) and 14 (hand-rails).

³² Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 283 and 406.

³³ Mango, *Architecture* (1986), 58; Matthews, *Architecture* (1971), 54, fig. 26, Pl. 40.

9) **St. Sergios, Gaza**

[ante 536] (SF: Cibcol, Wrevsl in the synthronon)

The church of St. Sergios was built in the early years of Justinian's reign (probably before 536), by Stephen, the governor of Palestine, and Marcian, the Bishop of Gaza. Choricus of Gaza, in his description of the church (*Laudatio Marciani* I, 41) mentions that "Thessaly, too, has ministered to the church by providing both columns and plaques for the venerable spot where it is customary for the priest to be seated (i.e. the apse)"³⁴. The *verde antico* columns probably supported the ciborium over the altar, and the plaques were most probably used as revetment for the synthronon.

10) **Sts. Sergios and Bacchos, Constantinople**

[527-536] (Col)

The church of Sts. Sergios and Bacchos was built between 527 and 536 within the Palace of Hormidas, which the empress Theodora turned into a monastery for Monophysite monks³⁵. *Verde antico* was used here in the inner octagonal shell of the church. The pairs of columns between the piers, which define the octagon, both on the ground floor and on the galleries, are alternately of *verde antico* and red Synnada marble, resting on bases of Prokonnesian marble. The *verde antico* columns occupy the openings that correspond to the W, N and S sides of the octagon. Additionally to these, two more *verde antico* columns stand in the W portion of the gallery. They are larger than the other columns of the church and have cruciform cavities on their shafts. It is very possible that the *verde antico* columns of the inner octagon shell were made-to-order for the church; the same is not certain for the two columns in the W part of the gallery.

11) **St. Sophia, Constantinople**

[Pl. 187]

[532-537] (Col, Wrevsl, SF: Clsl)

The church of St. Sophia, built within only five and a half years (532-537), immediately after the destruction of the previous church during the Nika riot in January 532, displays the most famous use of *verde antico* (along with a plethora of other multicoloured marbles). Paul the Silentiary in his glorifying description of the church characteristically expresses his helplessness: "Yet who, even in the thundering strains of Homer, shall sing the marble meadows (!) gathered upon the mighty walls and spreading pavement of the lofty church?"³⁶.

In St. Sophia, *verde antico* was used for the closure slabs flanking the solea (not preserved today), for a large number of *verde antico* veneer slabs and, above all, for the 56 made-to-order columns. These include the 8 large columns on the ground floor (4 on either side, almost 8 m tall, each), surmounted by 12 more (6 on either side, ca. 4.50-4.80 m tall, each) in the galleries³⁷. There are also 8 shorter ones in the centre of the lateral aisles (4 in each one) and 4 in the W bay of the lateral sides (2 in each bay). Finally, 6 *verde antico* columns support the arcades in the galleries of each one of the four *exedrai* of the church (the columns on the ground floor of the *exedrai*, two in each one, are of porphyry³⁸).

Even though made specifically for St. Sophia, the Thessalian columns show some variation in size by about 15.80 cm in diameter in the main order, and they are imperfectly rounded. Mango believes that these inconsistencies are an indication of declining standards³⁹. This might very well be the case. I wonder, however, whether these deviations can be explained otherwise. In his account of the construction of St. Sophia, Procopius mentions that, the masonry of the N and S arches, while still damp, exerted so much pressure on the subjacent tympana walls that the columns (either those in the tympana windows or those of the gallery) began flaking. The emperor intervened and ordered that the curtain wall beneath the arches be removed until the latter had thoroughly dried out⁴⁰. From this description we may assume that the flaking of the columns was not so bad as to require their replacement. Did they require, however, a new polishing to smooth out the irregularities produced by the flaking? This might explain why some of them (at least in the galleries) are imperfectly rounded.

References to the *verde antico* columns of St. Sophia are found in Evagrius⁴¹, as well as in Paul the Silentiary. In his poem, recited early in 563 (soon after the second consecration of the church on

³⁴ Mango, *Art* (1986), 64.

³⁵ Millingen, *Churches* (1912), 72-3, 75.

³⁶ Mango, *Art* (1986), 85.

³⁷ All measurements are based on the drawing produced in Kähler, *Hagia Sophia* (1967), Pl. 69. Among the numerous books on St. Sophia, quite useful discussions on the architecture of the monument are included in Van Nice, *St. Sophia* (1965-86), Mark and Çakmak, *Hagia Sophia* (1992) and Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* (1997).

³⁸ The colossal porphyry columns in St. Sophia are *spolia* and had originally been quarried for the Temple of the Sun constructed in Rome by Aurelian; cf. *Radiance* (1990), 24.

³⁹ Mango, *Architecture* (1986), 65.

⁴⁰ *Buildings* I.i.75-7.

⁴¹ Evagrius, IV.31.19-23: "κίονες ἐκ Θεσσαλάου λίθου".

December 24, 562), Paul refers to the *verde antico* columns in the galleries of the *exedrai* as “splendid flowers of verdant stone”; to the columns in the galleries as “six Haemonian columns, like the fresh green of the emerald”; to the columns in the ground floor as “glittering jewels of Thessalian marble graced with locks of golden hair” and he adds that “Never were such columns, high-crested, blooming like a grove with bright flowers, cut from the land of Molossis”. The columns of the lateral aisles he describes as “four columns, shorter in measure than their neighbours, but as bright with verdant bloom, being as they are from the same quarry” and the columns at the W bay of the lateral aisles as “two other columns from the Haemus”⁴². Regarding the ambo, Paul the Silentiary poetically notes that “The entire path (i.e. the solea) is fenced on both sides with the fresh green stone of Thessaly, whose abundant meadows delight the eye”⁴³.

12) Basilica B, Philippi

[Pl. 186b]

[ca. 540] (Col, SF: Altcol or Cibcol)

In Basilica B at Philippi, the 14 columns on the ground floor of the nave (6 columns in each colonnade and the two columns from the diloba at the W ends of the lateral aisles) were - in all probability - made of *verde antico*. According to Lemerle, only ten fragments of these columns are preserved (all are of considerable dimensions and their diametres vary between 0.55 to 0.67 m)⁴⁴. Five more fragments of *verde antico* columns of smaller dimensions, which can not be associated with any bases, belonged probably to the columns supporting the altar or the ciborium. Despite the fluctuations in their dimensions, Lemerle believes that the *verde antico* columns of the nave in Basilica B were made-to-order, and are not pieces in second use, as is the case with the white marble columns used in the church⁴⁵. Basilica B, a monument inspired in its architectural plan and decoration directly from the Justinianic buildings in the Capital, was dated to the “middle or the third quarter of the 6th c.”⁴⁶.

13) San Vitale, Ravenna

[Pl. 185]

[ante 547 or Late Antique *spolia* reused in the church at a later date?] (Altcol, Col)

In the church of San Vitale, consecrated by Bishop Maximian in 547, the four colonnettes supporting the altar are of *verde antico*. Three out of the four larger columns, which flank the 17th c. monument with the throne of Neptune on the two piers at the entrance to the Sanctuary (two columns on each pier) seem also to be of the same material⁴⁷. The origin of all these pieces is unknown.

14) Basilica A at Bayezit, Constantinople

[6th c., Justinianic] (Col)

Basilica A, situated in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Forum Tauri, was discovered by accident during construction works for the expansion of the University of Istanbul between 1943 and 1946. Although still unidentified (it may be that of St. John Prodromos in Taurus or St. Theodôros by the Bronze Tetracylon), the church is securely dated in the 6th c. (some of its sculpture is almost identical to that of St. Sophia). The six columns that divided its three aisles (three on each colonnade) are of *verde antico*⁴⁸.

15) The ambo of St. Sophia, Thessalonica (IAM, inv. no. 1627)

[Pl. 188]

[first half of the 5th c.]

The ambo belonged originally to the church of St. Sophia at Thessalonica, where Western travellers saw it in 1745, but it was brought to the IAM in 1905⁴⁹. Made of a single block of *verde antico*, it belongs to the small group of the so-called monolithic ambos. The other two members of this group also come from Thessalonica: one in the Acheiropoiëtis church and one in the church of St. Mênas.

The lower part of the ambo is decorated with seven niches, whose arches rest on small, rectangular, moulded piers. The podium of the ambo is enclosed by five, rectangular panels. The central one is decorated with a cross, flanked with fleur-de-lis rising from its base. The other four are decorated with mouldings forming lozenges. Two triangular (lower parts) and two parallelepipedal, moulded panels flank the staircase of the ambo. One of the triangular panels is decorated with an imaginary animal (capricorn?), and the other, with a cross, whose lower arm is turned into a stalk

⁴² Mango, *Art* (1986), 81, 84. The rebuilding of St. Sophia started on May 7, 558, after its dome collapsed due to the earthquake of December 557.

⁴³ Mango, *Art* (1986), 96.

⁴⁴ Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 499.

⁴⁵ Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 500.

⁴⁶ Lemerle, *Philippes* (1945), 517.

⁴⁷ *San Vitale* (1997), vol. 2, 203, fig. 391-3 (altar columns), 192, fig. 359 and 204, fig. 394 (columns on the E piers).

⁴⁸ *CA 5* (1951), 176. I own this reference to Dr. Jonathan Bardill.

⁴⁹ Mendel, *Catalogue* (1912-4), II, 406, no. 644; Firatli, *IAM* (1955), 35, Pl. X.23; *IAM* (1968), 114-5; *Thessalonica* (1985), 80; Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), fig. 183; Firatli, Metzger, Pralong and Sodini, *Sculpture* (1990), 97-8, no. 179.

projecting from either side of the cross and terminating in ivy leaves. The ambo has surprisingly small dimensions [l: 1.815 m; h (front): 1.205 m; h (from its base to the handrails): 0.73 m]. The height of the panels enclosing the podium is just 0.44 m, too low for a standing man to reach their top with his hand⁵⁰. Mendel rightly noted that “this piece is more important for the preciousness of the material it is made of, rather than its workmanship”⁵¹. Indeed, a number of imperfections are easily noticed. The whole ambo slopes slightly towards the back, the niches are not all of equal height, the moulding that separates the lower part of the ambo (with the niches) from its upper part is not of equal width all along, etc.

Firatli dated the ambo to the 6th c. [both in Firatli, *IAM* (1955), 35 and in Firatli, Metzger, Pralong and Sodini, *Sculpture* (1990), 98]; Jakobs to the second half of the same century⁵². I believe that the piece must be earlier. If this ambo belongs (as I think) to the basilica of the beginning of the 5th c., which preceded the church of the mid. 7th c., then it is difficult to accept that it was only constructed in the 6th c.. In that case, we would have to admit that the 5th c. predecessor of St. Sophia remained without an ambo for almost a century. A date nearer to the construction of the 5th c. basilica, which was destroyed by the earthquake of 618-620, is, therefore, preferable⁵³.

16) The ambo pieces of the Marzamemi shipwreck, Sicily **[Pl. 189a]**
[around 500]

During underwater excavations from 1960 to 1967 off the coast of Marzamemi, a village on the most southern part of the E coast of Sicily, more than 500 fragments of the prefabricated marble decoration of a basilica (columns, capitals, bases, chancel screen slabs, ambo pieces, etc) were found. All the pieces belonging to the ambo of the church were made of *verde antico*, while the (28) bases, the (27) Corinthian capitals, many fragments of columns shafts (with the exception of one) and the chancel closure slabs were of white Prokonnesian marble. The reconstruction of all the ambo pieces showed that this belonged to the type of “ambos with two staircases”⁵⁴.

17) Architectural fragments in the Monastery of Abu Mina, Egypt
[reused Roman *spolia*]

Prof. Peter Grossmann (f. Director of the German Archaeological Institute of Kairo) has kindly informed me that several *verde antico* pieces (none published, so far) have been found at the Monastery of Abu Mina (a foundation of the late 4th c., rebuilt under Justinian I)⁵⁵. None of these pieces was *in situ*. They were discovered in the destruction debris of the churches, where presumably they came from the floors, since most of the pieces are quite thick (0.02 m and more). Prof. Grossman notes that Abu Mina is a typical centre of reused material. Therefore, the *verde antico* pieces found there probably came from abandoned buildings in Roman Alexandria.

18) Reliquary casket found in the “Church with atrium”, Apamea (Syria) **[Pl. 190]**
[6th c.]

During the 1934 season, the *verde antico* lid of a reliquary casket was found in the Martyrion-Chapel of the “Church with atrium of the great colonnaded street” (today in Brussels)⁵⁶. It has the form of a sarcophagus lid with acroteria and measures 0.96(pres. l)x0.53x0.23 m. One of the two sides of the saddleback-lid is decorated with a cross. In its lower right quarter there is a hole, through which pilgrims would pour oil, which ran over the relics in the casket and was re-collected in a goblet shaped socket at one of the narrow sides of the container. Taking into account that the cross probably occupied a central position on the lid, the lid’s total length can be reconstructed as ca. 1.29 m.

During the 1966 excavations at the same church, the fragmentary container of a *verde antico* reliquary casket was found in the SE corner of the atrium [0.54(pres. l)x0.43x0.43 m]. One of its narrow sides preserves part of the socket for the re-collection of the sanctified oil. According to the excavators’ reconstruction, the long side of this casket was decorated with two circles, filled with a rosette of six segments. Because of the rarity of their material, the excavators suggested that the afore-mentioned

⁵⁰ All measurements are taken from Mendel, *Catalogue* (1912-4), II, 406, who seems to have more accurate and more detailed figures. Jakob’s measurements [l: 1.71; w: 1.06; h: 1.05 m; cf. Jakobs, *Ambone* (1987), 337] are slightly different than Mendel’s.

⁵¹ Mendel, *Catalogue* (1912-4), II, 407

⁵² Jakobs, *Ambone* (1987), 336.

⁵³ *Thessalonica* (1985), 78 and 80, where the author of the entry on St. Sophia (S. Kissas) also dates the ambo to the 5th c.. For the coin evidence supporting a dating of the large (163x50 m) basilica that preceded St. Sophia to the end of the 4th c., cf. Theocharidou, *Hagia Sophia* (1988), 13, fig. 2.

⁵⁴ Kapitän, Marzamemi (1969), 129-33; Kapitän, Elementi (1980), 98-106, 125.

⁵⁵ Personal communication.

⁵⁶ Royal Museum of Art and History: inv. no. Ap. 120. Cf. Napoleone-Lemaire and Balty, *Église* (1969), 60-2, fig. 14-15, Pl. LIII.1-3.

verde antico pieces came from the same, rather than from two different caskets⁵⁷. Originally, this casket may have been kept on the SE pedestal in the Martyrion-Chapel, together with two other, better preserved ones, made of white marble, which were discovered there *in situ*. One of these bears the inscription, “+ΛΙΨΑΝΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΟΣΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ ∙Ϛ∙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ+”, and the other, “+ΛΙΨΑΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ+”.

The excavators of the “Church with atrium of the great colonnaded street” believe that the Martyrion-Chapel was endowed with reliquary caskets during its second and most elaborate constructional phase. This is dated in the first half of the 6th c., after the catastrophic earthquakes of the years 526-528, which caused the destruction of the first church⁵⁸.

19) Reliquary casket, Amorium

[beginning of 6th c.?)

This fragmentary casket [0.25 m (pres. l); ca. 0.15 m (w); ca. 0.15 (thickness of walls)] was recovered during the excavations of the Lower City Church in 1993⁵⁹. If this piece belongs to the first phase of the Lower City Church (which is quite possible), then its manufacture must be close to the construction date of the church, i.e. late 5th c.⁶⁰. In analogy to the Apamea casket, we propose a date around the beginning of the 6th c.

20) The closure slab from an ambo(?) (IAM, inv. no. 2463)

[PI. 189b]

[6th c.]

This piece was found among the ruins of a Byzantine church at the site of the Hebdomon, (today the new gardens of the Town Hall) and was brought to the Museum by Th. Macridy bey on 23 September 1911⁶¹. It is an almost rectangular slab [h: 0.655 m; w: 0.40 m; thickness: 0.11-0.12 m] decorated with a cross with flaring arms. Its frame consists of mouldings (top and bottom sides) and two small pillars decorated with mouldings and topped with (now broken) finials (left and right sides). Mendel's dating of this slab to the 6th c. is corroborated by its close similarity (both decorative motifs and workmanship) to the slabs that were recovered from the Marzamemi shipwreck [cf. above, (LA)-A.16].

21) Drum of a ciborium(?) colonnette (IAM, inv. no. 909)

[Late Antique?]

The provenance of this piece and the date of its entry in the museum are unknown. The preserved part of the colonnette (h: 0.60 m; d: 0.26 m) has a cruciform cavity (h of cross: 0.495 m) and diametrically opposite to it there is a rectangular socket⁶². Due to its small diameter, this piece may have been part of one of the four columns supporting a ciborium (?), in which case the rectangular socket was used for the insertion of the wooden beam, which joined one column to the other.

(LA)-A.II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (secular)

1) Praetorium at Gortys, Crete

[2nd c. *spolia*, reused in the 4th c.]

In the Roman period, Gortys was probably the official residence of the governor of the province of Crete-and-Cyrene. A small room (Aula 24) in the centre of the Praetorium of Gortys was elaborately renovated in Late Antiquity (4th c.) with reused marble tiles of 17 different varieties (including *verde antico*), which covered the floor and (parts of?) the walls. It is probable that these marble tiles were originally used in the decoration of the 2nd c. phase of the Praetorium (first built in the Augustan period)⁶³.

(LA)-A.III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

1) The C-shaped dining table at the “House of the Deer” in Apamea (Syria)

[PI. 191]

[ante 500]

The so-called (after one of its floor mosaics) “House of the Deer”, is located in the NE section of the city, ca. 250 m. to the E of the *cardo* and ca. 100 m. to the N of the *decumanus*. In the centre of a *triclinium* (Room A), fragments of a C-shaped dining table made of *verde antico* were found, resting on a wooden base totally carbonised. The dimensions of this table are not given in the publication of the

⁵⁷ For a reconstruction of the casket, cf. Napoleone-Lemaire and Balty, *Église* (1969), fig. 15

⁵⁸ Napoleone-Lemaire and Balty, *Église* (1969), 57 and Balty, *Église* (1969), 77.

⁵⁹ *AnatSt* 1994, 105.

⁶⁰ *AnatSt* 1993, 158 and 1995, 119.

⁶¹ Mendel, *Catalogue* (1912-4), III, 537, no. 1329 (with drawing).

⁶² Mendel, *Catalogue*, (1912-4), II, 537, no. 740.

⁶³ Paton and Schneider, *Splendour* (1999).

House by Guy et Claudine Donnay⁶⁴. The dimensions of a similar table of white marble found in room F of the same House (according to the drawing on p. 163, fig. 6 in Guy et Claudine Donnay's publication) are 1.35 m (l of rectilinear side) by 1.32 m (l of the perpendicular to the rectilinear side). The house was destroyed by fire towards the end of the 6th c.

(LA)-A.IV: SARCOPHAGI

1) IAM, inv. no. 823

[PI. 192]

[second half of 5th c. or 6th-7th c.]

In 1914, when Mendel saw it, this sarcophagus was situated to the left of the museum's entrance. Despite a few indications that the sarcophagus came from the "Eski Serai" - the "Old Palace" - in the Forum Tauri, its exact provenance remains uncertain⁶⁵.

This sarcophagus is 2.37x1.19x1.15 m large. The bottom and the upper contour of all four sides are decorated with mouldings. The decoration of the long sides consists of a monogrammatic cross in the form of a wheel with six beams, placed in the centre. Each one of the six sectors of the wheel is filled with an ivy leaf, connected to the circumference by a short stalk. The stylised double stalk of the circumference forms a knot at its lower part from which single stems continue in both directions in a sinuous line. These stems end in ivy leaves, whose spikes support a long cross with widened arm ends. One of the long sides preserves small metal crosses, which have been placed on the central medallion and on the intersection of the arms of the large side cross. A relief cross, similar to the ones on the long sides, decorates each one of the narrow sides of the sarcophagus. On one of the narrow sides there are some more interesting details. Along the horizontal and vertical arms of the cross, a series of small sockets may have supported either some kind of metal ornament or the sheathing of precious metal (?) of the relief cross. In the upper left quarter of the cross, twelve similar small holes arranged in fours in a square area (0.22x0.24 m) probably supported a metal plate with an inscription (?). Similar holes (some of them preserving remains of iron joints) are preserved in the upper right quarter of the cross. Finally, the cross is flanked by holes arranged in the angles of a lozenge, which seem to have supported further small bronze crosses. The extra decoration on this side might indicate that this was the side behind which the head of the deceased rested. The lid is missing, but on the upper border of the sarcophagus the sockets for the six iron joints that held the lid in place (two for the long and one for the narrow sides) are still visible. The surfaces of the sarcophagus were originally polished.

During the Ottoman period the sarcophagus was used as a fountain. While being reused a number of holes were made (two in the upper border of the visible long side) to avoid overflowing, the upper surface was plastered and the crosses of the three visible sides were chiselled away. Mendel regards this as an imperial sarcophagus and dates it in the 6th-7th c.; Bovini proposes a date in the second half of the 5th c.

2) IAM, inv. no. 2994

[PI. 193a]

[Late Antique]

In 1916-7, this sarcophagus was brought to IAM from the church of St. Irene, which functioned as a museum until 1874⁶⁶. It is 2.42x0.82x0.69 m large and all its sides are decorated with elongated crosses. The lid is missing. Bovini suggested that this was the sarcophagus of Leo I (457-474), which, according to the sources, was made of "green ieracitis stone", but Gnoli has with good reason disputed this view⁶⁷.

3) IAM, inv. no. 3153 (between the two principal entrances of the museum)

[Late Antique]

This sarcophagus (2.42x1.30x1.20 m) was also brought to the IAM from the church of St. Irene in 1916/17⁶⁸. All four sides are outlined with a moulding and are decorated with crosses in medallions in low relief. The crosses on the long sides have been chiselled away. The lid is missing.

4) Sarcophagus at the Topkapi Palace Museum, Baghdad Kiosk

[PI. 193b]

[Late Antique]

The sarcophagus leans against the wall of the substructure of the Baghdad Kiosk⁶⁹. When Jean Ebersolt saw it in 1920, it was used as a fountain and was covered with thin slabs. Its lid is missing.

⁶⁴ Donnay (G. and C.), "Maison du Cerf" (1984), 155-69.

⁶⁵ Mendel, *Catalogue* (1912-4), III, 417, no. 1174 (with drawing); Ebersolt, *Mission* (1921), 15B; Bovini, *Sarcophagi* (1962), 187-8; Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), fig. 38 (black and white).

⁶⁶ Ebersolt, *Mission* (1921), 15-16C (?); Müfit, *Erwerbungsbericht* (1931), 173, Abb. 1; *IAM* (1968), 89.

⁶⁷ Bovini, *Sarcophagi* (1962), 175; Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), 133-4, fn. 5.

⁶⁸ Ebersolt, *Mission* (1921), 16D; Müfit, *Erwerbungsbericht* (1931), 173; Firatli, *IAM* (1955), 37.

⁶⁹ Ebersolt, *Mission* (1921), 16E, Pls. XX-XXI; Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), fig. 137 (coloured).

The visible long side and the two narrow ones are decorated with simple mouldings, parallel to the sides of the sarcophagus. It is hard to accept that this sarcophagus lacked the usual decoration of crosses. I believe, therefore, that in this case the decoration consisted of metal crosses (gold or silver), that were probably affixed on the sides. (It would be interesting to check the sarcophagus and see whether it has any holes for the metal joints supporting such crosses).

5) The sarcophagus that used to be in the outer narthex of St. Sophia, Constantinople [Pl. 194a]

In 1920, Ebersolt saw this sarcophagus in front of the W entrance of Christ Pantokrator (Zeyrek Kilise Camii) and recorded that it was in a very good condition and that it even preserved its lid (!)⁷⁰. Around 1960 it was transported to the outer narthex of St. Sophia⁷¹. According to the scale provided on Salzenberg's drawing, the sarcophagus measures 2.61x1.26x1.20 m (1.20 is the h of the container; the total h is 1.86)⁷². All the sides of the container and the centre of the long sides of the saddleback lid are decorated with crosses of equal arms inscribed in medallions, while the corners of the lid have acroteria in the form of sphere quarters. The gabled panel of the narrow sides of the lid bears a cross of equal arms inscribed in a triangular frame. Salzenberg notes that the sarcophagus was used by the Muslims as a fountain for the usual washing before prayer (in such a case, would it have still preserved its lid?). He also records an old tradition, which identifies this sarcophagus with the coffin of Empress Irene, who built the S church of Christ Pantokrator between 1118 and 1124.

6) The lid of the sarcophagus of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180) [Pl. 194b]

[made-to-order or reused Late Antique *spolium*?]

Jean-Claude Flachet, who resided in Constantinople from 1740 to 1755 as First Merchant to the Sultan, saw another sarcophagus fragment, which is today lost. This was a lid, of a most unusual, if not unique shape, reproducing the form of a church crowned with seven domes. According to Flachet: "Il est d'un beau verd antique. Il est orné de sept dômes, dont il y en a six d' un pied et demi [0.49 m] de hauteur et un de deux pieds et demi [0.81 m]. Il a sept pieds de longueur [2.275 m] et trois et demi [1.14 m] de largeur, sur cinq pieds et quelques lignes [1.80 m] de hauteur de la base à la cime de la coupole du grand dôme"⁷³.

Mango identified this as the lid of the tomb of Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180), based on the evidence provided by Michael Choniates, who recorded that Manuel was laid to rest at the monastery of the Pantokrator, "*under a stone, which was parted into seven pinnacles*" ("ὄς καὶ εἰς ἑπτὰ διέσχισται λοφιάς")⁷⁴. When Andronikos I visited the tomb of his predecessor in 1182, two years after the latter's death, he was (allegedly) overheard muttering imprecations against him: "*As for thee, this seven-pointed stone (ὁ ἑπτακόρυμβος οὐτοσὶ ...λίθος) shall confine thee like an inescapable prison, as thou sleepest a deep sleep to be awakened only by the last trumpet*"⁷⁵.

There is one slight difficulty in the identification of Manuel's tomb with that found in 1750: the former, according to Choniates, was of a mournful blackish colour (λίθος τὴν μελανίαν ὑποκρινόμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συγγνάζονται οἰκῶς)⁷⁶, while the latter is described as having been of *verde antico*. But this is not a serious objection, since *verde antico* presents many shades and can sometimes be quite dark. Unless, therefore, another example of a seven-domed tomb is assumed, we may believe that the lid discovered in 1750, was the one of Manuel's sarcophagus in the Pantokrator monastery. Manuel's tomb was placed under a wide arch connecting the church with the adjoining herōn, i.e. probably between the S and central churches. The Pantokrator monastery appears to have been converted into a mosque within a few years of the fall of Constantinople, so it was probably at that time that Manuel's tomb was removed and transported to the Seraglio, where it was found in 1750.

7) Sarcophagus in the funerary chapel in the basilica of Doljani

[first half of the 6th c. ?]

A *verde antico* sarcophagus was discovered during the excavation of the funerary chapel to the N of the narthex of the basilica at the village of Doljani (3km NW of Doclea) in Montenegro⁷⁷. The sarcophagus, which had been pillaged (its lid had been broken), contained only a few skeleton

⁷⁰ Ebersolt, *Mission* (1921), 15A.

⁷¹ Megaw, *Work* (1963), 346. According to Prof. Mango, this sarcophagus was transported at some point to the IAM, where it is kept today; during the transport the lid was broken (personal communication).

⁷² Salzenberg, *Baudenkmal* (1854), 35 and Blatt XXXVI: figs. 5-6.

⁷³ Mango, *Sarcophagi* (1962), 398-9 and fn. 3. In his reproduction of measurements Mango assumes that Flachet was using the old French foot (pied du Roi) which equals 0.32484 m or 12.7893 English inches.

⁷⁴ Choniates, 289.11.

⁷⁵ Choniates, 333.13.

⁷⁶ Choniates, 289.10

⁷⁷ Nikolajević-Stojković, Doljani (1965), 463-8, fig. 15-16 (on which the measurements of the sarcophagus are based).

remains. The container of the sarcophagus is ca. 2.15x1.08x1.10 m large; its total height is ca. 1.72 m (1.10 m plus 0.62 m, which is the height of the lid). The decoration on one of the long sides of the container and on the long sides of the saddleback lid is very similar to that of the sarcophagus in the IAM, no. 823 (monogrammatic cross in the form of a wheel with six beams, flanked by two long crosses). The other long side of the container has a cross of equal arms inscribed in a medallion, a motif similar to that of the sarcophagus that used to be in the outer narthex of St. Sophia (cf. above, no. 5). The excavator believes that this sarcophagus was produced in a workshop in or around Constantinople and was imported at Doljani around the first half of the 6th c., on the request of a member of the local high clergy or the local nobility.

The imperial *verde antico* sarcophagi

More *verde antico* sarcophagi are mentioned in the lists of the tombs of the Byzantine emperors and their relatives, which often include a description of the material of the sarcophagi. The great majority of the imperial sarcophagi stood in the mausolea of the church of the Holy Apostles, which served as the chief repository for the mortal remains of the emperors from the 4th to the 11th c. (1028) [TBL6]. Not all the emperors secured a burial place in this church, e.g. those who died on military campaigns (Valens, Nikephoros I) or in exile (Michael I). Others provided their own family mausoleum (e.g. the family of Romanos I Lekapēnos at the monastery of the Myrelaion).

Information on certain imperial tombs is recorded by various Byzantine historians (Leo Grammatikos, Georgios Kedrēnos, Theophanes Continuatus, Nikēphoros), but fuller accounts are provided by the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*, the list of Nikolaos Mesaritēs and the Latin *Chronicon Altinate*⁷⁸ [TBL7].

The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* was compiled at the direction of Constantine VII Porphyrogenētos as a kind of brochure “περὶ τῶν τάφων τῶν βασιλέων” with lists of the imperial tombs in all the churches of the city. It has two main sections. The first one deals with the tombs in Holy Apostles (Mausoleum of Constantine, Mausoleum of Justinian, the two “stoas”). The second section discusses the tombs in all other churches: Monastery of the Augusta (Justin I and Euphemia), St. Mamas (Maurice and his family), Staurakion (Staurakios and Theophanō), the Lady Euphrōsynē (Constantine VI and his family; Anna, daughter of Theophilos), Gastria (Theodōra, wife of Theophilos and her relations), St. Euphemia “Eumorphos” in Petriou (Basil’s relations) and St. Michael Promotou (Maria, daughter of Basil I)]. The tombs in both sections are arranged in chronological order.

There are two versions of the *Catalogus sepulchrorum*. The fuller version was copied into the manuscript of the *Book of Ceremonies* (chapter 42) during the reign of Romanus II (959-963) and ends with the name of Constantine VII, which evidently represents an addition to the list prepared at this monarch’s direction before his death. The shorter version forms part of Recensio C in the “Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως” and dates from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)⁷⁹. The list of tombs it contains is known in slightly divergent versions. Using manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Glanville Downey⁸⁰, has christened these two versions as text C (Colbertinus 3607, now Fonds grec 1788) and text R (Cod. Reg. 3058, 4, now Fonds grec 1783). Both manuscripts are of the 15th c., but the versions themselves date from the 11th c.. They contain only a selection of the earlier tombs, but continue the list from Constantine VII onwards, adding information concerning those of Nicephoros Phocas (+969), Theophanō (post +976) and Constantine VIII (+1028). Thus, they complete the total of those in the Mausoleum of Constantine in the church of the Holy Apostles. As regards the relation between the text in the *De Ceremoniis* and texts C and R, they all seem to be the expanded and somewhat more grammatical versions of a somewhat longer version (A) in note form, which has not survived. A comparison of the three texts indicates that the text in the *De Ceremoniis* is the most complete, as far as the total number of entries is concerned; texts C and R, however, seem to be closer to the actual wording of the original notes.

The summary list given by Nikolaos Mesaritēs offers only a selection of tombs from the church of the Holy Apostles: 12 from the mausoleum of Constantine and 6 from that of Justinian. The remaining emperors are bluntly dismissed, since, in Mesaritēs’ own words: “περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τι καὶ μελητέον ἡμῖν, ὧν αἱ μνήμαι τοῖς τάφοις συγκατεχώσθησαν;” (concerning the others, why should we care, since their memories are buried with them in their tombs)⁸¹. The selection seems to have been made partly

⁷⁸ The description of the texts with the lists of the imperial tombs that follows, is a summary of the more extended relevant passage in Grierson, *Tombs* (1962), 7-20 and I am presenting it here for the convenience of the reader.

⁷⁹ The earliest version of the “Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως”, without any list of tombs, was composed towards the end of the 10th c.

⁸⁰ Downey, *Tombs* (1959).

⁸¹ Downey, Mesaritēs (1957).

on aesthetic and partly on historical grounds, so as to include conspicuous tombs and well-known names. In any case it is useful for ascertaining the layout of the mausolea.

In addition to the Byzantine texts mentioned above, a Latin source lists the tombs of Byzantine sovereigns, called *Necrologium imperatorum et catalogus eorum sepulchrorum* by Philip Grierson⁸², and contained in the *Chronicon Altinatense* (otherwise known as *Chronicon Venetum*). Less complete than the *Catalogus*, since it virtually limits itself to the tombs of the emperors (not their relatives), it is in one respect of much greater interest, for it gives the dates of death or deposition of every emperor from Constantine the Great (+337) to Michael V (+1042). It dates in its final form from the 13th c., but goes back to a lost Greek compilation originally put together in the 10th c. and continued in Greek down to the reign of Alexios Komnēnos. From Alexios Komnēnos onwards the *Necrologium* ceases to be a translation of a Greek original, the continuations being written during the period of the Latin empire.

The evidence provided by the Byzantine texts and the *Chronicon Altinatense* as regards the material of the sarcophagi is often contradictory, but a list of emperors and imperial relatives, who were buried in a *verde antico* sarcophagus is as follows [TBL7-8]:

TOMBS OF EMPERORS

1. Leo I (457-474)
2. Zeno (474-491)
3. Justin I (518-527) and his wife Euphemia
4. Constantine IV (668-685) and his wife Anastasia
5. Constantine V (740-775)
6. Michael II (820-829)
7. Theophilus (829-842)
Michael III (842-867)
8. Basil I (867-886) with his wife Eudocia and their son Alexander

TOMBS OF IMPERIAL RELATIVES

9. Fabia, wife of Heraclius (610-641)
10. Fausta, wife of Constans II (641-668)
11. Maria, wife of Constantine V (740-775)
12. Constantine, son of Theophilus (829-842)
13. Marianos and Symbatios, brothers of Basil I (867-886)
14. Theophano, first wife of Leo VI (886-912) and her daughter Eudocia
15. Eudocia, third wife of Leo VI (886-912)

The sarcophagus of Michael III is not counted in the above list, since his body was placed in that of Justin I and Euphemia⁸³. The above sarcophagi were undoubtedly *verde antico*, since they are described as being either “Thessalian” or “green Thessalian” or “made of green Thessalian stone” [TBL7]. Although the small sarcophagus (“λαρνάκιον”) of Constantine, son of Theophilus, is described simply as “green”, there is no reason to assume another kind of stone. First of all, none of the preserved Byzantine sarcophagi is made of any other green coloured stone. Secondly, the sarcophagus of Zeno, which is described just as “green” in Leo Grammaticos and Kedrēnos, is recorded as being of “green Thessalian stone” in the *De Ceremoniis*.

The only case which raises problems of identification is the sarcophagus of Leo I, which is described as of “green *hieracites*” - a stone the colour of a hawk’s neck (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii.60) - and clearly distinguished from the green Thessalian stone of several other sarcophagi. Philip Grierson attributes this distinction to simple confusion; besides, it is only the *De Ceremoniis* and the Anonymous list R where the stone is described as “green hieracites”, while all the other sources (*Necrologium*, Leo Grammaticos and Cedrenos) refer to it simply as a “green sarcophagus”⁸⁴. Gnoli on the other hand, does not believe that this distinction is accidental and identifies the material of Leo I’s sarcophagus as green Egyptian porphyry⁸⁵. I am inclined to agree with Philip Grierson mainly on historical grounds: *verde antico* makes its first appearance in the capital in the church of St. John Stoudios just a few years before the beginning of Leo’s reign. Facing the scarcity of porphyry⁸⁶, I regard it as only natural that the emperor would use for his sarcophagus a newly arrived material, which was in plentiful supply. His successor (Zeno) adopted the same taste.

⁸² Grierson, *Tombs* (1962), 10-20.

⁸³ *De Cer.* 642.16-643.3. Cf. also, Grierson, *Tombs* (1962), 57.

⁸⁴ Grierson, *Tombs* (1962), 44, fn. 52.

⁸⁵ Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), 133-4.

⁸⁶ Leo I is the first emperor not to be buried in a porphyry tomb.

(LA)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

(LA)-B. I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (ecclesiastical)

1) Basilica A (of St. Démétrios), Nea Anchialos

[last quarter of 5th c.]

Sôtêriou, the excavator of Basilica A, notes that the lower part (up to the cornice) of the walls in the nave and narthex of the church were covered with slabs of white and coloured marble (green-*verde antico*, reddish, bluish etc.)⁸⁷. Sôtêriou specifically mentions that a great number of coloured marble slabs (among them many of *verde antico*) and fragments of white marble fillets were retrieved during the excavation of the nave; it is not made clear, whether fragments of *verde antico* slabs were also found in the narthex. Part of the marble revetment consisting of large (l: 1.60 m) white marble slabs was preserved in the NW corner of the narthex⁸⁸ and near the entrance leading to the S aisle. The coloured marble slabs may have been of a similar size.

2) Basilica B (of Elpidios), Nea Anchialos

[late 5th c.]

Sôtêriou, the excavator of Basilica B, records fragments of green Thessalian marble found during the excavation of the solea⁸⁹. In his interim report of 1928, he suggested that these fragments were probably coming from the two (out of four) columns of the ciborium (the other two being of red Laconian marble)⁹⁰. In the excavation report for the 1929 season, however, he ascribed these fragments to the columns of the entrance of the solea⁹¹.

3) Basilica C (of the Prelate Peter), Nea Anchialos

[Pl. 195b]

Columns excavated in the atrium [Roman?]

During the excavation of the atrium in 1929, Sôtêriou recorded (among other finds), many fragments of columns (exact number not given) of granite and *verde antico*; the largest fragments were up to 3.60 m long⁹². The *verde antico* column, today lying on top of the S wall of Basilica C [Pl. 195b], is probably one of the columns excavated in 1929. In the interim report of 1933, Sôtêriou proposed that the granite columns had probably belonged to the Roman building, which preceded the Basilica⁹³. It is possible that the *verde antico* columns belonged to the same building, as well.

Columns excavated at the E stoa [end of 6th c. ?]

In the 1979 report, Lazaridês, the excavator of Basilica C, reported “many column fragments of white marble or of *verde antico*”, among the finds from the excavation of the E stoa of the church. One of these columns (h: 2.53 m; d: 0.28 m), of white, thick grained marble, was still in its ‘quarry-state’ (not smoothed)⁹⁴. All these columns belonged obviously to the E stoa⁹⁵, whose construction date is also the *ante quem* date for the quarrying of the excavated *verde antico* columns (provided that these are made-to-order pieces).

The E stoa had two phases. According to the observations of Lazaridês⁹⁶, both the wall and the corresponding colonnade of the E stoa form an obtuse angle pointing to the E, where they join the apse of the basilica. The masonry of the angle is very poorly executed in comparison to the rest of the wall. The deviation of part of the E stoa from the rectilinear course was obviously dictated by the projection of the apse of Basilica C (of the 6th c.). This means that the whole of the S stoa and the S part of the E stoa (up to the apse of Basilica C) are earlier than the 6th-c. basilica and must be contemporary with either the 4th-c. (Basilica H) or the mid-5th c. church (Basilica G). Thus, the part of the E stoa, which runs in front of the apse and continues further to the N, should be dated after the construction of the apse, i.e. to the end of the 6th c.(?). Two coins of Heraclius found during the excavation of the E stoa indicate activity there even later: a silver hexagrammon (614-630) and a follis, minted in Thessalonica, in 614-615. It is almost certain that during the first phase of the S stoa and part of the E stoa, only columns (30) of white marble were used. It is possible, therefore, that the excavated *verde antico* columns were intended (or used) for the extension of the E stoa to the N, built possibly towards the end of the 6th c., well after Basilica C and its apse had been completed.

⁸⁷ *AE* 1929, 32, 34; cf. also the interim report in *PAE* 1924, 102.

⁸⁸ *AE* 1929, fig. 18.

⁸⁹ *AE* 1929, 128, fig. 174 (unfortunately in black and white).

⁹⁰ *PAE* 1928, 56.

⁹¹ *PAE* 1929, 66.

⁹² *PAE* 1929, 67.

⁹³ *PAE* 1933, 49.

⁹⁴ *PAE* 1979, 60.

⁹⁵ The curved parts of brick masonry indicate that the E part of the stoa had an arcade; cf. *PAE* 1979, 60.

⁹⁶ *PAE* 1979, 59.

Floor of the Sanctuary in Basilica C (of the Prelate Peter), Nea Anchialos [6th c.]

Small slabs of green, Thessalian marble have been used in some parts of the floor of the sanctuary. Their current condition is bad, due to the frailty of the stone⁹⁷.

Architectural and decorative pieces found in Basilica C (of the Prelate Peter), Nea Anchialos [4th-6th c.?)

In the 1970 excavation report, it is recorded that during the excavation of Basilica C, a total of 405 objects were found and inventoried⁹⁸. These included 11 coins (4th to 7th c.), copper objects, potsherds (mainly 5th to 6th c.) etc. Most of the finds, however, were fragments of architectural and decorative pieces of white, grey or green marble. No further information on these fragments is given.

4) The Great Baptistery, SE of Basilica C (of the Prelate Peter), Nea Anchialos [PI. 196]

[mid. 4th c.?)

A monolithic slab (2.20x0.92 m) of *verde antico* marks the west entrance of the *phôtêstêrio*⁹⁹, in the Great Baptistery, SE of Basilica C, which has been dated to the mid. 4th c.¹⁰⁰.

5) St. Sophia, Hypata [PI. 126a]

[Late Antique]

Part of a *verde antico* colonette lies in the yard of the church of St. Sophia at Hypata. Its provenance is unknown¹⁰¹.

6) St. Nikolaos, Hypata [PI. 131a]

[Late Antique]

A large *verde antico* column lies in the yard to the N of the church of St. Nikolaos at Hypata. Its provenance is unknown¹⁰².

7) Columns in the Archaeological Museum of Volos [PI. 195a]

[Roman or Late Antique period]

During my fieldwork in Volos (September 1996), I saw two large fragments of *verde antico* columns at the Museum of Volos. The largest one (l: ca. 1.60 m) was plain, but the shorter one (l: ca. 1.30 m) preserved part of a relief cross with widened arms. The exact provenance of these pieces is unknown, but it is quite possible that they come from the quarter of "Palia" in Volos. One of them (the plain one) may be the column that was salvaged from the mosque in the Castle of Volos [cf. below: (OTT)-B.2]

(LA)-B. II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (secular): None**(LA)-B. III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE****1) Basin found at the house of a local aristocrat(?), Nea Anchialos**

[Roman or Late Antique]

A *verde antico* basin was found to the S of the antehall in the house of a local aristocrat(?), that Sôtêriou had identified as the "Episcopal Palace". According to Sôtêriou's interpretation, this basin was used for mixing water and wine and it was placed in the centre of the antehall, where certain marks on the ground denote the presence of a permanent architectural element (the base of this basin?)¹⁰³. The date of the basin is far from certain. It could be associated with either of the two building phases of the house (end of 5th/beg. of 6th c., and 7th c.)¹⁰⁴, but it can equally be a much earlier (Roman) *spolium*, reused by the owner of the house¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁷ *PAE* 1970, 40, pl. 54a-b.

⁹⁸ *PAE* 1970, 48.

⁹⁹ *PAE* 1984, 137.

¹⁰⁰ *PAE* 1985, 49 and 1986, 97.

¹⁰¹ I saw this piece during my fieldwork at Hypata in September 1998.

¹⁰² I saw this piece during my fieldwork at Hypata in September 1998.

¹⁰³ *PAE* 1939, fig. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *PAE* 1937, 55 and 1954, 149.

¹⁰⁵ During the excavation a certain amount of sculpture dated to Roman times was found. Some of it showed signs of Late Antique reworking, which means that earlier pieces had been reworked for the decoration of the house in later phases; *PAE* 1937, 55-6.

BYZANTINE CONTEXT

(BYZ)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly**(BYZ)-A.I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (ecclesiastical)****1) Chapel in the Palace of Votaneiatês, Constantinople**

[10th c. ?] (SF: Scrcol, Wrevslabs)

The concession deed to the Genoese, dated October 13, 1202, records that the partition of the bema in the chapel of the Votaniates Palace had four posts of green marble with bronze collars and the pavement of the bema consisted of an interlace of green slabs (probably surrounding the *opus sectile* floor, there)¹⁰⁶. The kind of the green marble mentioned here is not specified, but may have been *verde antico*; it is not clear, however, whether these were pieces made-to-order or carved from spolia.

2) Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Çamii), Constantinople (IAM, inv. no. 4569)**[Pl. 197a]**

[907?]

The central door of the nave at the Monastery of Lips had a lintel of green Thessalian marble, decorated with three monograms, each placed within a disc and separated from the next by a cross, which read “Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ”. According to the excavators of the church “the lintel is clearly of 10th century date”¹⁰⁷. This date applies certainly to the workmanship of the lintel, but not necessarily to the date, when the relevant marble block was quarried.

3) Christ Pantokratôr (Zeyrek Kilise Camii), Constantinople[Late Antique *spolia*] (Clsl, Dfr, Wfr, OpSec, Frevsl, Wrevsl)

In the monastery of Christ Pantokratôr, the S church, dedicated to Christ and built by the empress Irene between 1118 and 1124, is decorated with *opus sectile* pavement, which consists of interlaced roundels and corner panels filled with a rinceau and figures of animals. *Verde antico* has been used here in the broad bands, which frame the design of the central square under the dome. It has also been used to fill the roundels of the panels with five interlaced circles, which form the main motif, not only in the nave, but also in the Bema floor. Similar panels decorated the floor under the archway between the S and the central church, which must have been laid fifty years later than the floor in the S church¹⁰⁸.

Other *verde antico* decorative elements in the church include a moulded skirting at the foot of the marble wall revetment (parts of which consist of *verde antico* slabs)¹⁰⁹. In the esonarthex, the frames of the windows flanking the central door in the E wall, as well as, the frames of the NW and SW doors are also made of *verde antico*. The window jambs were cut from columns, as indicated by their curved profiles¹¹⁰.

Finally, a *verde antico* closure slab (1.05x1.46 m), decorated with a cross, inscribed in a circle, was found in the area of the altar, where it was reused as filling material. The central disk with the cross may have been originally covered with silver sheeting, as indicated by the holes around its circumference. The material and the simplicity of the design recall the sarcophagus (usually attributed to the foundress of the Pantokratôr), which used to stand outside the church (cf. Pl. 194a)¹¹¹.

Many of the architectural elements in the church are *spolia*. For example, the four red granite columns supporting its dome¹¹², the doorframes of the three original entrances leading to the narthex made of red Phrygian marble¹¹³, or the frames of the windows flanking the main entrance leading to the nave. The *verde antico* elements used here are either frames, veneer slabs or fillings in the *opus sectile* floor. In other words, all pieces of moderate to very small dimensions, which were most probably taken from the debris of earlier buildings.

4) Kalenderhane Camii, Constantinople[Late Antique *spolia*] (Col, Wrevsl, Uprights of icon frames on the W side of the E piers of the church)

In the Byzantine church, today known as Kalenderhane Camii, *verde antico* has been used in the slender uprights of rectangular section (in the upper register) and of the shorter ones of circular section (in the lower register) of the icon frames, on the E piers of the church. *Verde antico* slabs were used in

¹⁰⁶ Mango, *Art* (1986), 239-40; Epstein, *Sanctuary* (1981), 7.¹⁰⁷ Macridy *et al.*, Lips (1964), 259, fig. 14-15; *IAM* (1968), 89.¹⁰⁸ Megaw, *Work* (1963), 335-39, 342, figs. A and 2.¹⁰⁹ Megaw, *Work* (1963), 340, fig. 12.¹¹⁰ Millingen, *Churches* (1912), 236, Pl. LXII, fig. 75.¹¹¹ Megaw, *Work* (1963), 346, fig. 11.¹¹² They were still in place in the mid-16th c., but were later replaced by baroque stone piers; cf. Mango, *Architecture* (1986), 134 and Megaw, *Work* (1963), 336, fn. 12.¹¹³ Megaw, *Work* (1963), 343.

the wall revetment, and in one of the two columns at the N arm of the church (the E column)¹¹⁴. The church is dated to the late 12th c., but the *verde antico* pieces used in the church are almost certainly *spolia*.

5) Monê tês Choras (Kariye or Kahriye Camii), Constantinople

[*spolia*] (Col, Dfr, Wreysl)

A considerable amount of *verde antico* has been used in the wall revetment of the nave and the inner narthex of the Chora monastery. The S column of the tribelon of the chapel and the frames of the W main entrance from the inner narthex to the nave are also of *verde antico*¹¹⁵. All these pieces were almost certainly *spolia*, reused during the restoration of the monastery by Theodore Metochitês, between 1316 to 1321.

6) St. Andrew at the Place of Judgement (Hagios Andreas en têt Krisei), Constantinople [Pl. 206b]

[Late Antique *spolia*?] (Col)

In the ambulatory church of St. Andrew at the Place of Judgement two *verde antico* columns support the arches in the W side. A tentative date for these columns requires a summary of the building problems of this monument. The transformation of the church into a mosque in 1489, with the addition of secondary structures, the concealment of the interior surfaces with plaster, and the refinishing of the exterior walls in limestone, left no traces of the original structure and turned the church into an archaeological puzzle¹¹⁶.

Ebersolt and Van Millingen suggested that the original church was built in the 6th c. as an ambulatory church with colonnades on the N and S sides of the domed nave, similar to the existing colonnade on the W side. Eyice's more recent inspection of the building led him to assign its original fabric to the Palaeologean period, and specifically to the building activity of Theodora Raoulina, shortly after 1284. This would make the church nearly contemporary to another ambulatory plan in Istanbul, the S church of Theotokos Lips. Eyice's redating of the church presupposes, of course, its identification with the church of St. Andrew mentioned in Byzantine sources; the topographical references are fairly specific, and Janin accepted this identification as beyond question. However, there are references to a church of St. Andrew in the vicinity, which go as far back as the 8th c.; these can be interpreted as pertaining to an earlier church.

Only a thorough structural survey and excavation on the site will give a definite picture of the building's history. If the present church of St. Andrew succeeded an earlier one (which may well have been earlier than the 8th c.), then some of St. Andrew's current architectural ornaments (the *verde antico* columns of the W ambulatory, some of the capitals, etc.) may have belonged to this earlier church. On the other hand, nothing excludes that they are *spolia* from other buildings of the Capital, and that they were used in the church of St. Andrew during one of its reconstruction phases.

7) San Marco, Venice

[Pls. 198-203]

[Late Antique *spolia*]

A large concentration of *verde antico* pieces is found in the church of San Marco in Venice. The church was first consecrated in 1073, but the decoration dragged on and additions were made for centuries. Almost all of the *verde antico* pieces are found on the W façade of the narthex, which was expanded to envelop the western arm of the nave after 1204. Much of the decoration was looted from Constantinople and much of the *verde antico* may have come specifically from St. Polyeuktos. It is difficult to accept that such a lavishly decorated monument would not make use of larger quantities of *verde antico* than what has been found during its excavation. Furthermore, we know that the church was thoroughly looted during the Fourth Crusade and that some of its carved elements reached San Marco [cf. above, (LA)-A.I.8].

No detailed study of the coloured marble used at San Marco exists. Deichmann, however, offers some information on the material of the church's columns in his study on its capitals. According to the plan of the church and the elevations of the façades of the narthex included in this study, there are 37 *verde antico* columns in San Marco, in total¹¹⁷. There are only four inside the church, flanking in pairs the apse window. The majority of them (29) adorn the W façade: 5 large columns in the lower tier and 24 in the middle one [Pl. 200-202]. 14 of the columns in the middle tier flank the arch of the portal niche

¹¹⁴ Matthews, *Survey* (1976), photos 18-9 (on p. 179), 18-22 (on p. 184); Epstein, *Sanctuary* (1981), 7 and fn. 31.

¹¹⁵ Mango and Ertuğ, *Chora* (2000), pls. 2, 69-73 (wall revetment in the nave); pls. 7, 8, 18, 19, 21, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38 (wall revetment in the inner narthex); pls. 18 and 70 (frames of the W entrance to the nave) and pl. 103 (the S column of the tribelon in the chapel).

¹¹⁶ Matthews, *Survey* (1976), 3 and photos 1-14, 1-15.

¹¹⁷ Deichmann, *Kapitelle San Marco* (1981), Pläne 5-8. For other sparse references to *verde antico* pieces at San Marco, cf. also Demus, *San Marco* (1960), 141, 143; Gnoli, *Marmora* (1988), 81.

to the S of the main entrance [Pl. 202]. On the S façade of the narthex there are only 4 *verde antico* columns: 2 in the lower tier [Pl. 203a], 1 in the middle and another one in the upper tier.

More *verde antico* pieces can be seen around the church. Some *verde antico* panels have been incorporated in the two ambos. Four small column bases support colonettes that flank the entrances on the W side of the nave, two to the S of the main entrance [Pl. 203b] and two flank the N entrance. Some *verde antico* pieces have been imbedded with decorative effects in the N façade of the narthex, such as a C-shaped table, similar to that excavated at Apamea in Syria [cf. above, (LA)-A.III.1], an oval slab and two pilaster capitals [Pl. 199a]. *Verde antico* veneer strips or slabs have also been used elsewhere on the façades of the narthex, for example, below the mosaic of the Porta di S. Alipio, surrounding the symbols of the four Evangelists [Pl. 199b] and in the W main entrance of the church, covering the wall behind the dense rows of porphyry and Prokonnesian columns [Pl. 201].

8) Hosios Loukas, Central Greece (Phocis) [PI. 204]

[beginning of 11th c.] (Frevsl, Wrevsl, SF: Scrcol)

In the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas, *verde antico* is one of the many high-quality, coloured marbles that have been used in its interior decoration. Schultz and Barnsley offer a list of them¹¹⁸: “The yellowish-white Prokonnesian with the grey streaks has been largely adopted for the great slabs of the floors¹¹⁹, and to a certain extent in the wall-linings. This also appears to be the marble, which has been used for the door-linings, the carved window slabs, the large lintels to the screens, etc. and generally wherever a white marble was required. The green Thessalian has been used a great deal in the floors and for the pillars of the iconostasis, and also to some extent in the wall-lining. The red marble is of two kinds: the duller red, probably the Hieropolitan, and the more variegated and rosier slabs, perhaps the Phrygian red. A marble of bluish-grey tint and with hardly perceptible markings is used a great deal in the floors, and also to some extent in the walls... In many of the more important panels of the walls the marble which has been employed is undoubtedly the Carystian cipollino”.

The presence of Prokonnesian and *verde antico* marble in the church is also confirmed by E. Stikas, who thoroughly examined the monument during restoration works in the 1970's¹²⁰. The Phrygian or the Hieropolitan marble, however, are not mentioned in his list of marbles, which, apart from the Prokonnesian marble and the Thessalian stone, includes mainly marbles, which are quarried in places not very far away from Phocis: Tênos, Karystos, Skyros, Thebes, and Marathôn.

The sumptuousness of the interior decoration of the church with its famous mosaics, its expensive and extensive marble revetments, carved marble and stucco and the presence of Prokonnesian marble in great quantities, suggest that the marble furnishings of the church were made-to-order.

9) Monastery of Great Lavra, Mount Athos [PI. 205]

[Late Antique *spolia*?] (Col, Wrevsl)

A few *verde antico* pieces, almost certainly *spolia*, are found in the Monastery of Great Lavra on Athos. These include columns and floor revetment slabs. Two columns are flanking the gate (h: 2.33 m), two more are part of the stoa in front of the refectory (h: 2.38), one small column supports a balcony (h: 2.07) and two large ones lie in the garden (h: 2.28 and 2.34 m, respectively). Two large *verde antico* slabs (1.70x1.14 m) and some *verde antico* borders (w: 0.22 m) have been used in the marble revetment floor of the church¹²¹.

10) Monastery of Kera, Crete

[Roman] (Col)

A small but fine *verde antico* column stands in the centre of the cloister courtyard of the Kera monastery (situated near the N exit of Lasithi). It may have been brought there from the nearby site of the prosperous Roman city of Lyttos (it possessed the largest theatre on Roman Crete)¹²².

11) A marble inlaid icon (IAM, inv. no. 4313) [PI. 197b]

[10th c.]

This is a marble icon with inlaid material¹²³. The outline of the carved cavity reveals a military saint, who holds a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left and stands *en face* under an elaborate archway supported by two columns. Two circular cavities above the saint's halo were probably filled with inscribed plaques identifying the saint. The icon was found in 1929, during the investigations of

¹¹⁸ Schultz and Barnsley, *St. Luke* (1901), 30-1.

¹¹⁹ The maximum dimensions of the Prokonnesian slabs that have been used in the floor are 4.60x0.86 m [Stikas, *Chronikon* (1970), 205].

¹²⁰ Stikas, *Chronikon* (1970), 204.

¹²¹ I own this information and all the relevant photos to Dr. S. Vogiatzês.

¹²² Paton and Schneider, *Splendour* (1999).

¹²³ Firatli, Metzger, Pralong and Sodini, *Sculpture* (1990), 186-7, no. 390.

Theodore Macridy at the Lips Monastery (Fenari Isa Camii), where numerous fragments of inlaid icons were discovered¹²⁴. When found the icon had lost all of its inlaid material, but some small fragments of white, fine-grained limestone, kept in the Benaki Museum, Athens (inv. no. 13548-13550), have recently been identified as belonging to the saint's face and his spear-bearing arm¹²⁵.

12) The altar of Sts. Kilian and Liborius, Diözesan Museum, Paderborn (NW Germany)

[The workmanship is dated around 1100; no indication on the date of the *verde antico* piece]

The small (0.345x0.21x0.185 m), raised, portable altar of Sts. Kilian and Liborius manufactured ca. 1100 by the famous goldsmith, Roger of Helmarshausen, consists of a central, rectangular *verde antico* panel, placed in a panel made of silver (partly gilt), gilt bronze, gems, pearls and niello¹²⁶. The metal frame is decorated with figures of Christ and various saints, including Kilian and Liborius, the patron saints of Paderborn Cathedral.

(BYZ)-A.II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (Secular): None

(BYZ)-A.III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE (Imperial residences at Constantinople and other palace structures)

Theophanes Continuatus mentions a number of palace structures attributed to the building programme of Theophilos (829-842) and decorated with *verde antico* elements (cf. below, nos. 1-4)¹²⁷.

1) Columns of the structure facing the Triconchos, Constantinople

[829-842] (Col)

"Facing the silver door of the Triconchos is a structure whose roof is borne aloft by four columns of Thessalian, that is green marble".

2) Columns in the porches of the bedchamber attached to the Margaritês hall, Constantinople

[829-842] (Col)

"The attached (to the Margaritês hall) bedchamber has a domed ceiling speckled with gold; this is upheld by four columns of Bathy marble (bathuinos), while the porches on the east and south sides are held up each by four columns of Thessalian marble. Theophilos used to reside in this bedchamber from the spring equinox until the autumnal one and even later".

3) Columns of the Kamilas, Constantinople

[829-842] (Col)

"As for the southern side, first he extended the terraces, as we have already said, and laid out the gardens that are still extant. In addition, he built there a number of chambers, namely the Kamilas, as it is called, and next to it a second chamber, and then a third which today houses the wardrobe of the Empress. The ceiling of the Kamilas is speckled with gold and is upheld by six columns of Thessalian, i.e. green marble. The lower part of the walls is reveted with slabs of the same marble, while the upper part has gold mosaic representing figures picking fruit. The floor is paved with Prokonnesian marble."

4) Wall revetment strips in the basement, which is joined to the Empress's wardrobe, Constantinople

[829-842] (Wrevsl)

"The basement which is joined to this chamber (i.e. the Empress's wardrobe) has its roof supported on seven columns of Carian marble, five to the south and two to the east, and is enclosed by two walls adorned with slabs of Roman, Peganousian and Carian marble, as well as as strips of green Thessalian marble."

5) Columns in the Kainourgion, Constantinople

[867-886] (Col)

In the Kainourgion, built by Basil I (867-886), the main room was apparently laid out as a basilica terminated by an apse. In the *Vita Basilii*¹²⁸, this building is described as follows: *"Indeed, this building of novel aspect called Kainourgion which he (i.e. Basil I), built from the foundations, does it not strike spectators with amazement? It is supported on sixteen columns standing in a row, eight of them being of green Thessalian stone, while six are of onychite (as it is proudly called) decorated by the stone-carver with the shape of a vine and, within the latter, the forms of various animals."*

¹²⁴ Macridy *et al.*, Lips (1964), 275-6 and figs. 78, 83.

¹²⁵ *Glory of Byzantium* (1997), 41-2, no. 8.

¹²⁶ Petzold, *Romanesque* (1995), 30 and figs. 13 (in colour) and 18 (black and white, showing detail of top right-hand corner).

¹²⁷ *TheophCont*, 139 ff. All the translated passages are from Mango, *Art* (1986), 162-4.

¹²⁸ Mango, *Art* (1986), 196-7.

6) Columns at the “Symeon Palace”, Preslav**[Pl. 206a]**

[9th c.] (Col, Clsl, Dfr, Wfr, Wrevsl, etc.)

Many fragments of *verde antico* pieces (columns, door and window frames, wall revetment slabs, closure slabs, etc.) were discovered during the excavation of the central Hall in the so-called “Symeon Palace” (or East Building) of the Palace Complex within the fortress (Inner City) at Preslav¹²⁹. Among these finds, there was also only one complete example of a nice *verde antico* column, which today stands at the SE corner of the “Symeon Palace”¹³⁰. According to modern scholarship, the “Symeon Palace” (or East Building) of the Palace Complex was built by king Symeon, shortly after 893, when Preslav became the capital of the Bulgarian state. However, it is not certain that the *verde antico* pieces excavated there were made-to-order for Symeon’s building program. Archaeological investigation in the foundation level of the “Symeon Palace” has shown that it was preceded by an earlier construction of similar plan, which dates to the early 9th c.. This construction is thereby contemporary to the West Building of the Palace Complex, and it is highly possible that they were both built at the beginning of the 9th c., when Khan Omurtag built the whole fortress (Inner City) at Preslav. It is therefore, possible that all the *verde antico* pieces come from this earlier structure and that they were simply reused by the builders of Symeon. The use of *verde antico* in the time of Khan Omurtag was confirmed by the discovery at Silistra (medieval Dristra) of a fragment of *verde antico* column, which has an inscription that mentions Omurtag’s name and title¹³¹.

(BYZ)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly**(BYZ)-B. I: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (ecclesiastical)****1) Fragment of a column shaft supporting the podium of the ambo at the basilica of Kalambaka**[Late Antique *spolium*]

This is a *spolium* with no indication of provenance, although it may have belonged to the Late Antique Basilica that preceded the Middle Byzantine one of the mid. 11th c.¹³²

(BYZ)-B. II: PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE (secular)**(BYZ)-B. III: DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE**

¹²⁹ Vaklinova, *Preslavskijat* (1994), 51.

¹³⁰ Ivonova-Mavrodinova, *Preslav* (1963), 26, fig.7; Totev, *Veliki* (1993), photo opposite p. 15. For all the information on the *verde antico* finds from Bulgaria, presented here, I am indebted to my Bulgarian colleague, Ms. Rossina Kostova.

¹³¹ This piece, which had been reused in a 14th c. house, was excavated by the team of Stefka Angelova from the Sofia University.

¹³² O. Karagiorgou, *The Architecture and Sculptural Decoration of the Basilica of Kalambaka in Thessaly*, Oxford 1995 (Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis).

OTTOMAN CONTEXT

(OTT)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly

1) Bayezid II mosque at Adrianople (Edirne), Eastern Thrace [Pl. 207-209]

[Late Antique or “Dark Age” *spolia*] (Scrcol)

The mosque, constructed in 1484-8, contains the imperial lodge (Hünkâr Mahfili) in the SE corner of the prayer hall, which is carried on 17 marble supports, composed of square piers and octagonal colonettes, originally screen uprights from churches. Nine of these supports (all monolithic) are made of *verde antico* (6 are of Prokonnesian marble and 2 of a brown, unidentified, marble). Ötügen and Ousterhout, who published these marble supports suggested that they were carved in the “Dark Age”, since their form and decoration exhibits elements from both Early Christian and Middle Byzantine examples. They also thought possible that eight of the *verde antico* uprights belonged to one and the same screen¹³³. Other *verde antico* pieces in the Bayezid II mosque include six large columns in the courtyard, which are almost certainly *spolia*, as the rest of the columns in the courtyard (three red granite, three grey granite and seven Proconessian marble columns).

2-3) *Verde antico spolia* in Ottoman constructions in Istanbul

[Late Antique *spolia*] (Col)

Verde antico columns have been used in the portico of the library of Ahmed III¹³⁴ in the Topkapi and also in the Rüstem Pasha mosque in Istanbul¹³⁵. These columns are almost certainly *spolia* from Byzantine buildings, but further information on these objects is lacking and consequently they will not be taken into account in the discussion that follows.

(OTT)-B. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

1) Mosque of Hassan-Bey, Larisa

[Late Antique?] (Col)

The mosque of Hassan-Bey (the son of Turachan-Bey, who subjugated the whole of Thessaly in 1420) stood on a hill next to the Pêneios bridge [Pl. 7]. A Classical temple (possibly of Demeter) and a Byzantine church had allegedly, preceded the mosque on this same site. Stählin reports that within the mosque there were four *verde antico* columns¹³⁶.

2) Mosque inside the castle of Volos

[Late Antique?] (Col)

In the narthex of the mosque inside the castle of Volos (in the quarter “Palia” of the modern city), there were four *verde antico* columns. During renovation works in 1897, columns of white marble replaced the *verde antico* ones, which were deposited in the yard of the mosque. A local inhabitant of Volos used three of them as building material in the staircase of his house; the fourth one was transferred to the Museum of Volos¹³⁷.

¹³³ Ötügen and Ousterhout, Thrace (1989), 125-8 and fn. 29 (on the *verde antico* columns in the courtyard of the mosque). I am grateful to Dr. Haluk Sezer (Oxford Brooks University), who was kind enough to take the photos on Pl. 207-209 on my behalf, during his 1999 summer vacation at his hometown (Edirne). He also informed me that he saw two more nice examples of large *verde antico* columns in the courtyard of another Camii at Edirne, whose name he was not able to recall (I suppose either the Yildirim or the Selimiye Camii).

¹³⁴ Personal observation during the 1996 Oxford University study trip to Istanbul.

¹³⁵ *Cornucopia*. Turkey for Connoisseurs. Issue 13, vol. 3, 1997 (photo opposite p. 72).

¹³⁶ Stählin, Larisa (1925), 869.

¹³⁷ Giannopoulos, Phourio (1931), 127-8.

MODERN CONTEXT**(MOD)-A. *Verde antico* outside Thessaly****1) St. Sophia, Buckland Rd, Lower Kingswood, Surrey (England)**

[Date: ?]

In the church of St. Sophia at Surrey, consecrated in 1892, a variety of coloured marbles have been used mainly as veneer slabs. A strip of *verde antico* runs along the apse of the church, at the height of the altar¹³⁸. The decoration of the church consists of many *spolia* (e.g. the capitals imbedded over the west door), which were brought to Surrey mainly from Istanbul and Thessalonica by the founders of the church, Dr. Edwin Hanson Freshfield and Sir Henry Cosmo Orme Bonsor, Bart. The origin of the *verde antico* strips remains unknown, but they may be *spolia* that the two men brought from the Byzantine capital.

2) Various modern buildings in London

[Products of the brief, modern exploitation of the *verde antico* quarries, at the beginning of the 20th c. ?]

According to Papageôgakês, *verde antico* has been used for some of the decorative elements and architectural elements of the altars in the following London buildings: County Westminster and Parr (Lombart St.), Friar's House (New Broad St.), Westminster Abbey and the New Sessions House (Old Bailey)¹³⁹.

(MOD)-A. *Verde antico* within Thessaly

None

¹³⁸ Cf. the photos in the booklet *The Church of the Wisdom of God: St. Sophia, Lower Kingswood*, (ed.) J. Sener, Surrey 1992.

¹³⁹ Papageôgakês, Petrômata (1966), 245.