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The Decline and Afterlife of the Roman Entablature: The Collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul and other Byzantine Epistyles and Cornices from Constantinople

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PHILIPP NIEWÖHNER

The Decline and Afterlife of the Roman Entablature. The Collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul and other Byzantine Epistyles and Cornices from Constantinople

Keywords: Architrave, Colonnade, Late Antiquity, Marble, Proconnesus

Schlagwörter: Architrav, Kolonnade, Spätantike, Marmor, Prokonnesos

Anahtar sözcükler: Arşitrav, kolonad, Geç Antik, mermer, Prokonnesos

INTRODUCTION

Early Byzantine entablatures from the fourth to seventh centuries AD have as yet met with little scholarly attention, and they seem to fall in-between academic disciplines. On the one hand, they do not adhere to ancient standards and are thus ill-suited to a classicist analysis in accordance with the ancient canon. On the other hand, Byzantinists, who would not be hindered by deviation from ancient conventions, are not used to deal with entablatures and their specific formal repertoire and terminology any more, due to which, in a Byzantine context, these marbles can appear as anachronistic relicts of an outdated building tradition. However, without an

Sources of illustrations: Figs. 1–3. 5. 7. 8. 10. 14–17. 21. 31. 33. 34. 37. 38. 41–45. 47. 49–51. 54. 56. 57. 59–62. 64. 70–78. 82. 84. 85. 89. 95. 99. 103. 104. 109. 111. 113. 117. 118. 120. 121. 125–127. 134. 135. 142. 145. 147. 150. 152. 153. 155. 159. 160. 164–167. 169–172. 174–176. 179. 182. 183 = Author. – Fig. 4 = D. Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report* (Edinburgh 1958) fig. 41. – Figs. 6. 13. 18–20. 23–25. 48. 66. 83. 112. 116. 122 = Bildarchiv Joachim Kramer, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Berlin. – Figs. 9. 11. 22. 46. 65. 79. 86. 98. 144. 151. 154. 161. 178 = Yasemin Sünbül and Erdem Üngür. – Fig. 12 = D-DAI-IST-Inv. 41234. – Fig. 26 = D-DAI-IST-R2511 (Th. Hartmann). – Fig. 27. 29 = R. Naumann, *Neue Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul*, *IstMitt* 26, 1976, fig. 12. 10. – Fig. 28 = D-DAI-IST-R2460 (W. Schiele). – Figs. 30. 67. 69. 80. 81. 87. 88. 92. 138–141. 181 = Urs Peschlow. – Fig. 32 = P. Verzone, *Palazzi e domus dalla tetrarchia al VII secolo*, *Bibliotheca archaeologica* 46 (Rome 2011) fig. 16. – Fig. 35 = Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA. NA.0050 (Nicholas V. Artamonoff, December 1935, RA116). – Fig. 36 = A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul*, *IstForsch* 12 (Berlin 1941) fig. 5. – Fig. 39 = Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA. NA.0049 (Nicholas V. Artamonoff, December 1935, RA115). – Fig. 40 = D-DAI-IST-KB3987. – Fig. 52 = M. Harrison, *An Early Byzantine Figured Cornice*, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 15–16, 1969, 171–174. – Fig. 53 = Belting – Naumann 1966, pl. 14 a. – Fig. 55 = Belting – Naumann 1966, pl. 14 d. – Fig. 58 = Dumbarton Oaks, ICFA. WB.0019 (W. Betsch). – Fig. 63 = D-DAI-IST-Inv.12887 (J. Christern). – Fig. 68 = W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1854–1855) figs. 1–6, with additions. – Fig. 90 = D-DAI-IST-1018 (E. Mamboury – Th. Wiegand). – Fig. 91 = E. Mamboury – T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen*

Hippodrom und Marmara-Meer (Berlin/Leipzig 1934) 5–6 fig. 2. – Fig. 93 = Herzfeld – Guyer 1930, 50 fig. 50. – Fig. 94 = Herzfeld – Guyer 1930, 50 fig. 49. – Fig. 96 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 83 cat. 263-I. – Fig. 97 = M. Schede, Archäologische Funde. Türkei, AA 1929, 325–368, esp. 359–360 fig. 20. – Fig. 100 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 83 cat. 263-II. – Fig. 101 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 110 cat. 378. – Fig. 102 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 83 cat. 263-III. – Fig. 105 = Harrison 1986, fig. 111. – Fig. 106 = Harrison 1986, fig. 112. – Fig. 107 = Harrison 1986, 122 cat. 2 a i. – Fig. 108 = Harrison 1986, fig. 118. – Fig. 110 = K. Krumeich, Spätantike Kämpferkapitelle mit Weinblatt- und Pinienzapfen-Dekor, *IstMitt* 47, 1997, 277–314 pl. 48 fig. 3. – Fig. 114 = D-DAI-IST-2771. – Fig. 115 = Brett 1947, pl. 10, 2. – Fig. 119 = Mendel 1912–1914, vol. 3 cat. 1194. – Fig. 123 = D-DAI-IST-R7295 (U. Peschlow). – Fig. 124 = D-DAI-IST-Inv. 16928. – Fig. 128 = D-DAI-IST-64-491. – Fig. 129 = L. E. Butler, The Nave Cornices of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul (Ph. D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1989) fig. 28 a. – Fig. 130 = Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation Photography Collection, Istanbul (Ali Enis Oza, ca. 1920). – Fig. 131 = Dumbarton Oaks, MSBZ012-VanNice-10-42. – Fig. 132 = Dumbarton Oaks, PHBZ023-L70-3064_TFM (T. Mathews). – Fig. 133 = D-DAI-IST-Inv. 17280. – Fig. 136 = D-DAI-IST-2749 (E. Mamboury – Th. Wiegand). – Fig. 137 = E. Mamboury – Th. Wiegand, Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmara-Meer (Berlin 1934) 5–6 fig. 3. – Fig. 143 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 82 cat. 261. – Fig. 146 = Firatlı 1990, pl. 82 cat. 262a. – Fig. 148 = D-DAI-IST-R318. – Fig. 149 = W. Kleiss, Bemerkungen zur Kirche Johannis des Täufers in Istanbul-Bakırköy (Hebdomon), in: Mansel'e Armağan. Mélanges Mansel, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları ser. 7 vol. 60 (Ankara 1974) I 207–219, 213 fig. 45. – Fig. 156 = P. Lemerle, Philippines et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 158 (Paris 1945) pl. 71. – Fig. 157 = O. K. Wulff – W. F. Volbach, Die altchristlichen und mittelalterlichen byzantinischen und italienischen Bildwerke. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen 3, Ergänzungsband ³(Berlin 1923) 8 cat. 6716. – Fig. 158 = C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, Premessa ad un catalogo della scultura della Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli, in: C. Barsanti (ed.), Bisanzio e l'Occidente. Arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei (Milano 1996) 79–104 fig. 1. – Fig. 162 = K. R. Dark – F. Özgümüş, Istanbul 2004 Yılı Çalışmaları, AST 23/1, 2005, 343. 354 fig. 6. – Fig. 163 = Dumbarton Oaks, PHBZ0001. – Fig. 168 = Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1981). – Fig. 173 = Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Jürgen Liepe, 1992). – Fig. 180 = Mendel 1912–1914, vol. 3 cat. 1326. – Fig. 184 = Dumbarton Oaks, PHBZ001-NegMuseum-1748 (G. Mendel). – Fig. 185 = Dumbarton Oaks, PHBZ001-00-5349.

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appropriate typology the relatively large and complex ornaments make little sense, and apart from some externally dated specimens numerous Byzantine entablatures have so far remained undated and even unpublished.

This paper attempts to remedy the unfortunate state of research and to offer a typology of Byzantine entablatures in the collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul and from Constantinople¹. The sample is undoubtedly not exhaustive, but it seems to include most and certainly the most important early Byzantine specimens. Outside Constantinople, early Byzantine entablatures are rare², as colonnades were either built with re-used ancient parts or replaced by arcades, both in porticoes and in basilicas³. Some provincial lime stone churches in Lycia on the south coast of Asia Minor form a notable exception (see below *Figs. 134. 135*), but their formal repertoire depends heavily on the Justinianic architecture of Constantinople⁴. All Constantinopolitan entablatures appear to consist of marble from the nearby quarry island of Proconnesus in the Sea of Marmara, and the related workshop or workshops were at the core of the formal development in early Byzantine marble carving.

In describing the early Byzantine development (*Figs. 23–172*), this paper also includes a couple of Roman entablature blocks found at Istanbul (*Figs. 1–9*) and a few middle Byzantine specimens from the ninth to twelfth centuries AD that round off the chronological overview (*Figs. 173–185*). In addition, it is necessary to refer to Docimium in Phrygia (*Figs. 15–22*), the most important marble quarry and workshop on the central Anatolian high plateau, because, as shall be argued below, Docimium provided the formal repertoire for the start of the early Byzantine production at Proconnesus/Constantinople. The ensuing development at the Propontis led away from the ancient tradition, which was finally left behind in the sixth century.

Whilst fifth-century entablatures were still recognizably Roman and their deviations from the ancient canon may be described in terms of decline, the tradition seems to have lapsed sometime around the turn of the sixth century. All later carvings were eclectic hybrids and may thus be termed the afterlife of the Roman entablature. The development happened in stages, which makes it possible to assign various hitherto undated stray finds to certain periods. The transformations

¹ This paper has resulted from a survey of the museum's collection undertaken in 2007 and reported in 2008 (Niewöhner 2008b). I would like to repeat my thanks to the museum's curator Dr Şehrazat Karagöz and to the German Archaeological Institute at Istanbul, where I was then employed and whose director Prof Dr Felix Pirson enabled me to do the survey and also provided the necessary funds. Thanks are also due to Yasemin Sünbül and Erdem Üngür, then students at Istanbul Technical University, who participated in the museum survey and executed drawings as listed above, as well as to Ahmet Atila, then at the German Institute, who inked the same drawings. Further research since 2007 depended heavily on photographic archives that provided images as listed above, as well as on a fellowship at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington DC, in 2014/2015. Special thanks are due to Urs Peschlow for sharing numerous illustrations and insights with me.

² For some plain architraves, cornices, and overdoors from early Byzantine village churches in the vicinity of Aezani in Phrygia, see Niewöhner 2007, 180–181. 228–231 cat. 198–223 figs. 50–62 pls. 22–25.

³ For Byzantine porticoed streets with re-used ancient architraves or with arcades, see K. Rheidt, Aizanoi, AA 1995, 693–718, esp. 699–712; H. Thür, Die spätantike Bauphase der Kuretenstraße, in: R. Pillinger – O. Kresten – F. Krinzinger – E. Russo (eds.), Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches und byzantinisches Ephesos, AF 3 = DenkschrWien 282 (Vienna 1999) 104–120; F. Martens, Late Antique Urban Streets at Sagalassos, in: L. Lavvan – A. Sarantis – E. Zanini (eds.), Technology in Transition: A.D. 300–650, Late Antique Archaeology 4 (Leiden 2007) 321–365. For Byzantine basilicas, see R. Krautheimer, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture⁴ (New Haven/London 1986) 93–282; S. Čurčić, Architecture in the Balkans (New Haven 2010).

⁴ For late antique entablatures in the Syrian Limestone Massive, see C. Strube, Baudekoration im Nordsyrischen Kalksteinmassiv, DaF 5, 11 (Mainz 1993) 22–23.

can be linked to changes in architecture that provide functional explanations for every step of the stylistic development.

The scenario is confirmed by comparison with more numerous and better known column capitals that underwent a similar development for some of the same reasons, as the conclusions of this paper argue. Otherwise, the paper focuses on entablatures proper and also includes some templon epistyles (*Figs. 171. 179–185*) due to their relation to the former. Simple cornices and overdoors that follow a formal tradition of their own⁵ are not normally included, unless they employ the same formal repertoire as entablatures. Often, the architrave and the frieze form a single block (*Figs. 2. 5–9. 23. 26–30. 32. 35. 37. 41. 42. 45. 46. 48. 49. 57–79. 82. 84–86. 89–91. 128. 129. 135. 142–145*), which may be referred to simply as ›architrave‹, without special mention of the frieze. Otherwise, cf. *Fig. 68* for most of the terminology that is used in this paper.

Unless stated otherwise, all illustrated marbles are collected in the Archaeological Museum Istanbul, including those without inventory numbers (*Figs. 50. 51. 66. 148. 171. 174. 185*). Inventory numbers with four or five digits were at some point introduced to the museum collections so that the first two digits may indicate the year of acquisition (*Figs. 5. 6. 84. 167*), but other four-digit numbers do not indicate a year (*Figs. 31. 117. 142. 152. 159. 163. 166. 180. 182. 184*). Yet other objects had been in the collection for years before they were assigned a four digit inventory number that gives the year of numbering, not that of acquisition (*Figs. 10. 40. 62. 70. 82. 164*). Inventory numbers ending with T indicate that objects are part of the permanent exhibition inside the museum building (*Figs. 13. 16. 31. 57*) rather than stored outside on the extensive grounds that are only partly accessible to the public. In those cases where a collection item has no known inventory number, it has not been possible to establish the provenance either (*Figs. 50. 51. 66. 171. 174. 185*).

⁵ For Byzantine cornices, see below notes 114. 166. For Byzantine door frames, many of which are decorated with a central cross, see W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom 5. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1854–1855; repr. Leipzig 2001) figs. 14. 16; A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. Their History and Architecture* (London 1912; repr. London 1974) 18–19: St John Studios; 99: Chora Monastery; R. Demangel – E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople, Recherches françaises en Turquie 2* (Paris 1939) 78 fig. 84; A. M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul, IstForsch 12* (Berlin 1941) 16 fig. 6; D. Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report* (Edinburgh 1958) 187–188 figs. 42. 43; T. Macridy, *The Monastery of Lips and the Burials of the Palaeologi*, *DOP 18*, 1964, 253–278 fig. 14; O. Hjort, *The Sculpture of Kariye Camii*, *DOP 33*, 1979, 199–289, esp. 224–225; E. Russo, *La scultura a Efeso in età paleocristiana e bizantina. Primi lineamenti*, in: R. Pillinger – O. Kresten – F. Krinzinger – E. Russo (eds.), *Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches und byzantinisches Ephesos*, *AF 3 = DenkschrWien 282* (Vienna 1999) 26–53, esp. 44–45 pl. 19, 46; St John, ›Sekretonportal‹ of the baptistery; A. Thiel, *Die Johanneskirche in Ephesos. Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend. Reihe B. Studien und Perspektiven 16* (Wiesbaden 2005) pl. 32, 96: ›Sekretonportal‹ of the baptistery; E. Barsanti, *La scultura mediobizantina fra tradizione e innovazione*, in: F. Conca – G. Ficcardi (eds.), *Bisanzio nell'età dei Macedoni. Forme della produzione letteraria e artistica*, *Quaderni di Acme 87* (Mailand 2007) 5–49, esp. 24–25 fig. 16: overdoor of the church of the Theotokos in the Monastery of Constantine Lips at Constantinople; A. Ozügül, *The Doorframes in Late Antique Period Buildings in Istanbul and its Hinterland*, in: D. Burcu Erciyas (ed.), *Marmara Studies Symposium Proceedings, Settlement Archaeology Series 2* (Istanbul 2008) 105–114; P. Niewöhner, *St. Benoît in Galata. Der byzantinische Ursprungsbau*, *JdI 125*, 2010, 155–242, esp. 193–194 figs. 60–62; J.-P. Sodini, *Les portes centrales de la basilique est (cathédrale) de Xanthos*, in: S. Doğan – M. Kadiroğlu (eds.), *Bizans ve Çevre Kültürleri*. Prof. Dr. S. Yıldız Ötügen'e Armağan (Istanbul 2010) 319–331; B. İşler, *Alacahisar Church in Kale (Demre) District of the Antalya Province Light [sic] of the New Findings*, *Eurasian Art & Humanities Journal 6*, 2016, 1–21, figs. 13. 14 <<http://dx.doi.org/10.17740/eas.art.2016-V6-01>>; E. Laflı – A. Zäh, *Archäologische Forschungen im byzantinischen Hadrianopolis in Paphlagonien*, *ByzZ 101/2*, 2008, 681–713, esp. 687 f. pl. 15 fig. 7; S. Mamaloukos, *Observations on the Doors and Windows in Byzantine Architecture*, in: R. Ousterhout – R. Holod – L. Haselberger (eds.), *Masons at Work* (Philadelphia 2016) 1–38.

Fig. 1 Fethiye Mosque (Pammakaristos Monastery), cornice, inscribed as no. 209, which may indicate the same provenance as the architrave (Fig. 2) that is currently also at the Fethiye Mosque, but used to be kept in the garden of St Sophia as inv. 208



Fig. 2 Inv. 3911, architrave; H 36 L (broken) 141 W 39; broken on the right; the moulding continues on the left side. The block used to be kept in the garden of St Sophia as inv. 208; today it is exhibited in the garden of Fethiye Mosque (Pammakaristos Monastery).



Fig. 3 Inv. 3911 as above Fig. 2, back side



ROMAN ENTABLATURE BLOCKS

Compared to the Byzantine and Ottoman capital city of Constantinople/Istanbul, Roman Byzantium was a small provincial town of little import⁶, and few archaeological remains have survived the enormous building activities of later centuries⁷. Half a dozen Roman entablature blocks that have been found at Istanbul remain without architectural context (Figs. 1–9). It cannot be excluded that they were brought to Constantinople as spolia for the embellishment of the

⁶ D. Engster, *Die Kolonie Byzantion – Geschichte, Gesellschaft und Stadtbild einer Handelsmetropole*, in: N. Povalahev (ed.), *Phanagoreia und darüber hinaus... Festschrift für Vladimir Kuznetsov* (Göttingen 2014) 357–396.

⁷ C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (4^e–7^e siècles)*, *TravMem Monographies 2* (Paris 1990); C. Barsanti, *Note archeologiche su Bisanzio Romana*, in: C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi – F. de'Maffei (eds.), *Costantinopoli e l'arte delle province orientali*, *Milion 2* (Rome 1990) 11–72; *RBK 4* (1990) 396–418 s. v. Konstantinopel B. I. a. 2. *Profanarchitektur* (M. Restle); *RAC 21* (2006) 437–458 s. v. Konstantinopel (stadtdogeschichtlich) (A. Berger); A. Berger, *Konstantinopel. Gründung, Blüte und Verfall einer mediterranen Metropole*, in: F. Daim – J. Drauschke (eds.), *Byzanz. Das Römerreich im Mittelalter 2, 1* (Mainz 2010) 3–24.

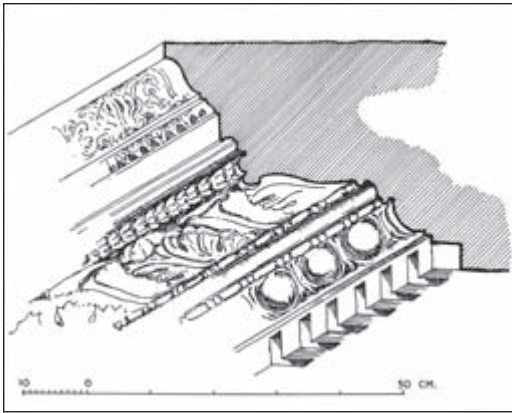


Fig. 4 Great Palace area, cornice



Fig. 5 Inv. 48.61, revetment architrave; unearthed in Bakırköy district at Hebdomon outside Constantinople in 1947 during the digging of foundation trenches for the Sümer Bank textile factory; H 38 L (broken) 41 W 8; broken on left; upper side with dowel or clamp hole at right end



Fig. 6 Inv. 51.92, architrave; from the Palace of Justice in Sultanahmet district in 1951; H 37 L 195 W 23,5 (right and left ends) – 29 (bottom centre); leaf-tips broken; the moulding continues on both sides

Byzantine capital and originally belonged to other ancient cities⁸. However, as the marbles were found at Istanbul, they were likely part of the complex patch-work that made up Byzantine Constantinople, and this is the reason why they are included here. If they were on display during the Byzantine period, they will have constituted the Constantinopolitan vision of ancient entablatures, to which the Byzantines could compare their own contemporary carvings. This paper shall do the same and use the Roman blocks from Istanbul as points of reference in order to establish how the Byzantine production related to the ancient tradition.

The Roman entablatures probably consist of marble from Proconnesus/Marmara Adası, a quarry island in the Sea of Marmara, a few kilometres to the south of Byzantium and in easy reach by boat⁹. Proconnesus was an

⁸ Cf. figural sculptures, for which this is attested: L. James, »Pray Not to Fall into Temptation and Be on Your Guard«. Pagan Statues in Christian Constantinople, *Gesta* 35, 1996, 12–20; S. Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge 2004); L. Stirling, *Collections, Canons, and Context. The Afterlife of Greek Masterpieces in Late Antiquity*, in: S. Birk – T.M. Kristensen – B. Poulsen (eds.), *Using Images in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2014) 96–114.

⁹ N. Asgari, *Roman and Early Byzantine Marble Quarries of Proconnesus*, in: E. Akurgal (ed.), *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress for Classical Archaeology* (Ankara 1978) 467–480; N. Asgari – T. Drew-Bear, *The Quarry Inscriptions of Proconnesos*, in: J.J. Herrmann, Jr. – N. Herz – R. Newman (eds.), *ASMOSIA V: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. Proceedings of the Fifth*

important quarry in the Roman period and is well known through exports to other Mediterranean cities more important and better preserved than Byzantium¹⁰. However, the Roman workshop tradition of Proconnesus appears to have lapsed in the early fourth century and had no perceptible influence on the Byzantine revival of Proconnesus in the late fourth century.

A medium-sized architrave that used to be kept on the grounds of St Sophia has today been moved to the garden surrounding the Pammakaristos Monastery Church or Fethiye Mosque (*Figs. 2, 3*)¹¹. At St Sophia the block had been inventoried as no. 208, and a cornice that is numbered 209 and lies next to the architrave at the Fethiye Mosque may also have been brought from St Sophia and could have been part of the same entablature (*Fig. 1*). A different Roman cornice without modillions has been recorded in the area formerly occupied by the imperial palace, to the southeast of St Sophia (*Fig. 4*)¹².



Fig. 7 Inv. 51.92 as above *Fig. 6*, right side

International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity (London 2002) 1–19.

¹⁰ J. B. Ward-Perkins, *Nicomedia and the Marble Trade*, BSR 48, 1980, 23–59; K. Grala – J. Skoczylas, *The Ancient Marble of Proconnesos*, *Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*. *Novensia* 14, 2003, 205–220.

¹¹ A. M. Mansel, *Erwerbungsbericht des Antikenmuseums zu Istanbul seit 1914*, AA 1931, 173–210, esp. 195–198 fig. 18; Barsanti loc. cit. (n. 7) 36 pl. 12, 26.

¹² Talbot Rice loc. cit. (n. 5) 186–188 fig. 41 pl. 41 B.



Fig. 8 Inv. 51.92 as above *Fig. 6*, back and upper sides; both upper ends with backwards facing clamp holes; the bottom centre with a ledge that is 7 cm high and protrudes 3 cm wide; the clamps may have connected to additional architrave blocks, four of which could for example have formed a square frame for a ciborium, with the central ledge supporting a marble dome

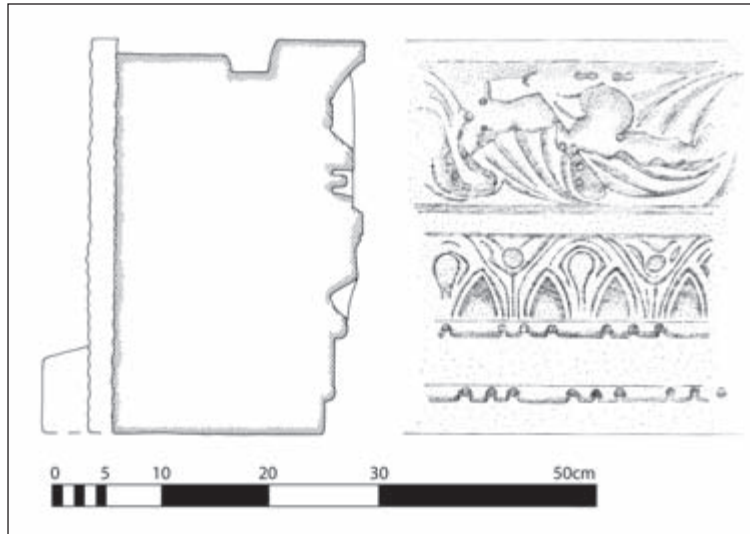


Fig. 9 Inv. 51.92 as above
Fig. 6

A smaller scale is represented by two architraves with nearly identical decoration but from distant findspots. One was part of a wall-revetment and unearthed in Istanbul's Bakırköy district, formerly the Hebdomon outside Constantinople (*Fig. 5*)¹³. The other architrave (*Fig. 6*) was retrieved from the Turkish Palace of Justice that has since given way to the excavation of the Chalke Gate to the Byzantine imperial palace¹⁴. This block is decorated on the short sides also (*Fig. 7*), and clamp holes as well as a ledge on the back side (*Figs. 8, 9*) could have connected to additional architrave blocks and supported a ciborium similar to later, Byzantine ciboria, for example the one of St Euphemia at the Hippodrome¹⁵.

FINE-TOOTHED ACANTHUS, THE EARLIER FOURTH CENTURY, AND DOCIMIUM IN PHRYGIA

The archaeology of earlier fourth-century Constantinople is hardly less obscure than that of Roman Byzantium, although Constantine chose the city as his capital and is known through written sources to have erected numerous buildings there¹⁶. One possible explanation is that much of Constantine's building activity may have re-used older materials such as the aforesaid Roman entablatures (*Figs. 1–9*). This is known as a fact of ancient sculptures that Constantine had brought from elsewhere in order to enhance the ancient flair and dignity of his capital¹⁷. A lack of earlier fourth-century finds has also been observed in other cities of Asia Minor, includ-

¹³ Niewöhner 2008b, 146 fig. 6.

¹⁴ Ç. Girgin, La porte monumentale trouvée dans les fouilles près de l'ancienne prison de Sultanahmet, *Anatolia antiqua* 16, 2008, 259–290; A. Denker, The Great Palace, in: G. Baran Çelik et al. (eds.), *Byzantine Palaces in Istanbul* (Istanbul 2011) 11–69, esp. 16–17.

¹⁵ Belting – Naumann 1966; cf. also A. Δ. Μητσάνη, Το παλαιχριστιανικό κιβώριο της Καταπολιανής Πύρου, *DeltChrA* ser. 4 vol. 19, 1996–1997, 319–334.

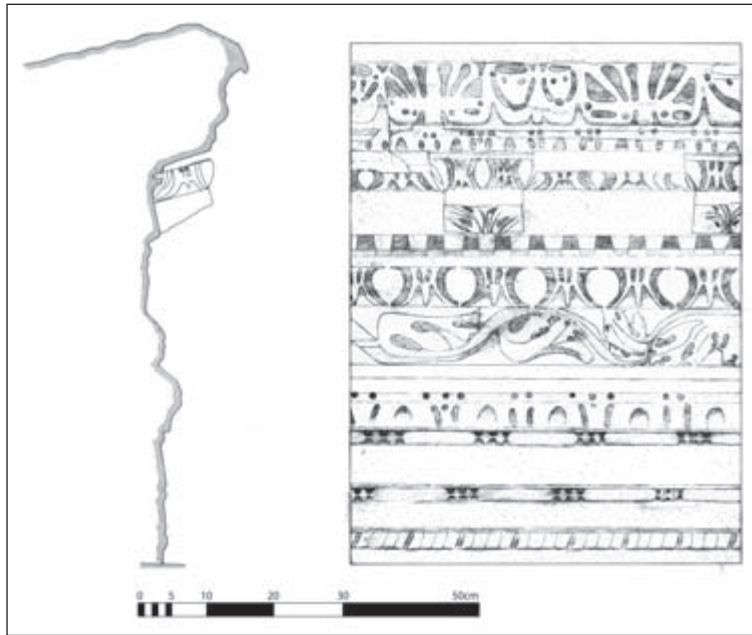
¹⁶ See above note 7.

¹⁷ See above note 8.

Fig. 10 Inv. 42.93, revetment entablature; found together with inv. 42.91 and 42.92 T (Figs. 12–14) during excavation of the Balaban Ağa Mescidi in 1930; H 79 L 266 W 15–35



Fig. 11 Inv. 42.93, as above Fig. 10, detail



ing Ephesus, the region's largest and most important metropolis. There, many buildings appear to have remained in a ruinous state for almost a century after severe earthquake destruction in the later third century, and earlier fourth-century ceramics and coins are also scarce¹⁸. Asia Minor seems to have undergone a general downturn in the earlier fourth century, and once the demand faltered, the exploitation of Proconnesian marble may have stopped altogether, which would explain the lack of earlier fourth-century marble carvings.

However, one entablature that was found at Istanbul and may conceivably consist of Proconnesian marble appears to date from the turn of the fourth century (Figs. 10–14)¹⁹. Three parts of the same wall-revetment were found in 1930 upon dismantling the remains of the Balaban

¹⁸ S. Ladstätter – A. Pülz, *The Transformation of Ephesus from the 3rd to the 7th Century*, in: A. Poulter (ed.), *The Transformation of the City: On the Danube and Beyond* (Oxford 2007) 391–433, esp. 391–398; S. Ladstätter, *Ephesus in byzantinischer Zeit. Das letzte Kapitel der Geschichte einer antiken Großstadt*, in: F. Daim – J. Drauschke (eds.), *Byzanz – Das Römerreich im Mittelalter* 2, 2 (Mainz 2010) 493–519, esp. 493–499.

¹⁹ Mansel loc. cit. (n. 11) 197–207 fig. 19 (inv. 4193); A. M. Mansel, *The Excavation of the Balaban Ağa Mesdjidi in Istanbul*, *Art Bulletin* 15, 1933, 210–229, esp. 222. 226–227 fig. 21 (inv. 4292 T); A. M. Mansel, *Balaban Ağa Mescidi Hafriyatı* (1930), *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 3, 1936, fig. 26; Barsanti loc. cit. (n. 7) 37 pl. 13.



Fig. 12 Inv. 42.91, revetment entablature; found together with inv. 42.92 T and 42.93 as above Fig. 10; similar to the former, but with additional cornucopia flanking the central part of the frieze; H 79 L 268 W 15–37



Fig. 13 Inv. 42.92 T, revetment entablature; found together with inv. 42.91 and 42.93 as above Fig. 10; similar to the former, but with a different scroll; H 78 L 265 W bottom 15



Fig. 14 Inv. 42.92 T, as above Fig. 13, detail, modillion or corbel with acanthus leaf from below



Fig. 15 Archaeological Museum Kütahya in Phrygia, inv. 6789; pilaster capital with fine-toothed and soft-pointed acanthus leaves; fine white marble, probably from Docimium; acquired in 1979 from a private citizen of Emirgazi village in Kütahya district; H 26 L 27 (bottom) – 34 (top)

Ağa Mescidi in Fatih district, between the Constantinian and the Theodosian landwalls. This minor mosque used to be a Byzantine building, but it is not obvious how the entablature could have been displayed in the small hexagonal interior, and according to its location and other indicators the building was likely erected after the Theodosian landwalls (404–413), thus post-dating the entablature by a century or so.

The date of the entablature is derived from its ›fine-toothed‹ acanthus scrolls and elaborately carved leaves with a finely veined surface (Figs. 10. 12. 13)²⁰. Such leaves were not yet customary in the third century, when an earlier variant of fine-toothed acanthus with a flat surface and drilled rather than chiselled contours²¹ was applied to columnar

²⁰ ›Fine-toothed‹ = German ›feingezahnt‹; Peschlow 2004, 96–98, s.v. Der feingezahnte Akanthus. The early Byzantine variant of fine-toothed acanthus has been described in German as ›fett, zackig‹, i.e. ›fat, jagged‹: J. Strzygowski, Die Akropolis in altbyzantinischer Zeit, AM 14, 1889, 271–296, esp. 280; R. Kautzsch, Kapitellstudien. Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte 9 (Berlin 1936) 115–117.

²¹ The Roman variant of fine-toothed acanthus has been described in German as ›buckel- oder dornenförmig‹, i.e. ›humpy or spiky‹: J. Kramer, Korinthische Pila-



Fig. 16 Inv. 6076 T, pilaster capital with broad-pointed and fine-toothed acanthus leaves; Docimian marble; found at the Myrelaion Rotunda together with inv. 6071 (Fig. 17) and other capitals of the same series; H 28,5 L 27,5 (bottom) – 34 (top)



Fig. 17 Inv. 6071, pilaster capital with broad-pointed and stiff-pointed acanthus leaves; Docimian marble; found together with inv. 6076 T as above Fig. 16; H (broken) 17 L (broken) 20

sarcophagi of the Sidamaria type and to column capitals²². The later kind of veined leaf is first attested on late-third/early fourth-century entablatures and pilaster capitals from Docimium in Phrygia (Figs. 15. 16. 18. 20)²³. Docimium was the most important marble quarry on the central Anatolian high plateau²⁴ and famous for marble wall-revetment that was exported throughout the empire²⁵. As parts of such wall-revetments, some pilaster capitals also appear to have travelled to Rome, Constantinople, and elsewhere²⁶, for example finds from Istanbul's Myrelaion

terkapitelle in Kleinasien und Konstantinopel. *Antike und spätantike Werkstattgruppen*, *IstMitt Beih.* 39 (Tübingen 1994) 26; J. Rohmann, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Ursprung des feingezahnten Akanthus*, *IstMitt* 45, 1995, 109–121.

²² M. Waelkens, *Dokimeion. Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage* (Berlin 1982); Niewöhner 2013, 215–220 figs. 10.1–4; V. M. Strocka, *Dokimenische Säulensarkophage*, *Asia-Minor-Studien* 82 (Bonn 2017). See also an architrave with such a fine-toothed acanthus scroll at Eskişehir in central Anatolia: Niewöhner 2007, 123. 292 cat. 466 pl. 58.

²³ Kramer loc. cit. (n. 21); Niewöhner 2013, 225–236 figs. 10.7–13.

²⁴ J. C. Fant, *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae: The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (Oxford 1989); Niewöhner 2007; A. M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects, 27 BC – AD 235* (Oxford 2010) 291–307. 318–323 (bibliography).

²⁵ P. Pensabene, *Le vie del marmo. I blocchi di cava di Roma e di Ostia. Il fenomeno del marmo nella Roma antica* (Rome 1994); M. Waelkens – P. Degryse – L. Vandeput – L. Loots – Ph. Muechez, *Polychrome Architecture at Sagalassos (Pisidia) during the Hellenistic and Imperial Period against the Background of Greco-Roman Coloured Architecture*, in: L. Lazzarini (ed.), *ASMOSIA VI: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity* (Padua 2002) 517–530.

²⁶ Kramer loc. cit. (n. 21); M. Waelkens – Ph. Muechez – L. Loots – P. Degryse – L. Vandeput – S. Ercan – L. Moens – P. de Paepe, *Marble and Marble Trade at Sagalassos (Turkey)*, in: J. Herrmann – N. Herz – R. Newman (eds.), *ASMOSIA V: Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity* (London 2002) 370–380; M. Waelkens, *Sagalassos – jaarboek 2008. Het kristallen jubileum van twintig jaar opgravingen* (Leuven 2009) 356–357; J. J. Herrmann – R. H. Tykot, *Some Products from the Dokimeion Quarries: Craters, Tables, Capitals, and Statues*, in: Y. Maniatis (ed.), *ASMOSIA VII: The Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity* (Athens 2009) 59–75, esp. 63–65.

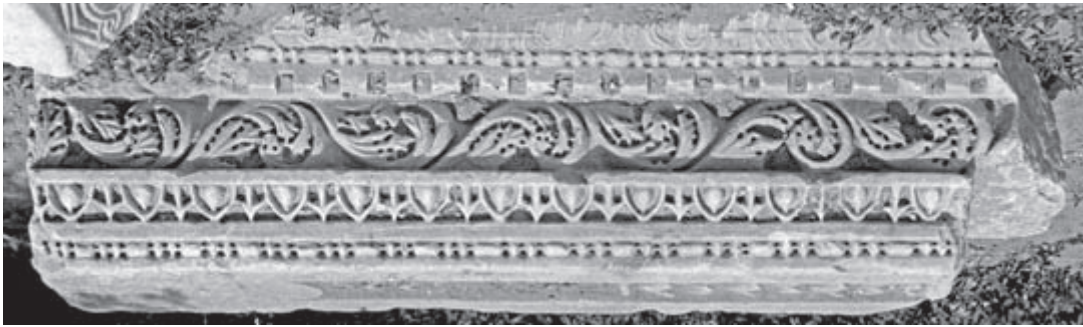


Fig. 18 Archaeological Museum Afyon in Phrygia, inv. 1537; entablature with a fine-toothed acanthus scroll that continues on the left side; right end with mitre joint; from a fourth-century church, same as inv. 1536 (Fig. 19); fine white marble, probably from Docimium; H 31 L (broken) 127 W 19,5 (bottom) – 31 (top)

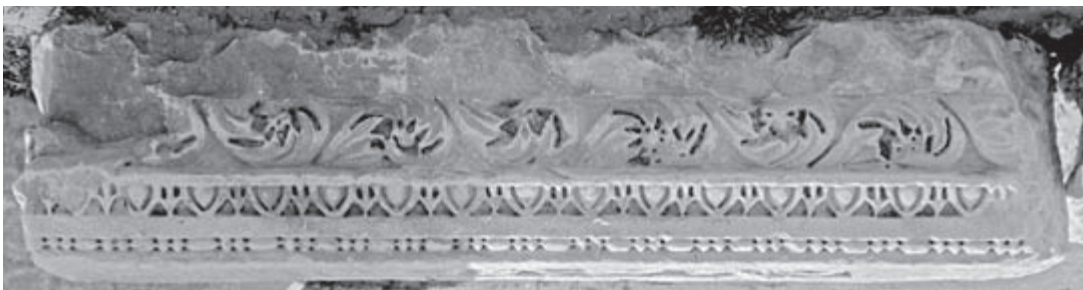


Fig. 19 Archaeological Museum Afyon in Phrygia, inv. 1536; entablature with a pointed acanthus scroll that continues on the left side; right end with mitre joint; from the same church as inv. 1537, Fig. 18 above; fine white marble, probably from Docimium; H 33 L (broken) 135 W 19,5 (bottom)



Fig. 20 Inv. 5329, fine-toothed acanthus frieze with cross and cornucopias; from Bozhüyük in Phrygia; probably from above a door; certainly not Proconnesian marble, probably Docimian marble; H 29 (front) – 19 (back) L (broken) 167 W 41 (bottom) – 61 (top); broken on the left; the moulding ends on the right side; the upper ledge with the right end of a dedicatory inscription: ...ουου Χ και μνήμης των γωνέων και της συνβίου Θεοδότ(ης)

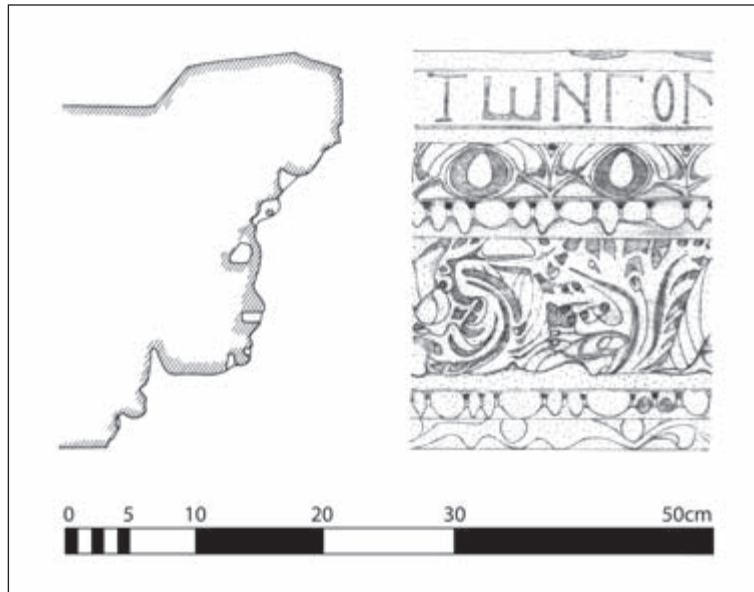
Rotunda (Figs. 16. 17)²⁷. Larger and heavier entablature blocks were not normally transported beyond the central Anatolian high plateau, but have for example been found at Afyon in the vicinity of Docimium (Figs. 18. 19), and at Bozhüyük, also in Phrygia (Figs. 20–22).

²⁷ P. Niewöhner, *Der frühbyzantinische Rundbau beim Myrelaion in Konstantinopel. Kapitelle, Mosaiken und Ziegelstempel*, *IstMitt* 60, 2010, 411–459; P. Niewöhner, *The Rotunda at the Myrelaion in Istanbul. Pilaster Capitals, Mosaics, and Brick Stamps*, in: E. Akyürek – N. Necipoğlu – A. Ödekan (eds.), *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture*, *International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium 2* (Istanbul 2013) 41–52.

Fig. 21 Inv. 5329 as above
Fig. 20, right side



Fig. 22 Inv. 5329 as above
Fig. 20



The fine-toothed entablature block at Afyon (Fig. 18)²⁸ is lower than the revetment from Balaban Ağa Mescidi at Istanbul (Figs. 10–14), but the acanthus scrolls of both blocks are comparable (cf. in particular Figs. 13 and 18). The entablature at Afyon also includes other blocks with variously ›pointed‹ instead of fine-toothed acanthus (Fig. 19)²⁹, and a biblical inscription on the back side allocates the mixed series to a fourth-century church³⁰.

²⁸ Niewöhner 2007, 291 cat. 464 pl. 58; Niewöhner 2013, 232–233 figs. 10. 11.

²⁹ Niewöhner 2007, 291 cat. 465 pl. 58; Niewöhner 2013, 232–233 figs. 10. 12.

³⁰ W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia 1, 2. West and West-Central Phrygia* (Oxford 1897) 740 no. 674; W.H. Buckler – W.M. Calder, *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*, MAMA 6 (Manchester 1939) 385.

The block from Bozhüyük (Figs. 20–22)³¹ was probably brought to the Archaeological Museum Istanbul because it was found before the Anatolian province established archaeological museums of its own. The block is broken on the left, but can likely be reconstructed with an overall length of about 3 m, because a prominent cross appears to mark the centre. At the right end the frieze turns without continuing to the back (Fig. 21), and the block may have served as an overdoor. The upper ledge bears a Christian inscription that dedicates the work to a man and to the memory of his children and his wife Theodote. The acanthus frieze with cornucopias is of outstanding quality, with elaborately twisted leaves that are deeply undercut and have lively chiselled surfaces. Such complex fine-toothed acanthus is not known from the fifth and sixth centuries any more (cf. Figs. 68. 89. 135. 163) and would appear to date the block to the fourth century. These and other carvings show that the marble quarries of Docimium remained active throughout the fourth century³². In contrast, the lack of any more Proconnesian marble carvings that can be assigned to the same period suggests that exploitation of the latter quarry slumped and may have been discontinued in the earlier fourth century.

THE ARCH OF THEODOSIUS, THE FORUM TAURI,
AND ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AT HEBDOMON – THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

The history of Byzantine architecture and marble carving at Constantinople emerges from obscure beginnings after Theodosius I moved his court there in 380 and the city became the sole capital of the eastern Roman Empire³³. The ensuing building program and subsequent enlargement of the city led to a revival of the nearby quarries on Proconnesus/Marmara Island³⁴, and all the Constantinopolitan entablatures seem to consist of that marble. The first dated monument from this period are the excavated remains of the Arch of Theodosius (Fig. 23)³⁵. The architrave is plain and the frieze bossage³⁶. The cornice consists of a row of standing, ›soft-pointed‹ acan-

³¹ List of New Objects Acquired by the Museum in the Years 1956 and 1957, *IstanbAMüzYıl* 8 = *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yayınları* 21, 1958, 54–60, esp. 56 fig. 26; Niewöhner 2007, 292 cat. 467 pl. 58.

³² Niewöhner 2007, 119–134; P. Niewöhner, Production and Distribution of Docimian Marble in the Theodosian Age, in: I. Jacobs (ed.), *Production and Prosperity in the Theodosian Age, Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion* 14 (Leuven 2014) 251–271.

³³ B. Croke, Reinventing Constantinople. Theodosius I's Imprint on the Imperial City, in: S. McGill – C. Sogno – E. Watts (eds.), *From the Tetrarchs to the Theodosians. Later Roman History and Culture, 284–450 CE*, *YaleClSt* 34 (Cambridge MA 2010) 241–264.

³⁴ N. Asgari, The Proconnesian Production of Architectural Elements in Late Antiquity, in: G. Dagron – C. Mango (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot 1995) 263–288.

³⁵ R. Naumann, Neue Beobachtungen am Theodosiusbogen und Forum Tauri in Istanbul, *IstMitt* 26, 1976, 117–141, esp. 117–136. Cf. P. Verzone, Il Tetrapilo aureo. Contributo alla topografia dell'antica Costantinopoli, *MonAnt serie miscellanea* 43, 1956, 126–203; R. Duyuran, Bayazit'da Yapılan Arkeolojik Araştırma ve Bazı Müşahedeler/Archaeological Researches in Bayazit and Some Observations, *IstanbAMüzYıl* 8, 1958, 71–73; J. Lafontaine, Fouilles et découvertes byzantines à Istanbul de 1952 à 1960, *Byzantion* 29/30, 1959–1960, 370; C. Barsanti, Il foro di Teodosio I a Costantinopoli, in: A. Iacobini – E. Zanini (eds.), *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio*, *Milione* 3 (Rome 1995) 9–50 figs. 23. 24.

³⁶ Cf. the embossed frieze of the Roman East Gate of Philippopolis that was likely imported from Proconnesus: M. Martinova-Kyutova – G. Pirovska, The Eastern Gate of Philippopolis, in: V. Dimitrov – V. Grigorov – A. Stanev (eds.), *Studies in Honour of Stefan Boyadzhiev* (Sofia 2011) 211–233 figs. 13. 14.

Fig. 23 Arch of Theodosius, architrave with embossed frieze and cornice with a row of soft-pointed acanthus leaves below and fluting above



Fig. 24 Kütahya, Roman anta block, front and right side



Fig. 25 Kütahya, anta block, as above Fig. 24, left side; the three larger, soft-pointed acanthus leaves to the left appear to have been added in the early Byzantine period



thus leaves below and a fluted sima above³⁷. A similar Roman *anta* block with a row of standing acanthus leaves below and a fluted sima above is known from Cotyaeum/Kütahya in Phrygia (Fig. 24) and seems to have been re-carved in the early Byzantine period with the addition of soft-pointed leaves (Fig. 25)³⁸. The soft-pointed leaves of the Theodosian arch are among the

³⁷ ›Soft-pointed‹ = German ›weichzackig; Peschlow 2004, 90–91.

³⁸ Cf. also an entablature with a fluted frieze from Kourion on Cyprus that was re-used at the Episcopal Basilica and

new Byzantine types of acanthus that appear to have been generated at Docimium in Phrygia during the fourth century, for example Docimian pilaster capitals at the Archaeological Museum Kütahya (Fig. 15)³⁹ and from the Myrelaion Rotunda at Constantinople⁴⁰ that combine soft-pointed leaves and fine-toothed acanthus. Thus, it would seem that Theodosius I employed stonemasons from Docimium, when he initiated new building projects at Constantinople and renewed exploitation of the marble quarries on Proconnesus⁴¹.

This appears to be confirmed by a number of smaller architrave blocks that were found some meters to the northwest of the Arch of Theodosius, when a new university library was built there in 1969 (Figs. 26–29)⁴². Further excavation of the find spot brought to light a portico with an exedra. The portico connected to the arch and appears to have enclosed a square that has since been identified as the Forum of Theodosius, also known as Forum Tauri⁴³. Some of the architrave blocks are curved, and the radius seems to have been smaller than that of the exedra, but the curvature of the architrave blocks is imprecise and the exedra is only known from a short stretch of foundation walls that does not allow an exact reconstruction either. However – whether the architrave blocks belonged to the exedra or not – they were likely part of the same forum that may have included more than one exedra.

In addition to the blocks that have been found on site and are included in an initial publication (Figs. 26–29), a smaller fragment at the Archaeological Museum also appears to be part of the



Fig. 26 Forum of Theodosius, architrave with two fasciae and an acanthus scroll

may originally have been carved for a fourth-century predecessor of that same church: G. House, Remains of Three Marble Entablatures, in: A. H. S. Megaw, *Kourion: Excavations in the Episcopal Precinct*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 38 (Washington DC 2007) 361–363 pl. 10.1; a cornice block with fluting on the corbels or modillions (?) from the basilica at Heracleia-Perinthos: S. Westphalen, *Die Basilika am Kalekapı in Herakleia Perinthos. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen von 1992–2010 in Marmara Ereğlisi*, *IstForsch* 55 (Tübingen 2016) cat. M82.

³⁹ P. Niewöhner, *Frühbyzantinische Steinmetzarbeiten in Kütahya*, *Zu Topographie, Steinmetzwesen und Siedlungsgeschichte einer zentralanatolischen Region*, *IstMitt* 56, 2006, 407–473, esp. 455 cat. 84 fig. 49.

⁴⁰ See above note 27.

⁴¹ See above note 32.

⁴² Naumann loc. cit. (n. 35) 136–141 figs. 10–14 (with drawings in profile) pls. 34. 35; Milella 1996, figs. 6. 7.

⁴³ A. Berger, *Taurus e Sigma: due piazze di Costantinopoli*, in: M. Bonfioli – R. Farioli Companati – A. Garzya (eds.), *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de'Maffei* (Rome 1996) 19–24 (with earlier bibliography).

Fig. 27 Forum of Theodosius, architrave as above Fig. 26

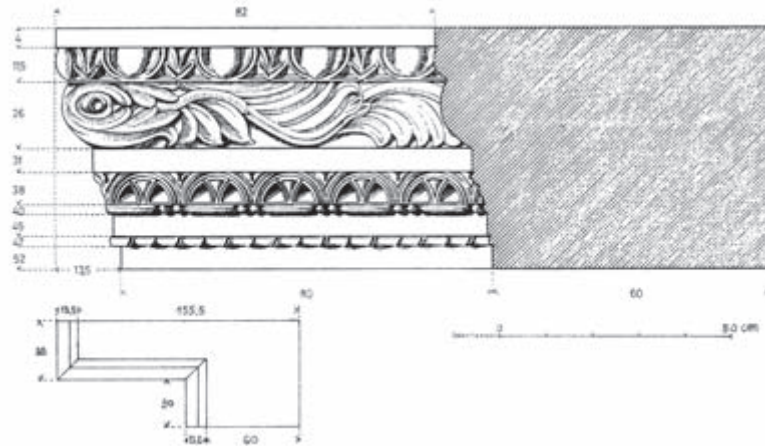
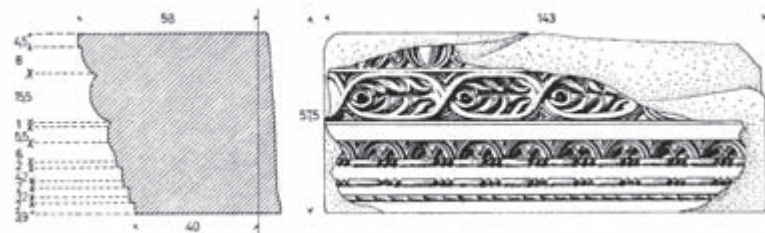


Fig. 28 Forum of Theodosius, curved architrave with three fasciae and split acanthus leaves



Fig. 29 Forum of Theodosius, architrave as above Fig. 28, but the split acanthus leaves pointing in the opposite direction



same architrave (Fig. 30). All blocks share the same dimensions, the same crisp carving, and the same detailed rendering of the Lesbian cyma that, at Constantinople, is unique to this architrave.

The blocks vary the number of fasciae, some have two (Figs. 26, 27), others three (Figs. 28–30), and they have different friezes, an acanthus scroll (Figs. 26, 27) not unlike the fourth-century architrave at Afyon (Fig. 19), a row of split acanthus leaves that are arranged in pairs and form chalices (Figs. 28, 29), and a ›Zangenfries‹ (Fig. 30). Similar variety is attested for fourth-century



Fig. 30 Architrave with three fasciae and ›Zangenfries‹; from the Forum of Theodosius?

marble carvings from Docimium in Phrygia⁴⁴, e.g. the architrave blocks with several different acanthus friezes and a biblical inscription, apparently from a fourth-century church, at Afyon (Figs. 18. 19). Other examples for variety from Docimium include the aforesaid pilaster capitals at the Archaeological Museum Kütahya (Fig. 15) and from the Myrelaion Rotunda at Constantinople (Fig. 16) that combine soft-pointed leaves and fine-toothed acanthus. Further pilaster capitals from the Myrelaion Rotunda that belong to the same series are also decorated with ›stiff-pointed‹ leaves and with ›broad-pointed‹ acanthus (Fig. 17)⁴⁵. Another series of varied pilaster capitals was employed in a fourth-century renovation of a shop on the east side of the Baths of Caracalla at Ankara⁴⁶.

Thus, the carving and the variety of the architrave blocks from the Forum of Theodosius appear to be in keeping with a fourth-century date and with a central Anatolian origin of the stonemasons⁴⁷. The brittle egg-and-dart with double contours (Figs. 26–29) is not otherwise



Fig. 31 Inv. 3967 T, revetment frieze; unearthed in the church of St John the Baptist at Hebdomon, in 1923; H (broken) 88 L (broken) 58 W 17 (right) – 24 (left); broken on left and bottom; the frieze continues on the right side; the back side is smooth (re-used?)

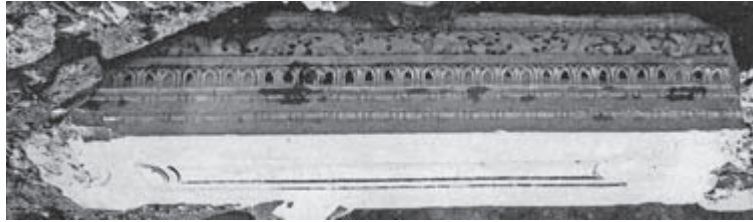
⁴⁴ P. Niewöhner, *Varietas, Spolia, and the End of Antiquity in East and West*, in: I. Jevtic – S. Yalman (eds.), *Spolia Reincarnated* (Istanbul 2018) in press.

⁴⁵ ›Stiff-pointed‹ = German ›starrzackig‹; Peschlow 2004, 91–92 s.v. Der starrzackige Akanthus. ›Broad-pointed‹ = German ›großgezackt‹; Peschlow 2004, 93–94 s.v. Der großgezackte Akanthus.

⁴⁶ M. Akok, Ankara Şehrindeki Roma Hamamı, TAD 17/1, 1968, 5–37, esp. 10. 23 figs. 25. 26; Niewöhner 2007, 120–122 figs. 5. 6; U. Peschlow, Ankara. Die bauarchäologischen Hinterlassenschaften aus römischer und byzantinischer Zeit (Vienna 2015) 76–77 fig. 126 pl. 41.

⁴⁷ P. Verzone, *Palazzi e domus dalla tetrarchia al VII secolo*, Bibliotheca archaeologica 46 (Rome 2011) 157 compares to Sts Sergius and Bacchus and suggests a Justinianic date, but the acanthus is superior and the profile does not protrude, both of which point to an earlier date.

Fig. 32 Myrelaion Rotunda,
architrave



attested at Byzantine Constantinople (cf. *Figs. 34–163*), but also occurs on the frieze from Bozhüyük in Phrygia that is undoubtedly of Docimian origin (*Fig. 20*).

A third bit of entablature that may date from this period is a fragmentary revetment frieze with a fluted lower zone, an acanthus scroll with blossom, and a maeander above (*Fig. 31*)⁴⁸. The fluting, which at the Arch of Theodosius and elsewhere occurs on the sima (*Figs. 23–25*) and on the frieze⁴⁹, may here conceivably have taken the place of the architrave, as is also attested for the early Byzantine church of St Michael at Miletus in Caria (see below *Fig. 147*). A similar maeander occurs on a lime stone overdoor at the mid sixth-century monastery of St John at Akalissos/Karabel/Asarcık West in Lycia (see below *Fig. 134*)⁵⁰. The Constantinopolitan revetment was unearthed in the church of St John the Baptist at Hebdomon, the seventh mile stone outside the city, modern Bakırköy district⁵¹. The church was built by Theodosius I and rebuilt by Justinian in the sixth century (for which see below and *Figs. 148–154*). The revetment frieze likely predates the sixth century, when such acanthus scrolls were not customary any more (cf. *Figs. 104–172*). It may conceivably have been carved for the Theodosian church of St John at a time when similar fluting was also applied to the Arch of Theodosius (*Fig. 23*). The broad-pointed acanthus of the scroll compares to broad-pointed acanthus leaves on the Docimian pilaster capitals from the Myrelaion Rotunda at Constantinople (*Figs. 16. 17*) and from the renovated shop at the Baths of Caracalla in Ankara⁵². This, once again, points to a central Anatolian origin of the stonemasons that re-activated Proconnesus in the Byzantine period.

THE MYRELAION ROTUNDA AND ST SOPHIA – THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY

Additional and more securely dated evidence that broad-pointed acanthus was first carved from Proconnesian marble in the Theodosian period is provided by an architrave, consoles, and mullions from the Myrelaion Rotunda and a smaller neighbouring building that was part of the same complex (*Figs. 32. 33*)⁵³. As opposed to the aforesaid pilaster capitals from the Myrelaion Rotunda

⁴⁸ Demangel 1945, 27 fig. 14; Niewöhner 2008b, 145–146 fig. 5.

⁴⁹ Cf. also above note 3.

⁵⁰ For a slab with a more complex maeander ornament that was re-used in the sixth-century Great Palace Peristyle and must therefore date from an earlier, pre-sixth century period, see Brett 1947, 12 pl. 10, 4.

⁵¹ H. Glück, *Das Hebdomon und seine Reste in Makriköi. Untersuchungen zur Baukunst und Plastik von Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1920); Demangel 1945; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos, Poikila Byzantina 8* (Bonn 1988) 681–684; C. Mango, *The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus Once Again*, *ByzZ* 68, 1975, 385–392, esp. 390–391; T. Tuna, *Hebdomon'dan Bakırköy'e/From Hebdomon to Bakırköy*, *Bakırköy Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 1* (Istanbul 2000).

⁵² See above note 46.

⁵³ Possibly closely followed by, or contemporary with, the door frames that form a secondary addition to the Golden Gate in the land walls of Constantinople and may date from 413 AD, when the land walls were built and the door-

that were relatively small and light and would have been imported from Docimium as part of a colourful wall-revetment (*Figs. 15–17*), for which the Phrygian quarry was famous and that was not available in the vicinity of Constantinople⁵⁴, the large and heavy architrave blocks, mullions, and consoles were carved locally from Proconnesian marble.

The Myrelaion Rotunda had the largest dome in Constantinople and, together with the smaller neighbouring building, belonged to an aristocratic palace. Later, the dome collapsed, the rotunda was converted into a cistern, and the smaller building appears to have been lost entirely⁵⁵. Their architectural and decorative features as well as the location on the main street or Mese, between the Forum of Theodosius to the east and that of Arcadius to the west, correspond well with an identification as the »House of Arcadia« (400–444), a daughter of Arcadius and sister of Theodosius II. Subsequent owners included the later emperor Romanos I Lekapenos, and Arcadia may have also had predecessors, but floor mosaics and brick stamps confirm a date around the turn of the fifth century. Only the pilaster capitals from Docimium may be older, because the aforesaid series with a variety of fourth-century acanthus leaves (*Figs. 16. 17*) was found mixed up with older Roman pieces that must have been re-used, making this seem possible for the fourth-century capitals, too.

The Myrelaion Rotunda was closely followed by or possibly contemporary with the second church of St Sophia that Theodosius II inaugurated in 415 (*Figs. 34–39*)⁵⁶. The entablature of the Theodosian porch or propylon that has been excavated in front of the third, Justinianic church of St Sophia has an arched centre piece (*Figs. 35. 37*), and on some blocks the frieze is replaced by lambs as allegorical representations of the apostles (*Fig. 38*)⁵⁷. These special features aside,



Fig. 33 Smaller building south of the Myrelaion Rotunda, mullion with Corinthian capital, pointed acanthus, and impost with palmette; today in the garden of St Sophia

frames may have been added to the earlier, triumphal gate in order to make it defensible: J. Bardill, *The Golden Gate in Constantinople: A Triumphal Arch of Theodosius I*, *AJA* 103, 1999, 671–696; N. Asutay-Effenberger, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel-Istanbul. Historisch-topographische und baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, *Millennium-Studien* 18 (Wiesbaden 2007) 54–61.

⁵⁴ See above notes 25 and 26.

⁵⁵ See above note 27 and K. Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel auf der Seraispitze, die Nea, das Tekfur-Serai und das Zisternenproblem* (Hannover 1925) 98–108; D. T. Rice, *Excavations at Bodrum Camii 1930: The Messel Expedition*, *Byzantion* 8, 1933, 151–174; R. Naumann, *Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelaion und der Palast Romanos I. Lekapenos*, *IstMitt* 16, 1966, 199–216; C. L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Mainz 1981); Ćurčić loc. cit. (n. 3) 270–271.

⁵⁶ H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia* (Berlin 1967).

⁵⁷ Schneider loc. cit. (n. 5); F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus*, *Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 4 (Baden Baden 1956) fig. 9; Milella 1996.



Fig. 34 Theodosian St Sophia, cornice of the propylon, found during the excavation and today kept in the garden of St Sophia



Fig. 35 Theodosian St Sophia, architrave, found and exhibited as above Fig. 34

the carving is typical for much of the fifth-century production from Proconnesus in so far as it appears relatively heavy and doughy, even sloppy in the execution of details. This becomes noticeable in comparison with the vibrant acanthus scroll and brittle egg-and-dart frieze from Bozhüyük in Phrygia (Fig. 20) or in relation to the crisp and precise carving of the fourth-century architrave from the Forum of Theodosius (Figs. 26–29).

The lesser quality of the fifth-century carvings from Constantinople/Proconnesus may be explained with the mass production that set in there, as the same workshop complex did not only meet the demands of the growing capital city, but also supplied copious amounts of ready-made marble carvings for export throughout the numerous Mediterranean and Black Sea provinces of the vast empire⁵⁸. Thus, the simplified sima on the cornice of the Theodosian St Sophia (Fig. 34) – a double row of reeds instead of a traditional anthemion (cf. Figs. 2. 4. 10–13. 18) – may have been

⁵⁸ C. Barsanti, L'esportazione di marmi dal Proconneso nelle regioni pontiche durante il 4.–6. secolo, RIA ser. 3 vol. 12, 1989, 91–220; J.-P. Sodini, Le commerce des marbres dans la Méditerranée (4^e–7^e siècle), in: J. M. Gurt (ed.), 5. Reunión d'arqueologia cristiana hispànica (Barcelona 2000) 423–448; M. Dennert – S. Westphalen, Säulen aus Konstantinopel. Ein Schiffsfund im antiken Hafen von Amrit, DaM 14, 2004, 183–195.



Fig. 36 Theodosian St Sophia, entablature as above
Figs. 34, 35



Fig. 37 Theodosian St Sophia, arched architrave,
found and exhibited as above *Fig. 34*



Fig. 38 Theodosian St So-
phia, architrave with lambs,
found and exhibited as above
Fig. 34



Fig. 39 Theodosian St So-
phia, sima with anthemion,
found and exhibited as above
Fig. 34



Fig. 40 Inv. 08.35, cornice; unearthed together with inv. 08.36–38 (Figs. 41–49) on Beyazit Square in 1957, where a colonnaded street may have turned off the Mese at right angles and led down southwards to the Sea of Marmara; H 33 L 155 W 81 (bottom) – 114 (top); upper side with clamp hole that connects towards the front and appears to attest to an earlier, different use of the block



Fig. 41 Inv. 08.36, architrave; unearthed together with inv. 08.35, 37, and 38 as above Fig. 40; H 55 L 225 W 60 (bottom) – 73 (top); the left end of the relief turns towards the front; the upper side has a central clamp hole connecting to the right and two dowel or clamp holes at the left end, where the surface is partly broken off

a concession to mass production in a large workshop, where much work would be delegated to less skilled hands.

BEYAZIT SQUARE AND OTHER PROBABLE FIFTH-CENTURY CORNICES WITH ANTHEMION

Other entablatures have no date attached, and their attribution to the Theodosian period is conjectural. Several blocks of the same entablature, complete with architrave and cornice (Figs. 40–49), were found on Beyazit Square⁵⁹, a modern plaza on Ordu Caddesi, the Ottoman main street

⁵⁹ R. Duyuran, *Archeological Researches in Bayazit and some Observations*, *IstanbAMüzYıl* 8, 1958, 71–73 fig. 5; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul* (Tübingen 1977) 260 fig. 293: »möglicherweise zur Basilica Theodosiana gehörig (?)«; C. Barsanti, *Scultura e architettura, ovvero alcuni aspetti del decoro scolpito negli edifici costantinopolitani del 5–6 secolo*, in: 16. *Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress* = *JbÖByz* 32/4, 1982, 419–428, esp. 421–422 fig. 4 compares with the propylon of the Theodosian church of St Sophia at Constantinople and with



Fig. 42 Inv. 08.36 as above *Fig. 41*, left end of the relief, where it turns towards the front



Fig. 43 Inv. 08.36 as above *Fig. 41*, cross in the centre of the soffit on the underside



Fig. 44 Inv. 08.36 as above *Fig. 41*, end of the soffit on the underside

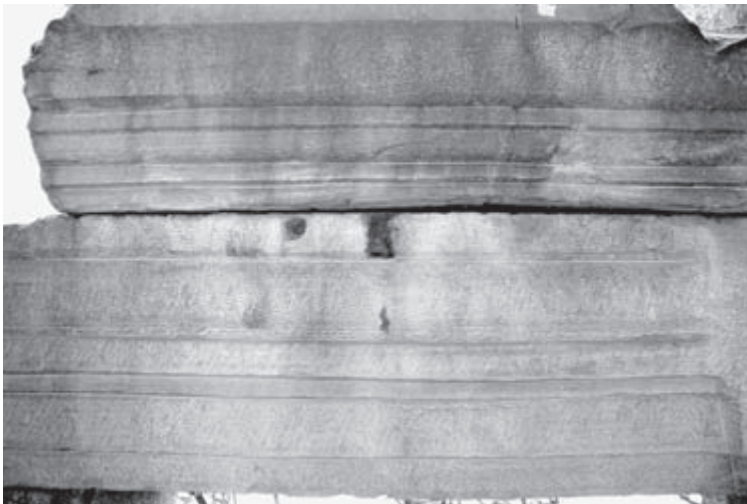


Fig. 45 Inv. 08.35 and 08.36 as above *Figs. 40. 41*, back sides; the right end of the architrave inv. 08.36 forms a corner

numerous Constantinopolitan impost blocks that are also decorated with palmettes (cf. *Fig. 33*); Milella 1996, 75 fig. 4 (reversed image).

Fig. 46 Inv. 08.35 and 08.36
as above *Figs. 40. 41*

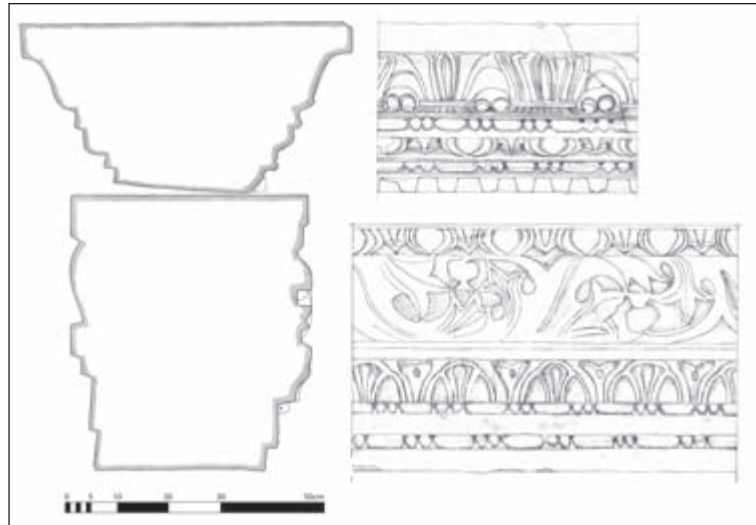


Fig. 47 Inv. 08.37, cornice; unearthed together with inv. 08.35, 36, and 38 as above *Fig. 42*; H 34 L 189 W. 80 (bottom) – 107 (top, broken); corners and most of the sima broken



Fig. 48 Inv. 08.38, architrave; unearthed together with inv. 08.35–37 as above *Fig. 40*; H 52,5 L 197 W 59 (bottom) – 73 (top); vertical breakage in the right quarter, right corner broken; underside with soffit like inv. 08.36 (*Figs. 43. 44*); upper side with two dowel holes, one at each end

and successor of the Byzantine Mese. Beyazit Square is close to the Forum of Theodosius and the Myrelaion Rotunda, and it seems conceivable that the entablature was part of the successive monumentalisation of this part of the main street during the Theodosian period. The flat



Fig. 50 Cornice, on the sima a scroll of alternately standing and hanging lotus flowers

Fig. 49 Inv. 08.37 and 08.38
as above *Figs. 47, 48*, back
sides



Fig. 51 Simple cornice, on the sima a scroll of alternately standing and hanging lotus flowers

profile without modillions or corbels would have been appropriate for a colonnaded street⁶⁰. The carving is similar to the Theodosian St Sophia (*Figs. 34–39*), and the sima with anthemion is more traditional and therefore maybe earlier than other surviving Byzantine simas from Constantinople/Proconnesus (cf. *Figs. 50–56. 67–68. 105–108. 128–137. 148–163*). The entablature

⁶⁰ Cf. above note 5 and M. Mundell Mango, *The Porticoed Street at Constantinople*, in: N. Necipoğlu (ed.), *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life* (Leiden 2001) 29–51.

from Beyazit Square compares to the Roman East Gate of Philippopolis/Plovdiv in Bulgaria that was likely imported from Proconnesus⁶¹. Similar Roman entablatures may also have existed at Byzantium and could have been the model for the Byzantine carving from Beyazit Square.

Two other cornice blocks without provenance have been simplified like that of the Theodosian St Sophia (*Fig. 34*) by reducing the sima that is here decorated with lotus flowers only (*Figs. 50, 51*). However, as lotus flowers were hardly ever otherwise employed in Byzantine architecture, they suffice to evoke the impression of a complete anthemion in the ancient tradition, according to which the lotus flowers alternated with palmettes. In both Byzantine cases the lotus flowers are alternatively standing and hanging and connect in such a way as to form a scroll. Earlier, Roman examples of the same can be found in Asia Minor⁶². In one Byzantine case the usual egg-and-dart friezes and smaller astragals are also omitted from the cornice (*Fig. 51*). A Theodosian date may be suggested on the grounds that later Byzantine cornices did not employ lotus flowers any more (cf. *Figs. 52–170*)⁶³.

A single cornice block from Saraçhane district has reduced the sima to palmettes instead of lotus flowers (*Fig. 52*)⁶⁴, and this, too, is enough to reference a complete anthemion. The find-spot is close to St Polyeuctus, but the cornice of that sixth-century church looks different (cf. *Figs. 105–108*), and the block under consideration must belong to another, earlier context. The sima with palmettes is closely comparable to impostes from the Theodosian Myrelaion complex (*Fig. 33*). In Saraçhane district, an early fifth-century context is attested by floor mosaics from the Theodosian period that were found on the site of today's Belediye or municipality building⁶⁵. For another fifth-century context in Saraçhane see below the architrave *Figs. 57–60*.



Fig. 52 Saraçhane district, cornice with palmette-sima

⁶¹ Martinova-Kyutova – Pirovska loc. cit. (n. 36) figs. 13, 14.

⁶² C. Başaran, Anadolu Roma Çağı Lotus-Palmet Örgesinde Tip Gelişimi, TAD 28, 1989, 53–72, esp. 57 type EII fig. 33: Myra, theatre; fig. 36: Seleucia, Temple of Jupiter.

⁶³ Cf. a cornice block with lotus flowers and fluted corbels or modillions (?) from the basilica at Heracleia-Perinthos: Westphalen loc. cit. (n. 38) cat. M82.

⁶⁴ M. Harrison, An Early Byzantine Figured Cornice, IstanbulMüzYıl 15/16, 1969, 171–174.

⁶⁵ Ö. Dalgıç, Early Floor Mosaics in Istanbul, in: G. Sözen (ed.), Mosaics of Anatolia (Istanbul 2011) 101–112, esp. 107–110 figs. 7, 8.

THE PALACE OF ANTIOCHUS OR ST EUPHEMIA
AND OTHER PROBABLE FIFTH-CENTURY CORNICES WITH BUNDLED ACANTHUS

The stylobate of the middle Byzantine templon⁶⁶ of the church of St Euphemia, which has been excavated next to the Hippodrome, was carved re-using the back sides of early Byzantine cornice blocks. The early Byzantine cornice (a) is decorated with a row of bundled acanthus leaves (*Fig. 53*)⁶⁷ that seems to be inspired by rows of palmettes like on the aforesaid cornice from Saraçhane (*Fig. 52*). Another such cornice block (b) without provenance exists in the Archaeological Museum (*Fig. 54*)⁶⁸. A third cornice block (c) was found astray during the excavation of St Euphemia (*Fig. 55*)⁶⁹. It has the same bundled acanthus leaves on the sima, but also includes modillions or corbels as well as dentils that are absent from cornices (a) and (b). However, considering that the bundled acanthus is not otherwise attested and that cornices (a) and (c) were both found in St Euphemia, it seems likely that all three blocks were originally carved for the same building that may have required smaller as well as bigger cornices.

The building in question may have been the Palace of Antiochus that was originally built in the first half of the fifth century⁷⁰ and converted into the church of St Euphemia in the seventh century⁷¹. Later, in the middle of the eighth century, the church and former palace was partly destroyed, possibly by the same earthquake that also affected the city walls and the nearby church of St Irene in 740⁷², and repaired as well as re-inaugurated by Empress Irene in 796⁷³. In this scenario, the early Byzantine cornice block (a) could have become available for re-carving as templon stylobate due to the partial collapse of St Euphemia, the former palace building, around the middle of the eighth century (*Fig. 53*). Block (c) may not have been affected by the collapse, may have remained in place until the final destruction of St Euphemia in the early modern period, and thus ended up in the debris and among the stray finds of the excavation (*Fig. 55*).

⁶⁶ For the templon, see Belting – Naumann 1966, 54–72. The middle Byzantine date is derived from the templon's epistyle. Other parts of the templon appear to be older and to have been re-used.

⁶⁷ Belting – Naumann 1966, 80–83 pl. 14 a. Belting – Naumann 1966, pl. 6 shows the cornice blocks in situ, re-used as stylobate of the middle Byzantine templon.

⁶⁸ Belting – Naumann 1966, 80–83 pl. 14 b.

⁶⁹ Belting – Naumann 1966, 80–83 pl. 14 d.

⁷⁰ J. Bardill – G. Greatrex, Antiochus the Praepositus: A Persian Eunuch at the Court of Theodosius II, *DOP* 50, 1996, 171–197.

⁷¹ A. Berger, Die Reliquien der heiligen Euphemia und ihre erste Translation nach Konstantinopel, *Ελληνικά* 39, 1988, 311–322.

⁷² J. Wortley, Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm. Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics, *ByzF* 8, 1982, 253–279, esp. 274–279. Repr. in: J. Wortley, *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204* (Ashgate 2009) no. 7; E. Guidoboni, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century* (Rome 1994) 364–365.

⁷³ C. de Boor (ed.), *Theophanis Chronographia* (Leipzig 1883–1885) 439–440; English translation and commentary: C. Mango – R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A. D. 284–813* (Oxford 1997) 607–608; F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine. Légendes byzantines*, *Subsidia hagiographica* 41 (Brussels 1965) 97–99; cf. C. Mango, *Review of F. Halkin, Euphémie de Chalcédoine. Légendes byzantines*, *Journal of Theological Studies* 17, 1966, 485–488; *Patria Konstantinupoleos* III 9, in: T. Preger (ed.), *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* 2 (Leipzig 1907) 216–217; English translation: A. Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The Patria* (Cambridge MA 2013) 143; commentary: J. Herrin, *Women in Purple: Rulers of Medieval Byzantium* (Princeton NJ 2001) 105; P. Niewöhner, *Historisch-topographische Überlegungen zum Trierer Prozessionselfenbein, dem Christusbild an der Chalke, Kaiserin Irene's Triumph im Bilderstreit und der Euphemiakirche am Hippodrom*, *Millennium* 11, 2014, 261–288.

Fig. 53 St Euphemia at the Hippodrome, cornice block (a), detail; re-used and the back side re-carved to serve as templon stylobate in the middle Byzantine period; H 22 (sima 11) L 190 (one unit 45) W 70



Fig. 54 Inv. 08.44, cornice block (b); H 20 (sima 11) L (broken) 99 (one unit 30) W 6 (bottom) – 18 (top); broken on right and left, where the moulding turns towards the front; an astragal at the bottom of the sima is carved in shallow relief and partly abraded

Fig. 55 St Euphemia at the Hippodrome, cornice block (c); stray find inside the later Byzantine church; H 19 L (broken) 70 W (broken) 36; broken on left and back



Fig. 56 St Sophia, cornice block (d); re-used on a later Byzantine buttress pier in front of the west façade





Fig. 57 Inv. 53.02, 53.24, and 53.25 T, in total five architrave blocks, two straight and three curved, as currently exhibited at the Archaeological Museum; from near the aqueduct in Saraçhane district; L ca. 8 m, niche ca. 3 m long and 135 cm deep; the curved centre block and the straight blocks each with a standing acanthus leaf in the centre of the scroll; the joints do not match, and the blocks do not appear to have belonged to the same niche originally; curved centre block: H 46 L 160, curved block on the right side: H 50 L 100

Finally, a fourth cornice block (d) with bundled acanthus on the sima and with modillions and dentils below has been re-used on a western buttress of St Sophia (Fig. 56)⁷⁴. The modillions are framed by an additional astragal that does not exist on the other large cornice block (c) (Fig. 55), but the sima is lower, which has resulted in jolted acanthus bundles with oblong rather than round >eyes<. These differences are no greater than among other marble carvings of the same series and in keeping with all four blocks having been produced on the same occasion and for the same building. Compare for example the differences in the fine-toothed acanthus leaves on the three surviving entablature blocks from the Balaban Ağa Mescidi (Figs. 10–13). If, therefore, block (d) on the buttress of St Sophia was originally also part of the Palace of Antiochus, it could have become available for re-use when the latter was destroyed around the middle of the eighth century, possibly by the earthquake of 740, and the hitherto undated western buttresses of St Sophia⁷⁵ might have been built in response to that same earthquake that collapsed the neighbouring church of St Irene and is bound to have affected St Sophia, too (Fig. 56).

PROBABLE FIFTH-CENTURY ARCHITRAVES WITH LESBIAN CYMA

Some architraves without known cornice may also be attributable to the Theodosian period, because they include a Lesbian cyma between the fasciae and the frieze (Figs. 57–66). This is the case with almost all architraves from Constantinople/Proconnesus considered so far (Figs. 5–7. 9–13. 26–30. 32. 35. 37. 38. 41. 42. 46. 48), whilst, starting with St John Studios (Figs. 67–69, see below), no later Byzantine architrave from after the Theodosian period includes a Lesbian cyma any more (cf. Figs. 70–147). A group of five architrave blocks from near the aqueduct in Saraçhane district, two straight and three curved, are currently arranged to form a niche in the permanent exhibition of the Archaeological Museum (Figs. 57. 58), but their joints do not match, and the blocks do not appear to have belonged to the same niche originally. The decorative soffits of the straight blocks (Figs. 59. 60) indicate that the architrave belonged to a colonnade (rather than to a closed wall as in the current exhibition). Such curved colonnades were not customary in church building, making a secular context appear more likely.

⁷⁴ Belting – Naumann 1966, pls. 48. 49; C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Premessa ad un catalogo della scultura della Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli*, in: C. Barsanti (ed.) *Bisanzio e l'Occidente. Arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de'Maffei* (Rome 1996) 79–104, esp. 83–84 fig. 6.

⁷⁵ On the buttresses, see R. J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London 1988) 104.

Fig. 58 Inv. 53.02, 53.24, and 53.25 T as above *Fig. 57*, curved block on the left side; H 49 L 95; left end with mitre joint



Fig. 59 Inv. 53.02, 53.24, and 53.25 T as above *Fig. 57*, straight block on the right side; H 45 L 242 W bottom 29+; broken; left end with mitre joint

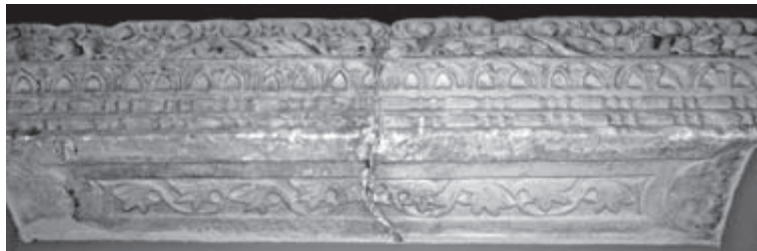


Fig. 60 Inv. 53.02, 53.24, and 53.25 T as above *Fig. 57*, straight block on the left side; H 45 L 245 W bottom 35+; right end with mitre joint



A short fragment of an architrave with Lesbian cyma belonged to a marble wall revetment, but the provenance is not recorded (*Fig. 61*). Another curved architrave block with ornamental soffit and with relief on both sides was found in modern Bakırköy district that is at ancient Hebdomon outside the walls of Constantinople (*Figs. 62–65*)⁷⁶.

⁷⁶ Niewöhner 2008b, 146 figs. 7–10.

Fig. 61 Inv. 08.40, revetment architrave; H 48 L (broken) 46 W 8 (bottom) – 16 (top); broken on the left





Fig. 62 Inv. 51.44, curved architrave, convex side with cornucopias; from the foundations of a geceköndü 100 m southeast of the Veliefendi Casino in Bakırköy district at Hebdomon outside Constantinople on 10 January 1948; H 40 L (broken) 145 W 48 (bottom) – 58 (top); broken on the right



Fig. 63 Inv. 51.44 as above Fig. 62, concave side without second astragal and cornucopias



Fig. 64 Inv. 51.44 as above Fig. 62, underside; soffit decorated with laurel and with central binding where it is broken off and must once have been twice as long

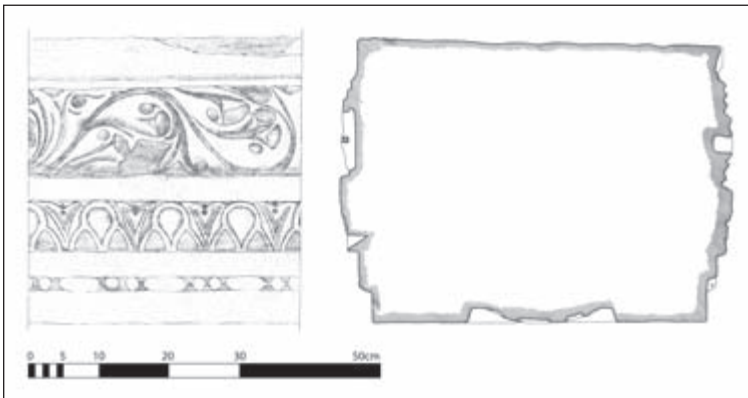


Fig. 65 Inv. 51.44 as above Fig. 62

Fig. 66 Architrave



The composition is simpler than the aforesaid architraves in so far as the egg-and-dart above the acanthus scroll is omitted, as had already been the case with similarly small architraves in the Roman period (*Figs. 5–7. 9*). The two sides are almost identical, but the concave side omits the customary second astragal above the second fascia (*Fig. 63*) and also the cornucopias that add to the complexity of the convex acanthus scroll (*Fig. 62*), suggesting that the concave side was less important. Another (straight) architrave without provenance is also missing the egg-and-dart (*Fig. 66*). It does, however, stand out for a complex acanthus scroll with more than the customary three or four points per leaf (cf. *Figs. 41. 48. 57–65. 67–82*), which may be compared to the equally complex acanthus scroll on the architrave of the Theodosian St Sophia (*Figs. 35. 37*).

ST JOHN STUDIOS, THE VILAYET BUILDING,
AND OTHER PROBABLE FIFTH-CENTURY ARCHITRAVES WITHOUT LESBIAN CYMA

The first dated Constantinopolitan architrave without Lesbian cyma is that of St John Studios, a ruined monastery church from shortly before 454⁷⁷. The same architrave occurs on the western façade of the church (*Figs. 67. 68*) and as part of the wall revetment in the interior (*Fig. 69*)⁷⁸. The Lesbian cyma below the frieze is replaced by an egg-and-dart as on the fourth-century architrave at Afyon (*Figs. 18. 19*). Possibly in consequence of this and in order to avoid repetition, the frieze of St John Studios is not followed by another egg-and-dart as in many earlier cases (cf. *Figs. 2. 10–13. 20–22. 26–30. 32. 35. 37. 38. 41. 42. 46. 48. 57–61*), but by a row of reeds (*Figs. 67–69*) similar to the reeds on the sima of the Theodosian St Sophia (*Fig. 34*). The sima of St John Studios is fluted like that of the Arch of Theodosius (*Fig. 23*).

Thus, whilst all elements of St John Studios have earlier predecessors, their combination was novel, and the omission of the Lesbian cyma and a traditional anthemion constituted a departure from ancient convention that was final and would not be retraced by later Byzantine entablatures (cf. *Figs. 70–165*). However, whilst replacing more complex with simpler forms – the Lesbian cyma with an egg-and-dart and the anthemion with a fluted sima – St John Studios appears to

⁷⁷ C. Mango, *The Date of the Studios Basilica at Istanbul*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4, 1978, 115–122. Repr. in: C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot 1993) chapter 12.

⁷⁸ W. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel vom V. bis XII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1854–1855) fig. 7; J. Ebersolt – A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris 1913; repr. 1979) pl. 4; Milella 1996, fig. 5.

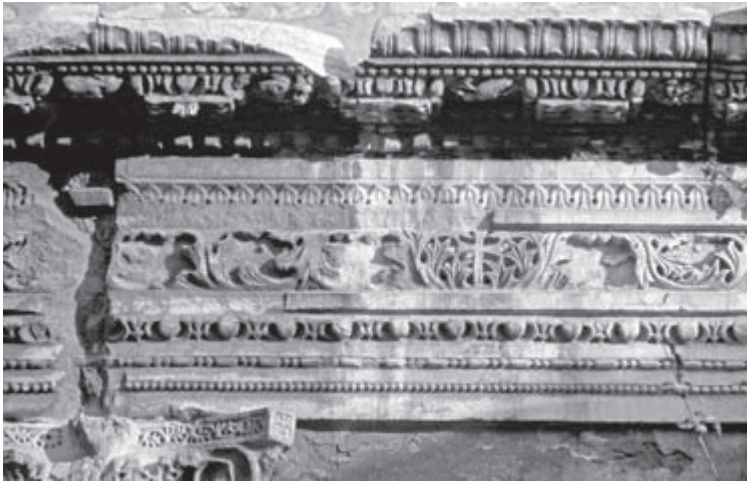


Fig. 67 St John Studios, entablature on the western narthex façade, the acanthus scroll including a cross

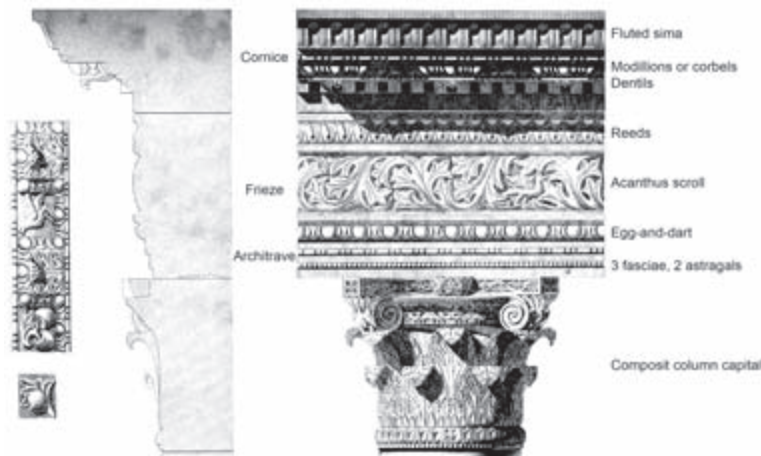


Fig. 68 St John Studios, column capital and entablature of the western narthex façade



Fig. 69 St John Studios, revetment entablature on the west wall of the naos, the acanthus scroll including birds

have been striving to, and succeeded in, presenting an opulent variety of different ornaments. This effect is further enhanced by the column capitals that employ fine-toothed acanthus in addition to the pointed scroll of the frieze (*Fig. 68*).



Fig. 70 Inv. 60.54, architrave; unearthed together with inv. 60.53 (Figs. 74–76) and Theodosian floor mosaics in front of the Vilayet Building about 500 m due west of St Sophia during road work in 1958; H 35 L 193 W 105; numerous eggs and leaf-tips as well as parts of the upper edge are broken; the moulding continues on the right side for 58 cm

Fig. 71 Inv. 60.54 as above Fig. 70, right and back sides; on the right side the moulding runs out into a protruding boss; the back side has corner joints (W 14) and a protruding centrepiece (W 30) hollowed out by a coffer (L 90 W 59)



Fig. 72 Inv. 60.54 as above Fig. 70, backside with corner joints and a protruding centrepiece (L 81 W 30)



Fig. 73 Inv. 60.54 as above Fig. 70, underside from behind; with a soffit in front and a deeply inserted coffer (L 90 W 59) with rough edges and two floral picture frames behind (each L 33 W 24)

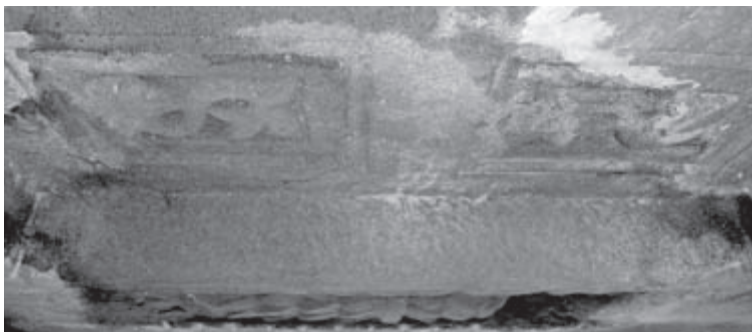




Fig. 74 Inv. 60.53, architrave; unearthed together with inv. 60.54 as above *Fig. 70*; H 35 L 186 W 99; the moulding continues on the right side for 66 cm

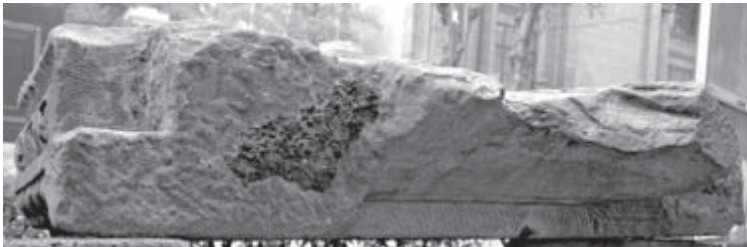


Fig. 75 Inv. 60.53 as above *Fig. 74*, right and back side with corner joints (W 12), patches of red brick dust mortar, and a broken centrepiece that contains a coffer (L 96 W 51 D 8) with rough edges

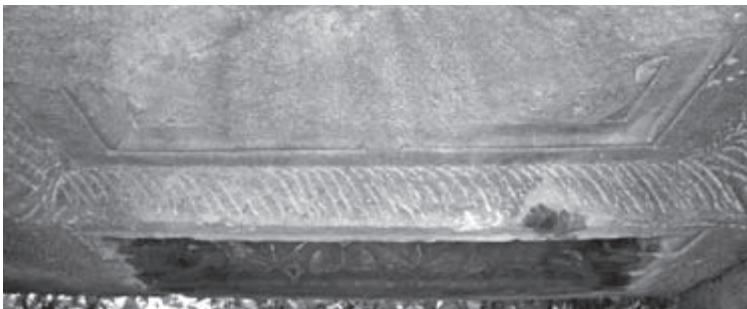


Fig. 76 Inv. 60.53 as above *Fig. 74*, underside from behind, with a soffit in front and a deeply inserted coffer (L 96 W 51 D 8) with rough edges and two broken picture frames behind

Two blocks of another architrave without Lesbian cyma were unearthed in 1958 as part of a Theodosian complex in front of the Vilayet Building⁷⁹, a few hundred meters northwest of St Sophia (*Figs. 70–76*)⁸⁰. The Theodosian date is derived from stratified finds below a floor mosaic, i. e. a bronze coin of Valens (*Gloria Romanorum*, 364–378) and ceramic sherds that establish a *terminus post quem* around the turn of the fifth century. The architrave with an egg-and-dart below a pointed acanthus scroll and reeds above is closely comparable to St John Studios (*Figs. 67–69*). Neither the exact shape of the complex in front of the Vilayet Building nor its function have been ascertained⁸¹. Both architrave blocks are corner pieces (*Figs. 71. 75*), have corner joints at the back (*Figs. 71. 72. 75*), and each has a backwards protruding centrepiece (*Figs. 71. 72. 75*) that is hollowed out below to form part of a coffered ceiling (*Figs. 73. 76*). This brings to mind ancient porches or propyla with coffered ceilings that stayed in use during the

⁷⁹ M. Harrison – G. R. J. Lawson, *The Mosaics in front of the Vilayet Building in Istanbul*, *IstanbAMüzYıl* 13/14, 1966, 216–218, esp. 217–218 pl. 60, 9–11.

⁸⁰ Find spot 35 in W. Kleiss, *Topographisch-Archäologischer Plan von Istanbul* (Tübingen 1965).

⁸¹ Cf. R. Duyuran, *İstanbul Vilâyet Konağı Karşısındaki Mozaikler/Mosaïques découvertes près de la Préfecture d’Istanbul*, *IstanbAMüzYıl* 9, 1960, 18–21. 70–72; Dalgıç op. cit. (n. 65) 103–105 figs. 2. 3.

Fig. 77 Inv. 08.39, architrave; H 42 L 90 W 62–63; the relief continues on the right side



Fig. 78 Inv. 08.39 as above *Fig. 77*, right and third side; the corner is cut out and forms an angular joint; towards the right end of the third side the moulding runs out into a protruding boss; the upper side with a central clamp hole that connects to the third side



Fig. 79 Inv. 08.39 as above *Fig. 77*





Fig. 80 Kalenderhane Mosque, revetment frieze; H (broken) 39
L (broken) 31 W 12; broken at the bottom

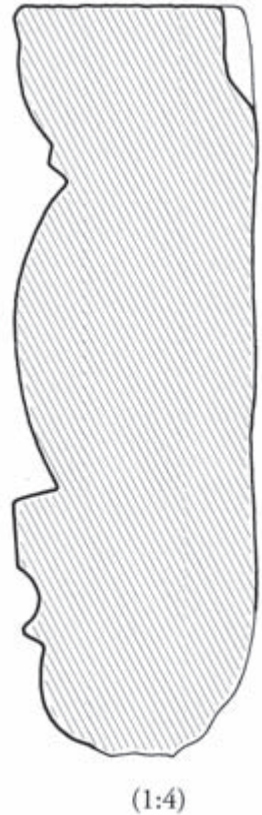


Fig. 81 Kalenderhane Mosque,
frieze as above Fig. 80

Byzantine period, for example at Miletus in Caria, on the west coast of Asia Minor⁸². Byzantine churches are not known to have employed such marbles, and the complex in front of the Vilayet Building was more likely secular⁸³.

A third architrave with egg-and-dart, pointed acanthus scroll, and reeds has no provenance (Figs. 77–79). The single surviving block is a short corner piece or *anta* block with two fully carved faces and a third side as bossage (Fig. 78). The carving is more simple and doughy than St John Studios and the Theodosian complex in front of the Vilayet Building, but this as well as some other undated architraves would nevertheless seem to be roughly contemporary, because on the one hand they do not employ a Lesbian cyma any more, as appears to have been customary at Constantinople/Proconnesus earlier on (cf. Figs. 5–7. 9–13. 26–30. 32. 35. 37. 38. 41. 42. 46.

⁸² H. Knackfuß, *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauten*, Milet 1, 7 (Berlin 1924) 180–188 (propylon with coffered ceiling); P. Niewöhner, *Neue spät- und nachantike Monumente von Milet und der mittelbyzantinische Zerfall des anatolischen Städtewesens*, AA 2013/2, 165–233, esp. 184–186 (continued Byzantine use).

⁸³ And not the church of Urbikios, as suggested by A. Berger, *Regionen und Strassen im frühen Konstantinopel*, *IstMitt* 47, 1997, 349–414, esp. 393. Cf. Dalgıç op. cit. (n. 65) 103–105 for analogous considerations based on the shape of the mosaic floor.

48), and on the other hand they show as yet none of the peculiarities of the sixth century (for which see below).

A fragment of a revetment frieze that was later re-used in the Kalenderhane Mosque, half way between Beyazit and Saraçhane districts, frames a pointed acanthus scroll with two egg-and-darts, one below and one above (Figs. 80. 81)⁸⁴. Another revetment fragment that arrived at the Archaeological Museum from the Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque, formerly St Andrew in Krisei, preserves a particularly fine egg-and-dart and parts of an architrave below the frieze, but the upper part is broken and it is not clear what followed above the acanthus scroll (Fig. 82). The same is true for a third, arched revetment fragment without provenance that consists of astragal, egg-and-dart, and acanthus scroll with cornucopia and blossom, with the architrave below and anything that may have followed above the scroll broken off (Fig. 83). The relief of this piece is flat and two-dimensional, without any undercutting, but this would not seem to be a dating criterion, considering that the fourth-century architrave from the Forum of Theodosius also lacks undercutting (Figs. 26–30), whilst the mid-fifth-century entablature of St John Studios displays particularly deep undercutting (Figs. 67–69), and the Justinianic church of St Sophia combines a deeply undercut vine scroll with flat eggs (and no darts), not to mention the two-dimensional inlay in lieu of the architrave (see below and Figs. 130–133).

Similarly, a particularly fine architrave block with a deeply undercut acanthus scroll and a brittle egg-and-dart that was unearthed in Aksaray district on the south side of Istanbul's historic peninsula would, through the lack of a Lesbian cyma on the one hand and of



Fig. 82 Inv. 44.30, revetment architrave; from the Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (St Andrew in Krisei) in 1931; H (broken) 56 L 33 (bottom) – 36 (top) W 5; broken at the bottom that is covered with cement mortar, and damaged at the top



Fig. 83 Inv. 01.14, arched revetment frieze; H (broken) 42 L (broken) 52 W 6; broken on all sides

⁸⁴ U. Peschlow, *Byzantine Architectural Sculpture*, in: D. Kuban – C.L. Striker (ed.), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Excavations* (Mainz 2007) 295–342, esp. 297–298, 316, 338 fig. 85 cat. 65 pl. 8.



Fig. 84 Inv. 76.34, architrave; unearthed at Nalıncı Street 29 in Aksaray district during the digging of foundation trenches on 4 May 1976; H 36 (right) – 39 (left) L 232 (bottom) – 253 (top) W 51 (bottom) – 64 (top); the corners are broken; the acanthus scroll is centred on a standing leaf; the relief continues for 52 cm on the right and on the left side, after which follow corner joints towards the back; a soffit on the underside incorporates a central cross



Fig. 85 Inv. 76.34 as above Fig. 84, right side; at the right end (towards the back) the moulding runs out into a protruding boss, which is followed by a corner joint

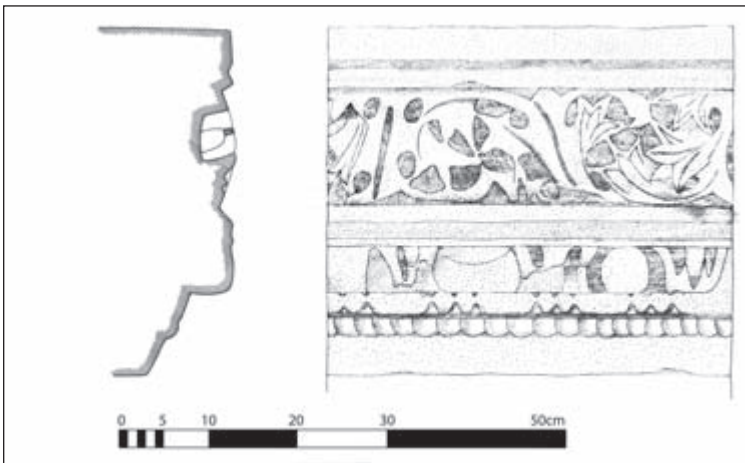


Fig. 86 Inv. 76.34 as above Fig. 84

any sixth-century traits on the other, appear to be contemporary with the aforesaid fifth-century carvings (Figs. 84–86). A second egg-and-dart above the acanthus scroll is omitted as in the case of some Roman and some Theodosian architraves (cf. Figs. 5. 7. 9. 62. 63. 65. 66). The acanthus scroll is centred on a standing leaf, the soffit on a cross, and the relief continues for half a meter on both short sides (Fig. 85), all of which would seem appropriate for an overdoor similar to the frieze from Bozhüyük in Phrygia (Figs. 20–22). No comparable block is attested in any church,

Fig. 87 Gülhane Park, frieze; continues on the left and on the short right side



Fig. 88 Gülhane Park, frieze as above Fig. 87, front



which may suggest a secular context⁸⁵. Another, more complicated block with a similar architrave turned up in Gülhane Park close to the tip of the historic peninsula (*Figs. 87. 88*).

A third architrave without a second egg-and-dart above the scroll was part of a wall revetment, has no known provenance, and the acanthus scroll is fine-toothed (*Fig. 89*), which is not otherwise attested among the Byzantine entablatures from Constantinople/Proconnesus. The Byzantine kind of fine-toothed acanthus appears to have developed during the fourth century at Docimium and occurs on numerous marble carvings from there, including the frieze from Bozhüyük (*Figs. 20–22*) and the pilaster capitals from the Myrelaion Rotunda (*Fig. 16*). The first Proconnesian marble carvings with such fine-toothed acanthus are the column capitals of St John Studios shortly before 454 (*Fig. 68*), which would also seem to be the best available date estimate for the fine-toothed revetment architrave.

A more complex architrave survived in at least six blocks that were re-used to build the middle Byzantine Boukoleon Gate in the sea walls to the south of the imperial palace (*Figs. 90. 91*)⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ For secular door lintels or overdoors with crosses, see above note 5 and RBK V (1995) c. 138–142 s.v. Kreuz 1 (E. Dinkler – E. Dinkler-von Schubert).

⁸⁶ Until a century ago. Today most blocks have been lost. E. Mamboury – T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel zwischen Hippodrom und Marmara-Meer* (Berlin 1934) 5–6 fig. 2 pl. 18; C. Mango, *Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople*, in: D. Mouriki – C. Moss – K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of K. Weitzmann* (Princeton NJ 1995) 645–657, esp. 645–649 figs. 5–8; C. Barsanti, *Un inedito disegno delle rovine del complesso costantinopolitano del Boukoléon*, in: W. Angelelli – F. Pomarici (eds.), *Forme e storia: scritti di arte medievale e moderna per Francesco Gandolfo* (Rome 2011) 45–58, esp. 44–45 figs. 6. 7.



Fig. 89 Inv. 01.16, revetment architrave with a fine-toothed acanthus scroll and cornucopias; H 34 L (broken) 70 W 7 (bottom) – 15 (top); broken on right and left



Fig. 90 Boukoleon Gate, re-used architrave; six or more blocks, at least four of which form corners, each with a long and continuous side and a short side that, where visible, terminates in a boss

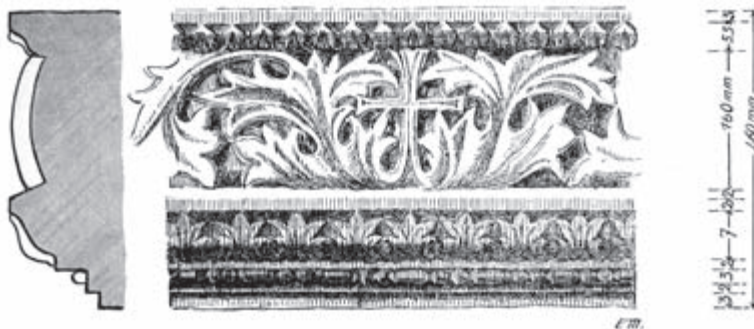


Fig. 91 Boukoleon Gate, architrave as above *Fig. 90*

Above a fascia and an astragal, the pointed acanthus frieze is framed by a row of pointed leaves below and by reeds above. The reeds compare to St John Studios (*Figs. 67–69*) and the Theodosian complex in front of the Vilayet Building (*Figs. 70, 71*). The pointed leaves have taken the place

of the egg-and-dart (cf. *Figs. 67–89*) or, in earlier architraves, the Lesbian cyma (cf. *Figs. 5–7. 9–13. 26–30. 32. 35. 37. 38. 41. 42. 46. 48. 57–66*). They may be compared to a row of hanging pointed leaves at the foot of the column capitals of St John Studios (*Fig. 68*).

ST THECLA/MERIAMLİK AND OTHER PROBABLE FIFTH-CENTURY CORNICES
WITH SCROLLS OF ALTERNATELY STANDING AND HANGING LEAVES

The cornice of the church of St Thecla at Meriamlik that has been excavated outside Seleucia/Silifke in Cilicia on the south coast of Asia Minor marks an important step in the disintegration of the ancient canon (*Figs. 92. 93*)⁸⁷. The church was built by emperor Zeno in 476⁸⁸, and all marbles were imported by sea from Proconnesus/Constantinople⁸⁹. Following on from the Theodosian St Sophia (*Figs. 34–39*) and St John Studios (*Figs. 67–69*), the cornice of St Thecla continued to replace traditional ornaments, in this case the egg-and-dart between the dentils and the modillions with reeds and the anthemion on the sima with a scroll. In doing so, the Zenonic cornice also distorted the proportions that had not yet been affected by the earlier substitutions. The reeds are taller than an egg-and-dart, whilst the scroll is lower than an anthemion, which makes the cornice appear bottom-heavy and the modillions or corbels look rather pointless with only the slight scroll to support.

The Zenonic church of St Thecla included a console that is decorated with a scroll of alternately standing and hanging acanthus leaves (*Fig. 94*)⁹⁰. Accordingly, several cornices at Istanbul that each have the same kind of scroll on the sima may also date from the later fifth century (*Figs. 95–103*)⁹¹. Similar, albeit smaller scrolls with only five points to each acanthus leaf occur also on the abaci of the nave capitals of Justinian's St Sophia from the sixth century (see *Fig. 130*), but as the cornices under discussion here do not yet display any sixth-century characteristics (for which see below), a fifth-century date appears more likely.

The sima decoration with a scroll of alternately standing and hanging acanthus leaves may have been inspired by the cornices with standing and hanging lotus flowers that also form a scroll (*Figs. 50. 51*). One of the acanthus scrolls was unearthed in Çatalçeşme Street, a few hundred meters to the west of St Sophia (*Figs. 95–98*)⁹². Two similar cornice blocks and a cornice fragment of wall revetment at the Archaeological Museum may have belonged to the same en-

⁸⁷ Herzfeld – Guyer 1930, 50 fig. 50.

⁸⁸ F. Hild – H. Hellenkemper, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, TIB 5 (Vienna 1990).

⁸⁹ Herzfeld – Guyer 1930, 73–74.

⁹⁰ Herzfeld – Guyer 1930, 50 fig. 49.

⁹¹ Cf. also marbles from the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi in Macedonia II (O. K. Wulff – W. F. Vollbach, *Die altchristlichen und mittelalterlichen byzantinischen und italienischen Bildwerke. Ergänzungsband: Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen 3* [Berlin 1923] 9 cat. 6839; E. Kitzinger, *A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi*, DOP 3, 1946, 81–162 fig. 140 appears to be upside down) that seem to be part of an ensemble that was likely made for the second church, dating from around the mid-fifth century, and re-used for the third church that, in the sixth century, was built entirely with re-used parts: P. Niewöhner – L. Audley-Miller – W. Prochaska, *Marbles, Quarries and Workshops on the Highlands of Northern Macedonia*, AA 2013/1, 95–145, esp. 113–115. 137 cat. 50.

⁹² M. Schede, *Archäologische Funde. Türkei*, AA 1929, 325–368, esp. 357–362 fig. 21; A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz. Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, *IstForsch* 8 (Berlin 1936) 92 fig. 46: »wohl von der Straße, die von der Mese zur Basilika führte«; Firatlı 1990, 133–134 cat. 263-I pl. 83.



Fig. 92 Zenonic church at St Thecla/Meriamlik in Cilicia, cornice of imported Proconnesian marble; today at the Archaeological Museum Adana

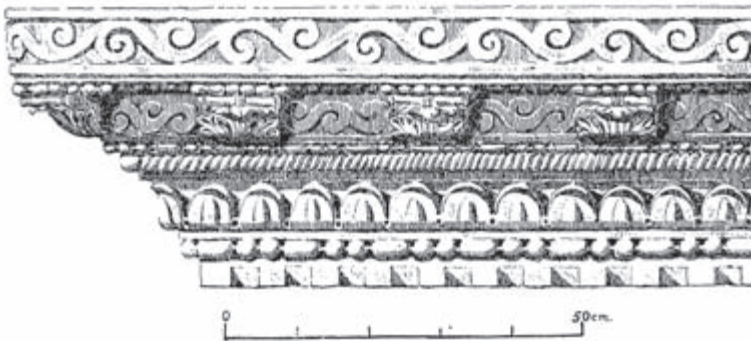


Fig. 93 St Thecla/Meriamlik, cornice as above Fig. 92

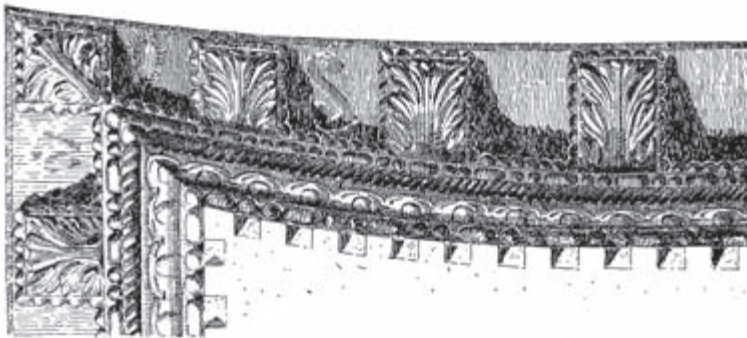


Fig. 94 Zenonic church at St Thecla/Meriamlik, detail of console; imported Proconnesian marble



Fig. 95 Cornice; unearthed in Çatalçeşme Street, a few hundred meters to the west of St Sophia, in the 1920s; broken on left and back



Fig. 96 Çatalçeşme Street, cornice as above Fig. 95, underside



Fig. 97 Çatalçeşme Street, cornice as above Fig. 95



Fig. 98 Çatalçeşme Street, cornice as above Fig. 95

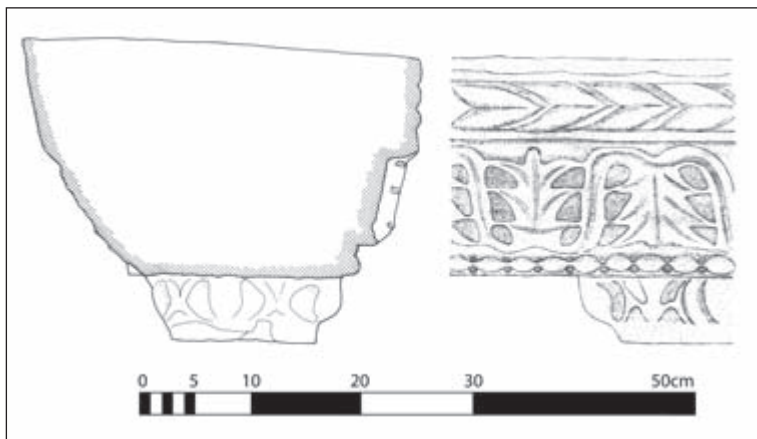




Fig. 99 Inv. 01.17, cornice; H (broken) 20 L (broken) 99 W (broken) 27; broken on right, left, and back, consoles broken off



Fig. 100 Inv. 01.17 as above Fig. 99, detail

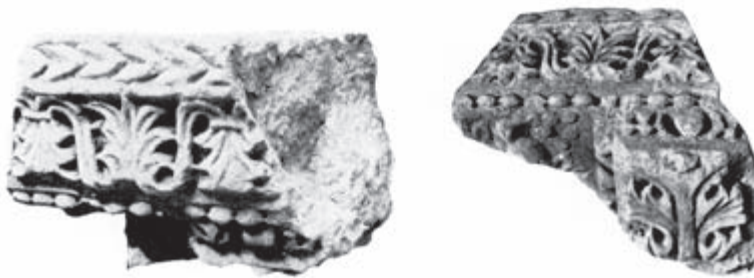


Fig. 101 Inv. 3974, cornice; from Gülhane Park; front (left) and underside (right); broken on right, left, and back



Fig. 102 Revetment cornice; broken on right, left, and bottom



Fig. 103 St Sophia, cornice; re-used on a later Byzantine buttress pier in front of the west façade

semble (*Figs. 99–102*)⁹³. Another cornice with a scroll of alternately standing and hanging acanthus leaves that was re-used, like *Fig. 56*, on a western buttress pier of St Sophia has no modillions⁹⁴, and the veins of the leaves are highlighted with dotted lines (drill holes) (*Fig. 103*)⁹⁵.

Finally, another cornice block without modillions has a sima scroll that consists of various different alternately standing and hanging leaves (*Fig. 104*)⁹⁶. The sima is flat, without a curving profile, and the cornice forms a single plane, which, with the exception of some completely flat pieces of wall-revetment (*Figs. 31. 83*), became customary only in the sixth century (cf. below and *Figs. 105–108*). The cornice block under consideration may thus also date from the sixth century. All its ornamentation is small in scale, the effects of light and shadow are similar on all of them, the overall impression being that of a carpet pattern not unlike the sixth-century cornices in the next section.



Fig. 104 Inv. 90.132, cornice; acquired as part of a varied collection (inv. 90.129–138), parts of which came from Izmir, but this block allegedly from Istanbul; H 26 L (broken) 57 W 5 (bottom) – 33 (top); broken on right and left

ST POLYEUCTUS AND OTHER PROBABLE SIXTH-CENTURY CORNICES WITH FILIGREE CARPET PATTERNS

By the 520s, when the church of St Polyeuctus was built in Saraçhane district, the development had reached a critical point at which the ancient canon was not obligatory anymore and could be altered or disregarded at will. A cornice block that was found during the excavation of St Polyeuctus replaces the egg-and-dart with a row of medallions that recall the contours of the eggs, but are filled with standing leaves (*Figs. 105–107*)⁹⁷. The modillions have been reduced to thin plaques that do not appear fit for carrying weight and throw little shadow. Their decoration is mostly geometric, with few references to the original acanthus leaves, and arched at the top, which makes for visual correspondence with monogram medallions that occupy the gaps between the modillions. As a result, the overall impression is that of a row of medallions rather than of weight-bearing corbels. Similarly, the sima is flat, without curvature, and decorated with yet another row of medallions that make for little contrast among the different elements of the cornice. Only a closer look reveals that the putative medallions on the sima are in fact rounded

⁹³ Firatlı 1990, 133–134 cat. 263-II pl. 83: cornice inv. 01.17; Firatlı 1990, 183 cat. 378 pl. 110: cornice from Gülhane Park; Firatlı 1990, 133–134 cat. 263-III pl. 83: revetment cornice.

⁹⁴ See above p. 266 for a possible eighth-century date of the western buttresses.

⁹⁵ Barsanti – Guiglia Guidobaldi loc. cit. (n. 74) 83–84 fig. 7.

⁹⁶ R. Brück, *Faltkapitelle. Untersuchungen zur Bauskulptur Konstantinopels*, ZAKSSchriften 12 (Langenweißbach 2008) pl. 31, 34.

⁹⁷ Harrison 1986, 121–122 cat. 2 a i figs. 111. 112.



Fig. 105 St Polyeuctus, cornice



Fig. 106 St Polyeuctus cornice, as above Fig. 105, detail

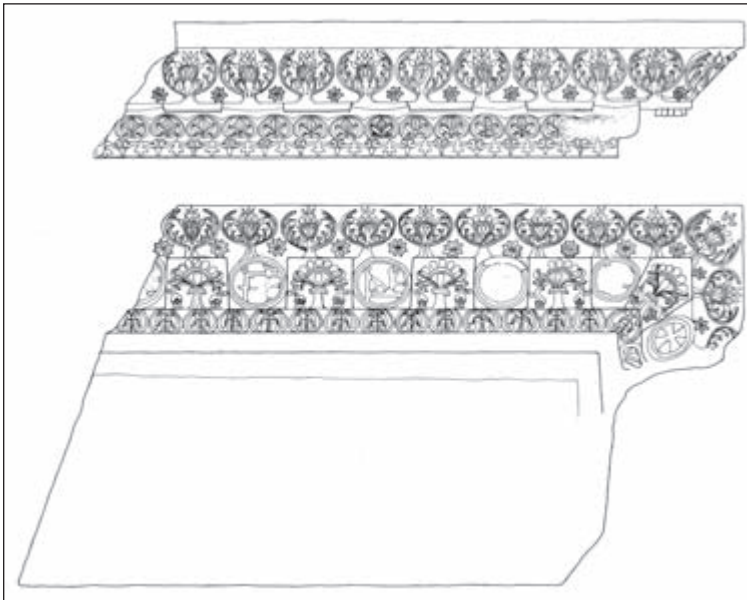


Fig. 107 St Polyeuctus cornice, as above Fig. 105

chalices that are made up of split acanthus leaves and enclose some other, unspecified vegetal motive in the centre.

Fig. 108 St Polyeuctus, cornice



A second cornice block of St Polyeuctus varies the ornamentation and confirms that the choice of repertoire had become entirely free (*Fig. 108*)⁹⁸. The rounded vegetal chalices have moved from the sima to the moulding below the modillions. In their stead, the sima is decorated with pairs of cornucopias and acanthus foliage. The carving is a-jour, but otherwise flat, which makes the ornaments stand out in front of a dark background, but with no depth of their own, as if punched-out of a foil. The overall impression is that of a filigree network that covers an indistinct, mostly flat surface with random carpet patterns. This was in keeping with similar, two-dimensional a-jour carving and filigree networks on the arcades, capitals, and piers of St Polyeuctus (*Fig. 109*)⁹⁹.

The rationale behind the choice for this new kind of ornamentation may have had to do with reduced lighting inside churches as opposed to broad daylight on exterior façades, where most of the earlier entablatures used to be employed on arches, colonnades, peristyles, porches, overdoors, etc. A-jour work made the ornaments stand out against the dark back-ground and thus remain visible even in dim light, but only as two-dimensional contours. As a consequence, it was rational to reduce the surface to a flat plane, if the subtleties of three-dimensional relief could not be perceived under the reduced lighting conditions of a church interior. Finally, if the carving was to be a-jour, this required filigree patterns, because larger forms do not lend themselves to a-jour work.

A frieze with similar a-jour decoration – reeds, an inscription, medallions with vine leaves – was found in a cemetery outside the Silivri Gate of the land walls (*Fig. 110*)¹⁰⁰. The same cemetery yielded two Ionic impost capitals that are also decorated with a-jour work, and all three marbles may share the same provenance, which must have been an early-sixth-century building that was decorated with the same kind of marble carvings as St Polyeuctus¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Harrison 1986, fig. 118.

⁹⁹ Harrison 1986.

¹⁰⁰ C. Mango – I. Ševčenko, Some Recently Acquired Byzantine Inscriptions at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, *DOP* 32, 1978, 1–27, esp. 20 cat. 24 fig. 24; T. Zollt, Kapitellplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr., *AMS* 14 (Bonn 1994) 26–27 pl. 48 d; K. Krumeich, Spätantike Kämpferkapitelle mit Weinblatt- und Pinienzapfen-Dekor, *IstMitt* 47, 1997, 277–314, esp. 285 pl. 48, 3.

¹⁰¹ C. Strube, Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia. Umbildung und Auflösung antiker Formen. Entstehung des Kämpferkapitells, *AbhMünchen N.F.* 92 (Munich 1984) 86 note 391; Zollt loc. cit. (n. 100) 26–27 cat. 38; 268. 279 fig. 30 pl. 12; Krumeich loc. cit. (n. 100) 285 pl. 48, 1–2.



Fig. 109 St Polyeuctus, monolithic arcade block with peacock niche, building inscription, and vine tendril, today at the Archaeological Museum Istanbul



Fig. 110 Inv. 71.91, frieze; found near the Pege Cemetery outside the Silvri Gate of the land walls in 1968; possibly from the same sixth-century building as two Ionic impost capitals with similar decoration found inside the same cemetery; H 50 L 167 W 61

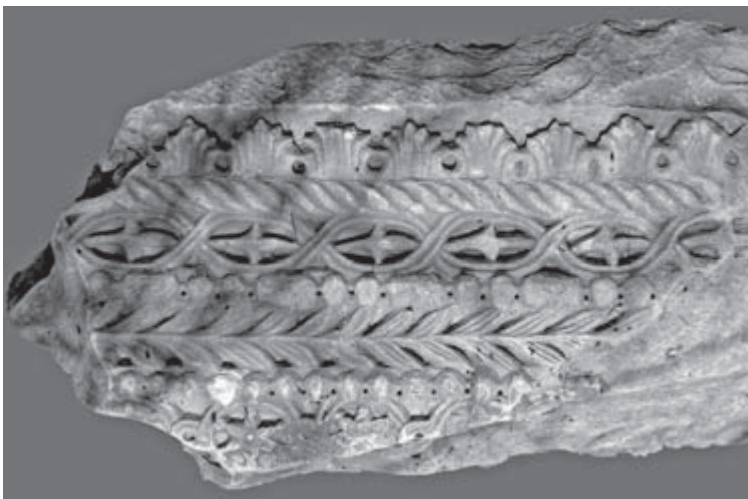


Fig. 111 Mosaic Peristyle, revetment cornice fragment (a); broken on right and bottom



Fig. 112 Mosaic Peristyle, revetment cornice fragment (b); broken on right and bottom



Fig. 113 Mosaic Peristyle, revetment cornice fragment (c); broken on left and top



Fig. 114 Wall cornice fragment (d); found in the vicinity of the Boukoleon Palace, i. e. on a lower terrace underneath the Mosaic Peristyle

Six fragments (a–f) of several (at least three) different cornice blocks of a wall-revetment were found at or near the Mosaic Peristyle, today's Mosaic Museum, that is also known as Walker Trust Mosaics or Great Palace Mosaics (Figs. 111–116)¹⁰². The peristyle is located on a lower terrace to the south of the hippodrome and was once believed to have formed part of the imperial palace. More recent research suggests that the location was just outside the southern boundary of the early Byzantine palace¹⁰³, and the peristyle with its floor mosaics and an adjacent apsidal hall would appear appropriate as reception unit of an aristocratic residence.

¹⁰² J. Bardill, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors and the Walker Trust Excavations*, *JRA* 12, 1999, 216–230.

¹⁰³ J. M. Featherstone, lecture presented to the Late Antique and Byzantine Archaeology and Art Seminar at Oxford on 19.06.2014.



Fig. 115 Mosaic Peristyle, revetment cornice fragment (e); broken on right and bottom



Fig. 116 Mosaic Peristyle, revetment cornice fragment (f); broken on all sides

The cornice consists of seven rows or fasciae (1–7) that each repeat a small geometric or vegetal ornament and that are separated by astragals or twisted cords. Fragment (a) has standing acanthus leaves on top (1), followed by a twisted band that forms oval enclosures with lying, three-lobed leaves (2), a horizontal stem flanked by two dense rows of small pointed leaves (3), and a knotted band that forms medallions with star-shaped blossoms (4) (*Fig. 111*)¹⁰⁴. Fragment

¹⁰⁴ C. Barsanti – F. Guidobaldi – A. G. Guidobaldi, *San Clemente. La scultura del 6 secolo, San Clemente miscellany 4, 2* (Rome 1992) 235 fig. 371.

(b) is almost identical, but the twisted band forms rhomboid instead of oval enclosures, and the enclosed leaves point in the opposite direction (2) (*Fig. 112*). Fragment (c) is like fragment (b), only that the small pointed leaves on the horizontal stem point in the opposite direction (3); below the knotted band (4) follow two scrolls with small and delicate three-lobed leaves, the first of which forms a zig-zag (5), the second a sine curve (6) (*Fig. 113*). Fragment (d) continues from fragment (c) with a second, wider sine curve, also with small and delicate three-lobed leaves (7), and an undecorated finish at the bottom (*Fig. 114*)¹⁰⁵. Fragment (e) compares to fragments (c) and (d), but the zig-zag scroll has rounded corners (5), which makes it look like yet another sine curve (*Fig. 115*). Fragment (f) is like fragment (e) (*Fig. 116*).

The overall impression is again that of a filigree network that covers the flat surface of a tilted plane with random carpet patterns, not unlike St Polyeuctus (*Figs. 105–108*). Stratified finds from under the mosaic floor of the peristyle have established a terminus post quem in the sixth century¹⁰⁶.

A massive cornice block without provenance at the Archaeological Museum is decorated according to the same general scheme as the Mosaic Peristyle revetment, but differs in detail and in the high quality of its deeply undercut a-jour carving (*Figs. 117–121*)¹⁰⁷. Seven rows or fasciae are separated by astragals and arranged as to form a single middle row and a symmetrical frame of three rows that surround the middle on three sides, below, on the right side, and above. The middle row is made up of ivy leaves that alternate with palmettes (*Fig. 118*). The inner frame is reminiscent of an egg-and-dart, but the eggs are spaced more widely, and the darts are replaced with complex leaves. The second frame consists of a twisted band that forms oval enclosures with three-lobed leaves and is similar to row (2) on the Mosaic Peristyle cornice (*Figs. 111, 112*). The third frame is formed by a horizontal stem flanked by two dense rows of small pointed leaves like row (3) on the Mosaic Peristyle cornice (*Figs. 111–113*). In addition, the bottom of the cornice block is decorated with a scaled band of the kind that also occurs on top of the aforesaid cornices with a scroll of standing and hanging leaves (*Figs. 95–102*).

The left end of the cornice block at the Archaeological Museum is curved, and the ornamental rows or fasciae end horizontally, without a vertical frame (*Fig. 120*). Instead, the curved left end is decorated with a large ivy tendril. The back of the block is partly moulded (*Fig. 121*), possibly from an earlier use in a different context. However, the Byzantine relief on the front is undoubtedly contemporary to the revetment of the Mosaic Peristyle and must thus date from the sixth century. Considering that their common decorative scheme is not otherwise attested, the massive cornice block was likely also employed at the Mosaic Peristyle.

The peculiar decorative scheme with ornamental rows or fasciae and separating astragals could have been inspired by re-use and reworking of more ancient entablatures as in the Cumanin Mosque at Antalya in Pamphylia, on the south coast of Asia Minor¹⁰⁸. This former church,

¹⁰⁵ Brett 1947, 12 pl. 10, 1–2.

¹⁰⁶ W. Jobst – R. Kastler – V. Scheibelreiter, *Neue Forschungen und Restaurierungen im byzantinischen Kaiserpalast von Istanbul*, DenkschrWien 273 (Vienna 1999); J. Bardill, *Visualizing the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople: Archaeology, Text, and Topography*, in: F.A. Bauer (ed.), *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen, Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, BYZAS 5 (Istanbul 2006) 12–20 (bibliography).

¹⁰⁷ Mendel 1912–1914 III, 434–437 cat. 1194.

¹⁰⁸ G. Grassi, *Scultura architettonica e spolia marmoree della Panaghia di Antalya nel quadro della produzione artistica dell'Asia Minore meridionale in epoca paleobizantina*, in: C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi – F. de'Maffei (eds.),



Fig. 117 Inv. 2320, cornice; first attested in 1881, when the museum was still housed in St Irene; H 65 L 334 (193 to the left of the recess, 140 to the right of it), W 85 (bottom) – 100 (top right) – 113 (top left); left end hidden by a tree, but see below *Fig. 120*



Fig. 118 Inv. 2320 as above *Fig. 117*, right end

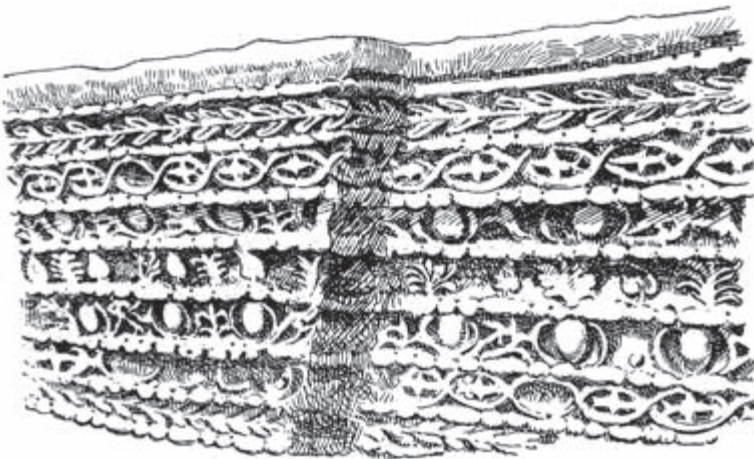


Fig. 119 Inv. 2320 as above *Fig. 117*, middle section with recess, but without the scaled band at the bottom

Fig. 120 Inv. 2320 as above *Fig. 117*, left end; curving; as opposed to the right end (above *Figs. 117. 118*); the horizontal friezes do not make a U-turn, but are cut off in front of an ivy leaf; the very left end to the left of the ivy leaf is unhewn and 18 cm long



Fig. 121 Inv. 2320 as above *Fig. 117*, back side; the last 30 cm on the right are unhewn



which was later converted into a mosque and today forms a conspicuous ruin in the centre of the old town, was built with re-used ancient entablature blocks. Part of an architrave with three fasciae and astragals (*Fig. 122*) were modified so as to cover the fasciae with a dense row of small pointed leaves that emanate from a central cross (1), with a twisted band that forms medallions containing alternately crosses and blossoms (2), and with a vine scroll (3) (*Fig. 123*). Another architrave block of the same church was instead decorated with a simple scroll (1) and a vine and ivy scroll (2), whilst the bottom fascia remained plain (*Fig. 124*). This variety within one and the same building confirms that the massive cornice at the Archaeological Museum Istanbul (*Figs. 117–121*) may well have been employed next to the revetment cornice of the Mosaic Peristyle (*Figs. 111–116*), although their decorative schemes differ in detail.

The flexibility of the scheme is further attested by its application to a door that has reached the Archaeological Museum from a medrese near the Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (Saint Andrew in Krisei) (*Fig. 125*)¹⁰⁹. The façade is decorated with an acanthus scroll framed by egg-and-

Costantinopoli e l'arte delle province orientali, *Milion 2* (Rome 1990) 73–134 pls. 25. 27. 28, 13; G. Kaymak, *Die Cumanin Camii in Antalya*, *Adalya suppl. 9* (Antalya 2009) 248. 252 figs. 29. 41.

¹⁰⁹ J. Ebersolt – A. Thiers, *Les Eglises de Constantinople* (Paris 1913) 86 figs. 40. 41; S. Eyice, *İstanbul'da Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Onun Osmanlı-Türk Mimarısındaki Yeri*, *Tarih Dergisi* 5/8, 1953, 153–182, esp. 160 note 25; N. Firatlı, *A Short Guide to the Byzantine Works of Art in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul* (Istanbul 1955) 39 no. 4418 pl. 12, 29; T.F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey* (University Park 1976) 8 figs. 1–7.



Fig. 122 Antalya, Cumanin Mosque, ancient entablature parts reworked in the sixth century; the cornice is re-used as pier capital and thus placed under rather than above the architrave



Fig. 123 Antalya, Cumanin Mosque, ancient architrave reworked in the sixth century



Fig. 124 Antalya, Cumanin Mosque, ancient architrave reworked in the sixth century

dots (*Fig. 126*), the reveal with a vine scroll and, separated by an astragal, a row of three-lobed acanthus leaves that alternate with blossoms (*Fig. 127*). The carving is deeply undercut and the overall scheme is analogous to the cornices of the Mosaic Peristyle, suggesting a contemporary date in the sixth century.



Fig. 125 Inv. 16344–16346, jambs and lintel of a door; from a medrese near the Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (St Andrew in Krisei); H 260 W 150 D 75–80; H opening 240 W opening 107; the jambs with notch and channel for a horizontal crossbar at 125 cm above ground; the lintel with two sockets, one in each corner, for the pivots of two door leaves, and with two central holes, probably for fastening the closed door leaves each with one vertical bolt



Fig. 126 Inv. 16344–16346 as above Fig. 125, detail of outer frieze; W 21,5



Fig. 127 Inv. 16344–16346 as above Fig. 125, detail of reveal frieze; W 22

THE JUSTINIANIC PERIOD – STS SERGIUS AND BACCHUS, ST SOPHIA,
THE BOUKOLEON GATE ENTABLATURE, AND COMPARABLE PIECES

Chronologically, St Polyeuctus was followed by Justinian's well-preserved first church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, today's Küçük Ayasofya Mosque, sometime around 530¹¹⁰, but the entablature of the later church appears to take a step back and return to the earlier tradition of the fifth century and before. Various oddities make this return appear as the quotation of a dead past rather than as the continuation of a living tradition: A low architrave is followed by an immense double frieze that consists firstly of a thick semi-circular moulding in the shape of an acanthus scroll and secondly of a building inscription (*Figs. 128. 129*)¹¹¹. The dominant moulding does not appear to have a place in the ancient canon, but was repeated on other Justinianic entablatures and became a hallmark of the period, including on liturgical furniture (see below and *Figs. 133–145. 163*). It had the advantage of standing out even under the dim lighting conditions of church interiors, and this effect could be further enhanced by a-jour decoration as is the case at Sts Sergius and Bacchus (*Fig. 128*), at St Sophia, and on the ambo from Thessaloniki (see below and *Figs. 133. 163*).

At Sts Sergius and Bacchus, undercutting was also applied to the sima with a filigree ornamentation of paired cornucopias and acanthus leaves (*Fig. 128*), which does not appear to relate to the ancient canon but to be inspired by the cornice of St Polyeuctus (*Fig. 108*) and to echo the equally delicate a-jour work of the column capitals below the entablature (*Fig. 128*) that in turn copy capitals of St Polyeuctus¹¹², the mother of such a-jour decoration at Constantinople. In contrast, the building inscription on the frieze of Sts Sergius and Bacchus, which is not enhanced by any undercutting, is difficult to read even on the brightest days and would have required to be painted with an additional colour contrast for better visibility¹¹³.

Consequently, Justinian's great church of St Sophia, which was built from 532 to 537 and is one of the best preserved monuments of his age, applied undercutting to all parts of the entablature as well as to the capitals and to acanthus foliage that – in analogy to the vine of St Polyeuctus (*Fig. 109*) – fills the trapezoidal wall spaces between the arcades and the cornice (*Fig. 130*). On gallery level the same effect is achieved through black and white inlay (*Fig. 132*). The sima is decorated with a row of standing acanthus leaves (*Figs. 130–132*)¹¹⁴, which may recall the cornice of the Arch of Theodosius (*Fig. 23*), but as to simas St Sophia is the first dated example, and all

¹¹⁰ Bardill, *The Church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople and the Monophysite Refugees*, DOP 54, 2000, 1–11; H. Svenshon – R. H. W. Stichel, *Neue Beobachtungen an der ehemaligen Kirche der Heiligen Sergios und Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camisi) in Istanbul*, IstMitt 50, 2000, 389–409.

¹¹¹ C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli. L'arredo marmoreo della grande chiesa giustiniana*, Studi di antichità cristiana 60 (Città del Vaticano 2004) 262–265 fig. 119.

¹¹² Brūx loc. cit. (n. 96).

¹¹³ For examples of early Byzantine marble carvings that were enhanced through colourful paint, see R. Egger, *Die städtische Kirche von Stobi*, ÖJh 24, 1929, 42–87, esp. 47; Strube loc. cit. (n. 101) 73–74; H. Mert – P. Niewöhner, *Blatkapitelle in Konya. Lykaonien zwischen Sidimaria und Binbirkilise*, IstMitt 60, 2010, 273–410, esp. 389. 406–407 cat. 23 fig. 36.

¹¹⁴ L. E. Butler, *The Nave Cornices of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul* (Ph. D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1989); L. E. Butler, *Hagia Sophia's Nave Cornices as Elements of its Design and Structure*, in: R. Mark – A. Ş. Çakmak (eds.), *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge 1992) 57–77.



Fig. 128 Sts Sergius and Bacchus, nave entablature

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Fig. 129 Sts Sergius and Bacchus, entablature as above Fig. 128

other such simas with standing acanthus leaves appear to date from the sixth century, too (see below and *Figs. 134. 148–163*).

In the aisles of St Sophia a double frieze of inlay and marble carving separates the marble wall-revetment below from the vaulting and its mosaics above (*Fig. 133*). The carved part includes a thick semi-circular moulding in the shape of a vine scroll that corresponds to the aforesaid moulding of the frieze of Sts Sergius and Bacchus (*Fig. 128*). The inner narthex of St Sophia has a similar double frieze in the same position, but the marble carving is reduced to the moulding and a single egg-and-dart above.

A notable provincial workshop or group of workshops in Lycia on the south coast of Asia Minor closely followed the formal repertoire of the Justinianic period at Constantinople, but employed lime stone rather than marble¹¹⁵. The analogies are most evident in column capitals, but include some entablatures, for example an overdoor at the mid sixth-century monastery of St John at Akalissos/Karavel/Asarcık West (*Fig. 134*)¹¹⁶ and an architrave at the church of the archangel Gabriel at Alakilise (*Fig. 135*)¹¹⁷. The early Byzantine architrave at Alakilise was re-used, when St Gabriel was re-built in the ninth century, and today survives among the ruins of

¹¹⁵ U. Peschlow, Tradition und Innovation. Kapitellskulptur in Lykien, in: S. Möllers – U. Peschlow (eds.), Spätantike und byzantinische Bauskulptur, Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie 19 (Stuttgart 1998) 67–76; P. Grossmann – H. G. Severin, Frühchristliche und byzantinische Bauten im südöstlichen Lykien, *IstForsch* 46 (Tübingen 2003); B. İşler, Orta Likya Bölgesi'nde Yeni Bir Keşif: Günağı Kilisesi, Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 25, 2016, 363–392.

¹¹⁶ Grossmann – Severin loc. cit. (n. 115) 59–90 (architecture and architectural sculpture); P. Niewöhner, Neues zum Grab des hl. Nikolaus von Myra, *JbAC* 6, 2003, 119–133, esp. 128–132 (identification of Karavel/Asarcık West with St John at Akalissos).

¹¹⁷ H. Rott, Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien, *Studien über christliche Denkmäler* 5/6 (Leipzig 1908) 318–324; Grossmann – Severin loc. cit. (n. 115) 33–49.

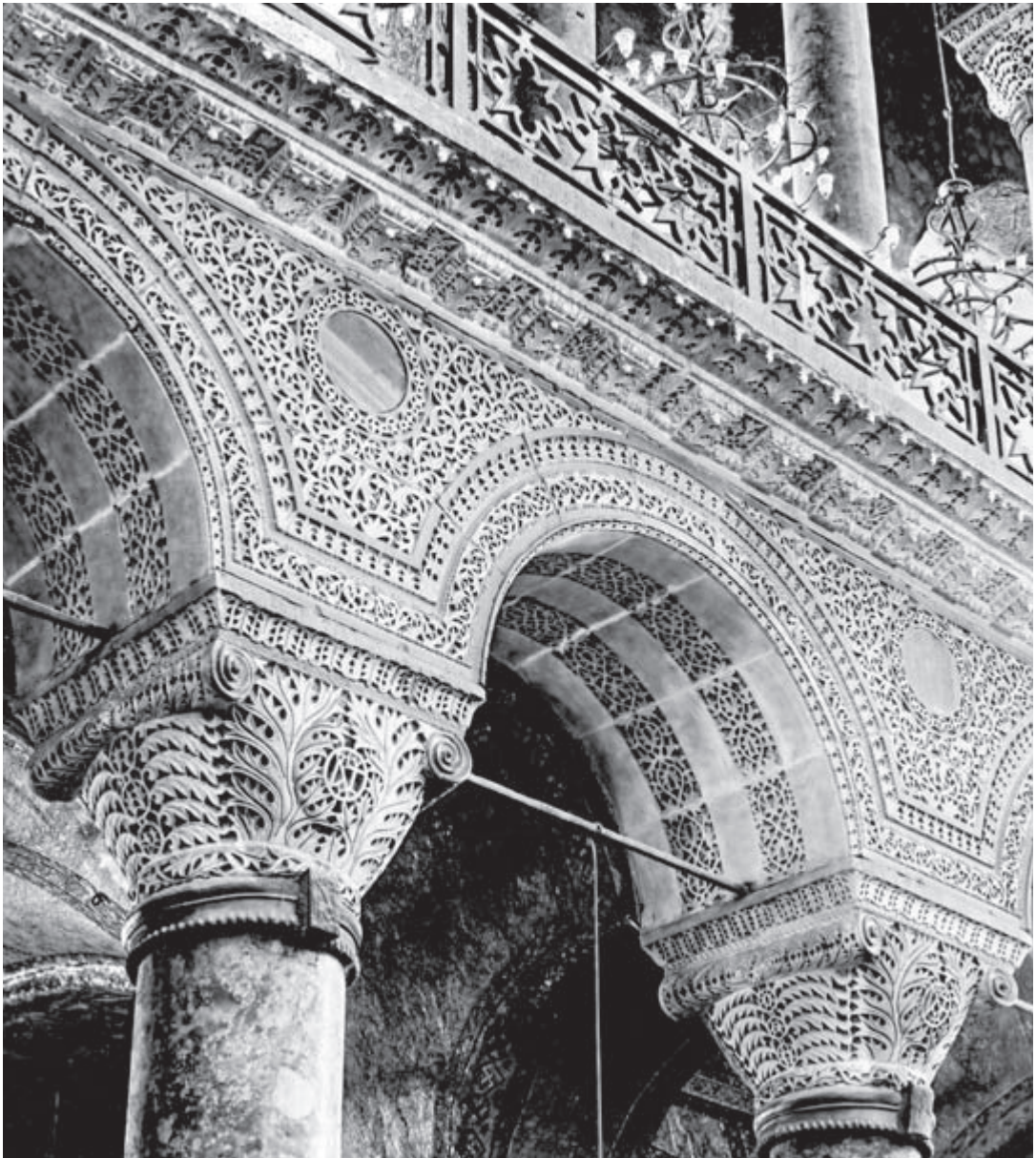


Fig. 130 Justinianic St Sophia, nave capitals, arcades, and cornice

the middle Byzantine church. The architrave is decorated with a scroll of alternately standing and hanging leaves, a frieze of scaled leaves forms the typical, semi-circular moulding, and the cornice (outside *fig. 135*) is decorated with a row of standing leaves. In addition, the architrave contains a cross that marked the centre of the intercolumniation.

Back at Constantinople, a monolithic marble entablature that bears a medallion with a monogram of Justinian survived in two blocks on the east side of the Boukoleon Gate in the sea walls

Fig. 131 Justinianic St Sophia, nave cornice on the south side of the apse

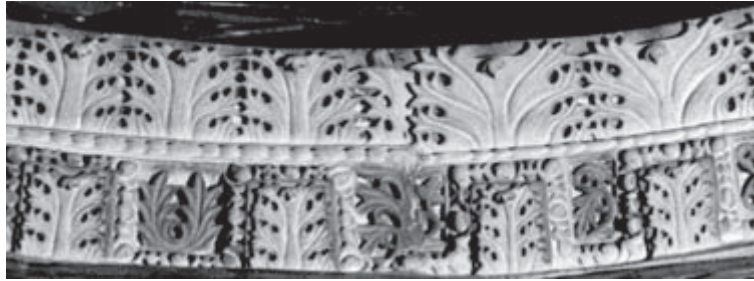


Fig. 132 Justinianic St Sophia, gallery level capitals, arcades, and cornice



Fig. 133 Justinianic St Sophia, aisle, entablature





Fig. 134 Akalissos/Karabel/Asarcık West in Lycia, mid sixth-century monastery church of St John, lime stone overdoor with maeander, astragal, acanthus scrolls, and a row of standing acanthus leaves

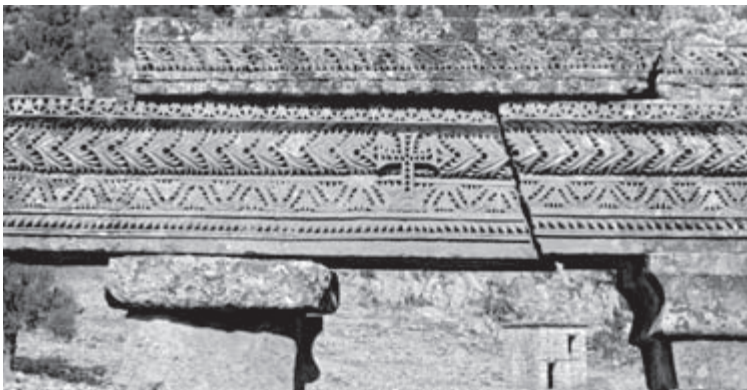


Fig. 135 St Gabriel at Alakilise in Lycia, sixth-century entablature as re-used in a ninth-century basilica

south of the imperial palace (*Figs. 136. 137*)¹¹⁸, the same gate that on its west side preserved the aforesaid fifth-century architrave (*Figs. 90. 91*). The Justinianic entablature is relatively simple, with three fasciae, the tell-tale thick semi-circular moulding known from Sts Sergius and Bacchus (*Fig. 128*) and St Sophia (*Fig. 133*), a plain frieze, and reeds like on the sima of the Theodosian St Sophia (*Fig. 34*).

An architrave (*Figs. 138. 139*) and a frieze (*Figs. 140. 141*), each with a thick, semi-circular moulding, may also date from the Justinianic period¹¹⁹. Several blocks of them were unearthed

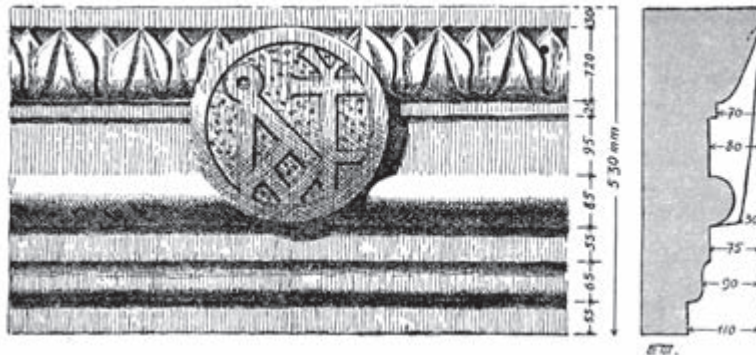
¹¹⁸ Mamboury – Wiegand loc. cit. (n. 86) 5–6 fig. 3 pl. 19; C. Mango, *Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople*, in: D. D. Mouriki – C. Moss – K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of K. Weitzmann* (Princeton NJ 1995) 645–657, esp. 645–649 figs. 5–8; C. Barsanti, *Un inedito disegno delle rovine del complesso costantinopolitano del Boukoléon*, in: W. Angelelli – F. Pomarici (eds.), *Forme e storia: scritti di arte medievale e moderna per Francesco Gandolfo* (Rome 2011) 45–58, esp. 44–45 fig. 8.

¹¹⁹ U. Peschlow, *Am Kai von Konstantinopel. Reste einer Repräsentationsarchitektur an der Sarayspitze*, in: M. Korres et al. (eds.), *HPΩΣ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΣ*, *Festschrift Charalambos Bouras* (Athens 2018, in press).

Fig. 136 Boukoleon Gate, two re-used entablature blocks; one with Justinianic monogram



Fig. 137 Boukoleon Gate, entablature as above Fig. 136



together with some matching sixth century column capitals at the tip of the historic peninsula, where the ›Columns‹ may have been located. The ›Columns‹ are mentioned in several late Byzantine texts and appear to have marked a landing at the tip of the peninsula¹²⁰. The architrave has three fasciae, and the middle one is decorated with a row of vine leaves that alternate with some other, unspecified ornament, all of which is closely comparable to stray cornices found during the excavations of the imperial palace¹²¹ and at Kalenderhane Mosque¹²², as well as recalling the sixth-century cornices with similar ornamentation from the Mosaic Peristyle (*Figs. 111–119*) and the architrave of the Cumanin Mosque at Antalya (*Figs. 123. 124*). The frieze compares to the Justinianic Boukoleon Gate Entablature (*Figs. 136. 137*), with which it shares the thick semi-circular moulding and an otherwise plain surface.

Continuing from the Justinianic Boukoleon Gate Entablature that combines architrave, frieze, and a reduced cornice in a single block (*Figs. 136. 137*), an architrave from Hebdomon appears to have abandoned the cornice altogether (*Figs. 142–144*)¹²³. Two fasciae are followed by a massive egg-and-dart that compares to the thick semi-circular moulding of the Boukoleon

¹²⁰ P. Magdalino, The »Columns« and the Acropolis Gate: A Contribution to the Study of the Ceremonial Topography of Byzantine Constantinople, in: N. Asutay-Effenberger (ed.), *Philopation. Spaziergang im kaiserlichen Garten. Beiträge zu Byzanz und seinen Nachbarn, Festschrift für Arne Effenberger zum 70. Geburtstag* (Mainz 2012) 147–156.

¹²¹ Brett 1947, 15 pl. 10, 5.

¹²² Peschlow 2007, 297. 314 nos 56 a–e fig. 84.

¹²³ Firath 1990, 133 cat. 261–262 pl. 82; Glück loc. cit. (n. 51) 65–76 pls. 3, 10; 5, 21–23; 10, 37; Demangel 1945, 40–42. 45 figs. 25. 26; A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Chiesa e Palazzo nella città bizantina*, in: A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo. La chiesa e il palazzo* (Milano 2007) 193–205, esp. 193–194 figs. 4. 5; Niewöhner 2008b, 146–147 figs. 12. 13.



Fig. 138 Architrave; unearthed at the tip of the historic peninsula, possibly the ›Columns‹, together with three more fragments with the same profile and some matching sixth-century column capitals; H (broken) 92; underside with soffit

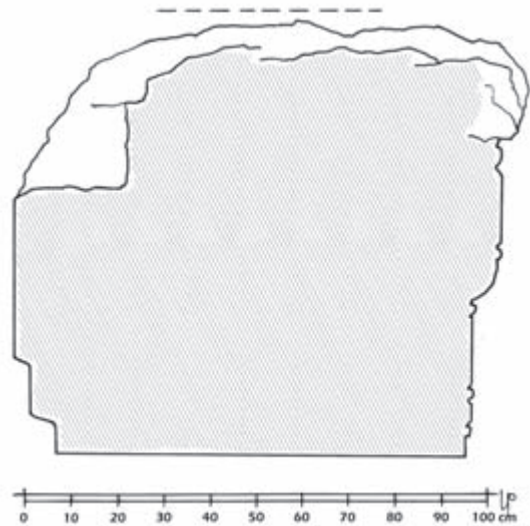


Fig. 139 Architrave as above Fig. 138



Fig. 140 Arched frieze; unearthed at the tip of the historic peninsula, possibly the ›Columns‹, together with several straight blocks with the same moulding; H 112 L 90 (bottom) – 113 (top)

Entablature and the other Justinianic monuments (Figs. 128. 129. 133–137). The darts from Hebdomon are pointing upwards, which was uncommon, but also occurs above the lambs on the frieze of the Theodosian St Sophia (Fig. 38), on the door from the medrese near the Koca Mustafa Paşa Mosque (Figs. 125. 126), and on a cornice from St John the Baptist at Hebdomon (see below and Figs. 148–151).

Above the egg-and-dart, the architrave from Hebdomon has a tall frieze with fantastic heads or masks above the columns (Fig. 143) and a deeply undercut row of paired acanthus leaves above the intercolumniations (Figs. 142. 144). On top of the frieze follow dentils and a low s-shaped crown moulding, which seems to have taken the place of cornice and sima. If a separate cornice

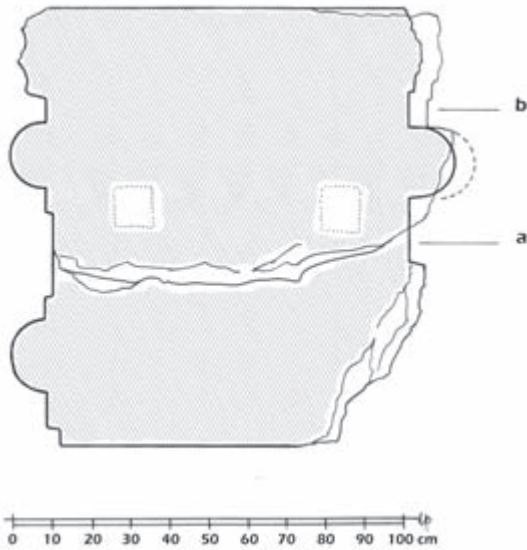


Fig. 141 Friezes (two, a and b) as above Fig. 140



Fig. 143 Inv. 6305 as above Fig. 142, detail of left end; the mouth contains a dowel



Fig. 142 Inv. 6305, architrave; unearthed together with inv. 6291 (Figs. 145, 146) during building work in the garden of Taşhan Street no. 5 in Bakırköy district at Hebdomon outside Constantinople on 22 October 1970; H 42 (back) – 52 (front) L 169 W 41 (bottom) – 72 (top), L soffit 125; upper side with clamp hole that connects to the right; four other holes have been closed with mortar

had existed above the frieze, the dentils should have been attached to the bottom of that cornice rather than to the top of the frieze (cf. Figs. 1, 4, 34, 40, 47, 51, 52, 55, 56, 67–69, 92, 93, 128, 129). In the Justinianic period under consideration here such cornices were typically decorated with a row of standing leaves on the sima (see Figs. 130–132, 134), but the architrave from Hebdomon

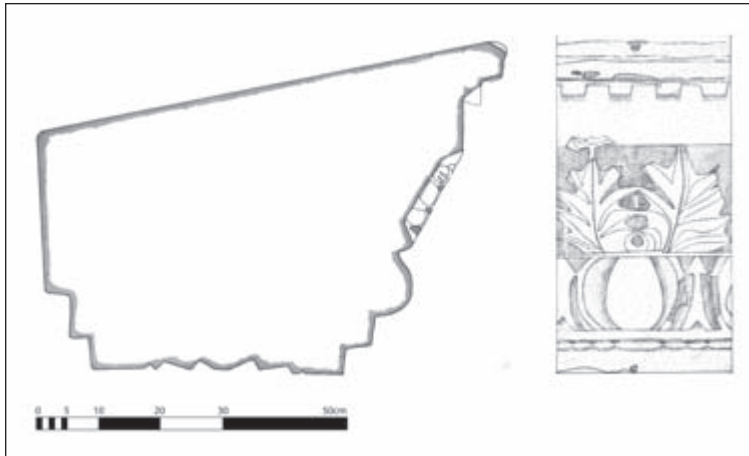


Fig. 144 Inv. 6305 as above Fig. 142; the slanting upper side is rough and suggests that what followed above was a masonry wall

has instead integrated an equivalent row of standing leaves in its frieze. A revetment architrave with the same decoration that has also been found at Hebdomon and must have belonged to the same building omits even the dentils and the crown moulding (Figs. 145, 146)¹²⁴.

These considerations appear to be confirmed by observations on the shore of Hebdomon, where at least seven such architrave blocks as well as columns and a capital, but no cornice used to be extant in the early 20th century¹²⁵. Only the column capital is preserved at the Archaeological Museum¹²⁶, and its size, decoration, and workmanship correspond with the architrave. The capital is decorated with a similar row of deeply undercut acanthus leaves, which on the capital are split and paired to form chalices. Two nearly identical column capitals that have been re-used on the façade of San Marco in Venice could have been part of the same colonnade¹²⁷. A fourth capital at Silivri about 60 km to the west of Hebdomon is also similar, but smaller¹²⁸. Above the acanthus leaves, all capitals have a ring that separates a second, upper zone with volutes, and this zoning is a typical sixth-century feature that confirms the sixth-century date of the colonnade and the architraves¹²⁹. The sixth-century historian Procopius reports that Justinian built several churches, palaces, a harbour, colonnaded porticoes, squares, public baths, and much else at Hebdomon¹³⁰.

¹²⁴ Firath 1990, 133 cat. 262 pl. 82; Glück loc. cit. (n. 51) 65–76 pls. 3, 10; 5, 21–23; 10, 37; Demangel 1945, 40–42. 45 figs. 25, 26; A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Chiesa e Palazzo nella città bizantina*, in: A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo. La chiesa e il palazzo* (Milano 2007) 193–205, esp. 193–194 figs. 4, 5; Niewöhner 2008b, 146–147 fig. 11.

¹²⁵ Glück loc. cit. (n. 51) 65–76 pls. 3, 10; 5, 21–23; 6, 27; 10, 37; cf. Demangel 1945, 40–42. 45 figs. 24–26.

¹²⁶ Inv. 4137; Zollt loc. cit. (n. 100) 222–223 cat. 638 pl. 45.

¹²⁷ F.W. Deichmann, *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig*, *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie* 12 (Wiesbaden 1981) 2–3.

¹²⁸ U. Peschlow, *Dekorative Plastik aus Konstantinopel an San Marco in Venedig*, in: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκανίδη, *Makedonika* 5 (Thessaloniki 1983) 406–417, esp. 411–412 pl. 5.

¹²⁹ Cf. animal capitals with two zones: E. Kitzinger, *The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks*, *DOP* 3 1946, 1–72, esp. 61–72; M. Panagiotidi, *Βυζαντινά κιονόκρανα με ανάγλυφα ζώα*, *DeltChrA* ser. 4 vol. 6, 1970–1972, 82–129; J.-P. Sodini, *La sculpture architecturale à l'époque paléochrétienne en Illyricum*, in: *Rapports présentés au 10^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne*, *Ellinika. Revue de la Société d'études macédoniennes* suppl. 26 (Thessaloniki 1980) 31–119.

¹³⁰ *Buildings I* 8. 11.



Fig. 145 Inv. 6291, revetment architrave; unearthed together with inv. 6305 as above *Fig. 142*; H 38 L 160 W 2 (bottom) – 22 (top)



Fig. 146 Inv. 6291 as above *Fig. 145*, detail of left end

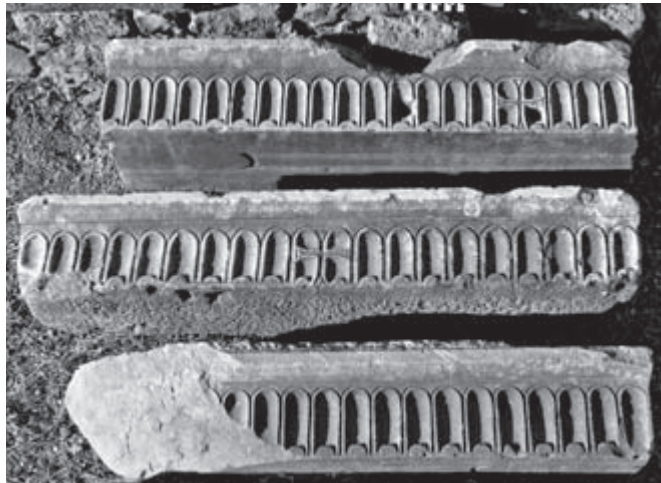


Fig. 147 Miletus in Caria, early seventh-century basilica of St Michael, fluted architrave with crosses that mark the centre of each intercolumniation; local marble

That an architrave and capitals could be decorated alike, as seems to have been the case at Hebdomon, is confirmed by the early seventh-century basilica of St Michael at Miletus in Caria (*Fig. 147*)¹³¹. Its architrave and capitals were newly carved by a local workshop and share the same fluted decoration with crosses. As at Hebdomon, a cornice is not in evidence, and the fluted architrave appears to have constituted the entire entablature.

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST AT HEBDOMON AND OTHER PROBABLE SIXTH-CENTURY CORNICES WITH ROWS OF STANDING LEAVES

Among the churches at Hebdomon that Procopius accredits to Justinian is that of St John the Baptist that was first built by Theodosius I (cf. *Fig. 31*). The church was excavated in the 1920s¹³² and dismantled in 1965, when it was replaced by a hospital. On the later occasion W. Kleiss from the German Archaeological Institute at Istanbul documented a cornice block (*Figs. 148. 149*)¹³³

¹³¹ P. Niewöhner, *Die byzantinischen Basiliken von Milet*, Milet 1, 11 (Berlin 2016) 44. 169. 178–179 cat. MK63. 105. 106 (capitals); p. 44. 180–184. 336 cat. MK115–137 fig. 59 (architrave).

¹³² Demangel 1945, 17–32.

¹³³ W. Kleiss, *Bemerkungen zur Kirche Johannes des Täufers in Istanbul-Bakırköy (Hebdomon)*, in: Mansel'e Armağan/Mélanges Mansel, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları ser. 7 vol. 60 I (Ankara 1974) 207–219, esp. 211–213 fig. 45.



Fig. 148 Cornice; from the church of St John the Baptist at Hebdomon in 1965; H 59 L 56–76 (bottom) – 110 (top) W (broken) 84 (bottom) – 131 (top); broken at the back, the right corner has broken off; the moulding continues on the right side at a pointed angle

that has since been removed to the Archaeological Museum (Figs. 150, 151). A second block of the same cornice had arrived at the museum already in 1916 (Figs. 152–154)¹³⁴, when it was retrieved from a large farm, the Incirli Çiftlik, that used to exist in Bakırköy, before the district was incorporated in the ever growing metropolis of Istanbul. A circular groove and a rectangular basin on top of the second block show that it was re-used as base for an oil- or wine-press (Fig. 153)¹³⁵, which can account for its removal from the church ruin to the farm.

Both blocks are corner pieces and form angles of roughly 80° that correspond to the central plan of the domed church as described by Procopius¹³⁶ and confirmed by the excavation. The foundations of an angular pier¹³⁷ lead to the reconstruction of a domed octagon similar to Sts Sergius and Bacchus or San Vitale

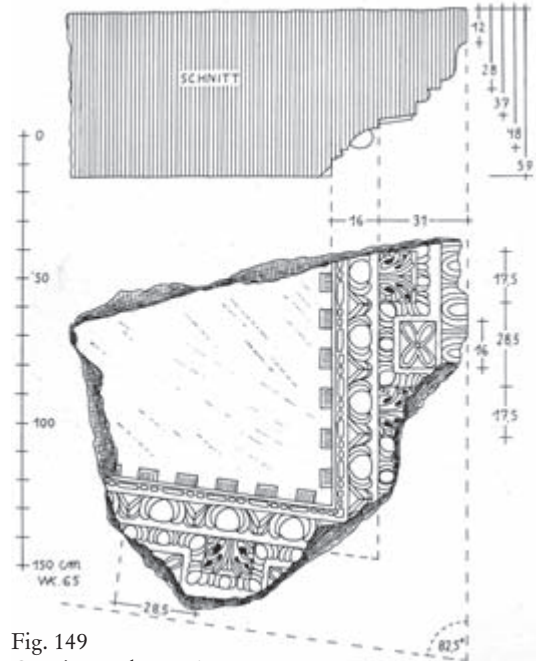


Fig. 149
Cornice as above Fig. 148

¹³⁴ Niewöhner 2008b, 144–145 figs. 1–3.

¹³⁵ Cf. other presses with similar circular grooves, for example A. Diler, *Akdeniz Bölgesi Antik Çağ Zeytinyağı ve Şarap İşlikleri*, AST 11, 1993, 505–520, esp. 517–518 figs. 11, 13, 14; A. Diler, *Akdeniz Bölgesi Antik Çağ Zeytin ve Üzüm Presleri* – 1993, AST 12, 1994, 441–457, esp. 449 fig. 4; 453 fig. 12; 457 fig. 20; C. Ratté, *Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, AST 25/3, 2007, 103–116, esp. 116 fig. 11.

¹³⁶ *Buildings I* 8.

¹³⁷ Demangel 1945, 21 pl. 3.

Fig. 150 Cornice as above
Fig. 148, front



Fig. 151 Cornice as above
Fig. 148



at Ravenna¹³⁸. The cornice blocks would have been placed on the piers. The angles of roughly 80° show that the piers were angled along the radius of the dome. An angle of 80° accords with a radius of about 9 m and a 4 m gap between two piers, as has been confirmed by the excavation and agrees with the suggested reconstruction. Similarly, the reveals of niches in the wall of the Pantheon at Rome are also aligned with the radius of the dome¹³⁹. In contrast, the piers of Sts Sergius and Bacchus and of San Vitale have right angles.

¹³⁸ T. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park 1971) 55–61. Alternatively, Kleiss loc. cit. (n. 133) 214 suggested that the dome should not have rested on piers, but on columns, but fails to explain why the foundations have the shape of an angular pier, and disregards the lack of any comparable centrally planned Byzantine church with columns instead of piers.

¹³⁹ K. de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome. A Study of Hadrian's Pantheon*, Jutland Archeological Society Publications 8 (Copenhagen 1968) 91 fig. 98; 94.



Fig. 152 Inv. 3206, cornice; from the Incirli Çiftlik, then a large farm in Bakırköy district at Hebdomon outside Constantinople, in 1916; H 55 L (broken) 111 W 116; broken on the left; the moulding continues on the right side at a pointed angle as above *Figs. 148–151*



Fig. 153 Inv. 3206 as above *Fig. 152*, upper side as seen from the right; four dowel holes, one of which still contains lead, and, on the back (right side), one clamp hole; later re-used as base for a press (Ø 83–93 basin 49 × 96 D 21)

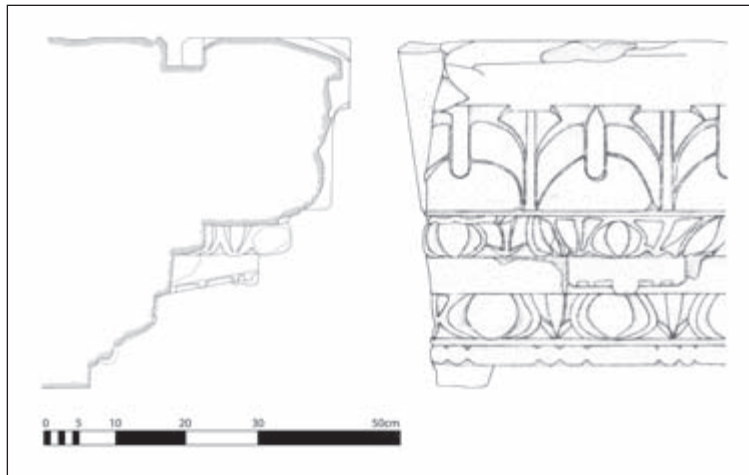


Fig. 154 Inv. 3206 as above *Fig. 152*

The reconstruction as a twin church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus suggests that the cornice from St John the Baptist (*Figs. 148–154*) dates from Justinian's sixth-century (re-)building campaign rather than from the time of Theodosius I, when such churches were not yet built. This also implies

Fig. 155 Philippi in Macedonia, Basilica B, nave cornice on the northwest pier, from southeast; broken on the right



that Justinian's activity did indeed amount to the building of a new church, as Procopius justly claims. A sixth-century date appears to be confirmed by the formal repertoire of the cornice¹⁴⁰, which is more simple than in earlier times, leaving out the previously near obligatory astragal between the modillions and the sima (cf. *Figs. 10–13. 34. 56. 67–69. 95–101. 131*)¹⁴¹, reducing the sima itself to a row of standing leaves, and confining the carving of all but the most exposed corner leaf to bossage. A sima with a row of acanthus leaves also occurs at the Justinianic church of St Sophia (*Fig. 131*) as well as at St Gabriel of Alakilise in Lycia (see above at *Fig. 135*) and in Basilica B at Philippi in Macedonia (*Figs. 155. 156*)¹⁴², both of which were undoubtedly built after and under the influence of Justinian's St Sophia¹⁴³.

Another corner piece of a cornice with standing acanthus leaves on the sima that were partly left as bossage was allegedly found in the vicinity of Yedikule (*Fig. 157*)¹⁴⁴, the Ottoman fortress that is centred on the Golden Gate in the land walls of Constantinople, where the road from Hebdomon entered the city. The piece was acquired by the Bode-Museum at Berlin in the 19th century and appears to have gone missing during World War II. Thus, it cannot be established any more whether the corner also had an angle of about 80°, which would point to a provenance from St John the Baptist at Hebdomon. However, a conventional astragal between the modillions and the sima that is missing from the cornice found at Hebdomon (*Figs. 148–154*) casts doubt on such an attribution. Another fragment of a cornice, a stray find from outside the Golden Gate (*Fig. 158*)¹⁴⁵, could belong to the same context as the Berlin corner.

A cornice block that was unearthed inside the city, on a plot opposite the former Ese Gate of the Constantinian land walls in today's Koca Mustafa Paşa district (*Figs. 159–161*) is even more simple than the cornice of St John the Baptist at Hebdomon (*Figs. 148–154*). The modillions are

¹⁴⁰ I am pleased to revise my earlier, premature attribution to the time of Theodosius I (Niewöhner 2008b, 145), as this revision appears to justify the need for the more comprehensive typology of the paper in hand.

¹⁴¹ Belting – Naumann 1966, 80–83.

¹⁴² P. Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie*, BEFAR 158 (Paris 1945) pl. 71.

¹⁴³ Grossmann – Severin loc. cit. (n. 115) 33–49; Ćurčić loc. cit. (n. 3).

¹⁴⁴ Wulff – Vollbach loc. cit. (n. 91) 8 cat. 6716.

¹⁴⁵ Barsanti – Guiglia Guidobaldi loc. cit. (n. 74) 81–82 fig. 1.

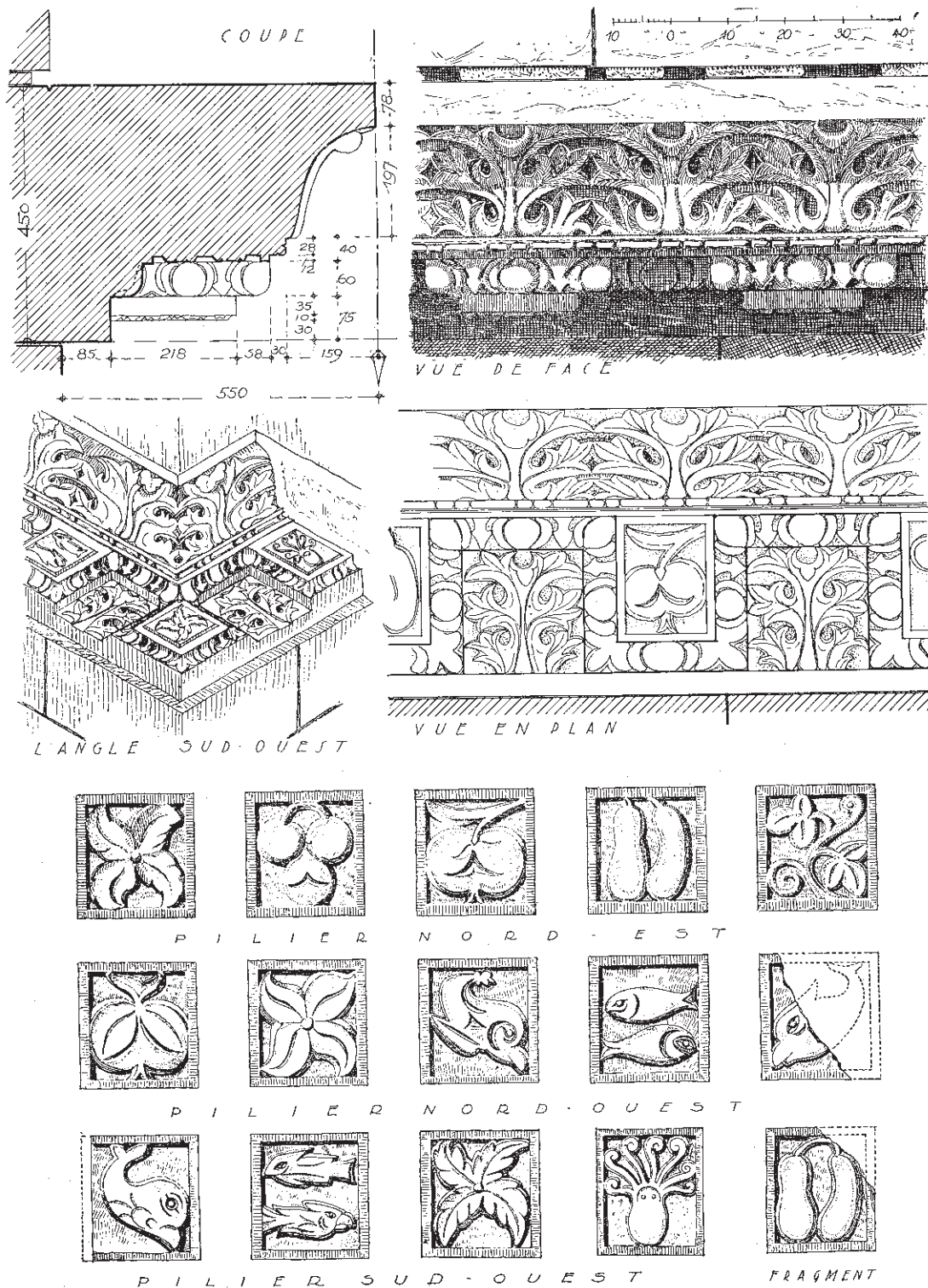


Fig. 156 Philippi, Basilica B, cornice as above Fig. 155

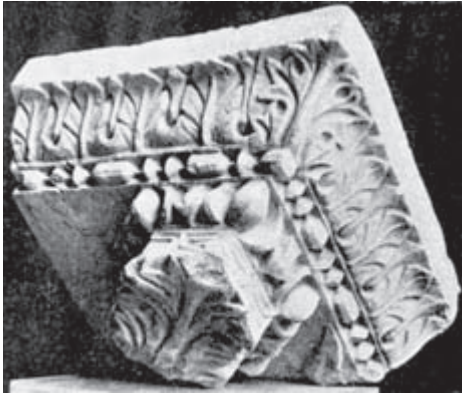


Fig. 157 Bode-Museum, Berlin, cornice; from the area of Yedikule/Golden Gate; H 32 L 60

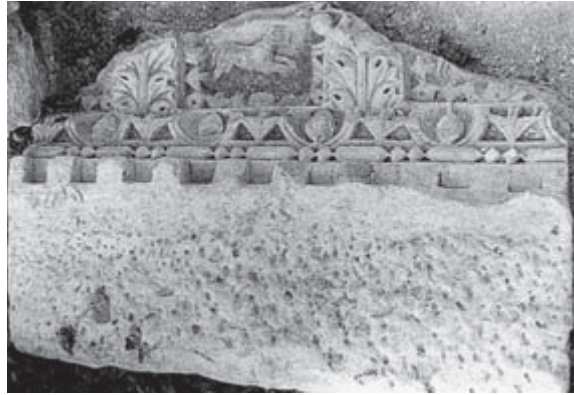


Fig. 158 Yedikule, cornice; stray find outside the later Byzantine propylon of the Golden Gate



Fig. 159 Inv. 6052, cornice; unearthed on a plot opposite the former Ese Gate of the Constantinian land walls in Koca Mustafa Paşa district during the digging of foundation trenches on 16 November 1967; H 58 L 200 W 60 (bottom) – 106 (top); four clamp holes on the upper side connect to the left, to the right (two), and to the back

thin and insubstantial as at St Polyeuctus (*Figs. 105–108*), and they lack the egg-and-dart that used to be standard in earlier times (cf. *Figs. 1. 10–14. 34. 55. 56. 67–69. 95–98. 101. 128. 131. 148–158*). The sima, again without astragal as at St John the Baptist (*Figs. 148–154*), has a decoration of alternately standing and hanging abstract forms that cannot be recognized as leaves any more, but suffice to evoke the memory of the aforesaid cornices with partial bossage of the sima (*Figs. 148–154. 157*). A cornice without modillions, but with astragal and fully carved acanthus leaves on the sima is kept at the Sitti Hatun Mosque in modern Silivrikapı district, close to the eponymous gate of the Theodosian land walls (*Fig. 162*)¹⁴⁶.

Finally, the sixth-century developments as outlined above become apparent also in marble ambos in so far as these items of liturgical furniture were conceived as miniature architecture,

¹⁴⁶ K. R. Dark – F. Özgümüş, *Istanbul 2004 Yılı Çalışmaları*, AST 23/1, 2005, 343–354, esp. 350 fig. 6; K. Dark – F. Özgümüş, *Constantinople. Archaeology of a Byzantine Megapolis* (Oxford 2013) 21–22. 40–41. 133 figs. 17. 32.



Fig. 160 Inv. 6052 as above *Fig. 159*, detail



Fig. 161 Inv. 6052 as above *Fig. 159*



Fig. 162 Sitti Hatun Mosque near the Silivri Gate in the land walls, cornice; one of two blocks that were unearthed when a new northern porch was added to the mosque; H 19 W 40

first and foremost the ambo from the Rotunda at Thessaloniki at the Archaeological Museum Istanbul (*Fig. 163*)¹⁴⁷. Its architectural decoration replicates an arcade with a vine above the arch that compares to, and may have been inspired by, St Polyeuctus (*Fig. 109*). Then follows a thick semi-circular moulding in the shape of undercut foliage that is similar to the frieze in the aisles and in the narthex of Justinian's St Sophia (*Fig. 133*). Finally, dentils and a row of standing acanthus leaves evoke a cornice like that at the Sitti Hatun Mosque (*Fig. 162*), i. e. a reduced version of the larger sixth-century cornices with modillions and rows of standing acanthus leaves at St Sophia (*Fig. 131*) and St John the Baptist (*Figs. 148–154*). All of this dates the ambo from the Rotunda at Thessaloniki firmly to the sixth century¹⁴⁸. Similarly, some Phrygian ambos with thick semi-circular mouldings as part of their cornices also appear to date from the sixth century and can be distinguished from earlier carvings with more balanced cornices¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁷ Firath 1990, 96–97 cat. 178 pls. 56. 57.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. R. Warland, *Der Ambo aus Thessaloniki. Bildprogramm, Rekonstruktion, Datierung*, *JdI* 109, 1994, 371–385.

¹⁴⁹ Niewöhner 2007, 187.



Fig. 163 Inv. 1090, ambo from the Rotunda at Thessaloniki

PROBABLE SIXTH-CENTURY CORNICES WITH
VINE AND INHABITED SCROLLS

A stray find from Sirkeci district on the northern shore of Istanbul's historic peninsula, at the conflux of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, appears to be a cornice block, because it has a row of dentils near the bottom (*Fig. 164*). Strangely, the dentils are preceded rather than followed by an astragal. This inversion of the customary order (cf. *Figs. 18. 34. 40. 46. 47. 52. 55. 56. 92. 93. 103. 104. 128. 148–154. 158–162*) may be attributable to the general disintegration of the ancient canon in the sixth century. Above the dentils, a flat sima without curvature and with a vine scroll for decoration also points to the sixth century, when St Polyeuctus had a similarly flat sima and established vine as an alternative to the conventional decoration with acanthus (*Figs. 105–109*). A second, similar cornice block without known provenance likely belonged to the same entablature (*Fig. 165*).

A similar vine scroll decorates an impost that was found re-used as paving stone in Beyazit district (*Fig. 166*). At the corners of the impost the scroll includes wicker baskets that would have been used for harvesting the grapes (cf. *Fig. 168*). Such wicker baskets occur as parts of numerous sixth-century column capitals and entablatures even where there is no obvious connection to the harvest of grapes or other fruit¹⁵⁰. Entablatures with wicker baskets may for example be found in the apse of Kalenderhane Mosque¹⁵¹, in the West

¹⁵⁰ For column capitals, from which small wicker baskets protrude, see Niewöhner 2007, 187 (bibliography).

¹⁵¹ U. Peschlow, *Architectural Sculpture*, in: Y.D. Kuban – C.L. Striker (eds.), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz 1997) 101–111, esp. 101–102 cat. 55 a–i pl. 73.



Fig. 164 Inv. 78.50, cornice; unearthed during building work in the area of the second jetty in Sirkeci-Cankurtaran district on 25 January 1977; H 24 L (broken) 79 W (broken) 11 (bottom) – 39 (top); broken on left and back



Fig. 165 Inv. 08.43, cornice; H 20 L (broken) 40 W (broken) 35 (bottom) – 55 (top)

of Alahan Manastır in Isauria¹⁵², at Deir az-Za'faran/Deyrulzafaran in Mesopotamia¹⁵³,

¹⁵² M. Gough (ed.), *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, Studies and Texts 73 (Toronto 1985) fig. 30 pl. 18.

¹⁵³ M.C. Mundell, *The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Za'faran in Mesopotamia*, in: *Actes du 15^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, Athens 1976 II (Athens 1981) 511–528, esp. 521–523. For illustrations, see also A. Iacobini,



Fig. 166 Inv. 6306, impost; found re-used as paving stone in the courtyard of the public library in Beyazit district on 7 November 1970; H 26 bottom 14×44 top 50×75; broken at one small end; concrete mortar attached to a basket

Fig. 167 Inv. 71.73, cornice; probably from above a door; found re-used as paving stone at the Gazi Atik Ali Paşa Mosque in Çemberlitaş district in 1971; H 14 L 92 (bottom) – 96 (top) W (broken) 18 (bottom) – 29 (top); broken at the back



Fig. 168 Bode-Museum, Berlin, inv. 3064; cornice; acquired from the vicinity of the Dardanelles in 1903; H 18 L (broken) 90



at Seleucia Pieria near Antioch¹⁵⁴, and on ambo platforms in the vicinity of Aezani in Phrygia¹⁵⁵.

Another vine scroll is arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central vase, and the block may likely have served as an overdoor (*Fig. 167*). It was found re-used as paving stone at the Gazi Atik Ali Paşa Mosque in Çemberlitaş district. Another likely overdoor with a vine scroll in the Bode-Museum at Berlin was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Dardanelles (*Fig. 168*)¹⁵⁶, i. e. on route of the marble trade from Proconnesus or Constantinople through the Sea of Marmara to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. In this case the vine scroll is ›inhabited‹ with a peacock, a rabbit, and a farmer, who harvests a grape into a wicker basket. Such inhabited scrolls were wide-spread in antiquity and are well-attested in late antique mosaics¹⁵⁷. Byzantine marble carvings with inhabited scrolls often date from the sixth century¹⁵⁸, the same period that is suggested by the vine scroll on the block at Berlin.

Un complesso monastico nella Mesopotamia bizantina. Deir Za'Faran. L'architettura, in: C. Barsanti – A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds.), *Atti della giornata di studio/Gruppo Nazionale di Coordinamento C.N.R. »Storia dell'Arte e della Cultura Artistica Bizantina«*, Milion 1 (Rome 1988) 129–160 pl. 5, 2; G. Brands, *Die Bauornamentik von Resafa-Sergiupolis. Studien zur spätantiken Architektur und Bauausstattung in Syrien und Nordmesopotamien*, Resafa 6 (Mainz 2002) 252 pl. 97 d.

¹⁵⁴ Mundell loc. cit. (n. 153) 521–524 fig. 9.

¹⁵⁵ Niewöhner 2007, 261–263 cat. 328–329 figs. 124. 125 pls. 35. 36.

¹⁵⁶ O. K. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke 1. Altchristliche Bildwerke = Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen vol. 3* (Berlin 1909) 21 cat. 36; A. Effenberger – H.-G. Severin, *Das Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst* (Mainz 1992) 120 cat. 38.

¹⁵⁷ R. Hachlili, *Ancient Mosaic Pavements* (Leiden 2009) 111–147.

¹⁵⁸ C. Dauphin, *The Development of the Inhabited Scroll in Architectural Sculpture and Mosaic Art from Late Imperial Times to the Seventh Century A.D.*, *Levant* 19, 1987, 183–205; G. Mietke, *Vine Rinceaux*, in: H. C. Evans (ed.), *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition. 7th–9th Century* (New York 2012) 175–182; D. Bielefeld, *Ikonographie und Bedeutung des „Trauben naschenden Hasen“*, in: G. Koch (ed.), *Akten des Symposiums „125 Jahre Sarkophag-Corpus“*, *Sarkophag-Studien 1* (Mainz 1998) 7–19.



Fig. 169 Inv. 95.91, cornice; unearthed together with inv. 95.92 (*Fig. 170*) during building work in Hacircilar Street in Tahtakale, close to the Mehmed Efendi Coffee House in Eminönü district; H 40 L 135 W (broken) 155 (bottom) – 190 (top); broken on the back; underside with crack and clamp holes that indicate ancient repair

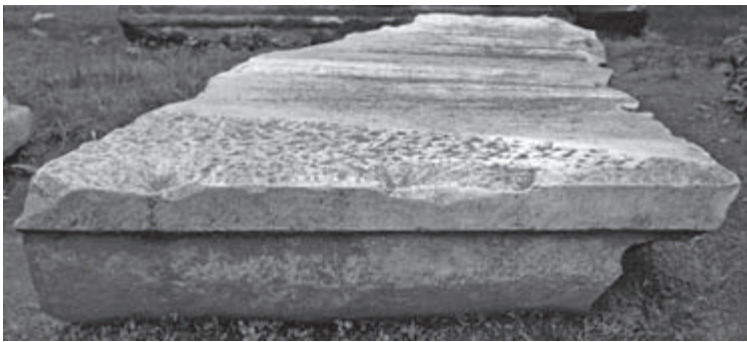


Fig. 170 Inv. 95.92, cornice; unearthed together with inv. 95.91 as above *Fig. 169*; H 40 L (broken) 125 W top 153; broken on the right, where the upper side preserves parts of two dowel or clamp holes



Fig. 171 Templon epistyle, front (top) and underside (bottom); H 8,5 L (broken) 50 W 17,5 (bottom) – 22,5 (top); broken on the left, to the left of a cross, which was probably placed centrally and suggests that the block used to be about 1 m long

Another inhabited scroll has larger dimensions and, according to an astragal at the bottom that would have separated the scroll from another cornice block below, appears to have been part of a monumental entablature (*Fig. 169*). It was found in central Eminönü district together with a second block of similar size but without decoration (*Fig. 170*). The ›scroll‹ is made up of pomegranate branches that are tied together so as to enclose a row of alternately large ovals and small rhombi. The ovals contain a bucket with grapes, a rabbit eating grapes, and a duck. The underside of the decorated block and the upper surface of the second block have been smoothed beyond the requirements of even contact with preceding and following blocks (cf. *Figs. 34. 40. 72. 74. 87. 105. 148. 158*), suggesting that the surfaces in question were originally meant to be



Fig. 172 Bargylia in Caria, frieze with peopled scroll at the early Byzantine basilica

visible, the marbles served a different purpose once, and their employment as cornice blocks was a secondary re-use. Re-using such bulky marbles made sense, as new blocks would have been costly and difficult to acquire and transport, and the secondary building project seems to have been executed with parsimony, in spite of the large scale of the cornice: The decorated block appears to have been re-used although it was cracked and the crack had to be stabilized with a clamp on the underside, attesting to the value of the large piece of marble and the thriftiness of the builders.

A final early Byzantine epistyle block with comparable decoration is of smaller size and seems suitable for liturgical furniture, for example a *templon* (Fig. 171). At the broken left end the front is decorated with a cross that will likely have marked the centre of the block and leads to a reconstructed length of about 1 m. This would have been long enough to bridge a door and is reminiscent of other *templon* epistyles that marked the doors with crosses (see below Figs. 182–184)¹⁵⁹. The cross is flanked by a ram, a bird, and a lotus flower, and the other, lost half of the block was likely decorated symmetrically. The lotus flower is halved by the right end of the block and would have continued on the following block. Below the lotus flower the underside has a rectangular dowel or clamp hole where it would have rested on a column. The unobstructed central part of the underside that would have bridged the intercolumniation and likely door is decorated with a soffit.

The decoration, i. e. the animals, the lotus flower, and the soffit, compares to early Byzantine entablatures (cf. for animals Figs. 38. 168. 169, for lotus flowers Figs. 39. 40. 50. 51, for soffits Figs. 32. 38. 43. 44. 59. 60. 64. 147) and differs from middle Byzantine *templon* epistyles (see below and Figs. 179–185). The flat, two-dimensional carving may for example be compared to an inhabited scroll at the early Byzantine basilica of Bargylia in coastal Caria (Fig. 172)¹⁶⁰. The epistyle block under consideration should therefore date from the early Byzantine period. Few other such small epistyles are known from before the middle Byzantine period, presumably because early Byzantine *templon* epistyles consisted more often of precious metals with wooden cores that would have been robbed, burned, or otherwise disintegrated and lost¹⁶¹. The few small

¹⁵⁹ For examples, see A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge 2 (11e–14e siècle)*, Bibliothèque des CArch 12 (Paris 1976) 58 cat. 44 pl. 25 a. b: Hosios Lukas, catholicon, prothesis; A. H. S. Megaw, *The Skripou Screen*, BSA 61, 1966, 1–32 pl. 7: chapel of St Petrus; U. Peschlow, *Materialien zur Kirche des H. Nikolaos in Myra im Mittelalter*, *IstMitt* 40, 1990, 207–258, esp. 226–228 fig. 4; Niewöhner 2008a, 292.

¹⁶⁰ A. Záh, *Eine unbekannte Säulen-Basilika auf dem Territorium von Bargylia*, *OrChrPer* 73, 2007, 417–432.

¹⁶¹ Niewöhner 2008a, 298.



Fig. 173 Bode-Museum, Berlin, inv. 6132; cornice; acquired by T. Wiegand from the vicinity of a church of St Andrew at Istanbul in 1909: H 21,5 L 53

epistyles that can be assigned to the early Byzantine period are decorated sparingly¹⁶², and the one under consideration stands out for its relative opulence.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE ENTABLATURES

The early Byzantine production of carved marbles seems to have pattered out in the sixth or seventh century, and few new carvings are known from the eighth century¹⁶³ that was generally a period of downturn in Byzantium and Constantinople¹⁶⁴. A modest revival set in from the later ninth century onwards, but middle Byzantine entablatures are scarce, as colonnades were hardly ever built any more¹⁶⁵. Discounting simpler cornices, which remained common on exterior façades as well as in the interior of churches¹⁶⁶, and occasional overdoors, for which a specific formal repertoire of their own continued to be employed¹⁶⁷, more complex entablatures proper

¹⁶² F. Mesesnel, Die Ausgrabungen einer altchristlichen Basilika in Suvodol bei Bitolj, in: B. D. Filov (ed.), Actes du 4e Congrès international des études byzantines II, Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare 10 (Nendeln 1936) 184–194, esp. 188. 190–191 figs. 131–133; A. K. Orlandos, Ανασκαφή της παλαοχριστιανικής βασιλικής Τριών εκκλησιών Πύρου, Prakt. 116, 1960, 246–257, esp. 249 pl. 186 a. d; K. Kolokotsas – J.-P. Sodini, Aliki 2. La basilique double, Études thasiennes 10 (Athens 1984) 154 fig. 129 pl. 54 h–j; P. Chevalier, Ecclesiae Dalmatiae. L'architecture paléochrétienne de la province romaine de Dalmatie (4e–7e s.), Salona 2 (Rome 1995–1996) I 287; II 180 figs. 1. 3; Niewöhner 2007, 145–147. 251 cat. 305. 306 pl. 31; Niewöhner loc. cit. (n. 131) 47. 203 cat. MK234–235. Cf. also the epistyle of the colonnade around the grave of St Peter on the Pula Casket: W. F. Volbach, Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters, Kataloge vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Altertümer 7³ (Mainz 1976) 85 cat. 120 pl. 64.

¹⁶³ T. Ulbert, Untersuchungen zu den byzantinischen Reliefplatten des 6. bis 8. Jahrhunderts, IstMitt 19/20, 1969–1970, 339–357.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. for example the fate of aristocratic palaces that may have been responsible for a goodly number of late antique entablatures, but stopped to be built after the fifth century: P. Niewöhner, The late Late Antique Origins of Byzantine Palace Architectur, in: M. Featherstone – J. M. Spieser – G. Tanman – U. Wulf-Rheidt (eds.), The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism, Urban Spaces 4 (Berlin 2015) 31–52.

¹⁶⁵ Krautheimer loc. cit. (n. 3) 335–411; Ćurčić loc. cit. (n. 3); R. Ousterhout, Master Builders of Byzantium (Princeton NJ 1999); M. Altripp, Die Basilika in Byzanz, Millennium-Studien 42 (Berlin 2013).

¹⁶⁶ For example the monastery church of Constantine Lips at Constantinople: A. Grabar, Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV^e–X^e siècle), Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 17 (Paris 1963) 100–101; T. Macridy, The Monastery of Lips and the Burials of the Palaeologi, DOP 18, 1964, 253–278.

¹⁶⁷ See above note 5.

are rarely attested. In fact, the few middle Byzantine entablature blocks at the Archaeological Museum and from Constantinople may well have been cornices and overdoors, too, as – due to the lack of middle Byzantine colonnades – the formal repertoire traditionally associated with epistyles may have become available for such other purposes.

A cornice block at the Bode-Museum in Berlin from the vicinity of a church of St Andrew at Istanbul (*Fig. 173*)¹⁶⁸ is reminiscent of inhabited scrolls from the early Byzantine period (cf. *Figs. 168–172*), but a series of details point to a middle Byzantine date: The dentils at the bottom have been rounded rather than cut out at right angles as in antiquity (cf. *Figs. 4. 18. 34. 40. 46. 47. 52. 55. 56. 92. 93. 103. 104. 128. 148–154. 158–162. 164*). The massive scroll is out of proportion with the tiny ivy leaf that it bears on the right side. The leaf at the corner has alternately pointed (acanthus) and rounded (palmette) tips, and the bottom tips are arched and point downwards, both of which was not customary in antiquity but also occurs on other middle Byzantine carvings (see below *Figs. 174. 175. 180. 181. 183*). All animals bare their teeth and appear to be gnarling aggressively, which may have been considered apotropaic and thus fitful for an overdoor. The animals are best compared to other, equally frightful and presumably apotropaic beasts from the middle Byzantine period, with some of which they also share the voluminous rendering of their bodies¹⁶⁹.

A fragment of an arched block seems to represent a monolithic combination of an acanthus frieze and a cornice with a row of standing leaves (*Fig. 174*). The block is broken below the acanthus scroll, where the remains of an astragal can still be made out. Above the frieze follows a deep moulding that would seem to set off the cornice. However, the dentils that conventionally marked the bottom of ancient and early Byzantine cornices (cf. *Figs. 4. 18. 34. 40. 46. 47. 52. 55. 56. 92. 93. 103. 104. 128. 148–154. 158–162*) are here placed above, and dwarfed by, a massive twisted cord. A standing acanthus leaf on the sima is characterized by bottom tips that are arched, point downwards, and occurred typically in the middle Byzantine period (cf.



Fig. 174 Arched frieze and cornice; H (broken) 44 L 24 W 19; broken at the bottom

¹⁶⁸ Wulff loc. cit. (n. 156) 309 cat. 1629; Effenberger – Severin loc. cit. (n. 156) 121 cat. 39.

¹⁶⁹ P. Niewöhner, *Byzantine Water Spouts with Zoomorphic Head and Channel*, *CArch* 55, 2013–2014, 79–90.



Fig. 175 Inv. 08.42, cornice; H 23 L (broken) 78 (bottom) – 96 (top) W 55–60 (bottom) – 73 (top); broken on the left



Fig. 176 Inv. 08.41, frieze and cornice with two rows of dentils; H 28 L (broken) 55 W (broken) 39; broken on left and back; the moulding continues on the right side

*Figs. 173. 175. 180. 181. 183*¹⁷⁰. The same date may also be deduced from the fact that the cornice is arched, which was not customary in antiquity and the early Byzantine period, when cornices normally ran horizontally above arcades (cf. *Figs. 130. 132*), but which is reminiscent of marble icon frames with arched rows of standing acanthus leaves from the later Byzantine periods, for example at the Chora Monastery¹⁷¹.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. for example the church of Constantine Lips, above note 166.

¹⁷¹ Hjort loc. cit. (n. 5) 225–227 figs. 26. 27.

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Fig. 177 Inv. 337, frieze and cornice without dentils; first attested in 1881, when the museum was still housed in St Irene; H 27,5 L (broken) 110 W 29; the back appears to have been cut in the modern period

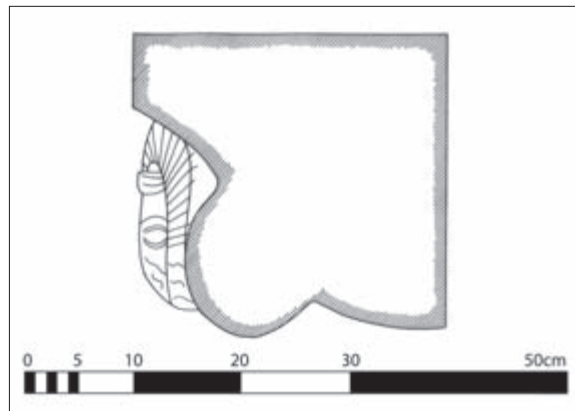


Fig. 178 Inv. 337 as above Fig. 177

A corner block of a cornice harks back to the ancient tradition by combining dentils, an astragal, and a row of lotus flowers that alternate with palmettes (*Fig. 175*). However, a middle Byzantine date is clearly indicated by the bottom tips of the palmettes that are arched and point downwards (cf. *Figs. 173. 174. 180. 181. 183*). A smaller corner block that could have served as an overdoor includes a frieze and a cornice (*Fig. 176*). Strangely, the frieze is also paired with a row of dentils. The frieze forms a thick semi-circular moulding, and the sima is decorated with a row of standing acanthus leaves, both of which had been customary in the Justinianic period (cf. *Figs. 131. 134. 148–163*), but the odd shape of the acanthus leaves (or palmettes?) with up-turned tips indicates a later, middle Byzantine date.

Another combined frieze and cornice includes the head of a ram (*Figs. 177. 178*)¹⁷², which seems more appropriate for an overdoor, where the head might have occupied the centre, than for a longer entablature. Dentils are omitted, but the frieze is preceded by a row of eggs (strangely, without darts). The frieze in the shape of an acanthus scroll again forms a thick semi-circular moulding. The sima is decorated with a row of palmettes that are conceived in a typical later Byzantine way as stacks of standing acanthus leaf tips (cf. *Fig. 185*)¹⁷³.

¹⁷² Mendel 1912–1914, vol. 3 p. 437–438 cat. 1195; Firath 1990, 134–135 cat. 264 pl. 83.

¹⁷³ Cf. various later Byzantine cornices at Constantinople: Hjort loc. cit. (n. 5) 236–237 figs. 36–40.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE TEMPLON EPISTYLES

The only kind of epistyle that remained common during the middle Byzantine period are templon epistyles. Their number is large, as numerous new churches that continued to be built throughout the period required templa, and also because many pre-existing early Byzantine templa appear to have received new epistyles during the middle Byzantine period. The original early Byzantine templon epistyles were presumably made of more precious materials like wood with metal sheathing, and would have been robbed, burned, or otherwise lost during the Invasion Period, when the Arabs ransacked Asia Minor from the seventh to the ninth century¹⁷⁴. As one might expect and as used to be customary in the early Byzantine period (cf. *Fig. 171*)¹⁷⁵, some middle Byzantine templon epistyles employ the same formal repertoire that is known from large-scale entablatures, cornices, and overdoors (*Figs. 179–183*)¹⁷⁶. However, most middle Byzantine templon epistyles are decorated in a peculiar fashion of their own (*Figs. 184. 185*)¹⁷⁷, which appears to correspond to their lower and more visible positions and to confirm that the ancient canon had lost all currency after the end of late antiquity.

The left end of what appears to be an epistyle block (*Fig. 179*) is inscribed on the underside with a cross monogram that may be read *του επισκόπου* and probably had a pendant with the name of the bishop in question further to the right¹⁷⁸. The front is decorated with a row of standing ivy leaves or upturned darts (? Cf. *Figs. 38. 125. 126. 142–145. 148–151*) that alternate with cross-shaped plants inside egg shells (?). Whatever forms the stonemason may have had in mind, their combination seems to be inspired by an egg and dart, which calls to mind the early seventh-century templon epistyle of St Michael at Miletus in Caria that was also decorated with an egg and dart¹⁷⁹.

A fragment of a templon epistyle from Istanbul's Çırçır district outside Constantinople, to the north of the Golden Horn, is badly preserved (*Fig. 180*)¹⁸⁰. Most of the underside has broken off, and its decoration cannot be reconstructed any more. The front is complete, however, and decorated with a frieze of palmettes that alternate with crosses. The same decoration is also known from middle Byzantine cornices, for example those inside the monastery church of Constantine Lips and from Kalenderhane Mosque (*Fig. 181*), both at Constantinople¹⁸¹. The

¹⁷⁴ Niewöhner 2008a, 299–305; P. Niewöhner, What Went Wrong? Decline and Ruralisation in Eleventh Century Anatolia. *The Archaeological Record*, in: J. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Eleventh-Century Byzantium. Social Change in Town and Country* (Oxford) in press.

¹⁷⁵ See above note 162.

¹⁷⁶ For other examples, see Niewöhner 2008a, 296–297. 342–343 cat. 58.

¹⁷⁷ For more examples, see above note 174 and J.-P. Sodini, Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos, in: *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul 27 (Paris 1980) 119–148; H. Buchwald, Chancel Barrier Lintels Decorated with Carved Arcades, *JbÖByz* 45, 1995, 233–276; Niewöhner 2008a, 292–305. 324–341 cat. 24–54; P. Niewöhner, Neue spät- und nachantike Monumente von Milet und der mittelbyzantinische Zerfall des anatolischen Städtewesens, *AA* 2013/2, 165–233, esp. 194–201.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. RBK VI (2006) 593–594 s. v. Monogramm (W. Seibt).

¹⁷⁹ Niewöhner loc. cit. (n. 131) 47. 203 cat. MK234–235.

¹⁸⁰ Mendel 1912–1914, vol. 3 p. 534 cat. 1326.

¹⁸¹ U. Peschlow, Byzantine Architectural Sculpture, in: D. Kuban – C. L. Striker (eds.), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Excavations* (Mainz 2007) 295–342, esp. 297. 315 cat. 59 pl. 8. Cf. also W. F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, *Die Bildwerke des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums II* ²(Berlin 1930) 30–31 cat. 3242 (from Nicaea/Iznik).

Fig. 179 Inv. 08.45, templon epistyle, front (top) and underside (bottom); H 10 L (broken) 61 W 35 (bottom) – 43 (top); broken on the right



Fig. 180 Inv. 2692, templon epistyle, front (top) and underside (bottom); from Çırçır district in July 1913; H 12 L (broken) 33; broken on left, right, and back



Fig. 181 Kalenderhane Mosque, cornice





Fig. 182 Inv. 5542, templon epistyle, front (top), underside (centre), and back (bottom); from a church site on Yakacık Yolu in Kartal district in 1963; H 12,5 L 116 W 23 (bottom) – 42 (top); broken, frontal corners broken off; a square incision (12,5 × 12,5) at the right end of the underside cuts into the relief and seems to have been added later, apparently in order to place the epistyle on a small capital and hide the joint; the original capital may have been up to 40 cm wide

arrangement seems to be inspired by entablatures with rows of standing leaves (cf. *Figs. 131. 134. 142. 144. 145. 148–163. 174–177*), by the use of palmettes for the decoration of the sima (cf. *Fig. 175*), and by architraves with crosses (*Figs. 67. 91. 135. 147*).

An epistyle block that can be reconstructed completely has been found at a church site in Istanbul's Kartal district on the Asian shore of the Sea of Marmara (*Fig. 182*). The decoration is centred on crosses that probably marked a door into the templon¹⁸². The crosses are flanked by scrolls or tendrils with half-palmettes typical for the middle Byzantine period¹⁸³. A square incision (12,5 × 12,5 cm²) at the right end of the underside cuts into the relief and seems to have been added later, apparently in order to fit the epistyle onto a smaller capital; the original capital may have been up to 40 cm wide. Similar incisions or other such adaptations to the columns are visible on many templon epistyles¹⁸⁴.

Another epistyle block that is also centred on a cross and can thus be reconstructed completely was retrieved from the area of the land walls in the vicinity of the Tekfur Saray (*Fig. 183*). On the front a cross is flanked by scrolls with alternately standing and hanging palmettes, five on the left side and probably also on the right. The underside is decorated with bands that form two circles in the centre and a square at the left end; a second square can likely be reconstructed at the right end. The circles and the square are filled with large and complex acanthus leaves, and this decoration may have been inspired by the geometric and vegetal decoration of early Byzantine soffits, for example Sts Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople with similarly large square, round, and rhomboid shapes that also contain (some, smaller) acanthus leaves (*Fig. 128*)¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸² Cf. above notes 174 and 177.

¹⁸³ Cf. for example on imposts in the church of Constantine Lips, above note 166.

¹⁸⁴ For examples, see above notes 174 and 177.

¹⁸⁵ Barsanti – Guiglia Guidobaldi loc. cit. (n. 111) 264–272 figs. 118–141.



Fig. 183 Inv. 5784, templon epistyle, front (top) and underside (bottom); from the area of the land walls in the vicinity of the Tekfur Saray; H 11 (front) – 13 (back) L (broken) 82 W 25 (bottom) – 33 (top); broken on the right, left corner broken off; a central cross at 51 cm from the left side that was probably placed in the middle suggests an original overall length of 100+ cm, with a second square field at the right end of the underside

Fig. 184 Inv. 1562, templon epistyle, front (top), underside (centre), and back (bottom); L (broken) 145 W 84; broken on left and right



Whilst all templon epistyle blocks considered so far appear to have been about 1 m long (*Figs. 171. 179–183*), one block will have been more than twice as long and had a greater width, too (*Fig. 184*). It likely belonged to a larger and more monumental templon of a bigger church, but its provenance is not recorded. It entered into the collection of the Archaeological Museum already in the Ottoman period, when finds from all over the empire were brought to Istanbul¹⁸⁶, and a provincial provenance can not be excluded. The decoration with knotted bands, miniature arcades, and knobs in the shapes of a cross and a blossom is specific to middle Byzantine templon epistyles, with numerous examples in Asia Minor and others in Greece¹⁸⁷. The arrangement appears to be symmetrical and to be centred on a knotted, cross-shaped knob in the middle

¹⁸⁶ Mendel 1912–1914.

¹⁸⁷ For Asia Minor, see above notes 174 and 177. For Greece see C. Vanderheyde, *The Carved Decoration of Middle and Late Byzantine Temples*, *MSPätAByz* 5, 2007, 77–111, esp. 91–93.



Fig. 185 Miniature arcade; broken on left, right, below, and behind; likely a fragment of a templon epistyle

of the front. On the underside, a smaller cross is inscribed in a six-pointed star. The right end has broken off, but can likely be reconstructed symmetrically to the left side. At the left end, a roughly incised square would have hidden the joint, where the epistyle rested on a column capital. Another miniature arcade, again without provenance, has broken off a larger block that was likely a templon epistyle (Fig. 185). Every second intercolumniation contains a cross, which is similar to the templon epistyle from Çırçır district (Fig. 180).

CONCLUSIONS

Constantinople and the Archaeological Museum Istanbul stand out for a large number of early Byzantine entablatures. They bear witness to traditionalism and sophistication and distinguish the imperial capital from the provinces, where early Byzantine entablatures are rare and more readily available arcades had become standard instead. Thus, the early Byzantine entablatures of Constantinople would have stood out and lent an ancient flair to the imperial city¹⁸⁸, even though their formal repertoire diverged ever more from what had been canonical in antiquity. However, the formal development was not entirely random, but appears to have evolved step by step and to have included all contemporary entablatures. This is hardly surprising, considering that all Constantinopolitan carvings under consideration seem to consist of the same marble form Proconnesus and would have been produced by the same metropolitan workshop or complex of workshops on behalf of the same imperial and aristocratic elite.

A small number of Roman entablature blocks (Figs. 1–9) may have remained from the minor provincial town of Byzantium, or they may have been brought to Constantinople later, when the new capital city was embellished with re-used parts salvaged from Roman ruins near and far. Such spoliation was characteristic for the Constantinian period, when Byzantium was first elevated to imperial capital but does not seem to have produced new marble carvings and when exploitation of the nearby quarries on Proconnesus appears to have been discontinued. The Proconnesian quarries were revived under Theodosius I, when Constantinople became sole capital of the eastern Roman empire and started to grow rapidly, including numerous marble buildings (Figs. 23–31). Their formal repertoire is characterized by new types of acanthus leaves

¹⁸⁸ For other examples of early Byzantine antiquarianism, see P. Niewöhner, Byzantine Preservation of Ancient Monuments at Miletus in Caria. Christian Antiquarianism in Western Asia Minor, in: J. Borsch – O. Gengler – M. Meier (eds.), *Die Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas im Kontext spätantiker Memorialkultur*, Malalas Studien (Stuttgart 2018) in press.

that had previously been developed at Docimium in Phrygia (*Figs. 15–22*), suggesting that the Theodosian revival of Proconnesus involved stonemasons from central Anatolia.

Decline set in during the fifth century, when entablatures were reduced in size and simplified in form (*Figs. 34–103*), and when the Lesbian cyma as well as the anthemion were eventually dropped altogether. At the same time the carving became more shallow and doughy, all of which may have been related to mass production, as the workshops of Proconnesus/Constantinople – in addition to supplying the capital – also exported countless complete and finished sets of marbles to many other Mediterranean cities¹⁸⁹. This early Byzantine marble trade does not seem to have been competitive; no other comparable supplier existed next to Proconnesus, the only alternative being local workshops that employed inferior materials, produced different formal repertoires, and will have had less prestige value¹⁹⁰. Thus, provincial customers will normally have been content if the marble and formal repertoire were recognisably of Proconnesian/Constantinopolitan origin and as long as the quality of workmanship did not lag behind that of local workshops.

The sixth-century church of St Polyeuctus at Constantinople appears to have been a different case entirely. A unique concept and novel forms that were executed with exceptional quality served as status symbol of Anicia Juliana and her family¹⁹¹, as is confirmed by the response of emperor Justinian, who made a point of outdoing the former when he re-built the church of St Sophia with an even more ambitious design¹⁹². The entablatures of St Polyeuctus mark the point, at which the ancient canon, after having been interpreted with increasing flexibility already in the later fifth century (*Figs. 92, 93*), was finally abandoned and replaced with a wilful combination of geometric, vegetal, and composite ornaments (*Figs. 105–108*). St Polyeuctus impresses through a great variety of new forms, some of which seem to have been inspired by Sassanian art¹⁹³.

The relief of St Polyeuctus – rather than to undulate in order to catch sunlight and create shadows as earlier entablatures used to do (*Figs. 1–103*) – forms a flat plane with deeply undercut ornaments. This was better suited to the dimly lit interior of the church, where direct sunlight would not have been available to bring out any undulation and where the undercutting helped white marble ornaments to stand out against a black background. This a-jour carving of entablatures was established at a time when colonnaded streets, porches, and other such exterior

¹⁸⁹ See above note 58.

¹⁹⁰ The situation was different on the central Anatolian high plateau and in the central Balkan mountains that were cut off from the supply with Proconnesian marble due to the prohibitively high costs of overland transport and instead each had their own first class white marble quarry and workshop that produced the same quality and formal repertoire as Proconnesus/Constantinople, namely Docimium in Phrygia and Sivec in Macedonia II, see above and Niewöhner – Audley-Miller – Prochaska loc. cit. (n. 91).

¹⁹¹ J. Bardill, *Église Saint-Polyeucte à Constantinople: nouvelle solution pour l'énigme de sa reconstitution*, in: J.-M. Spieser (ed.), *Architecture paléochrétienne* (Gollion 2011) 77–103 (bibliography).

¹⁹² S. L. Graham, »I Have Bested You, Solomon«: Justinian and the Old Testament, in: J. Baun – A. Cameron – M. Edwards – M. Vinzent (eds.), *From the Fifth Century: Greek Writers, Latin Writers, Nachleben*, *Studia Patristica* 48 (Leuven 2010) 153–157.

¹⁹³ Strube loc. cit. (n. 101) 110; E. Russo, La scultura di S. Polieucto e la presenza della Persia nella cultura artistica di Costantinopoli nel 6 secolo, in: A. Carile (ed.), *La Persia e Bisanzio, Atti dei convegni Lincei 201* (Rome 2004) 737–826; C. Barsanti, La scultura architettonica de epoca omayyade tra Biyanzio e la Persia sasanide. I capitelli di Qasr al_Muwaqqar in Giordania, in: A. C. Quitavalle (ed.), *Medioevo mediterraneo. L'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam* (Milano 2007) 436–446; P. Niewöhner, Zoomorphic Rainwater Spouts, in: B. Shilling – P. Stephenson (eds.), *Fountains and Water Culture in Byzantium* (Cambridge 2016) 163–181, esp. 163–165.

façades of earlier ages were rarely built any more¹⁹⁴, and most new entablatures served for the interior decoration of churches.

Justinian's church of St Sophia continued this development by replacing some of the a-jour carving with inlay of white ornaments on a black plane (*Figs. 132. 133*). As to the choice of ornaments, St Sophia and related sixth-century entablatures discontinued St Polyeuctus' quest for novelty and variety and instead returned to more conventional acanthus leaves and scrolls. This and a thick semi-circular moulding, which is also typical of the age (*Figs. 128. 129. 133–137. 140–145. 163*) and recalls the undulated entablatures of earlier times, make for a classicising appearance and lend some justification to the notion of a Justinianic Renaissance¹⁹⁵. Divers combinations of various acanthus leaves and scrolls and the thick semi-circular moulding appear randomly, and rather than having developed organically out of a living ancient tradition, the classicising elements of the Justinianic period seem to have been re-introduced after the ancient tradition had lapsed sometime in the later fifth century. The sixth century may thus be termed the afterlife of the Roman entablature.

The development of early Byzantine entablatures may be compared to that of the more numerous and better known column capitals. They confirm that Proconnesus/Constantinople initially depended on Docimium in Phrygia, when the metropolitan production was revived by Theodosius I in the later fourth century¹⁹⁶. The fifth century varied the ancient repertoire ever more freely¹⁹⁷, which would seem to have paved the way for novel concepts that emerged in the sixth century. The church of St Polyeuctus did again play a leading part by replacing the organic structure of old with filigree carpet patterns and a-jour carving¹⁹⁸. Other early Byzantine buildings combined a variety of different capitals (*Figs. 16. 17*), which also undermined the ancient order¹⁹⁹.

Some Justinianic churches returned to regular series of like capitals with a decoration of acanthus leaves, first and foremost Sts Sergius and Bacchus (*Fig. 128*) and St Sophia (*Fig. 130*), but, like the Justinianic entablatures, these capitals were newly fashioned rather than continuing an ancient tradition. Their carving remained flat and a-jour, without overhanging leaf tips that seem to have been abandoned at the same time and for the same reason as undulating entablatures, because capitals, too, were now mostly employed in the dim interiors of churches rather than on sunlit exterior façades of porticoed streets, porches, and the like. The watershed, at which the ancient tradition lapsed and after which it would merely be quoted rather than continued, appears to have been crossed sometime in the later fifth or earlier sixth century. The same chronological development has been observed for various other aspects of Byzantine art and culture and their relationship to the ancient tradition²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁴ See above notes 5, 60, and 164.

¹⁹⁵ W.T. Treadgold, *Renaissances before the Renaissance. Cultural Revivals in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Stanford 1984) 9. 145.

¹⁹⁶ See above note 32.

¹⁹⁷ Kautzsch loc. cit. (n. 20); Peschlow 2004, 90–98.

¹⁹⁸ Strube loc. cit. (n. 101).

¹⁹⁹ See above note 44.

²⁰⁰ A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse*, Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley 1991) 190–200. Cf. J.F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge 1997) 403–435; J.H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford 2001) 239–248.

Once the ancient tradition with its organic order originally derived from wooden constructions was defunct, any ornaments – old and new – could be combined at will. Where larger surfaces needed to be decorated, the choice was often for carpet patterns, witness some sixth-century marbles (*Figs. 104–119. 123–127. 130. 135. 163*) and more generally what has become known as the Jewelled Style in early Byzantine interior decoration²⁰¹. Early Islamic carpet patterns would seem to continue this development²⁰². In contrast, middle Byzantine entablatures emulated the ancient tradition or its Justinianic revival, with a focus on organic acanthus leaves and scrolls (*Figs. 173–177*). The same appears to be true for some middle Byzantine templon epistyles (*Figs. 179–183*), whilst other templon epistyles are decorated with various individual ornaments more in the spirit of post-antique carpet patterns (*Figs. 184. 185*).

Abstract: Entablatures became exceedingly rare after the end of the Roman period. Most Byzantine buildings employed arcades with built arches instead of colonnades with monolithic architraves. The only major exception was the capital city of Constantinople where entablatures continued to be newly carved from Proconnesian marble throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. This paper unites the known specimens for the first time, including numerous hitherto unpublished entablature blocks in the collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul. A considerable number of externally dated entablatures serve as corner stones of a typology and reveal how the formal repertoire developed over time. The earlier fourth century was characterized by new and varied types of acanthus leaves that emerged at Docimium in Phrygia, the most important marble quarry and workshop on the central Anatolian high plateau. When Theodosius I initiated a new building boom at Constantinople in the late fourth century, the focus shifted to the nearby quarry island of Proconnesus. The ensuing mass production led to simplifications of the formal repertoire and reductions in quality, and the fifth-century developments may be described in terms of decline. The last remnants of the Roman tradition were finally shed and lost around 500 AD. Thus freed of restraining conventions, the sixth century and in particular the prosperous Justinianic period came up with novel forms and established a stylistic repertoire of its own. It harked back at the Roman tradition in ways that confirmed both its death and how it continued to inform the formal development in afterlife.

NIEDERGANG UND NACHLEBEN DES RÖMISCHEN GEBÄLKS.
DIE SAMMLUNG DES ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN MUSEUMS ISTANBUL
UND ANDERE BYZANTINISCHE EPISTYLE UND GESIMSE AUS KONSTANTINOPEL

Zusammenfassung: Neue Gebälke waren nach dem Ende der römischen Kaiserzeit selten. Die meisten byzantinischen Gebäude verwendeten Arkaden mit gebauten Bögen anstelle von Kolonnaden mit monolithen Architraven. Die einzige große Ausnahme war die Hauptstadt

²⁰¹ E. S. Bolman, Painted Skins. The Illusions and Realities of Architectural Polychromy: Sinai and Egypt, in: S. E. J. Gerstel – R. S. Nelson (eds.), *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai* (Turnhout 2010) 119–140, esp. 123 notes 17–21 (bibliography); N. Schibille, Light as an Aesthetic Constituent in the Architecture of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, in: D. Mondini – V. Ivanovici (eds.), *Manipulating Light in Premodern Times* (Mendrisio 2014) 31–43, esp. 37 note 54 (bibliography).

²⁰² D. Clevenot, *Splendours of Islam. Architecture, Decoration and Design* (New York 2000).

Konstantinopel, wo Gebälke auch im fünften und sechsten Jahrhundert noch neu aus prokonnesischem Marmor hergestellt wurden. Der vorliegende Beitrag vereint die bekannten Exemplare zum ersten Mal, einschließlich zahlreicher bislang unveröffentlichter Gebälkstücke in der Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums Istanbul. Zahlreiche extern datierte Gebälke dienen als Ecksteine einer Typologie und zeigen, wie sich das Formenrepertoire im Laufe der Zeit entwickelte. Das frühere vierte Jahrhundert war geprägt von neuen und vielfältigen Arten von Akanthusblättern, die von Dokimion in Phrygien hervorgebracht wurden, den bedeutendsten Marmorbrüchen und Werkstätten auf der zentralanatolischen Hochebene. Als Theodosios I. im späten vierten Jahrhundert einen Bauboom in Konstantinopel initiierte, rückte die nahegelegene Steinbruchinsel Prokonnesos ins Zentrum der Entwicklung. Die dort einsetzende Massenproduktion führte zu Vereinfachungen des Formenrepertoires und zu Qualitätsverlust, so daß sich die weitere Entwicklung im fünften Jahrhundert als Niedergang beschreiben läßt. Die letzten Reste der römischen Tradition wurden schließlich um 500 n. Chr. abgelegt und gingen verloren. Solchermaßen befreit von den Fesseln der Konvention brachte das sechste Jahrhundert und vor allem die florierende justinianische Epoche ein eigenes, neues Formenrepertoire hervor. Zahlreiche Rückbezüge auf die Antike bestätigen ihrer Art nach zum einen das Ende der römischen Tradition, zum anderen bescherten sie ihr ein veritables Nachleben.

ROMA ENTABLATÜRÜNÜN ÖNEMİNİ YİTİRMESİ VE SONRASI. İSTANBUL ARKEOLOJİ MÜZESİ KOLEKSİYONU VE KONSTANTİNOPOLIS'TEN DİĞER BİZANS ARŞİTRAV VE KORNİŞLERİ

Özet: Roma Dönemi'nin bitişinden sonra entablatürler son derece az bulunur hale gelmiştir. Bizans yapılarının çoğunda, monolitik arşitravlara sahip kolonadlar yerine kemerli arkadlar kullanılmıştır. Tek büyük istisna, beşinci ve altıncı yüzyıllar boyunca Prokonnesos mermerinden henüz oyulmuş entablatürlerin kullanılmaya devam ettiği başkent Konstantinopolis'tir. Bu makalede, İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi koleksiyonundan şimdiye dek yayımlanmamış birçok entablatür bloğunun da dahil olduğu, bilinen örnekler ilk defa bir araya getirilmektedir. Çok sayıda dıştan tarihlenmiş entablatür tipolojinin temel unsurunu oluşturmakta ve üslup repertuarının zaman içindeki gelişimini ortaya koymaktadır. Dördüncü yüzyılın başları, Frigya'daki Dokimeion'da ortaya çıkan yeni ve değişik tiplerde akantus yapraklarıyla karakterize edilir. Dokimeion, İç Anadolu platosundaki en önemli mermer ocağı ve atölyesiydi. Dördüncü yüzyılın sonlarında I. Theodosius Konstantinopolis'te yeni bir inşaat faaliyeti başlatınca, odak yakındaki ocağa, Prokonnesos adasına kaymıştır. Ardından gelen seri üretim biçimsel repertuarda basitleşmeye ve kalitenin düşmesine yol açmış ve beşinci yüzyılın gelişmelerinin gerileme olarak tanımlanmasına neden olmuştur. Roma geleneğinin son kalıntıları da 500ler civarında dağılıp yok olmuştur. Böylece altıncı yüzyıl ve özellikle de başarılı Justinianus dönemi geleneğinin kısıtlamalarından kurtulmuş olarak yeni formlarla geldi ve kendi üslup repertuarını kurdu. Roma geleneğine dönüş ise hem onun yok oluşunu doğrulayan hem de bunun sonrasında biçimsel gelişimini canlandırılmayı içeren bir şekilde olmuştur.

INHALT

Ursula HÖCKMANN, Kunsthandwerkliche Motive unterschiedlicher Provenienz in der zyprisch-griechischen Kleinplastik der 1. Hälfte des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.	5
Eric LAUFER, Kapitelle vom Kyma recta-Typ (<tuskanische< Kapitelle?) im hellenistischen Pergamon und in Kleinasien	131
Philipp NIEWÖHNER, Niedergang und Nachleben des römischen Gebälks. Die Sammlung des Archäologischen Museums Istanbul und andere byzantinische Epistyle und Gesimse aus Konstantinopel	237
Ferudun ÖZGÜMÜŞ – Ü. Melda ERMIŞ – Hayri Fehmi YILMAZ, Bericht über die neuen Funde zum byzantinischen Istanbul	329
Felix PIRSON, Die Siedlungsgeschichte Pergamons – Überblick und kritische Revision. Mit einem Appendix von Anneke KEWELOH-KALETTA	43
Richard POSAMENTIR, Der sogenannte Caracalla-Tempel von Pergamon – ein Bau zu Ehren Hadrians und seiner Gattin Sabina	187
 KURZMITTEILUNGEN	
Jan KÖSTER, Didyma von oben. Beobachtungen zur Orientierung und Architektur des Apollon-Tempels	373
Edward STRATFORD – Orlene MCILFATRICK, Vorläufige qualitative Elementarcharakterisierung von Farbpigmenten auf bemaltem Putz aus einem römischen Gebäude in Boğazköy-Hattuša durch pXRF	359
 Anschriften der Autoren	 381
Hinweise für Autoren	383

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Ursula HÖCKMANN, Artisanal Motives of Various Provenance in the Cypriot-Greek Small Sculpture of the First Half of the 6 th Century B. C.	5
Eric LAUFER, Cyma recta Capitals (‘Tuscan’ Capitals?) from Hellenistic Pergamum and Asia Minor	131
Philipp NIEWÖHNER, The Decline and Afterlife of the Roman Entablature. The Collection of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul and other Byzantine Epistyles and Cornices from Constantinople	237
Ferudun ÖZGÜMÜŞ – Ü. Melda ERMIŞ – Hayri Fehmi YILMAZ, Report of the New Findings from Byzantine Istanbul	329
Felix PIRSON, The Settlement History of Pergamon – Overview and Critical Revision. With an Appendix by Anneke KEWELOH-KALETTA	43
Richard POSAMENTIR, The so-called Temple of Caracalla at Pergamon – Erected in Honour of Hadrian and His Wife Sabina	187
NOTES	
Jan KÖSTER, Didyma from above. Observations Concerning the Orientation and Architecture of the Temple of Apollo	373
Edward STRATFORD – Orlene MCILFATRICK, Preliminary Qualitative Elemental Characterization of Painted Plaster Pigments from a Roman structure at Boğazköy-Hattuša using pXRF	359
Addresses	381
Information for authors	384