Roman and Early Byzantine Sarcophagi of Calcitic Marble from Thasos in Italy: Ostia and Siracusa

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	PRESENTATION	15
	NECROLOGY: NORMAN HERZ (1923-2013) by Susan Kane	17
1.	APPLICATIONS TO SPECIFIC ARCHEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS – USE OF MARBLE	
	Hermaphrodites and Sleeping or Reclining Maenads: Production Centres and Quarry Marks Patrizio Pensabene	25
	First Remarks about the Pavement of the Newly Discovered Mithraeum of the Colored Marbles at Ostia and New Investigations on Roman and Late Roman White and Colored Marbles from Insula IV, IX Massimiliano David, Stefano Succi and Marcello Turci	33
	Alabaster. Quarrying and Trade in the Roman World: Evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum	33
	Simon J. Barker and Simona Perna	45
	Recent Work on the Stone at the Villa Arianna and the Villa San Marco (Castellammare di Stabia) and Their Context within the Vesuvian Area Simon J. Barker and J. Clayton Fant	65
	Marble Wall Decorations from the Imperial Mausoleum (4 th C.) and the Basilica of San Lorenzo (5 th C.) in Milan: an Update on Colored Marbles in Late Antique Milan <i>Elisabetta Neri, Roberto Bugini and Silvia Gazzoli</i>	79
	Sarcophagus Lids Sawn from their Chests Dorothy H. Abramitis and John J. Herrmann	89
	The Re-Use of Monolithic Columns in the Invention and Persistence of Roman Architecture Peter D. De Staebler	95
	The Trade in Small-Size Statues in the Roman Mediterranean: a Case Study from Alexandria Patrizio Pensabene and Eleonora Gasparini	101
	•	101
	The Marble Dedication of Komon, Son of Asklepiades, from Egypt: Material, Provenance, and Reinforcement of Meaning Patricia A. Butz	109
	Multiple Reuse of Imported Marble Pedestals at Caesarea Maritima in Israel Barbara Burrell	117
	Iasos and Iasian Marble between the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Eras	123

	Thassos, Known Inscriptions with New Data Tony Kozelj and Manuela Wurch-Kozelj	131
	The Value of Marble in Roman <i>Hispalis</i> : Contextual, Typological	
	and Lithological Analysis of an Assemblage of Large Architectural	
	Elements Recovered at N° 17 Goyeneta Street (Seville, Spain)	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	Ruth Taylor, Oliva Rodríguez, Esther Ontiveros, María Luisa Loza,	1.42
	José Beltrán and Araceli Rodríguez	143
	Giallo Antico in Context. Distribution, Use and Commercial Actors According	
	to New Stratigraphic Data from the Western Mediterranean (2 nd C. Bc – Late 1 st C. Ad)	
	Stefan Ardeleanu	155
	Augsthustus, Amaient Duopouties and Isomographic Colostion	
	Amethystus: Ancient Properties and Iconographic Selection Luigi Pedroni	167
	278,7 200,000	
2.	PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION I: (MARBLE)	
	Unraveling the Carrara – Göktepe Entanglement	
	Walter Prochaska, Donato Attanasio and Matthias Bruno	175
	Transfer Trochasta, Donato Ittanasio ana Fiannas Drano	173
	The Marble of Roman Imperial Portraits	
	Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadir Yavuz	185
	Tracing Alabaster (Gypsum or Anhydrite) Artwork Using Trace Element Analysis	
	and a Multi-Isotope Approach (Sr, S, O)	
	Lise Leroux, Wolfram Kloppmann, Philippe Bromblet, Catherine Guerrot,	
	Anthony H. Cooper, Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, Dominique Vingtain and Noel Worley	195
	Thintony 11. Cooper, There Ives De Logani, Dominique vingiain and Ivel Worldy	173
	Roman Monolithic Fountains and Thasian Marble	
	Annewies van den Hoek, Donato Attanasio and John J. Herrmann	207
	Archaeometric Analysis of the Alabaster Thresholds of Villa A, Oplontis	
	(Torre Annunziata, Italy) and New Sr and Pb Isotopic Data for	
	Alabastro Ghiaccione del Circeo	
	Simon J. Barker, Simona Perna, J. Clayton Fant, Lorenzo Lazzarini and Igor M. Villa	215
	Roman Villas of Lake Garda and the Occurrence of Coloured Marbles	
	in the Western Part of "Regio X Venetia et Histria" (Northern Italy)	
	Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Elisabetta Roffia	231
	Roberto Dugini, Luisu Fotti una Lusubetta Rojjia	231
	Calcitic Marble from Thasos in the North Adriatic Basin:	
	Ravenna, Aquileia, and Milan	
	John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek	239
	Characterisation of White Mouble Objects from the Towns Lot A will	
	Characterisation of White Marble Objects from the Temple of Apollo	
	and the House of Augustus (Palatine Hill, Rome)	2.45
	Francesca Giustini, Mauro Brilli, Enrico Gallocchio and Patrizio Pensabene	247
	Study and Archeometric Analysis of the Marble Elements Found	
	in the Roman Theater at Aeclanum (Mirabella Eclano, Avellino - Italy)	
	Antonio Mesisca, Lorenzo Lazzarini, Stefano Cancelliere and Monica Salvadori	255

Two Imperial Monuments in Puteoli:	
Use of Proconnesian Marble in the Domitianic and Trajanic Periods in Campania	
Irene Bald Romano, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	267
Coloured Marbles in the Neapolitan Pavements (16th And 17th Centuries):	
the Church of Santi Severino e Sossio	
Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Martino Solito	275
Roman and Early Byzantine Sarcophagi of Calcitic Marble from Thasos in Italy:	
Ostia and Siracusa	
Donato Attanasio, John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek	281
Revisiting the Origin and Destination of the Late Antique Marzamemi	
'Church Wreck' Cargo	
Justin Leidwanger, Scott H. Pike and Andrew Donnelly	291
The Marbles of the Sculptures of Felix Romuliana in Serbia	
Walter Prochaska and Maja Živić	301
Calcitic Marble from Thasos and Proconnesos in Nea Anchialos (Thessaly)	
and Thessaloniki (Macedonia)	
Vincent Barbin, John J. Herrmann, Aristotle Mentzos and Annewies van den Hoek	311
Architectural Decoration of the Imperial Agora's Porticoes at Iasos	
Fulvia Bianchi, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	321
Tavia Banch, Donato Ittanasio ana mater Frochasia	321
The Winged Victory of Samothrace - New Data on the Different Marbles	
Used for the Monument from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods	
Annie Blanc, Philippe Blanc and Ludovic Laugier	331
Polychrome Marbles from the Theatre of the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios	
in Gortyna (Crete)	
Jacopo Bonetto, Nicolò Mareso and Michele Bueno	337
Paul the Silentiary, Hagia Sophia, Onyx, Lydia, and Breccia Corallina	
John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek	345
,····,·	
Incrustations from Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Near Modern Xanten, Germany)	
Vilma Ruppienė and Ulrich Schüssler	351
Stone Objects from Vindobona (Austria) – Petrological Characterization	
and Provenance of Local Stone in a Historico-Economical Setting	
Andreas Rohatsch, Michaela Kronberger, Sophie Insulander,	
Martin Mosser and Barbara Hodits	363
Marbles Discovered on the Site of the Forum of Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse, France):	
Preliminary Results	
Elsa Roux, Jean-Marc Mignon, Philippe Blanc and Annie Blanc	373
Undeted Characterisation of White Saint Réat Markle Discrimination December	
Updated Characterisation of White Saint-Béat Marble. Discrimination Parameters from Classical Marbles	
Hernando Royo Plumed, Pilar Lapeunte, José Antonio Cuchí,	
Mauro Brilli and Marie-Claire Savin	379

Grey and Greyish Banded Marbles from the Estremoz Anticline in Lusitania Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate, Hernando Royo Plumed, Mauro Brilli and Marie-Claire Savin	391
New Data on Spanish Marbles: the Case of Gallaecia (NW Spain) Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M., Hernando Royo Plumed and Silvia González Soutelo	401
A New Roman Imperial Relief Said to Be from Southern Spain: Problems of Style, Iconography, and Marble Type in Determining Provenance John Pollini, Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate and Jerry Podany	413
Reuse of the <i>Marmora</i> from the Late Roman Palatial Building at Carranque (Toledo, Spain) in the Visigothic Necropolis	
Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M. and Sergio Vidal Álvarez Imperial Porphyry in Roman Britain	427
David F. Williams	435
Recycling of Marble: Apollonia/Sozousa/Arsuf (Israel) as a Case Study Moshe Fischer, Dimitris Tambakopoulos and Yannis Maniatis	443
Thasian Connections Overseas: Sculpture in the Cyrene Museum (Libya) Made of Dolomitic Marble from Thasos John J. Herrmann and Donato Attanasio	457
Marble on Rome's Southwestern Frontier: Thamugadi and Lambaesis Robert H. Tykot, Ouahiba Bouzidi, John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek	467
Marble and Sculpture at Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania, Libya): a Preliminary Study Concerning Origin and Workshops Luisa Musso, Laura Buccino, Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	481
The Pentelic Marble in the Carnegie Museum of Art Hall of Sculpture, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	401
Analysis of Classical Marble Sculptures in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta	491
Robert H. Tykot, John J. Herrmann, Renée Stein, Jasper Gaunt, Susan Blevins and Anne R. Skinner	501
PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION II: (OTHER STONES)	
Aphrodisias and the Regional Marble Trade. The <i>Scaenae Frons</i> of the Theatre at Nysa <i>Natalia Toma</i>	513
The Stones of Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia) Bojan Djurić, Divna Jovanović, Stefan Pop Lazić and Walter Prochaska	523
Aspects of Characterisation of Stone Monuments from Southern Pannonia Branka Migotti	537

3.

	The Budakalász Travertine Production Bojan Djurić, Sándor Kele and Igor Rižnar	545
	Stone Monuments from Carnuntum and Surrounding Areas (Austria) – Petrological Characterization and Quarry Location in a Historical Context	
	Gabrielle Kremer, Isabella Kitz, Beatrix Moshammer, Maria Heinrich and Erich Draganits	557
	Espejón Limestone and Conglomerate (Soria, Spain):	
	Archaeometric Characterization, Quarrying and Use in Roman Times	
	Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M, Sergio Vidal Álvarez,	
	María J. Peréx Agorreta and Eva Zarco Martínez	567
	The Use of Alcover Stone in Roman Times (<i>Tarraco, Hispania Citeri</i> or).	
	Contributions to the Officina Lapidaria Tarraconensis	
	Diana Gorostidi Pi, Jordi López Vilar and Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M.	577
4.	ADVANCES IN PROVENANCE TECHNIQUES,	
	METHODOLOGIES AND DATABASES	
	Grainautline – a Supervised Grain Boundary Extraction Tool	
	Supported by Image Processing and Pattern Recognition	
	Kristóf Csorba, Lilla Barancsuk, Balázs Székely and Judit Zöldföldi	587
	A Database and GIS Project about Quarrying, Circulation and Use of Stone	
	During the Roman Age in Regio X - Venetia et Histria.	
	The Case Study of the Euganean Trachyte	
	Caterine Previato and Arturo Zara	597
5.	QUARRIES AND GEOLOGY	
	The Distribution of Troad Granite Columns as Evidence for Reconstructing	
	the Management of Their Production	
	Patrizio Pensabene, Javier Á. Domingo and Isabel Rodà	613
	Ancient Quarries and Stonemasonry in Northern Choria Considiana	
	Hale Güney	621
	Polychromy in Larisaean Quarries and its Relation to Architectural Conception	
	Gizem Mater and Ertunç Denktaş	633
	Euromos of Caria: the Origin of an Hitherto Unknown Grey Veined Stepped Marble	
	of Roman Antiquity	
	Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadir Yavuz	639
	Unknown Painted Quarry Inscriptions from Bacakale at <i>Docimium</i> (Turkey)	
	Matthias Bruno	651
	The Green Schist Marble Stone of Jebel El Hairech (North West of Tunisia):	
	a Multi-Analytical Approach and its Uses in Antiquity	
	Ameur Younes, Mohamed Gaied and Wissem Gallala	659
	Building Materials and the Ancient Quarries at <i>Thamugadi</i> (East of Algeria),	
	Case Study: Sandstone and Limestone	
	Younès Rezkallah and Ramdane Marmi	673

	The Local Quarries of the Ancient Roman City of Valeria (Cuenca, Spain) Javier Atienza Fuente	683
	The Stone and Ancient Quarries of Montjuïc Mountain (Barcelona, Spain) Aureli Álvarez	693
	Notae Lapicidinarum: Preliminary Considerations about the Quarry Marks from the Provincial Forum of Tarraco Maria Serena Vinci	699
	The Different Steps of the Rough-Hewing on a Monumental Sculpture at the Greek Archaic Period: the Unfinished Kouros of Thasos Danièle Braunstein	711
	A Review of Copying Techniques in Greco-Roman Sculpture Séverine Moureaud	717
	Labour Forces at Imperial Quarries Ben Russell	733
	Social Position of Craftsmen inside the Stone and Marble Processing Trades in the Light of Diocletian's Edict on Prices Krešimir Bosnić and Branko Matulić	741
6.	STONE PROPERTIES, WEATHERING EFFECTS AND RESTORATION, AS RELATED TO DIAGNOSIS PROBLEMS, MATCHING OF STONE FRAGMENTS AND AUTHENTICITY	
	Methods of Consolidation and Protection of Pentelic Marble Maria Apostolopoulou, Elissavet Drakopoulou, Maria Karoglou and Asterios Bakolas	749
7.	PIGMENTS AND PAINTINGS ON MARBLE	
	Painting and Sculpture Conservation in Two Gallo-Roman Temples in Picardy (France): Champlieu and Pont-Sainte-Maxence Véronique Brunet-Gaston and Christophe Gaston	763
	The Use of Colour on Roman Marble Sarcophagi Eliana Siotto	
	New Evidence for Ancient Gilding and Historic Restorations on a Portrait of Antinous in the San Antonio Museum of Art Jessica Powers, Mark Abbe, Michelle Bushey and Scott H. Pike	
	Schists and Pigments from Ancient Swat (Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Pakistan) Francesco Mariottini, Gianluca Vignaroli, Maurizio Mariottini and Mauro Roma	
8.	SPECIAL THEME SESSION: "THE USE OF MARBLE AND LIMESTONE IN THE ADRIATIC BASIN IN ANTIQUITY"	
	Marble Sarcophagi of Roman Dalmatia Material – Provenance – Workmanship Guntram Koch	809

Funerary Monuments and Quarry Management in Middle Dalmatia Nenad Cambi	827
Marble Revetments of Diocletian's Palace Katja Marasović and Vinka Marinković	839
The Use of Limestones as Construction Materials for the Mosaics of Diocletian's Palace Branko Matulić, Domagoj Mudronja and Krešimir Bosnić	855
Restoration of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split Goran Nikšić	863
Marble Slabs Used at the Archaeological Site of Sorna near Poreč Istria – Croatia Deni Gobić-Bravar	871
Ancient Marbles from the Villa in Verige Bay, Brijuni Island, Croatia Mira Pavletić and Đeni Gobić-Bravar	879
Notes on Early Christian Ambos and Altars in the Light of some Fragments from the Islands of Pag and Rab Mirja Jarak	887
The Marbles in the Chapel of the Blessed John of Trogir in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence at Trogir Deni Gobić-Bravar and Daniela Matetić Poljak	899
The Use of Limestone in the Roman Province of Dalmatia Edisa Lozić and Igor Rižnar	915
The Extraction and Use of Limestone in Istria in Antiquity Klara Buršić-Matijašić and Robert Matijašić	925
Aurisina Limestone in the Roman Age: from Karst Quarries to the Cities of the Adriatic Basin Caterina Previato	933
The Remains of Infrastructural Facilities of the Ancient Quarries on Zadar Islands (Croatia) Mate Parica	941
The Impact of Local Geomorphological and Geological Features of the Area for the Construction of the Burnum Amphitheatre Miroslav Glavičić and Uroš Stepišnik	951
Roman Quarry Klis Kosa near Salona Ivan Alduk	957
Marmore Lavdata Brattia Miona Miliša and Vinka Marinković	963
Quarries of the Lumbarda Archipelago Ivka Lipanović and Vinka Marinković	979

ASMOSIA XI, INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF ANCIENT STONE, SPLIT 2018

Island of Korčula – Importer and Exporter of Stone in Antiquity	
Mate Parica and Igor Borzić	. 985
Faux Marbling Motifs in Early Christian Frescoes	
in Central and South Dalmatia: Preliminary Report	
Tonči Borovac, Antonija Gluhan and Nikola Radošević	. 995
INDEX OF AUTHORS	1009

ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE SARCOPHAGI OF CALCITIC MARBLE FROM THASOS IN ITALY: OSTIA AND SIRACUSA

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Abstract

Four sarcophagi in Ostia and one in Siracusa are made of marble that appears macroscopically to be from the island of Thasos. Samples were analyzed with stable isotope ratios of carbon and oxygen. In addition, the Siracusa sarcophagus was analyzed with electron paramagnetic resonance spectroscopy (EPR), and the maximum grain size (MGS) and color were measured. The analyses confirm that the sarcophagi were made of marble from Aliki on Thasos. The Ostian pieces date from the third century, and the Early Byzantine example in Siracusa can be dated to between 590-620 CE.

Keywords

stable isotopes, EPR, maximum grain size, Thasos, Aliki, sarcophagi, third century, post-Justinianic

Thasian calcitic sarcophagi in the West: previous research

Sarcophagi made of calcitic marble from Thasos were frequently exported to nearby Thessaloniki,¹ but in Italy they seem to be rarities. So far the only examples identified are unfinished chests in a cargo that sank around 200 CE off Torre Sgarrata near Taranto.² The cargo contained sarcophagi that came from both the calcitic marble quarries of Cape Fanari and the dolomitic marble quarries of the Cape Vathy-Saliara area on Thasos; the latter are well known as a source of sarcophagi for the Italian market.³ The only other previously confirmation of a calcitic Thasian marble sarcophagus in the western Mediterranean, however, is a lid from the quarries of Aliki, Thasos in Arles.⁴ Now, however, sarcophagi of

di Palazzo Bellomo in Siracusa⁸ is also made of a grayish marble with very large grain that appears macroscopically

A Thasian calcitic sarcophagus in Sicily

A Christian sarcophagus in the Galleria Regionale

calcitic marble from Thasos can be identified in north Italy at Milan and Ravenna⁵ and on the western side of the peninsula at Ostia and in Siracusa, Sicily. It will be these latter two sites that will occupy us here.

Thasian calcitic sarcophagi at Ostia

Four sarcophagi at Ostia appeared to be of the grayish, very coarse-grained streaked and spotted calcitic marble of Thasos. One, inscribed for a Julius Tannonius Donatus, was complete to its lid (Fig. 1), while the others were fragmentary (Figs. 2-4). Samples from each sarcophagus, including the lid, were analyzed at the University of South Florida (USF), and the ratios of stable isotopes of carbon and oxygen proved to be compatible with the quarries at Aliki on Thasos (Table 1). Non-destructive pXRF analysis revealed no magnesium (Mg) and relatively low concentrations of manganese (Mn) and strontium (Sr). These data support the isotopic and other data assigning these objects to a large-grained, calcitic, Thasos-Aliki marble source.

⁵ HERRMANN *et al.*, in this volume.

⁶ AGNOLI 1953, 230, B29, PL. 97.

MAZZOLENI 1979, 81-83, Nr. 1; fig. 1; AE 1983: from the excavations of S. Ippolito, Isola Sacra. Translation: To the Manes. Iulius Tannonius Donatus has put a sarcophagus in this grave monument with the place being granted to him. But if someone puts in another body, he will pay to the treasury of the Roman people 50,000 sestertii.

⁸ Inv. 23545: Height 79, length 202, width 83 cm; from the chapel of San Rocco at the Civic Hospital of Siracusa, where it was used as an altar: TUSA 1995, 106, cat. no. 117, pl. 166.

¹ STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU, 2009; MANIATIS et al. 2010.

² GABELLONE 2009; CALIA 2009.

³ HERRMANN 1999; HERRMANN 2014, 1289-1291.

⁴ HERRMANN *et al.* 2002, 345, Table 1, no. 48 (lid with masks, Cloister of S. Trophime).

USF #	location	identification	δ^{13} C	δ^{18} O	Mn	Sr
6145 (powder)	Ostia, Piccolo Mercato inv. SBAO46853 from Basilica of Pianabella ⁶	Strigillated sarcophagus with corner column	3.1	0.2		
27859 (chip)	«	«	2.9	-0.2	low	low
6146 (powder)	Ostia, Piccolo Mercato, unnumbered	Sarcophagus with crossed legs (Cupid? Season?) and (now missing) basket	3.5	-0.1		
27860 (chip)	«	«	3.5	-0.1	low	low
27856 (chip)	Piazzale dei Marmi, chest, inv. P85	Strigillated sarcophagus of Julius Tannonius Donatus ⁷	2.6	-1.7		
27857 (chip)	Piazzale dei Marmi, lid, inv. P85A	Lid of preceding	3.0	-0.3	low	low
27858 (chip) Near Porta Romana		Strigillated sarcophagus with pilasters	3.2	-0.0	low	low

Table 1. Sarcophagi at Ostia with marble from Aliki, Thasos



Fig. 1. Sarcophagus of Julius Tannonius Donatus. Ostia, Piazzale dei Marmi, P85, P85A (lid). Marble from Aliki, Thasos, 2^{nd} half of 3^{rd} century

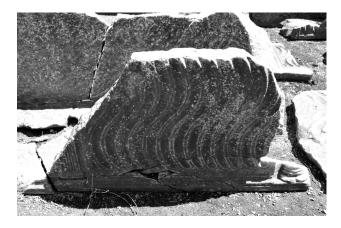


Fig. 2. Fragmentary strigillated sarcophagus, from Pianabella, Isola Sacra. Ostia, Piccolo Mercato, inv. SBA046853. Marble from Aliki, Thasos, $3^{\rm rd}$ century



Fig. 3. Fragmentary sarcophagus with Eros or Season with crossed legs. Ostia, Piccolo Mercato, unnumbered. Marble from Aliki, Thasos, $3^{\rm rd}$ century



Fig. 4. Strigillated sarcophagus, Ostia, Via delle Tombe, unnumbered. Marble from Aliki, Thasos, 3rd century

to come from the island of Thasos (Figs. 5-6). Two small chip samples were taken and were analyzed at the Istituto di Struttura della Materia, CNR, Roma (ISM) with multiple techniques: paramagnetic resonance spectroscopy (EPR), stable isotope ratios of carbon and oxygen, maximum grain size (MGS), and color. The analyses confirmed that this sarcophagus was also made of marble from the quarries of Aliki on Thasos (Table 2, Figs. 7-8).

Probable quarry of origin for the Siracusa sarcophagus

Analysis by linear discriminant function of the 6 variables in Table 2 are shown graphically in Fig. 8. Distance represents the distance of the sample from the center point of a field. Relative probability assumes that the sample belongs to one of the groups in the selection.

Description	Site	Distance a.u.	Rel. prob.	Abs. prob.
			%	%
Sample O	Th Aliki	7.5	84	27
Sample U	Th Aliki	8.2	85	22

Table 2. Shown graphically in Fig. 8. Distance represents the distance of the sample from the center point of a field

Even if not especially high, the absolute probability is well above the threshold and confirms, in agreement with the isotopic results, that the provenance of the marble from Thasos is clear and unquestionable. The rate of success of the method is 77%. This means that 77% of the database samples are correctly re-assigned to their true quarries of provenance using the statistical classification rule. The unknown sample is assigned to the most probable quarry of

provenance and the results are deemed to be statistically reliable if the probabilty values are above their thresholds.

Discussion, chronology, and historical significance

The chests of the four sarcophagi in Ostia (Figs. 1-4) were clearly decorated in Ostia or Rome, probably in the 3rd century. ⁹ The inscription of Tannonius has been dated to the second half of the third century. In three cases the front of the chest is strigillated, and one is carved with a pair of legs and a basket, probably from a harvest or Bacchic scene. All these motifs are Western and alien to northern Greece. The lid of the sarcophagus of Tannonius (Fig. 1), on the other hand, is very similar to lids in the north Aegean. In Thessaloniki and on Thasos, Thasian marble sarcophagi often have double-sloped lids like this one with carefully detailed roof tiles and acroteria decorated with half-palmettes. ¹⁰ The Tannonius sarcophagus apparently arrived in Ostia with a finished lid and an undecorated chest; the combination is also known from Thasos itself. ¹¹

In the late second and the third century, Rome imported many unfinished marble chests from the Proconnesian quarries. Thasian calcitic marble resembles Proconnesian, and the Thasian sarcophagi may represent an attempt to capture a part of the trade in low-cost,

On local workshops near the cemetery, see AGNOLI 2008, 203; TORRES 2008, 167.

¹⁰ STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU, 2009, fig. 4; MANIATIS et al. 2010, fig. 4.

¹¹ STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU, 2009, fig. 4.

ISMNo.	Description, Dating	MGS mm	δ ¹⁸ O %0	δ ¹³ C ‰	EPR Intensity %	EPR Linewidth %	Color %
1	Pal. Bellomo inv. 23545, sample O	1.7	0.07	3.18	65.9	56.8	78
2	Pal. Bellomo inv. 23545, sample U	1.7			79.5	54.8	82
1	Aphrodisias	2.1	-3.53	1.36	43.6	53.8	82
	102 samples	0.1/4	-6.5/-2	-2.7/2.6	3/276	37/72	52/95
2	Ephesos 1	1.74	-4.42	3.81	60.0	56.4	75
	88 samples	0.4/4.6	-8.3/-2.2	-0.6/5	15/51	42/73	41/91
3	Ephesos 2	1.71	-3.14	0.35	41.8	45.5	76
	38 samples	1.3/2.4	-4.3/-2.6	-0.8/1.5	23/69	39/60	62/87
4	Herakleia	1.62	-2.59	1.74	22.6	53.2	70
	51 samples	0.4/3.5	-3.4/-1.2	-0.1/2.9	2/123	41/74	39/90
5	Miletos	1.49	-2.56	2.05	17.7	53.2	82
	56 samples	1/2.5	-4/-1	1.2/2.6	3/129	41/71	64/93
6	Naxos Apollonas 10 samples	3.47 2/5	-11.7 -14/-9	2.28 1.9/2.6	71.1 35/126	60.2 41/81	85 83/92
7	Naxos Melanes 33 samples	5.15 3.5/8	-5.13 -10/-2.6	1.86 1.4/2.3	113 18/599	49.4 38/73	78 69/89
8	Paros I	1.7	-3.25	4.27	8.6	48.6	85
	41 samples	1/3.1	-4/-2.6	3/5.1	3.6/23	41/59	64/95
9	Paros II Cho	2.07	-1.11	1.79	19.5	47.9	84
	62 samples	0.9/3	-2.6/-0.6	0.5/22	2/37	40/57	71/96
10	Paros II Ma	2.11	-2.59	1.97	9.8	52.0	80
	28 samples	1/3	-4.2/-1.9	-0.6/3.4	4/50	42/59	68/930
11	Pentelicon	0.96	-7.00	2.63	226.3	58.2	90
	154 samples	0.6/1.8	-9/-3.8	1.9/4.1	13/1009	38/100	68/97
12	Proconnesos 1 380 samples	1.72 0.4/3.5	-2.08 -5.2/-0.3	2.65 -0.9/3.9	6.0 0.8/46.4	57.8 37/87	77 54/95
13	Thasos Aliki 76 samples	3.84 2.4/7.5	-0.73 -4.7/0.5	2.98 1.5/3.6	131 4/523	55.7 46/69	79 59/871

Table 2. Analytical data for the two samples of the Siracusa sarcophagus inv. 23545 compared with a selection of marble groups considered to be possible provenances. Group properties include the mean and extreme values.





Fig. 5-6. Sarcophagus with three crosses, Galleria Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo, Siracusa, inv. 23545. Marble from Aliki, Thasos, ca. 600 CE

grayish marble between the Proconnesus and the West. The rather dark color of the Tannonius sarcophagus and its coarse grain, which makes reading its inscription rather difficult, may have contributed to making the Thasian less popular than the Proconnesian sarcophagi.

The sarcophagus in Siracusa (Figs. 5-6) has a Christian decoration and is much later in date than the Ostian pieces. Its front is decorated with three crosses, each mounted on two steps. Between the crosses appear disks, which were probably intended to be carved as stars or rosettes. The back of the sarcophagus has three crosses without steps or intervening disks.

The sarcophagus has been dated to the eighth century,¹² and the general composition of three Latin crosses can be paralleled on several sarcophagi of the eighth and ninth centuries in Ravenna.13 If eighth century in date, the decoration would have been applied long after the chest in Siracusa was shipped from Thasos; there are no indications that the marble trade between the Aegean and Italy continued at such a late date. Thasos itself was

apparently devastated by Slavic invaders around 620,14 presumably putting an end to the island's marble trade.

Both the chest and its decoration, however, appear to be before the eighth century. The chest does not appear to be reused or recut; close inspection reveals no trace of earlier carving. The decoration is rather irregular, but so is the shape of the chest. Everything seems tilted, both the crosses and the contours of the chest, so that the sarcophagus seems intended to be placed on a slope. Sarcophagi decorated with three Latin crosses also appear in Early Byzantine times; there are examples in southern Italy, at Capri¹⁵ and Messina (Fig. 9)16 that may be of the late sixth or early seventh century, and crosses are enclosed in niches and/or accompanied by lambs or peacocks in late fifth and early sixth century sarcophagi at Ravenna (Fig. 10).17 Three crosses appear sporadically in the East, but much more common is a variant with a cross or christogram in a roundel flanked by Latin crosses. 18 The three-cross motif, however, is known on Thasos itself: the composition appears on an Ionic impost capital of the mid-sixth century found at the Aliki quarries (Fig. 11).19 In general, the simple crosses on the Palazzo Bellomo sarcophagus resemble Early Byzantine rather than Carolingian crosses, whose ends are usually embellished with curls.

It is likely that the Bellomo sarcophagus dates from late in the Early Byzantine period. A cross on a stepped podium seems to be a relatively late motif. The earliest example seems to be on a sarcophagus in Ravenna dated to the late fifth century (Fig. 12).20 The Ravenna example is quite different from that in Siracusa; there are five steps instead of two, and two rivers of paradise flow from them. On an ambo, apparently of Proconnesian marble, in the Church of Al Mo'allaqa, Cairo a cross stands on three steps (Fig. 13).21 The ambo is also decorated with a shell niche that resembles niches on sarcophagi

¹² TUSA 1995, 106, cat. no. 117.

¹³ LAWRENCE 1945, figs. 71-73; VALENTI ZUCCHINI, BUCCI 1968, cat. nos. 60, 61,65, 66.

¹⁴ METCALF 1962; HOLTZMANN 1994, 92; GRAND-JEAN, SALVIA et al. 2000, 33.

¹⁵ BOVINI, BRANDENBURG 1967, cat. 813. The curling ends and the outlined borders of the crosses seem post-Justinianic.

¹⁶ TUSA 1995, cat. no. 42-43, pls. 62-64; SODINI 2012, p. 82 for the 6^{th} – 7^{th} century date.

¹⁷ VALENTI ZUCCHINI, BUCCI 1968, cat. nos. 30, 31b, 37b.

¹⁸ KOCH 1996.

¹⁹ SODINI, KOLOKOTSAS 1984, 4, pl 2b.; VEMI 1989, cat. no. 215.

²⁰ LAWRENCE 1945, 32, 36, 37, fig. 57; VALENTI ZUCCHINI, BUCCI 1968, cat. no. 27; KOLLWITZ, HERDEJURGEN 1979, 71-72, cat. no. B 21, pl. 8.1.

²¹ ATALLA 1989, 32-33.

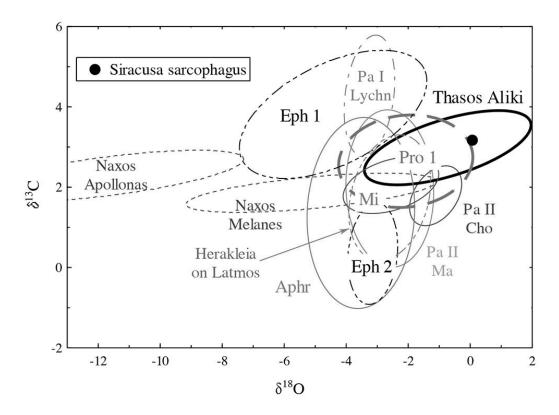


Fig. 7. Isotopic diagram for the Sarcophagus with three crosses, Palazzo Bellomo

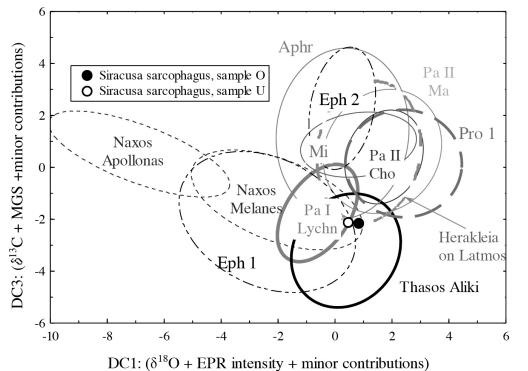


Fig. 8.
Diagram of 6 variables for the Sarcophagus with three crosses, Palazzo Bellomo

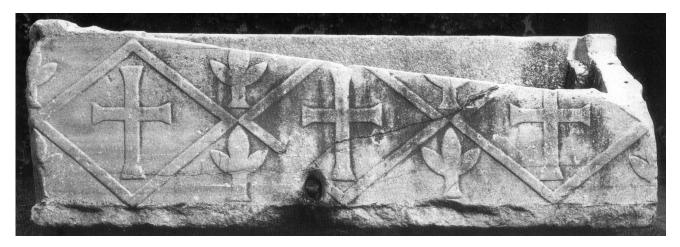


Fig. 9. Sarcophagus with three crosses in diamonds, unknown marble, reworked for Christian use, 6^{th} or early 7^{th} century, Messina, Museo Regionale (photo: TUSA 1995, cat. 42)



Fig. 10. Sarcophagus with three crosses in niches, probably Proconnesian marble, 500-525 CE, S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna



Fig. 11. Ionic Impost capital, probably Aliki marble, Aliki, Thasos, second half $6^{\rm th}$ century CE



Fig. 12. Cross on steps with rivers of paradise, probably Proconnesian marble, sarcophagus of 3rd century, recut with Christian imagery, ca. 480-500 CE, S. Francesco, Ravenna

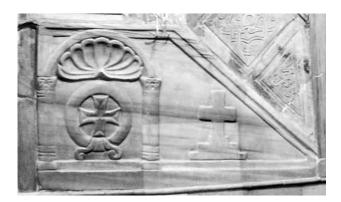


Fig. 13. Ambo platform, probably Proconnesian marble, 500-525 CE, Al Mo'allaqa, Cairo

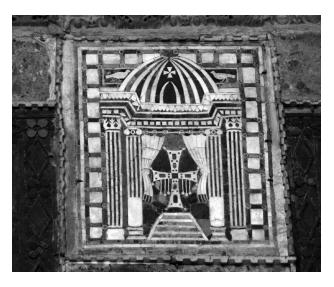
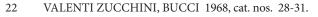


Fig. 14. Marble inlay with cross on staircase, 527-563 CE, Hagia Sophia, Istanbul

in Ravenna of the late fifth and early sixth centuries.22 A cross on steps, this time four in number, appears in an inlaid marble panel in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, built and repaired by Justinian (527-565) (Fig. 14).23 The main period of use of the stepped cross motif is in post-Justinianic times; a cross on four steps became a standard motif on Byzantine gold coins (solidi) from time of Tiberius II (578-82)²⁴ well into the eighth century (Fig. 15). Crosses on steps appear on ambos on Paros that have been dated around 600 (Fig. 16).²⁵ A cross on a globe above three steps appears on Byzantine silver coins (hexagrams) from 610-685 (Fig. 17) and on a 7th or 8th century Proconnesian marble parapet from Alacam on the Black Sea coast of Turkey (Fig. 18).26 A cross on three steps appears in the apse mosaic of Hagia Irene, Constantinople, shortly after 753 (Fig. 19).27 Stepped crosses are incised in the quarries of Proconnesus,28 and



UNDERWOOD 1960, 206-208, fig. 1. Possibly from the restorations of 558-563. KRAUTHEIMER 1975, 215. See also http://www.pallasweb.com/deesis/hagia-sophia-inlaid-panels.html (with additional color illustrations). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Istanbul.Hagia_Sophia023.jpg.

²⁷ OUSTERHOUT 2001, 6, figs. 1-3; https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hagia_Eirene_Constantinople_2007_003.jpg.

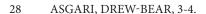






Fig. 15. Gold solidus of Constans II, Syracuse mint, 641/2 CE. Classical Numismatic Group, Triton IX, lot 1635 (photo: Coinarchives.com)



Fig. 16. Ambo fragments, probably Parian marble, 7th century, Katapoliani, Paros (photo: ALIPRANTIS 1993, Fig. 101)

several are accompanied by inscriptions and abbreviations typical of the ninth century and later.

The modest level of workmanship of the Siracusa sarcophagus probably indicates that it is not an especially early example of the cross on steps motif. Its "reduced" arrangement with only two steps also suggests a relatively late date; a two-step arrangement is seen in one of the ambo panels from Paros of ca. 600 (Fig. 12) and the chancel barrier from Alacam (Fig. 14). The Palazzo Bellomo sarcophagus then could well have been both quarried and decorated around 570-610. Since sarcophagi were usually shipped from Thasos in an unfinished state,²⁹ it is likely that the Palazzo Bellomo example was decorated in Sicily.

²⁴ WHITTING 1973, 112; BARBER 2002, 83-87; cited in PICKETT.

²⁵ ULBERT 1969/70, 344, 356, pl. 69.2, cat. 26; ALIPRA-NTIS 1993, 134-135, figs. 101-103 114, 115, 140.

²⁶ EFFENBERGER 1989, 130, 136, 149.

²⁹ GABELLONE 2009; CALIA 2009; HERRMANN et al., in this volume.



Fig. 17. Silver hexagram of Heraclius with Heraclius Constantine, Constantinople mint, 610-641 CE. Classical Numismatic Group, Auction 93, lot 1344 (photo: Coinarchives.com)



Fig. 18. Chancel barrier recarved with cross on globe and steps, probably Proconnesian marble, probably 7th century, from Alacam, Turkey, Berlin Museum (photo: http://www.turizmhaberleri.com/haberayrinti.asp?ID=24989)

Conclusions

Macroscopic examination led to tentative identifications of sarcophagi in Ostia and Siracusa as Thasian, and isotopic analysis and analysis with EPR have confirmed these conjectures and established the origin of the sarcophagi in the calcitic marble quarries of Aliki. Previously, sarcophagi of calcitic marble from Thasos had been known only from shipwrecked cargoes, and these new identifications add substance to the trade in prefabricated

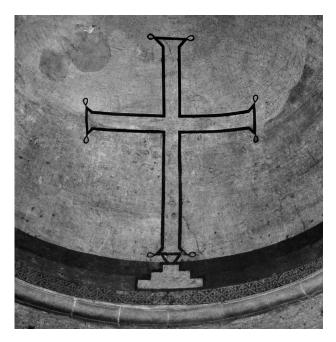


Fig. 19. Mosaic with cross on steps, shortly after 753, Hagia Irene, Istanbul

and semifinished sarcophagi from Thasos in Italy. Art historical study of the decoration and workmanship of the sarcophagi provide chronological markers. The chests in Ostia were decorated locally in the third century, but the lid of one of them seems to have been both extracted and decorated on Thasos. The sarcophagus in Siracusa was extracted and decorated on Thasos in the late sixth or early seventh century. This result is important in establishing that marble products were exported from Thasos to Italy toward the end of the Early Byzantine period and thus at a much later date than previously known.

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