

Maria Aurenhammer (Ed.)

# Sculpture in Roman Asia Minor

Proceedings of the International Conference at Selçuk,  
1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> October 2013



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MARIA AURENHAMMER (ED.)

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## INTRODUCTION

The conference »Sculpture in Roman Asia« which took place in Selçuk on the 1<sup>st</sup> until the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 2013 was a sequel to the conference in Lecce 2007<sup>1</sup>. My first thanks go to Sabine Ladstätter as director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Ephesos excavation who rendered this event possible. The conference was organised by the Austrian Archaeological Institute (OeAI), the Istanbul branch of the German Archaeological Institute (F. Pirson) and Oxford University (R. R. R. Smith). The scientific board of the conference comprised F. Pirson, R. R. R. Smith, F. D'Andria, İ. Delemen, S. Faust, K. Töpfer and C. Topal. A series of Austrian and Turkish institutions and associations supported the conference financially: in Austria, the Federal Ministry of Science and Research and the Society of the Friends of Ephesos, and in Turkey, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, the Selçuk Municipality and the Ephesos Foundation. A. Adıgüzel, J. İlhan-Struber, F. Öztürk and L. Schintlmeister assisted in the organisation of the conference with great commitment. N. Gail and H. Schwaiger supported the conference with their expertise. To all of them I want to express my sincerest thanks.

The articles for the proceedings were delivered to the editor during spring 2014. S. Cormack, an English native speaker, and the editor checked the articles and the illustrations, N. Kul-Berndt translated the abstracts into Turkish. B. Beck-Brandt edited the texts in an initial review and accompanied the printing. A. Sulzgruber was in charge of the layout and the image editing of the volume.

Delays occurred due to the incorporation of the Austrian Archaeological Institute into the Austrian Academy of Sciences which had implications also for the publication process. A new board of scientists had to be established for the publications in specific series edited by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. The proceedings were finally handed in for assessment in the summer of 2016. After a long evaluation procedure, the application for financial support by the Austrian Science Fund was finally rejected in May 2017, although the reviewers generally highly recommended the publication. Therefore, the printing of the volume was ultimately financed by the publisher to whom I am deeply grateful. Several suggestions by the reviewers were transmitted to the authors and partially included in the original texts.

In the year after the Selçuk conference another conference on sculpture in Asia Minor took place in Beşançon which also included many contributions on pre-Roman sculpture<sup>2</sup>. Three conferences on the same topic in a period of seven years exemplify the current high interest in sculpture from Asia Minor. Publications concerning Roman sculpture from Asia Minor increased significantly in the last twenty years when compared to the output in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is due to increased excavation activity at sites, and by Turkish museums supported by the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums which led to reports in the »Kazı sonuçları toplantısı« and »Müze çalışmaları ve kurtarma kazıları sempozyumu« and publications on specific assemblages of sculptural finds<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, a series of comprehensive volumes and articles have been published on sculptures for example from the sites of Aphrodisias, Didyma, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Metropolis, Miletus, Pergamon, Sagalassos und Laodikeia, on specific monuments or categories of Roman sculpture, and on museum collections of sculpture<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> D'Andria – Romeo 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Montel 2015.

<sup>3</sup> To name only a few examples: Zeyrek – Özbay 2006; Şahin – Taşlıalan 2010; Aydın – Buccino – Summerer 2015.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Meischner 2003 (Hatay museum); Smith et al. 2006 (Aphrodisias); Korkut 2006 (Pamphylia and Cilicia); Laflı – Feugère 2006 (Cilicia); Işık 2007 (Aphrodisias); Filges – Günther 2007 (Didyma); Aybek 2009 (Metro-

The setting of sculptures in their local context and their functions, the reconstruction of decoration programs, and the characteristics of the different categories of Roman sculpture in the provinces are still prominent subjects of research. Sculptures are recognized as historical monuments, observed in the framework of politics, society and culture of their period, as a medium for the expression of status, identity, cultural memory and cult, embedded in the contemporary literary and epigraphic evidence<sup>5</sup>. The study of sculpture manufacture examines questions of workmanship and style, workshops and itinerant workmen, marble circulation and trade<sup>6</sup>. This research is supported by the appliance of scientific analysis in material studies including specific techniques like polychromy and gilding<sup>7</sup>. Scientific analyses of marbles has led to exciting results in the last years.

A special, widely discussed research trend concerns the ›long lives‹ of statues and the fate of Roman and pre-Roman sculpture in Late Antiquity in its various impacts, which goes hand in hand with research on newly-carved mythological and portrait sculpture and the end of the ›statue habit‹<sup>8</sup>.

The conference in Selçuk addressed two major fields of research on Roman sculpture. It »aimed to approach these monuments (the sculptures) from the different perspectives of 1) local contexts, whether archaeological, topographical, or mental, and 2) the lives of monuments and sculptural complexes through time, from installation to decommissioning and destruction« (R. R. R. Smith). According to this motto, the articles in this volume are arranged in the following manner:

The articles in the first chapter investigate the relationship between the province and Rome based on the province's monuments, especially the so-called Parthian Monument (S. Faust, A. Landskron, K. Töpfer). S. Vlizos studies the diverse reception of the image of the seated Zeus in imperial Asia Minor as based on a fusion of hellenistic models and the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus in Rome. An article by A. Yurtsever presents gladiatorial monuments in the Side museum under the aspect of ›Romanization‹.

The second chapter comprises articles on sculptures and sculptural programs in specific cities and locations in their context (H. S. Alanyalı, F. D'Andria, S. Erkoç – M. Kocak, E. Mortensen, E. Rathmayr) and contributions on friezes (M. Fuchs, M. Aurenhammer – G. A. Plattner), reliefs (B. Duman) and single sculptures (B. Will) in their setting.

The articles in chapter no. 3 focus on portraits of emperors and civic portraits as a category of Roman sculpture in Asia Minor (S. Sağlan, B. Yener – E. Yener, F. Hildebrandt, D. Ojeda, E. Tül Tulunay). The next chapter focuses on sarcophagi, ossuaries and relief altars. These are investigated regarding their display (I. Romeo on the question of visibility of sarcophagi), the background of their commissioners and users (A. Alexandridis on funerary containers from Sardis) and their production, typology, iconography and chronology (B. Tuluk on garland ossuaries

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polis); Oberleitner 2009 (Ephesos); Koch 2010 (sarcophagi); Bol et al. 2011 (Miletos); Mania 2011 (Pergamon); Mägele 2011 (Sagalassos); Şimşek 2011 (Laodikeia); Romeo – Panariti – Ungaro 2011 (Hierapolis); Smith 2013 (Aphrodisias); Feuser 2013 (Monopodia); Durugönül et al. 2013 (Silifke museum); Rathmayr 2014 and 2016 (Ephesos); Laflı – Christof 2015 (Anamur museum); Durugönül et al. 2015 (Manisa museum); Hanslmayr 2016 (Ephesos); Strocka – Wörrle 2017 (Dokimeion), Kintrop 2017 (Ephesos).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Smith 1998 and 1999; Newby 2003; Yıldırım 2004; Slavazzi 2007; D'Andria 2011; Masségia 2012; Ng 2016.

<sup>6</sup> Sarcophagi production and trade: see Koch 2010 for a general overview. Aphrodisias workshops: Rockwell 2008; Smith 2011; Van Voorhis 2012. Other workshop studies: e.g. Filges 1999; Bergmann 1999; Moltesen 2000; Slavazzi 2009; Strocka 2010; Pensabene 2011; Hannestad 2012; Vorster 2012/2013; Dinç 2017. On stone trade generally: Russell 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Analyses of marble sculptures: e.g. Attanasio – Bruno – Yavuz 2009; Laubenberger – Prochaska 2011; Attanasio – Bruno – Prochaska et al. 2015; Attanasio – Bruno – Yavuz 2015; Attanasio – Bruno – Prochaska 2016. Polychromy and gilding: Abbe 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Only a few examples of the numerous publications: Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005; Bauer – Witschel 2007; Jacobs 2010; Gehn 2012; Hannestad 2012; Vorster 2012/2013; Kovacs 2014; Maischberger – Dally – Scholl 2015; Aydın – Buccino – Summerer 2015; Niewöhner 2016; Kristensen – Stirling 2016; Smith – Ward-Perkins 2016.

and sarcophagi of the Ephesian type and I. Kourtzellis – T. Kyriakopoulou on funerary altars from Lesbos). Chapter no. 5 concerns a relief lacking its original context: a niche with nymphs from Kulu in Galatia including an overview on the iconography and veneration of nymphs in Asia Minor (E. Laflı – E. Christof).

A series of authors in the chapter no. 6 deals with the ›long lives‹ of monuments and statues and the use of sculptures through time (C. H. Hallett – U. Quatember on the history of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias and its sculptural program, B. Akçay-Güven on reused statues of emperors in the theatre of Perge, C. Videbech on reused public sculpture in the private realm). R. R. R. Smith was the keynote speaker at the conference. His comprehensive article on the public monuments of Late Antique Aphrodisias was integrated into this chapter as the first article. M. Kovacs marks the end of this chapter and of the history of the ›statue habit‹ with his article on the background of the persistence of the habit in Asia Minor and its decay.

The last chapter assembles articles which present new or hitherto unpublished finds from various sites: Bithynium-Claudiopolis (S. Sezin Sezer), Tabae (F. Bağdatlı Çam), and Eresos on Lesbos (E.-E. Leka).

The editor wishes to thank the authors sincerely for their contributions. The conference and the proceedings provided a platform for an international community of scientists. The participation of Turkish colleagues, and especially those of the younger generation, was especially appreciated as well as the participation of the colleagues from Greece. The articles assembled in this volume provide a broad spectrum of recent research on sculpture from Asia Minor which it is hoped act as a stimulus for communication and further research on the subject.

*Maria Aurenhammer*

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## **I THE PROVINCE AND ROME**



STEPHAN FAUST

## THE IMAGERY OF THE ›PARTHIAN MONUMENT‹ AT EPHESOS: PROVINCIAL RHETORIC FOR A NEW DYNASTY

### ABSTRACT

There is an ongoing scholarly debate on the original setting, architecture, and date of the so-called Parthian Monument at Ephesos, of which only the relief decoration survives. The analysis of the adoption scene suggests that it was erected as an honorific monument for Antoninus Pius and his dynasty during the early reign of this emperor. In general, the friezes present a genuine provincial vision of the actions and qualities of the members of the ruling house, albeit in a Greek fashion, with the attribution of god-like qualities to the protagonists of the individual scenes. Furthermore, it seems plausible to propose a new arrangement of the extant slabs of the monument. This allows for a reappraisal of the internal iconographic and compositional references between the constituent parts of the imagery, so that earlier reconstructions can be substituted by a more plausible proposal.

### ÖZET

#### Efes ›Part Anıtı‹nın Tasvir Dili: Yeni bir Hanedan için Eyaletsel Söylem

Efes'teki Part Anıtı olarak adlandırılan ve sadece kabartma süslemeleri korunmuş olan yapının orjinal düzeni, mimarisi ve tarihi ile ilgili süregelen bilimsel bir tartışma vardır. Evlat edinme sahnesinin incelemesi, Antoninus Pius ve onun hanedanına atfen imparatorun hükümdarlığının erken dönemlerinde yapılmış bir onur anıtı olduğunu gösterir. Genel olarak friz, bireysel sahnelerin baş kahramanlarına tanrısal nitelikler atfederek, Yunanlı bir biçim içerisinde hanedan üyelerinin eylem ve niteliklerinin özgün eyaletsel bir görüşünü sunar. Bunun yanında anıtın mevcut levhaları için yeni bir düzenleme ileri sürmek akla yatkın görünmektedir. Bu, betimleme parçalarının arasındaki özel ikonografik ve kompozisyonla ilgili referansların yeniden değerlendirilmesine olanak sağlar ve böylece daha önceki rekonstrüksiyonlar daha inandırıcı bir öneri ile değiştirilebilir.

There can be no doubt that imperial monuments constitute an important as well as historically relevant body of material, particularly concerning the visual representation of the Roman rulers and their families in the capital and the provinces. Literary or epigraphic tradition enables us to some extent to identify the parties involved in the process of planning, erecting, and decorating a certain monument. We often know the name of the ruler in whose honour a column or an arch was erected, but also the benefactors' names (e.g., SPQR). Beyond that, we are sometimes informed about the exact date of the dedication and have some general ideas about the audience which was confronted with such a building in everyday life and on special occasions, perceiving it consciously or unconsciously. In many cases the architects and leading sculptors, who were responsible for the development and execution of the monuments, remain anonymous<sup>1</sup>, but we can deduce from their work that these artists always had to bear in mind various demands and expectations of the parties involved. In addition, they had to consider the resources provided for the realization of the project. Thus, they found themselves right in the centre of a complex communication process<sup>2</sup>. On the one hand, the statues and reliefs must unambiguously express certain ideological qualities and role models of the members of the ruling house. On the other hand, it

<sup>1</sup> A well-known exception is Apollodoros of Damascus, the architect responsible for the planning and execution of the Forum Traiani at Rome, see Cass. Dio 69, 4; Höcker 1996.

<sup>2</sup> See Mayer 2002, 4–27.

was sometimes necessary to counter worries of the populace such as could be caused by a change of government or during a military crisis at the borders of the empire. The designers in charge may even have been assigned the difficult task to create images that praise the emperor and, at the same time, politely remind him of yet unfulfilled expectations on the benefactors' side. In this connection, the political, religious, and cultural self-image of the city that was adorned with such an imperial monument had to be expressed, too.

In order to analyse the visual rhetoric which such a complex communication process could effect in Roman Asia, the imagery, or iconographic programme, of the so-called Parthian Monument from Ephesos shall be reconsidered in this paper<sup>3</sup>. As the original setting of the monument has not yet been identified with certainty<sup>4</sup>, and the architecture and dedicatory inscriptions are still missing, the iconography and composition of the friezes remain our only evidence<sup>5</sup>. The relief slabs, which measure 2.03 m to 2.12 m in height, were found during the Austrian excavations since 1895 at different spots at Ephesos<sup>6</sup>, and many panels were obviously reused in Late Antiquity more than once<sup>7</sup>. The extant slabs are usually attributed to five thematically divided groups<sup>8</sup>: a sacrifice scene, a battle scene, a series of driving chariots, a series of figures representing cities or nations, and a series of figures of divinities. There is an on-going debate about the date and interpretation of the friezes: according to Fritz Eichler, Wolfgang Oberleitner and many other scholars, we are dealing with an honorific monument that was erected in the 170s for Marcus Aurelius and especially for his brother and co-ruler Lucius Verus, who, after his death in 169, was allegedly remembered with a set of quasi-biographical scenes<sup>9</sup>. In contrast, several authors favour an earlier date, presenting arguments that point to a creation during the reign of Antoninus Pius<sup>10</sup>.

Concerning the chronological problem, the importance of the adoption relief (fig. 1) that probably constituted the compositional centre of the sacrifice scene is generally acknowledged<sup>11</sup>. In

<sup>3</sup> Please consider also the articles by A. Landskron and K. Töpfer in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> A foundation measuring 22.20 m to 8.20 m with front steps, which was discovered to the southeast of the Celsus Library, has long been considered as a possible candidate by several scholars, see Jobst 1983, 215–230; Jobst 1985; Ganschow 1986, esp. 209–212; Knibbe 1991; Jobst 2005. On this proposal, see the critical remarks by Hueber 1997, 262–264; Thür 2006, 153–155; H. Thür – W. Oberleitner in: Oberleitner 2009, 412–420. For alternative, albeit equally hypothetical suggestions, see Bammer 2004 (dismissed by Oberleitner 2009, 421–423); Taeuber 2006, 29; Thür 2006, 156. Geophysical prospection has not produced conclusive results concerning the original setting of the monument. See W. Oberleitner – S. Seren in: Oberleitner 2009, 409–411.

<sup>5</sup> On the friezes, see A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 49–193.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the reliefs were discovered in the areas around the Atrium Thermanum Constantianarum, the Celsus Library, the ›Stufenbau‹ east of the Octagon, and the State Agora. See Eichler 1971, 103. 136 fig. 34; Oberleitner 2009, 19–38 figs. 1–2.

<sup>7</sup> See Weber 2013, 97–109. It remains uncertain whether a second series of blocks with bulls' heads supporting garlands, which were found alongside the figural friezes around the Atrium Thermanum complex, once belonged to the same monument, see Oberleitner 2009, 325–349 (catalogue); A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski – H. Thür in: Oberleitner 2009, 369–378 (*contra*); Oberleitner 2009, 378–382 (*pro*); Weber 2013, 106–108.

<sup>8</sup> See, most recently, Fuchs 2002/2003; Landskron 2006a; Oberleitner 2009; Winkler-Horaček 2009, 198. The comprehensive publication of the material appeared in 2009. See Oberleitner 2009 with contributions by A. Landskron, D. Maschek, H. Müller, A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski, S. Seren and H. Thür. See also the profound review by Fittschen 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Eichler 1971, 104. 131–134; Oberleitner 1978, 66. 68; Ganschow 1986, 211; Knibbe 1991; Oberleitner 1995, 621–623; Oberleitner 1999; Fuchs 2002/2003; Nollé 2003, esp. 472–480; Jobst 2005; Oberleitner 2006; Fuchs 2009; Oberleitner 2009, 215–296.

<sup>10</sup> Scott Ryberg 1955, 133–134; Brilliant 1963, 137–138; Vermeule 1968, 96–97; Liverani 1995, 233–243; Liverani 1996/1997; Liverani 1999; Chausson 2006; Fittschen 2006; Landskron 2006a; Taeuber 2006; Faust 2012a, esp. 323–325.

<sup>11</sup> For the slabs and fragments attributed to the sacrifice scene, see A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 49–68 cat. FR1–FR6 figs. 48–106; 139–141 cat. FRF4–FRF5 figs. 254–267; 143–145 cat. FRF6a figs. 270–272; 157–158 cat. FRF299–FRF300 figs. 299–300; 215–222. 302–308 fig. 450. For the adoption relief, see Liverani 1995, 235; Liverani 1996/1997, 155–157. 159; Liverani 1999, 640; Fuchs 2002/2003, 16–17; Fuchs 2006, 89–90; Landskron 2006a, 162–166; Taeuber 2006, 25–26; A. Landskron –

the middle of the panel Lucius Verus is portrayed as a child, surrounded by the togate figures of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. The youthful head of a fifth figure appearing behind the left shoulder of Hadrian cannot be identified with certainty<sup>12</sup>. The crucial question is whether Lucius Verus really is the main figure of the group, as some scholars claim in order to attest to the late date. However, the composition of the scene is much more focussed on Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: both emperors look at the viewer. Their dress, the *toga capite velato*, signals that they act as the leading priests of the ritual that was shown to the left and right of the imperial group. Between the two rulers there is a long sceptre. Although it is held by neither of them, both Hadrian and Antoninus Pius slightly turn their bodies towards the imperial attribute. In this manner the smooth transition of power between the two men becomes apparent. The viewer should conclude that the establishment of the new Antonine dynasty is characterized by political foresight on the predecessor's side and by a legitimate claim to the throne on the successor's side. The secondary level of the imperial hierarchy is represented by Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus who flank their adoptive father. Antoninus Pius has put his arm around the shoulders of his younger son, thus performing an affectionate gesture. Like Hadrian he demonstrates *providentia* by designating the next generation of emperors<sup>13</sup>. In conclusion, there can be no doubt that the panel primarily describes the key position of Antoninus Pius, because, by the inclusion of his adoptive father, he is shown as the legitimate present emperor and, at the same time, as the founder of a new dynasty. The emphasis of this double role points to the time shortly after Antoninus' accession to the throne in 138.

Most probably, the so-called adoption panel was positioned in the centre of the sacrifice scene. Further members of the imperial family could have been depicted among the participants of the ritual. Indeed, there is a fragmentary slab preserving the portrait of Faustina Maior, Antoninus Pius' wife, wearing peplos and mantle, carrying a cornucopia and standing next to the figure of a girl<sup>14</sup>. Wolfgang Oberleitner has attributed this panel to the right edge of the frieze<sup>15</sup>. But this cannot be correct, because the empress no doubt must have been shown close to her husband<sup>16</sup>. Regarding the position of Antoninus Pius on the adoption panel, the portrait of Faustina was perhaps integrated into the left half of the frieze. The cornucopia of the empress can be interpreted as a symbol of the beneficial and happy reign of her husband, but also as an attribute of Concordia, which would emphasize the message of the adoption panel<sup>17</sup>.

Accordingly, the diademed portrait of Hadrian's wife Sabina, which is also preserved, could have belonged to a relief that was once arranged to the right of the central slab<sup>18</sup>. The possible

W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 54–57 cat. FR3; 215–216; Fittschen 2009, 163–165; Winkler-Horaček 2009, 198–199; Faust 2012a, 323–325.

<sup>12</sup> Diverse identifications of the head have been proposed. See Eichler 1971, 115 (genius of Hadrian); Oberleitner 1978 cat. 61 (genius of Hadrian); Landskron 2006a, 165–166 with n. 104 (Antinous); Fittschen 2006, 78 (Honos); Fuchs 2006, 93–99 (Pedanius Fuscus); Oberleitner 2009, 216 (*genius Populi Romani*).

<sup>13</sup> See Liverani 1996/1997, 157; Fittschen 2006, 85; Fuchs 2006, 89; Taeuber 2006, 26; Winkler-Horaček 2009, 199; Faust 2012a, 323.

<sup>14</sup> See Alexandridis 2004, 192 cat. 198 pl. 41, 4; Fittschen 2006, 75–76 figs. 14–15; A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 66–68 cat. FR6 figs. 100–106; 218. 303 fig. 450. The girl, whose head is lost, is identified as Faustina Minor by Oberleitner 2009, 218; Landskron 2006a, 169.

<sup>15</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 303 with fig. 450.

<sup>16</sup> See Fuchs 2002/2003, 18; Fuchs 2006, 90 fig. 3; 91.

<sup>17</sup> See Alexandridis 2004, 91; Oberleitner 2009, 218. Several scholars have argued that Faustina is shown as *diva* because of the mantle drawn over her head, concluding that her death in A.D. 141 constitutes a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the monument. See Liverani 1995, 235–236; Liverani 1996/1997, 155. 159; Liverani 1999, 640; Fittschen 2006, 75; Taeuber 2006, 25; Oberleitner 2009, 218. This assumption has been rejected by Fuchs 2002/2003, 17–18; Landskron 2006a, 169; Fuchs 2009, 316; Faust 2012a, 325 n. 24. The veiling refers to the divinisation of imperial women only on coins since the Flavian age (*Damenprägungen*), but not necessarily so in other media. See Alexandridis 2004, 44–46.

<sup>18</sup> See Alexandridis 2004, 185–186 cat. 184 pl. 37, 2; Fittschen 2006, 75. 77–78 figs. 18–19; A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 64–66 cat. FR5 figs. 96–98; 217. 303 fig.



presence of more imperial figures is indicated by the fragmentary head of a boy, which was published in 2009<sup>19</sup>. As Klaus Fittschen has pointed out, the hairstyle is characteristic of five other portraits that apparently depict the same person<sup>20</sup>. Maybe we are dealing with one of the two biological sons of Antoninus Pius, who apparently died before 138<sup>21</sup>. It is worth considering whether they were included in the frieze in order to broaden the dynastic spectrum.

A bovine victim and several attendants shown on one panel belong to the personnel of the actual ceremony<sup>22</sup>. In addition, a very similar scene was obviously depicted on a second relief slab, fragments of which survive<sup>23</sup>. These two sections could have been symmetrically arranged in the two halves of the frieze. Besides, the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna preserves two right marble hands, each holding a *patera*<sup>24</sup>. Rather than reconstructing two more priests out of these pieces I would like to assign them to the figures of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius on the central slab. If the attribution is correct, Hadrian with his outstretched right hand would then not only present his successors, but also their piety to both the viewer and the divine recipient of the sacrifice<sup>25</sup>. It is difficult to determine whether the scene really refers to the official act that perhaps accompanied the double adoption at the end of Hadrian's reign<sup>26</sup>. In any case, the frieze conveys an unmistakable message: Antoninus Pius is the key figure of a dynastic arrangement that is based on political prudence and as on divine support.

Like the adoption panel the battle frieze has played an important role in the discussion about the date of the ›Parthian Monument‹<sup>27</sup>. As the iconography of the fighting Romans and Barbarians is not very specific, there is no reason to maintain that the scene necessarily refers to the Parthian wars of Lucius Verus<sup>28</sup>. In fact, while some barbarians wear elements of an Oriental costume, others are rather dressed like members of Northern tribes<sup>29</sup>. The non-historical character of the whole scene is further stressed by the fact that some of the Romans are clad in a Greek tunic or *exomis*. Antoninus Pius himself might have occupied the chariot of the biga, the horses of which are extant on one of the panels (fig. 2)<sup>30</sup>. In 2009 the fragments of a cuirassed figure that could belong to

450. For the original position of the slab, see Fuchs 2002/2003, 18; Fuchs 2006, 90 fig. 3; 91. It remains uncertain whether the portrait and the body fragment, which are now combined, once really belonged together.

<sup>19</sup> W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 139 cat. FRF3 fig. 263, including a tentative interpretation as »Herakles (?)«.

<sup>20</sup> Fittschen 2009, 172–173. For the typologically related heads, see Fittschen 1999, 46–49. 75–77 pl. 74 a–b.

<sup>21</sup> The two sons are M. Galerius Aurelius Antoninus and M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus, who were both interred in the Mausoleum Hadriani, see Kienast 2004, 135. According to Fittschen 1999, 48–49; Fittschen 2009, 172–173 the portrait type probably shows the latter, as his brother features a different physiognomy on posthumous coins of Faustina Maior. He can therefore be related to another set of marble portraits. See Fittschen 1999, 50–52 pls. 78–81. 110 d.

<sup>22</sup> See A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 58–61 cat. FR4 figs. 80–88.

<sup>23</sup> See A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 61–64 cat. FR4a figs. 89–95. Wolfgang Oberleitner even postulates a third slab that would have shown a bull. See Oberleitner 2009, 304–306 fig. 450. However, his reconstruction does not match the extant fragments.

<sup>24</sup> See Oberleitner 2009, 157–158 cat. FRF32–FRF33 figs. 299–300.

<sup>25</sup> See Faust 2012a, 327 with n. 36.

<sup>26</sup> The possible legal and sacral implications of the scene (*adoptio/adrogatio* or *nuncupatio votorum*) have been discussed by Liverani 1996/1997, 155–157. 161; Oberleitner 2009, 218–221.

<sup>27</sup> See A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 68–89 cat. FR7–FR13 figs. 107–114. 116–148; 96–97 cat. FR16 figs. 41. 115; 223–226. 308–312. 451; Faust 2012b, 143–167 pls. 62. 63. 65.

<sup>28</sup> For contrary opinions, see Stähler 1987; Fuchs 2009, 357–374; Oberleitner 2009, 286–293.

<sup>29</sup> See Landskron 2001; Landskron 2005, 126–129; Landskron 2006a, 144–154; Winkler-Horaček 2009; Faust 2012b, 154–156.

<sup>30</sup> Several scholars have argued that the chariot belonged to the emperor, even if the identification remains controversial. See Stähler 1987, 114–115; Meyer 2006, 134; Fuchs 2009, 370; Oberleitner 2009, 223. 308–309; Winkler-Horaček 2009, 199–200; Faust 2012b, 149–151. Alternatively, the lost figure has sometimes been associated with the Parthian king or Nike. See Fittschen 2006, 85; Landskron 2006a, 148; Fittschen 2009, 165.

the emperor in battle were published<sup>31</sup>. Maybe Victoria, whose head and left wing are preserved, as well, was shown guiding Antoninus Pius into the cart<sup>32</sup>. If these hypothetical attributions are correct, there would be a link to one of the sections of the chariot series, which shows a very similar composition, as indicated below. In any case, the image of Antoninus Pius going to war in a chariot could be compared to the figures of fighting gods in Hellenistic and Roman Gigantomachy scenes from Asia Minor<sup>33</sup>. So the military qualities of the emperor are obviously communicated by a quasi-mythological narrative that especially addressed a Greek audience.

Concerning the chariot series<sup>34</sup>, one example shows a goddess who climbs a cart which is drawn to the right by four does to the right (fig. 3). In addition to the animals, the quiver and the dress of the deity refer to Artemis, the city goddess of Ephesos, while the crescent on her shoulders as well as the broken torch in her left hand can be associated with Selene. Artemis-Selene is accompanied by Hesperos (the evening star), who hovers behind the team of draught animals and once held the reins. Beneath the leaping does a half-naked woman rests on the ground. Because of her rudder and the sea panther she is leaning on she should be identified as Thalassa. The figure at the right edge of the relief slab must be Nyx (the personification of night) on account of the mantle billowing behind her head. A fragment of a second panel that possibly served as a counterpart of the section with Artemis-Selene exists<sup>35</sup>. It shows a youthful god with long, curly hair who steps on a chariot driving to the left. As the extant legs and one tail of the animals indicate, it was drawn by griffins. The god himself wears the long dress that is typical of Apollo. In addition, his nimbus and (lost) radial crown characterize him as Helios. Like Artemis-Selene, Apollo-Helios is accompanied by a smaller hovering figure, which once grasped the reins. It can tentatively be named as Euros (the east wind).

The protagonist of the third section, who is equipped with a muscle cuirass, is generally interpreted as an emperor (fig. 4)<sup>36</sup>. A team of four rearing horses draws his chariot to the right, while the ruler himself is guided into the cart by Victory who also takes the reins. Apart from Victory two more female personifications appear in this section, which feature a Roman rather than a Greek iconography. One of them is Tellus, resting underneath the horses. Mother Earth is accompanied by a child and holds a cornucopia in her left arm. The other one is Virtus, who is dressed in the typical Amazon costume and leads the horses. Behind her, Phosphoros (the morning star) appears, carrying a torch and wearing a radial crown.

The interpretation of the panel showing the imperial action is, again, highly controversial. Some scholars believe that the scene features the apotheosis of either Hadrian or Lucius Verus<sup>37</sup>. In contrast to this interpretation, a reference to the present ruler, who was primarily honoured by the monument, seems much more likely. Moreover, it has been suggested that the relief shows a military *profectio*<sup>38</sup>. Even if this explanation is no doubt supported by the presence of Victory and Virtue, it accounts for the meaning of the scene only in the broad sense. But the peculiar message of the scene becomes apparent, if we take into account the links that exist between this relief and

<sup>31</sup> See Oberleitner 2009, 147–148 cat. FRF10–FRF11; 311 fig. 276; Faust 2012b, 151 pl. 65, 1.

<sup>32</sup> See Faust 2012b, 151 pl. 65, 2. See also A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner in: Oberleitner 2009, 128–130 cat. FR28; 263–264. 319 figs. 233. 234. 454, who connect the head of Nike with the fragments of a half-nude female body and assign both pieces to the series of gods.

<sup>33</sup> See Faust 2012b, 159–160.

<sup>34</sup> See Oberleitner 1995; Engemann 1999; Fuchs 2002/2003, 12–16; Meyer 2006; Landskron 2006a, 157–161; A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 109–124 cat. FR22–FR25 figs. 191–222; 453 a–b; 453 d; 177–178 cat. FRF77 figs. 347–348; 453 c; 253–262. 316–318; Faust 2012a, 331–337.

<sup>35</sup> See Oberleitner 1995, figs. 2–14; A. Landskron in: Oberleitner 2009, 116–118 cat. FR23 figs. 204–211.

<sup>36</sup> See below, n. 34.

<sup>37</sup> See Liverani 1996/1997, 166–167; Liverani 1999, 641–642 (Hadrian); Oberleitner 2009, 253–254 (Lucius Verus). See also Fittschen 2009, 167 (without identification). For a critical assessment of this interpretation, see Engemann 1999, 635–637; Landskron 2005a, 157–158; Meyer 2006, 132; Faust 2012a, 334–335 with n. 61.

<sup>38</sup> See Meyer 2006, 133–135.

the Apollo-Helios panel as well as the Artemis-Selene panel. These correspondences signify two things: on the one hand, the emperor, that is to say Antoninus Pius, is assigned similar superhuman qualities as the two deities and especially like Apollo-Helios as his male counterpart. So we could say that Antoninus Pius appears as ›Neos Helios‹<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand, the similarities in terms of iconography and composition clearly indicate that the three protagonists perform the same kind of action. In other words: as Apollo-Helios and Artemis-Selene climb up into their chariots in order to drive through the heavens, the emperor, too, is about to stride across an incredibly vast territory, being victorious wherever he goes.

Obviously, the two sections showing divine chariots constitute a matching pair. It seems therefore plausible to assume that there once was a complement of the imperial panel. Indeed, there is the fragment of a slab that probably belonged to the same series<sup>40</sup>. This piece preserves the hind quarters of two or more feline animals, interestingly turned in the opposite direction, and the bent leg of a small figure which would have held the reins for the scene's main figure. If we consider the entire set of four sections, it seems logical to conclude that the lost protagonist was imperial (corresponding to Antoninus Pius) as well as female (corresponding to Artemis-Selene). That is why the image of Faustina Maior was probably integrated into the series, too (see below).

Regarding the so-called series of personifications<sup>41</sup>, the composition of the individual sections is best preserved on one panel with three figures (fig. 5). In the centre of this relief the upper part of the body of a river god, who holds a fish in his left hand, emerges from the ground. His presence indicates that the two female figures standing to his left and right must be interpreted as representatives of a certain city or region, most likely of the Roman Empire. Only the left figure still has an attribute which can be identified as the decoration of a ship's stern, or *aplustre*. Furthermore, in the centre upper part of the relief there is a basket full of ears, which also refers to the unknown city or region. The other panels of the series are often badly preserved, but they obviously featured the same kind of composition, with a central half figure, a central emblem, and two flanking figures. One fragmentary relief shows the Lupa Romana nursing the twins as the typical symbol in the middle<sup>42</sup>. There can be no doubt that this section refers to Rome. For this reason, the cuirassed figure in the left half of the panel probably represents Mars as the progenitor of the Roman people. So the right part of the slab would have been occupied by Venus or perhaps by Roma herself. Of course, the missing river god must be identified as the Tiber. Since the all the other panels once apparently featured an analogous composition, it seems plausible to assume that they referred to cities only, too<sup>43</sup>, but not to certain regions or nations. In any case, the whole series shows the viewer the expansiveness of the Imperium Romanum quite plainly.

Finally, there is the frieze of gods<sup>44</sup>, which is in a particularly poor state of preservation. It seems that the syntactic principles of the relief slabs in question are similar to the composition of the personification series. For instance, one panel shows Aphrodite in the centre, probably sitting on a rock (fig. 6). The goddess of love is accompanied by two flanking female figures and by a water deity who rests on the ground, holding a rudder and leaning on a vessel. Poseidon, sitting on a sea monster, appears on another relief. He was escorted by two figures as well.

<sup>39</sup> See Landskron 2006a, 159; Meyer 2006, 134; Oberleitner 2009, 253. See also Engemann 1999, 637.

<sup>40</sup> See Oberleitner 2009, 177–178. 258–259 cat. FRF77 figs. 347–348; p. 453. See also Landskron 2006a, 159 n. 59; Meyer 2006, 129. 136; Fittschen 2009, 163. 167; Faust 2012a, 333.

<sup>41</sup> See Liverani 1995, 233–243; Laubenberger 1999, 650–651; Landskron 2006a, 154–157; Landskron 2006b, 103–127; Matthaei 2007; A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 90–109 cat. FR14–FR21 figs. 149–190; 226–253. 312–316 fig. 452; Landskron – Taeuber – Prochaska 2010; Faust 2012a, 337–340.

<sup>42</sup> See A. Landskron in: Oberleitner 2009, 238–240 cat. FR17 figs. 165–173.

<sup>43</sup> See Matthaei 2007.

<sup>44</sup> See Landskron 2006a, 161–162; A. Landskron – W. Oberleitner – A. Pyszkowski-Wyżykowski in: Oberleitner 2009, 125–136 cat. 26–31 figs. 223–255; 262–265. 318–323 fig. 454; Faust 2012a, 340.

The presence of the gods and the allegorical figures representing the Roman Empire requires some explanation. In general, the assemblage of divinities no doubt emphasizes the legitimacy of Antoninus Pius' claim to power, whereas the representatives of cities indicate the concrete geographical scope of his rule. But the question remains how these messages were conveyed in the context of the imagery as a whole. In other words: how were the two friezes linked to the other scenes showing the emperor and other members of his family in action? Similarly, we are still confronted with the task of evaluating the meaning of the four charioteer scenes as part of the entire set of reliefs. Up to now scholars have usually thought that these panels formed separate sections within the decoration of the monument, and this has led to rather complicated reconstructions, which are usually based on the idea that the ›Parthian Monument‹ must have looked like the Pergamon Altar in one way or another<sup>45</sup>. As the latest draft published by Wolfgang Oberleitner in 2009<sup>46</sup> shows, the four charioteer scenes could only be accommodated in such a structure, if they were attached to both the front side and the inner faces of the two projecting court walls. In contrast, a much easier solution will be proposed, which is just as hypothetical, of course, but which may be more convincing, as it aims rather at the analysis of the iconographic programme of the lost monument than to the reconstruction of its architecture (fig. 7)<sup>47</sup>.

In my opinion, the series of gods and the topographical series, which are both rather static in themselves, should each be connected with a pair of charioteer reliefs, so that these sections would frame the two friezes<sup>48</sup>. First of all, it makes sense to attribute the images of Apollo-Helios and Artemis-Selene to the sequence of deities. Consequently, the figures of the emperor and his wife must belong to the frieze of cities. On the basis of these attributions a surprisingly coherent iconographic programme emerges, as we shall see. Besides, we are now dealing with no more than four friezes, on the whole, from which we can deduce a simple, four-sided layout of the lost architecture. For example, the friezes could have decorated the facades of a building or podium. Alternatively, they could have been exhibited around some kind of courtyard (fig. 7), or they might even have been arranged in pairs on two storeys of opposite buildings. Such a structure would be comparable to the design of the Sebasteion complex at Aphrodisias<sup>49</sup>.

Concerning the iconographic programme, the congruous syntax of the two reconstructed friezes invites the viewer to draw comparisons with regards to content. Through this the messages of the relief slabs become apparent. On the one hand, Apollo-Helios and Artemis-Selene constitute a cosmic frame of the assemblage of the gods. On the other hand, the domain of the imperial couple comprises the entire *orbis Romanus* which is represented by the cities. The Rome panel discussed above may have constituted the centre of the frieze. At the same time, superhuman virtues and capacities are assigned to Antoninus Pius and Faustina Maior by the iconographic comparison to the divine charioteers. In this respect the appearance of the ruler and his wife resembles an epiphany.

<sup>45</sup> Vermeule 1968, 97–98 plan 1; Jobst 1985, 81 fig. 3; Ganschow 1986, 200–201 fig. 3; Knibbe 1991 with figs. 3. 5. 6; Liverani 1995, 233–234 fig. 6; 239; Liverani 1999 with pl. 160, 1; Bammer 2004, 14–15 fig. 12; Jobst 2005, 173–175 fig. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 397–407 fig. 669; on this see the critical remarks by H. Thür in: Oberleitner 2009, 402–406. The ›calculations‹ made by Oberleitner 2009, 302–325 to determine the original length of the single friezes are highly speculative and lead to circular arguments concerning the reconstruction of the monument, see Fittschen 2009, 175–178.

<sup>47</sup> See Faust 2012a, 341–345.

<sup>48</sup> The only proposal pointing in a similar direction was made by Fritz Eichler, who wanted to combine the chariot scenes showing the emperor and Artemis-Selene (the only ones known to him) with the frieze of gods. See Eichler 1940, 492–493; Eichler 1971, 113–114.

<sup>49</sup> For the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, see Smith 2013. At Ephesos investigations with ground radar have indeed revealed the remains of a structure with two opposite porticoes in the area between the Arkadiane and the Atrium Thermanum, where many relief fragments were found. See Oberleitner 2009, 393–395. 411 figs. 672–676. Ulf Weber assumes that the friezes were re-used in this area for the first time in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (because of the form of the letters of the setting marks), before the building was demolished and some slabs were transferred to the Celsus Library. See Weber 2013, 100. 106.



In addition, the military dress of the emperor and the presence of Victory and Virtus indicate that Antoninus Pius is victorious wherever he goes.

The two friezes were presumably conceived like a text line that must be read from left to right, for the two most important figures were placed at the left side of each frieze, that is to say at the beginning of the line. This obviously applies to the section showing Antoninus Pius with his chariot, as this image features a movement from left to right. On the opposite side of the monument, instead of the male counterpart Apollo-Helios, Artemis-Selene was characterized as the protagonist by a corresponding position and movement. This can be easily explained by the special role that Artemis plays in Ephesos. Thus, the image of the goddess also implies a self-praise of the city where the monument was dedicated. The prestige of the emperor and the prestige of Ephesos complement one another.

In addition, the paratactic friezes, which are framed by the imperial as well as the divine charioteers, are programmatically connected to both the battle scene and the sacrifice scene. For instance, while the topographical frieze emphasizes the fact that Antoninus Pius rules all the cities belonging to the Roman Empire, the battle scene evokes a situation beyond the outer borders. As I have argued, both friezes presumably showed the emperor using a chariot. So in his own realm he acts like the sun-god, whose appearance has a beneficial effect on all human beings. In the world of the barbarians, he fights the enemy in the same way as the Olympians fought the giants. Each time Antoninus Pius acts like a god.

Moreover, there is an obvious link between the frieze of deities and the sacrifice scene, for the ritual action that is performed in the presence of the imperial family demonstrates *pietas* with regard to the gods. Consequently, the same gods guarantee and legitimize the dynastic concept which is visualized on the adoption panel. Supposing that the two paratactic friezes were once axially aligned, the images of battle and sacrifice would have been associated by their position, in the same way. Thereby, military accomplishments and civil qualities were confronted with each other. Both friezes possibly showed the imperial protagonists in the centre.

In conclusion, the friezes of the ›Parthian Monument‹ present a genuine provincial vision of the prestige of Antoninus Pius and certain members of his newly-founded dynasty. We are dealing with a kind of eulogy, the rhetoric of which comprises different levels. First of all, it refers to historical reality, which is alluded to by the retrospective ritual scene, and, secondly, there is anticipation, which is evoked by the visual abstract of successful battles that will perhaps be fought in the future. Finally, the stylistic device of allegory is used, by comparing and linking the emperor to the gods. The allegorical character of the images, in particular, mirrors the hopes and expectations which seemingly prevailed in the city of Ephesos under the early reign of Antoninus Pius.

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1 ›Parthian Monument‹, sacrifice scene (adoption relief), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



2 ›Parthian Monument‹, battle scene (relief with biga), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna





3 ›Parthian Monument‹, chariot series (relief with Artemis-Selene), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



4 ›Parthian Monument‹, chariot series (relief with emperor), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



5 ›Parthian Monument‹, series of personifications (relief with two female figures and river god), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



6 ›Parthian Monument‹, series of gods (relief with Aphrodite), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



7 ›Parthian Monument‹, reconstruction of the imagery (by author)



ALICE LANDSKRON

## TRADITION AND INNOVATION: IMPERIAL REPRESENTATION FROM AN EASTERN PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

The paper deals with some aspects of iconographical tradition and innovation in Asia Minor by using case studies, especially examples from the so-called Parthian Monument in Ephesos. The reliefs of the Ephesian monument refer to imagery of Roman tradition combined with innovative images referring to a Hellenistic tradition. From our point of view, recourse to Greek and Hellenistic traditions is visible e.g. on the Ara Pacis: the so-called genre scenes refer to Hellenistic images, the procession of the imperial family refers to processions known from classical iconography, such as on the east frieze of the temple of Athena-Nike in Athens. Images such as the biga in the battle frieze of the Parthian Monument, the friezes featuring gods and goddesses and the slabs with chariots demonstrate Greek iconographical traditions combined with Roman iconography. The personification series features representatives of the *orbis terrarum* and reflects a tradition in Rome which has been familiar since the *porticus ad nationes* of the Augustan era, and the personification series on Hadrianic and Antonine coins and on other monuments of this period. Since Antoninus Pius had a close relationship to the local elite in the Ionian city, the year 138 A.D. marked a turning point in the relations of Ephesos to the emperor in Rome. The imagery of the monument seems to rely on the needs of the Ephesians and the local elites who were engaged as benefactors and *euergetes*. The monument honours both the new emperor Antoninus Pius and the initiator of the Antonine dynasty, Hadrian.

### ÖZET

#### Gelenek ve İnovasyon: Doğu Bakış Açısıyla İmparatorluk Tasviri

Bu makale Küçük Asya'daki ikonografik geleneklerinin ve yeniliklerinin bazı yönlerini örnekler kullanarak, özellikle de Efes'teki Partlar Anıtı olarak adlandırılan yapı örneği üzerinden incelenmektedir. Bu Efes Anıtı'nın kabartmaları, Roma geleneklerinin betimlemelerine atıfta bulunmakta ve bunları Hellenistik geleneklerle ilişkili yenilikçi betimlemelerle kombine etmektedir. Bizim görüşümüze göre, Yunan ve Hellenistik geleneklerine başvurulması örneğin Ara Pacis'de görülebilir: Genre (gündelik yaşam) sahneleri Hellenistik tasvirlerle ilişkili iken, İmparator ailesini tören alayında gösteren tasvirler, örneğin Atina'daki Athena-Nike Tapınağı'nın Doğu frizindeki gibi Klasik ikonografilerden bilinen tören alaylarına atıfta bulunmaktadır. Partlar Anıtı'nın savaş frizindeki biga, tanrı ve tanrıçaları gösteren friz ve savaş arabası levhaları Roma gelenekleri ile kombine edilmiş Yunan ikonografik geleneklerini sergilerler. Personifikasyon serileri *orbis terrarum*'un temsilcilerini gösterir ve burada Augustus Dönemi'nin *porticus ad nationes*'in yapımından beri bilinen Roma'daki bir geleneği ve ayrıca Hadrian ve Antoninus sikkelerinde ve bu dönemin diğer anıtlarında görülen persenifikasyon serilerini yansıtır.

Antoninus Pius ile bu İonia şehrinin yerel seçkin tabakasının yakın bir ilişkiye girmesinden itibaren, MS. 138 yılı Efes ve Roma'daki imparator arasındaki ilişkide bir dönüm noktasını işaret eder. Anıtın tasvirleri Efes'lilerin, bağışçı ve *euergetes* olarak yükümlülüklerini yerine getiren yerel seçkin tabakanın ihtiyaçlarına dayanıyor gibi görünmektedir. Anıt, hem yeni İmparator Antoninus Pius hem de Antoninus Handedanının kurucusu Hadrian'ı onurlandırmaktadır.

Roman imagery reverts to existing and available iconographical traditions creating and adding new forms and images to develop what we call a semantic system<sup>2</sup>. The most important aspect lies in an understanding of the visualized messages within a historical context. The paper deals with some aspects of iconographical tradition and innovation in Asia Minor by using case studies, es-

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the organizers of the conference in Selçuk, especially Maria Aurenhammer. I am grateful to Sabine Ladstätter for the possibility to stay in the Austrian excavation house in Ephesos during the conference and to Georg A. Plattner for permission to publish the figures 1, 2, 5 und 6.

<sup>2</sup> Hölscher 1987, 14–19. 49–54; see also Hölscher 1984.



pecially examples from the so-called Parthian monument in Ephesos<sup>3</sup>. The friezes of the so-called Parthian Monument have no parallel in Roman state reliefs<sup>4</sup>.

From our point of view, recourse to Greek and Hellenistic traditions is visible on the Ara Pacis: the so-called genre scenes refer to Hellenistic images, the procession of the imperial family refers to processions known from classical iconography, such as on the Parthenon or on the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis<sup>5</sup>. Greek tradition appears on monuments dated to the Julio-Claudian era in Rome and in the Eastern provinces. The Sebasteion reliefs in Aphrodisias are the most striking examples in Asia Minor<sup>6</sup>.

The so-called Parthian monument from Ephesos is an exceptional example for the discussion of Roman imagery and Greek traditions in the Eastern provinces of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.: the reliefs reflect the imagery of Roman tradition combined with innovative images referring to Hellenistic tradition. The whole imagery of the monument seems to rely on the needs of the Ephesians and the local elites. Local elites in Asia Minor were active benefactors as well as being engaged in euergetism in numerous cities, so that the funding of much building activity was dependent on local families. The cities of Pergamon, Smyrna and Ephesos elucidate the importance and advantage of good relations to an emperor and the imperial family<sup>7</sup>.

Scholars are nearly unanimously convinced that the ›adoption‹ of the year 138 forms the basis for the message we read on the frieze. According to the relief on the ›Kaiserplatte‹, the sacrifice was undertaken by the four most important representatives of the subsequent generations: the emperor, the designated emperor and the two young successors<sup>8</sup>. This scene is unique and very Roman in its meaning since the missing biological heritage under the reign of Trajan and Hadrian, the deceased Aelius Verus, and the short-lived sons of Antoninus Pius, show the difficulty of imperial continuity. The most important of the scenes was the representation of a successful order of succession in the year 138. Obviously the Romans in Rome did not celebrate this event on monuments<sup>9</sup>.

Hadrian accepted the second *neokoros* title for Ephesos, which was of particular importance to the city within the rivalry among the leading cities of Western Asia Minor<sup>10</sup>. This event was followed by the installation and implementation of an imperial cult in honour of Hadrian and the erection of a temple complex<sup>11</sup>.

Antoninus Pius honoured his ancestor in various ways, such as by forcing the Senate to consecrate Hadrian and arranging the construction of the temple for the divine Hadrian in Rome<sup>12</sup>. We do not know who was responsible for building the ›Parthian monument‹ in Ephesos but it is likely

<sup>3</sup> Please consult also the articles by S. Faust and K. Töpfer in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> As e.g. indicated by M. Meyer in an article on the reliefs featuring a quadriga: Meyer 2006a, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Andreae 1999, 374–375 figs. 295–297; Mlasowsky 2010 passim and 66–73 on the historical background of the monument; see also below n. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Smith 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Winter 1996; for the rivalry between Pergamon and Ephesos see Halfmann 2001; Scherrer 1999. See Friesen 1993, 7–28 on early imperial cults in Asia Minor; and Friesen 1993, 160–165 on the influence of the title *neokoros* on Ephesos; cf. also Burrell 2004, 66–70. For the consequences of the *neokoros* title for Ephesos see also Scherrer 2008.

<sup>8</sup> Liverani 1996/1997; Landskron 2006b; Landskron 2006c; Chausson 2006, 62; Taeuber 2006, 25–26, 28–29; Oberleitner 2009, 215–222, especially 215–216 and figs. 65, 450.

<sup>9</sup> We do not know whether there were plans to do so or if Hadrian or Antoninus Pius may have refused all the efforts suggested in this matter. For the coin issues on the occasion of the adoption in 138 see Strack 1933, 166–174. For the conflict between Antoninus Pius and the Senate concerning the consecration of Hadrian see Strack 1937, 4 n. 7; 24–27; Chausson 2006, 46–48; Taeuber 2006, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Pergamon and Smyrna were twice named *neokoros* under Traian (Pergamon 113 A.D.) and Hadrian (Smyrna ca. 124 A.D.): Friesen 1993, 7–21; Halfmann 2001, 73–74.

<sup>11</sup> The temple building for the imperial cult was erected under Hadrian: Winter 1996, 170–171; Halfmann 2001, 74–75; Scherrer 1999, 137–144; Scherrer 2008, 54. Ephesian coins struck under Hadrian and Antonius Pius and under emperors thereafter refer to the Artemision on this occasion: Burrell 2004, figs. 66–77, and most recently Karwiese 2012, 45, 48, 65 f.

<sup>12</sup> Strack 1937, 24–27; Chausson 2006, 47–48; Taeuber 2006, 28; for the reliefs from the Hadrianeum see Sapelli 1999, 7–82.

that local benefactors – perhaps the family of the Vedii – honoured Antoninus Pius, the former Pro-consul of the province Asia in 134–135 or 135–136, who had a residence in Ephesos during this period of time, for various reasons such as connections of friendship, expected benefits, or the like. In the first years of his reign, Antoninus Pius conferred the title of *πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μετρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας* to Ephesos which gave the city a prominent and high rank among the leading cities of the province Asia<sup>13</sup>. The year 138 A.D. marked a turning point in the relations of Ephesos and the Ephesians to the emperor in Rome since Antoninus Pius had a close relationship to the local elite in the Ionian city<sup>14</sup>: The Ephesians honoured the emperor and celebrated his birthday in 138 A.D.<sup>15</sup>.

Both emperors play an equal role on the ›Kaiserplatte‹, surrounded by the elected young successors – the former and the future ruler (fig. 1). The young men are placed in different positions according to their age in 138 and their rank in the order of succession<sup>16</sup>.

The interpretation of one figure has remained uncertain and is still the topic of discussion: the juvenile idealized head that peeps out from behind Hadrian's shoulder (fig. 2). Scholars have not succeeded in finding an appropriate portrait type to name the figure, and therefore agree nearly unanimously that the head presents a personification, perhaps of Honos, or of the Genius Populi Romani or even the Genius of the deceased Aelius Verus<sup>17</sup>. Honos, however, usually appears in armour and in connection with Virtus, and especially in Italy. A Genius Populi Romani is usually represented as a youth, unbearded, with a different hairstyle and wearing a cloak.

The head rests on a cloth which covers the left shoulder and there is no body visible on the relief plaque – not even on an attached plaque – which is quite remarkable and unusual<sup>18</sup>. Two slabs from the monument of C. Julius Zoilos in Aphrodisias show similar heads without bodies: the fragment of the slab featuring Mneme and the fragment which belongs to the slab featuring Minos<sup>19</sup>. The profile heads on the panels look as if they are ›floating on the background‹. R. R. R. Smith suggests ideal portraits and »... a member of Zoilos' family ..., a youthful son perhaps, dead before his time, commemorated in a family bust.«<sup>20</sup>. The interpretation of the head on the Ephesian ›Kaiserplatte‹ as a portrait of a young person close to Hadrian is likely due to iconographical and compositional comparisons between the panel of the monument of Zoilos and the ›Parthian Monument‹. The late Thuri Lorenz has proposed that the head might represent Hadrian's beloved Antinous<sup>21</sup>. The portraits of the Bithynian youth are usually characterized by a compact mass of hair and fringe, similar to the hair of the Roman ›ministry‹ (fig. 3). There are different depictions of Antinous' hairstyle where the fringe is scattered in separated strands<sup>22</sup>. A

<sup>13</sup> Chausson 2006, 36–38. 48–58; Taeuber 2006, 29 with a reference to the inscriptions IvE 1489. 1489A. 1490; Halfmann 2001, 76.

<sup>14</sup> Halfmann 2001, 75–80. Winter 1996, 102 n. 870: Ephesos honoured Antoninus Pius as *ktistes*: Winter 1996, 144–145 n. 1305; Chausson 2006, 48–50. 56–58. See also Fuchs 2009, 350–357; Oberleitner 2009, 223–226. 286–296, and Nollé 2003, 459–484 with a focus on the ›Victoria Romanorum‹ and the Parthian War under the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

<sup>15</sup> Taeuber 2006, 28–29 n. 47 (IvE 21); Halfmann 2001, 75–76.

<sup>16</sup> Remarkably, the hands of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius touch, but young L. Verus is protected by the latter. This gesture can be interpreted as a sign of familiarity, unity, protection, and *concordia*.

<sup>17</sup> Fittschen 2006, 78 fig. 5; Oberleitner 2009, 216 figs. 65. 74; Lochin 1990, 498–502 pls. 341–344, in particular 500–501 nos. 19–28; Romeo 1997, 599–607 pls. 372–377, in particular 605–606 nos. 57–68. M. Fuchs connects the head with Lucius Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, Hadrian's nephew who was put to death or forced to commit suicide together with his grandfather Lucius Iulius Ursus Severianus according to a presumed plot against the emperor: Fuchs 2003, 89–101, esp. 94–99.

<sup>18</sup> Fuchs 2006, 93–99; Fittschen 2006, 78.

<sup>19</sup> Smith 1993, 48–55 pls. 22–25.

<sup>20</sup> Smith 1993, 49. The author again suggests the depiction of family members concerning the two heads on the second panel: Smith 1993, 54–55: »... one should probably think first of Zoilos' close relatives.«

<sup>21</sup> Verbal message from T. Lorenz during a conversation in Vienna several years ago; Landskron 2006a, 165–166; Landskron 2016.

<sup>22</sup> For the different details on the portraits of Antinous see Meyer 1991 (e.g. 56–57 cat. 36 pl. 38; 93–94 cat. I 72 pl. 83; 108–109 cat. II 5 pl. 98); see also Nollé 2004, and on the variety of the portrait type on coin issues Pudill 2008, 95. 205; Pudill 2014, passim. On the figure interpreted as Antinous on the ›Kaiserplatte‹ see also Landskron 2016

fragment of a cuirassed bust of Hadrian probably shows a portrait of Antinoos on the breastplate – instead of the usual head of a Medusa. The statue has been allocated to the House of Herodes Atticus in Luku<sup>23</sup>, and provides a striking example of how the sculptor – or the client – regarded the private sphere of the emperor. Although many statues and images of Antinous were erected all over the empire, this iconographic detail is Roman in style but Greek in meaning, honouring the deceased emperor by portraying an exceptionally important person in Hadrian's life on the breastplate and on the ›Kaiserplatte‹.

Since the monument was erected after Hadrian's death, he together with at least two further family members – Sabina and Faustina, and probably some of the children – attend the sacrifice despite the fact the empresses were already deceased by that time<sup>24</sup>.

I am not enlarging on the portraits here, since numerous studies have been undertaken on the image of the imperial family on this monument; I would however like to draw attention to late Hadrianic portraits of Sabina, e.g. in Ostia and in Syracuse<sup>25</sup>. These belong to a late portrait type in stone and on coins which was well known in Asia Minor, and which may have been the model for the Ephesian head of Sabina. The iconography elevates her to a ›higher sphere‹, without any further need to have her head covered. Faustina is dressed in a peplos holding a cornucopia, similar to depictions of the goddess Concordia. Peplos-wearing statues of empresses are very rare in Rome and the provinces<sup>26</sup>. Since Faustina attends the sacrifice *capite velato* as a peplos-wearing goddess, this element may be interpreted as reflecting both Roman and Greek tradition<sup>27</sup>.

The *Fasti Ostienses* date Faustina's death to the autumn of A.D. 140<sup>28</sup>. Although both empresses were dead when the monument was erected, Faustina might have been still alive at the moment of its planning and conception. We know from other monuments such as the Ara Pacis that deceased persons – e.g., Agrippa – would not have been erased from the concept and design if they had passed away before the monument was completed. The Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, e.g., represents in a different context both living and deceased members of the Julio-Claudian family, celebrating the dynasty as a whole<sup>29</sup>.

The imperial family participating at a sacrifice ceremony is a common motive, but the position of the family members is strange: their bodies and heads are shown *en face*, not walking in a procession as on the Ara Pacis. As a result of this, the frieze depicting the imperial family attending the ceremony is unusual as it does not relate to the emperors of the so-called Kaiserplatte. For a possible reconstruction I would arrange the presentation of the imperial family by depicting the emperors ›surrounded‹ by their families – and a sacrifice with different attendants<sup>30</sup>. The concept of this frieze evokes and combines two topics: the representation of the imperial family and a sacrifice on the occasion of the adoption and/or the succession.

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and most recently Chausson 2018 (*non vidi*). Karwiese 2012, 50 presents Ephesian coin issues with the portrait of Antinoos and on the reverse with the founding hero of the city, Androklos. See also two statues – probably – of Androklos (Meleagros-type of Skopas, found in Ephesos: Aurenhammer 1990, 124–129 no. 104 [torso of the so-called Androklos from the Nymphaeum Traiani: Selçuk, Ephesos Museum Inv. 773/1-2]. 105 [so-called Androklos from the Vedio gymnasium, ›Kaisersaal‹, Izmir, Archaeological Museum Inv. 45]).

<sup>23</sup> Oppen 2008, 186–191 n. 31 fig. 171; see also Oppen 2009, 186–191 fig. 169 (Antinoos as Iakchos: drachm from Adramyttion); fig. 172 (bust of Hadrian, from Luku); fig. 173 (colossal statue of Antinoos, from Luku).

<sup>24</sup> Fittschen 2006, 71–87, esp. 75–78; Landskron 2006a, 168–169; Fuchs 2009, 350–357; Oberleitner 2009, 58–64. 215–222; Faust 2012a, 162–163; Faust 2012b, 323–328.

<sup>25</sup> Alexandridis 2004, 180–181 cat. 173 pl. 36, 3 (Museo Ostiense inv. 1242 and 1963); 183–184 pl. 38, 2 (Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. 72699).

<sup>26</sup> Empresses in a peplos refer to a ›godlike‹ tradition: Alexandridis 2004, 41–42 183 cat. 179 pl. 39, 1. 2; p. 192 cat. 198 pl. 41, 4.

<sup>27</sup> On the rites of sacrifices see Prescendi 2004, 193–194 (*ritu Romano/ritu Greco*).

<sup>28</sup> Chausson 2006, 54–56 fig. 15; Fittschen 2006, 75–78.

<sup>29</sup> Smith 2013, 189–195, esp. 195.

<sup>30</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 215–222 fig. 450; Faust 2012a, 160–164.



What is Roman in the iconography of the entire sacrifice frieze? In addition to the three bulls referring to a sacrifice for Zeus/Jupiter<sup>31</sup>, the iconography of the attending figures, displayed one next to another in a row goes back not only to the Ara Pacis, but even to Greek tradition such as on the east frieze of the Parthenon, or the assembly of the gods on the east frieze of the Nike-Temple in Athens<sup>32</sup>.

The battle scene is an example of the combination of Greek and Roman traditions<sup>33</sup>. The battle scenes are probably not historical; instead, they portray Roman soldiers by idealizing some of them as Greek warriors against enemies of the Roman Empire. Once again, the typology of many figures refers to Classical and Hellenistic Greek battle-friezes without specifying any particular ethnic group: orientals and other barbarians are defeated here. Overall, victorious Roman and Greek warriors underscore the Greek and Roman tradition of the battle frieze which differs from other battle scenes on monuments in Rome itself<sup>34</sup>.

Who is the charioteer racing through the battlefield in a biga<sup>35</sup>? Only a few parallels can be adduced for this scene: first, divinities, such as Artemis and Apollo on the frieze of the Temple of Apollo in Bassai<sup>36</sup>. Second, a leader in a quadriga, as on the west frieze of the Heroon from Trysa<sup>37</sup>; or Nike, dashing through the battle, heralding the victory<sup>38</sup>. Finally, a victorious emperor, especially on coins from Classical to Hellenistic times<sup>39</sup>. The emperor in the biga is a rather rare motif in battle scenes since he usually rides on a horse, as does Trajan on the Great Frieze in Rome or the commanders in battle friezes on certain Roman sarcophagi<sup>40</sup>. Neither Hadrian nor Antoninus Pius appear as conquerors in a battle scene, other than Trajan<sup>41</sup>.

Some scholars have proposed that the biga scene represents the emperor in a chariot<sup>42</sup>. Several coins – both Republican and imperial samples – show Nike/Victory in a biga or quadriga<sup>43</sup>. The fragments belonging to a descending cuirassed figure may be connected<sup>44</sup>, but there could be different reconstructions for such a piece, for example an image similar to the statue of Hadrian in Istanbul<sup>45</sup>. Usually emperors are conveyed in a quadriga, and even the reverses of coins struck in the years 140–144 A.D. show Victory in a chariot at high speed (fig. 4)<sup>46</sup>. Besides the reconstruction of the biga as depicting Victory leading the emperor on a chariot, it may be possible that there was a Nike/Victory in the chariot<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 58–64. 216–217.

<sup>32</sup> Andreae 1999, 374–375 figs. 295–297; Mlasowsky 2010; Jenkins 1994, 76–82; Palagia 2005, 184–189.

<sup>33</sup> Landskron 2006b, 162–169; Winkler-Horacek 2009; Faust 2012a, 154–160.

<sup>34</sup> Most recently see Faust 2012a.

<sup>35</sup> Landskron 2006b, 147–148 (»Nike«); Oberleitner 2009, 223–226 (»Kaiser«); Faust 2012a, 166–167 (»Antoninus Pius«); Faust 2012b, 329 (»Antoninus Pius«); Fuchs 2009, 368–370 (»Kaiser«); Fittschen 2006, 85; Fittschen 2010, 37–38 (»Victoria«).

<sup>36</sup> Hofkes-Brukker 1975, 60–62.

<sup>37</sup> Benndorf – Niemann 1889, 115–123, esp. 118 pl. 10; Oberleitner 1994, 34–37 figs. 65. 71; Landskron 2015.

<sup>38</sup> For the iconography of Nike/Victory in a chariot (and levitating and crowning a charioteer with a wreath, respectively) which is common since the classical period, see Franke – Hirmer 1964, *passim* and 56 pls. 49–51; Hölscher 1967, 65–66 pl. 6, 6. 9; 77–79 pl. 8, 4–5; Moustaka et al. 1992, 866 nos. 173–181 pl. 577; 893–894 nos. 688–712 pl. 604 and Vollkommer 1997, 246–247 nos. 85–113 pls. 173–175.

<sup>39</sup> Franke – Hirmer 1964 *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Faust 2012a, 177–212; cf. Fuchs 2009, 369–371.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. on the Great Trajanic Frieze: Faust 2012a, 17–19.

<sup>42</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 223–224; Faust 2012a, 149–151 pl. 65, 3.

<sup>43</sup> See above n. 37 and Franke – Hirmer 1964, 56 pls. 49–51; Hölscher 1967, 65–66 pl. 6, 6. 9; 77–79 pls. 8, 4–5; 9, 6–7; Alföldi 1999, 31 fig. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 147–148 fig. 276 (inv. FRF10. FRF11). See also Faust 2012a, 149–154 pl. 65, 1. 3; Faust 2012b, 328–331 fig. 2.

<sup>45</sup> Opper 2008, 66 figs. 49. 70–72.

<sup>46</sup> The mint refers to military triumphs under Antoninus Pius: Strack 1937, 56 pl. 11, 906.

<sup>47</sup> Landskron 2006b, 148; Fittschen 2009, 165; Fittschen 2010, 37 f.

The images on the ›Parthian monument‹ pose problems as soon as one tries to interpret the personifications<sup>48</sup>: do the figures represent personifications of cities or *ethnē*, as on the reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias<sup>49</sup>? Or are they representations of nations as it is assumed for the female representatives in ethnic costumes on the Hadrianeum<sup>50</sup>? Is their purpose and meaning at all important for the interpretation of the entire monument? It does seem clear that the figures express the idea of an *orbis Romanus* so obviously that it did not really matter whether the personifications of the Roman Empire were represented as *nationes* or *ethnē*<sup>51</sup>.

The idea of visualizing nations of the empire goes back to early Augustan times, when figures of nations decorated the *porticus ad nationes*<sup>52</sup>. Unfortunately we are not informed about any details concerning the iconography of the figures, but it is likely that those served as role models for other personifications<sup>53</sup>.

The iconography of figures in this context is heterogeneous: some wear non-specific Greek costume, like most of the *ethnē* from the Sebasteion, and are identified only by attributes (figs. 5. 6)<sup>54</sup>. The female figures amongst the so-called *nationes* from the Hadrianeum in Rome are differentiated by dress, hairstyle and weapons<sup>55</sup>. Since there are no extant inscriptions, only a few figures could be identified as specific nations.

Wall-paintings in a Roman villa near Valencia underline the heterogeneity of the images of *ethnē*<sup>56</sup>. There, the images can be identified through inscriptions and attributes, such as an elephant representing the *ethnos* of India or a crocodile representing Egypt. The inscription refers to the *ethnos* Ἰνδῶν (Indon) and Βέσσων (Besson) and to Αἴγυπτος (Aegyptos). These images relate to the *ethnē* of the Sebasteion concerning the Bessi, but go beyond the scope of *orbis Romanus*<sup>57</sup>. Instead, the *orbis terrarum* is visualized here and may reflect economic relations, like the mosaic in the Villa Romana di Casale near Piazza Armerina, which features the personification of India, characterized by an elephant, two tusks, and a tiger<sup>58</sup>. The iconographic pattern of the *ethnē* on the Sebasteion reliefs and of the wall paintings could be summarized as unspecified female representatives of *ethnē* and of geographic regions or islands, in some cases differentiated by attributes and identifiable by inscriptions<sup>59</sup>.

How do the examples cited help in the understanding or interpretation of the personifications on the ›Parthian monument‹? Concerning dress, hairstyles and attributes, in general the personifications wear very unspecific outfits, e.g. the figures in peploi and the two females wearing a

<sup>48</sup> Landskron 2009, 226–250. One plaque of the personifications series features two standing – female – figures, and a river god or personification of waters reclining between them: for a detailed description see Landskron 2009, 90–109; Landskron et al. 2010, 205–214.

<sup>49</sup> Smith 2013, 110–121.

<sup>50</sup> Sapelli 1999, 28–82; Parisi Presicce 1999, 83–105.

<sup>51</sup> Landskron 2006a, 119–124; Landskron 2009, 226–250; Matthaei 2007, 187–189; Paz de Hoz 2007, 133–134 with reference to R. R. R. Smith who suggests a list with names of imperial acquisitions. More recently on that subject see Smith 2013, 86–89.

<sup>52</sup> Smith 2013, 114–118.

<sup>53</sup> The monument is only known from written sources: Smith 2013, 110–121. Similar examples are said to have been erected in the Theatre of Pompey in Rome and, according to Suetonius, threatened Nero in his dreams: Suet. Nero 46; Smith 2013, 115–116. On the *porticus ad nationes* see in detail Goldbeck 2015, esp. 204–215 (including a detailed bibliography).

<sup>54</sup> Smith 2013, 86–121.

<sup>55</sup> Sapelli 1999, 28–82.

<sup>56</sup> Paz de Hoz 2007, 131–146 figs. 1–4.

<sup>57</sup> *Ethnē* of the Sebasteion: the genitive form of *ethnos* implies a subject like ›figure‹ or ›image‹ of an *ethnos*. (›... the models ... came most probably from a ›province series at Rome‹, Smith 2013, 87.). The author assumes models of *nationes* and *simulacra gentium* from an Augustan building: ›A striking peculiarity in the grammar of the inscribed labelling of the reliefs strongly suggests that the whole series was literally a ›translation‹ of an Augustan monument in Rome‹, Smith 2013, 87; Goldbeck 2015, 217–219.

<sup>58</sup> Paz de Hoz 2007, 136–138 fig. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Smith 2013, 112: ›... in terms of their conception and meanings, the *ethnē* were units of imperial conquest, not of provincial administration‹.

chiton<sup>60</sup>. In this case the dress does not lead to an exact definition of the representative, and the attributes turn out to be of no help in this matter, either<sup>61</sup>. Even the oriental dresses of some figures are no concrete evidence: the figures represent *ethnē* from an oriental region, and we cannot identify them further without any additional attributes.

The basic question regarding the interpretation of the figures is whether they represent cities or not<sup>62</sup>. The iconography (traditional ›ethnic‹ or varied Greek dress, no mural crown) fits very well into the tradition of picturing *ethnē* and *nationes* so that the figures obviously do not represent cities, although personifications of rivers appear at their feet. One river and two personifications of cities would imply that both cities were situated next to the same river<sup>63</sup>. We know of no example for this, although we do have examples for the personification of a city and the Pontus Euxinos at her feet, such as Tomis and Amisos<sup>64</sup>.

Personifications of cities usually wear a mural crown, but this attribute also appears on depictions of nations and provinces as well, for example the image of Cappadocia is characterized by a mural crown, as are the images of Cilicia, Raetia, Gallia, Hispania (fig. 7)<sup>65</sup>. What are we to make of the heterogeneity of those images? The examples cited from the Antonine period up to the mosaics of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. document or even verify the figures with a mural crown as personifications in the sense of representatives<sup>66</sup>. The interpretation of a mural crown as an attribute of a city goddess (e.g. the personification of the city of Antiocheia as a prototype) obviously is no longer defensible and far more heterogeneous from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. onwards, especially in the eastern regions of the empire<sup>67</sup>.

We know of no example of two figures representing one city, as some scholars have suggested for the plaques of the personification series<sup>68</sup>. The heterogeneous iconography of the Ephesian personification relates to the coin series and the Hadrianeum relief figures. We should not expect similar iconographical models for personifications in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century since the workshops focused on individual and specific purposes for the meaning and message of a monument which might comply with the needs and desires of the customer. Therefore, I once again propose not to focus on city personifications in search of the meaning of the figures on the ›Parthian monument‹, as I have pointed out elsewhere<sup>69</sup>. One new fragment shows a figure in oriental dress and on the right a figure in Greek dress<sup>70</sup>. It is not possible to identify the figures but instead we can inquire regarding the proposed scheme: which city represented by a female figure in a Greek dress refers to a

<sup>60</sup> Figures wearing a peplos could be related to a civilized or well integrated part of the Roman Empire, Smith 2013, 89.

<sup>61</sup> Landskron 2006a, 119–124; Landskron 2009, 245–249.

<sup>62</sup> Due to the river-gods, Smith 2013, 120 reads the personifications on the ›Parthian monument‹ as representations of the empire by a collection of cities.

<sup>63</sup> Diez 1985, 216–219; Liverani 1995, 233–243; Matthaei 2007, 181–189 has rejected this interpretation.

<sup>64</sup> Landskron 2006a, 110–113 fig. 19; 120 fig. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Kriseleit 2000, 45 figs. 54, 56–59: ten examples are preserved from the ›Mosaic of the Provinces‹: Britannia, Gallia, Macedonia, Raetia, Hispania (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) and Pannonia, Aegyptus, Germania, Mauretania and Africa (Aleppo, Archaeological Museum and Jerusalem, Israel Museum). Asia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Nicomedia wear a mural crown on the Hadrianic series (Strack 1933, 139–148 nos. 707–784 pls. 12–14), Asia, Hispania, Phoenicia, Syria, and Cappadocia wear a mural crown on the province series of the year 139 A.D. (Strack 1937, 39 n. 91 pl. 11); Landskron 2006a, 117, 119.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. e.g. the coin series struck under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: Strack 1937, 139–148 nos. 707–784; Strack 1937, 39–43, 254–257 pl. 9 nos. 771–799 (›province series‹: *aurum coronarium*).

<sup>67</sup> On the mural crown of the Tyche of Antiocheia see Meyer 2006b, 107–112.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Diez 1985; Liverani 1995, 233–243; Matthaei 2007, 183–189. Matthaei refers to the river-personification as the key-figure for the interpretation of the personification-series. Concerning the divergence of the two city-personifications and the single river-personification on the plaque he proposes one figure as a representative of the city, the other one as a mythic foundation hero or a city goddess. On the personification series of the so-called Parthian monument: Landskron 2006a; Landskron 2009; on the iconography of a city representative and a personification of a river: Meyer 2006b, 292–294.

<sup>69</sup> Landskron 2006a, 113–119, 123–124; Landskron 2009, 226–250; Landskron et al. 2010, 219–222.

<sup>70</sup> Landskron et al. 2010, 205–229.

(female) foundation hero in an oriental costume or vice versa? Again we do not have examples to support this interpretation<sup>71</sup>.

The personifications represent regions or *ethnē*, which are heterogeneous as are the *ethnē* on the Sebasteion reliefs, while the rivers refer to a river or body of water which was important and relevant to the *ethnē* or nation(s). In addition to this interpretation it is evident that the personifications express the idea of an *orbis Romanus* – represented by the so-called Roma-plaque which in my opinion forms the centre of the empire – and an *orbis terrarum* thereby incorporating the *ethnē* into the Roman world<sup>72</sup>. This idea was established in Augustan times and was revived and became popular under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

Finally, the reliefs featuring gods are juxtaposed to the sacrifice series and the imperial family and lead us back to Greek tradition, e.g. to the eastern frieze of the Parthenon and the Nike Temple<sup>73</sup>. The frieze can probably be regarded as a model for a series of goddesses from the Agora in Smyrna<sup>74</sup>.

On the ›Parthian monument‹, the four plaques featuring chariots mirror Greek tradition – goddesses in chariots. The cuirassed figure is meant to ascend to heaven led by Nike, and Virtus is Roman in meaning<sup>75</sup>. As Virtus is very uncommon in the context of consecrations and leads the horses on the ground, I agree with several scholars in interpreting the plaque as a *profectio* to a new era and reign for Antoninus Pius, led by Nike and accompanied by Virtus and Phosphorus<sup>76</sup>.

In summary, I suggest that the ›Parthian monument‹ is a striking example of Roman imagery and Greek tradition in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. in the eastern region of the empire. The structure and its images go back to the idea and initiative of local elites in Ephesos who intended to honour both the new emperor and the initiator of the Antonine dynasty. The city of Ephesos was one of the centres of the Second Sophistic in Asia Minor since the local elites were closely aligned with Hellenism, supported by Hadrian's philhellenism<sup>77</sup>. It is likely that the so-called Parthian monument has to be seen as an expression of Hellenistic culture in stone, representing imperial content both in Greek manner and with Roman imagery.

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<sup>71</sup> Liverani 1995, 233–243; Matthaei 2007, 187–189; Smith 2013, 120.

<sup>72</sup> The plaque represents the idea of the emperor and Dea Roma as the central figures of the empire, surrounded by representatives of the *orbis Romanus*: Landskron 2006a, 113–119. 123–124; Landskron 2009, 249–250; on the contrary see Matthaei 2007, 181–189.

<sup>73</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 125–136. 262–265; Jenkins 1994, 76–82; Palagia 2005, 184–189.

<sup>74</sup> Nauman – Kantar 1950, 91–95 pls. 29–34.

<sup>75</sup> Meyer 2006a; Oberleitner 2009, 116–118. 262–265. Helios/Sol appears on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: Kent 1973, 137–138 pl. 72 no. 301; pl. 78 no. 326; see also Meyer 2006a. The iconography of Virtus does not appear on consecration images: Ganschow 1997, 273–281; for images of Virtus leading the emperor's chariot: Ganschow 1997, 276–277 nos. 31–37 pl. 197; for Phosphoros see Karusu 1984, 917–919.

<sup>76</sup> Fittschen 2009, 33–38; Faust 2012a, 159–160. 164–167. On the contrary see also Nollé 2003, 476–477; Fuchs 2003; Fuchs 2009.

<sup>77</sup> Fontani 2007; see also the contributions in Cordovana – Galli 2007.

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1 ›Parthian Monument‹, FR3. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, Vienna Inv. I 864



2 ›Parthian Monument‹, FR3, detail. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, Vienna Inv. I 864



3 Antinoos ANTINOOS HPΩOΣ: AE drachm, Alexandria A.D. 135/136



4 Antoninus Pius, Rev.: Victoria, AE *sestertius*, Rome A.D. 141–143



5 ›Parthian Monument‹, FR18, left figure. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, Vienna Inv. I 860



6 ›Parthian Monument‹, FR14, left figure. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Antikensammlung, Vienna Inv. I 1654a–c



7 Personification of SPANIA, mosaic from Belkis/Seleukia

KAI TÖPFER

## ROMAN IMPERIAL ART BETWEEN OFFICIAL POLICY AND LOCAL PERCEPTION

### ABSTRACT

Most monuments of so-called Roman imperial art in Asia show clear differences from comparable monuments in Italy and Rome. This relates not only to stylistic aspects but also to iconography as well as to the narrative content. By analysing these monuments and their imagery in detail a shared political concept becomes apparent, which can be identified as a common provincial attitude towards Rome and Roman rule. Understanding these monuments as a visual means of communication within the framework of social and political discourses, which are further documented by literary and numismatic sources, provides an opportunity to set them in a wider context.

However, even though most of the relevant monuments from Asia seem to express such a provincial attitude towards Rome, this does not apply to all of them. There is especially one important exception, namely the cenotaph of Gaius Caesar at Limyra, which appears to follow completely Roman models, not showing any sign of local influence. In discussing the probable circumstances of its planning in more detail, it can be argued that this monument was planned entirely at Rome by Roman artists – in fact without any special regard to the local audience at Limyra. Instead it seems that the primary audience were indeed the Roman citizens all over the empire, who were informed about the existence and decoration of this building by the corresponding *senatus consultum* that was published in the form of bronze inscriptions in many cities.

### ÖZET

#### Resmi Politika ve Yerel Algı Arasındaki Roma İmparatorluk Sanatı

Asya'daki Roma İmparatorluk sanatı olarak adlandırılan anıtların büyük kısmı ile İtalya ve Roma'daki karşılaştılabilecekleri anıtlar arasında açık farklılıklar görülür. Bu durum, sadece stilistik yönlerle değil ikonografik ve aynı zamanda anlatılan içerik ile de ilgilidir. Bu anıtlar ve tasvirleri ayrıntılı olarak analiz edildiğinde, Roma ve Roma egemenliğine karşı genel bir eyaletsel tutum olarak tanımlanabilecek ortak bir politik konsept görülmektedir. Bu anıtların, yazılı ve numizmatik kaynaklarda ayrıca belgelenmiş sosyal ve politik söylemler kapsamında görsel bir iletişim aracı olarak anlaşılması bunları geniş bir konteks içerisinde koyabilmeyi sağlar.

Ancak Asya'dan gelen ilgili anıtların çoğu Roma'ya karşı böyle eyaletçi bir tutumu ifade ediyor gibi görünse de bu hepsi için geçerli değildir. Burada özellikle önemli bir istisna, tamamen Roma örneklerini takip ettiği görülen ve hiçbir yerel etki işaretinin görülmediği Limyra'daki Gaius Caesar'ın kenotafıdır. Yapının planlaması ile ilgili muhtemel koşullar üzerinde daha ayrıntılı tartışılacak olunursa, bu anıtın tamamen Roma'da Romalı bir sanatçı tarafından esasen Limyra'daki yerel izleyici kitleyi ile herhangi bir özel bağlantı kurulmadan planlandığı ileri sürülebilir. Bunun yerine, aslında izleyici kitlesinin imparatorluğun her yerinde bulunan ve yapının varlığından ve dekorasyonundan bronz yazıtlar şeklinde bir çok şehirde yayınlanan ilgili *senatus consultum* ile bilgilendirilen bütün Roma vatandaşlarının olduğu görülür.

As Cornelius Vermeule already stated in his famous work »Roman Imperial art in Greece and Asia Minor«, monuments of Roman imperial art in the eastern provinces clearly differ from those in the western part of the empire. Especially relating to the artistic aspects of such monuments he concluded that »Greek imagination und inventiveness channeled the forms of Roman expression into courses which were very Greek in a Hellenistic tradition«<sup>1</sup>. However, as shall be shown in this paper, the differences are even more substantial in regard to the perception of the Roman hegemony as well as the conception of the Roman government itself.

<sup>1</sup> Vermeule 1968, 10–11.



To gain a better understanding of the communicative function and narrative content of Roman imperial art in Asia it is reasonable to start our investigation with a closer look at the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias<sup>2</sup>, which is one of the earliest Asian examples of Roman imperial art and furthermore extraordinarily rich in images. According to the building inscriptions it was erected in two construction phases – a first one dating to the reign of Tiberius and a second one, in the aftermath of an earthquake, dating to the time of Claudius and Nero. The whole complex included a propylon and two long porticoes that flanked a long avenue and a temple at its end, which was also the focal point of ritual action. It was dedicated by two Aphrodisian families to Aphrodite Prometor, the Roman emperors and the Demos of Aphrodisias<sup>3</sup>.

The two upper storeys of both porticoes were richly decorated with relief panels that closed each intercolumnium on these floors, for which reason they were not usable except perhaps for storage purposes. Thus the function of the architecture was primarily to frame the reliefs. Concerning their topics they can be distinguished into three groups. The first one, placed on the second storey of the north portico, shows a gallery of personifications, mostly ethnical in character and without doubt inspired by similar galleries at Rome<sup>4</sup>. However, even if it seems as though the whole set of figures was imported from Rome, it has to be emphasized that at Aphrodisias their meaning seems to have been slightly different, as R. R. R. Smith has already pointed out: »Subtleties and ambiguities of imperial ideology at Rome tended to be replaced in the Greek East with a more straightforward view of things.«<sup>5</sup>.

The second group of reliefs, placed in the second storey of the south hall, presents an extensive gallery of mythological images. Considering the wide range of characters and themes a strict programmatic sequence does not seem to have existed. Nevertheless it is possible to identify several smaller thematic groups, such as episodes connected with the goddess Aphrodite. The primary purpose of the gallery as a whole seems to have been the depiction of a canon of the most important Greek myths intending to evoke a shared cultural background of Greek history and religion<sup>6</sup>. Against this background, one detail in particular attracts attention, namely the integration of both founding myths of Rome into this gallery. One relief shows the escape of Aeneas from Troy, the other one, highly damaged, the Lupa Romana with Romulus and Remus<sup>7</sup>. The inclusion of these two episodes seems to be a programmatic attempt to integrate Rome into the world of Greek poleis. According to such an – obviously provincial – perspective, Rome would not have been a foreign ruler anymore, it would have been a Greek city, or at least a city with a shared cultural background.

However, most revealing in relation to the basic question of this paper are the reliefs of the third group, placed at the third storey of both halls and showing members of the Julio-Claudian family, juxtaposed with depictions of the Olympic gods and relevant personifications like Nike and Roma. The main topic of most of the images is the military superiority of Rome over all barbarians outside the empire. Roman superiority is certainly one of the most common topics of Roman imperial art all over the empire. However, in case of the Sebasteion the motifs and iconography are rather unusual in comparison with contemporaneous monuments at Rome<sup>8</sup>. On most of the reliefs at Aphrodisias the emperors are shown nearly naked, wearing only a cloak. Obviously it is not by chance that due to this costume the emperors resemble those Greek heroes depicted

<sup>2</sup> Smith 2013 with extensive references.

<sup>3</sup> Smith 2013, 13–23.

<sup>4</sup> The figures, of which only a few have survived, are identified by inscriptions beneath the reliefs. Of the 16 preserved ones 13 mention an ethnos, while the remaining three quote the name of an island, namely of Crete, Cyprus and Sicily. See Smith 2013, 86–121.

<sup>5</sup> Smith 2013, 121. Regarding the relation between the gallery at Aphrodisias and the galleries at Rome, erected under Augustus see Smith 2013, 113–118.

<sup>6</sup> Smith 2013, 298–307, who gives a much more detailed analysis of the mythological reliefs.

<sup>7</sup> Smith 2013, 204–206 D4 (Aeneas' flight from Troy); 261–262 D42 (Lupa Romana).

<sup>8</sup> Smith 2013, 191–195. 312–314.

in the gallery of mythological images. In this way the achievements of Rome were ascribed only to the emperors, whose abilities were equated with those of the mythical heroes. Furthermore, several scenes show the emperors in very dynamic poses, clearly emphasizing their own physical strength. For instance, in one relief Claudius is depicted as standing over the subdued Britannia (fig. 1)<sup>9</sup>, pressing her down to the ground and striking out to kill her. Another relief shows Nero, supporting the fallen Armenia<sup>10</sup>. In both scenes victory over barbarians and rescue after defeat are clearly emphasized as personal achievements of the emperors – a concept that seems to be strongly influenced by the Hellenistic conception of rule<sup>11</sup>. In relation to this aspect the lack of any representative of the Roman army in all these images should also be mentioned, because it proves again that the role in which the emperors are represented here differs from the official imperial image of the emperor as Commander-in-Chief of the Roman army.

Another topic not unknown from Roman imperial art but stressed with particular emphasis in the imagery of the Sebasteion is the portrayal of the imperial family as the ruling dynasty. Not only are the emperors represented in the reliefs and especially the statues from the Propylon, but also some princes and a surprisingly high number of female family members. For instance, Agrippina Minor is shown in two scenes: one relief depicts her united with her husband Claudius by clasped hands (fig. 2). In order to express her role as the mother of the future emperor she holds grain-ears just as Ceres or Demeter<sup>12</sup>. The second relief shows her with her son Nero. To underscore her role as the mother of the currently ruling emperor she is depicted as Tyche crowning her son and thus promising a positive and fruitful future for the empire under his rule<sup>13</sup>. In both images the empress is characterized as an important dynastic link between Claudius and Nero.

The two galleries of statues placed in the Propylon are even more revealing. Within the first series, consisting of twelve statues all erected in Tiberian times<sup>14</sup>, five statues represented female family members<sup>15</sup>. Considering the fact that the two mythical figures of Aphrodite and Aeneas were also integrated, it eventually turns out that one half of the historical figures were actually female. In addition, this group contains also some rarely portrayed persons like Atia, the mother of Augustus. The second series of statues was erected a little bit later, namely in the time of Caligula. It consisted of only three statues, showing Germanicus, Agrippina Maior and M. Lepidus<sup>16</sup>. A statue base for Antonia Minor, erected separately by a local priest, was also found<sup>17</sup>.

Dynastic groups of the Julio-Claudian family are, of course, well known from all over the Roman Empire<sup>18</sup>. However, it seems that at Aphrodisias there was a special attempt to include as many family members as possible, with particular regard to the female ones. A closer look at evidence from other eastern cities also supports the impression that the imperial women and their role as dynastic linkages were indeed of particular interest in the East. For instance, most of the inscriptions naming the empresses of the Julio-Claudian family as Tyche, Demeter or Ceres, thus as goddesses of fertility and luck, were found in the East, especially in Asia Minor<sup>19</sup>. Even the provincial coinage of Asia Minor offers a wide range of coin images showing busts and figures of Roman empresses. Although nearly all depicted empresses and princesses are also known from the imperial coinage<sup>20</sup>, it is important to state that the frequency of images of female family mem-

<sup>9</sup> Smith 2013, 145–147 C10.

<sup>10</sup> Smith 2013, 140–143 C8.

<sup>11</sup> Smith 2013, 312–314.

<sup>12</sup> Smith 2013, 134–138 C5.

<sup>13</sup> Smith 2013, 74–78 A1.

<sup>14</sup> Smith 2013, 55–62 P1–12.

<sup>15</sup> In detail: Atia, Livia, Agrippina minor, Julia, daughter of Drusus minor and Aemilia Lepida.

<sup>16</sup> Smith 2013, 62–64 P14–16.

<sup>17</sup> Smith 2013, 61–62 P13.

<sup>18</sup> Rose 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Alexandridis 2002, 88–91. 290–291 tab. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Alexandridis 2002, 271–279.

bers in relation to the whole volume of coinage in the case of the provincial issues is considerably higher. Even though at least the portrait busts of empresses and princesses were also used to mark different coin denominations, this cannot explain the phenomenon as a whole<sup>21</sup>. Especially the frequent appearance of female members of the imperial family in reverse images, often created independently from the imperial coinage as in the case of the reverse images of Drusilla as Persephone or Poppaea as Nike<sup>22</sup>, leads to the assumption that there was indeed a special focus as well as a specific point of view on the empresses and princesses. In all probability this specific perspective has its roots in the dynastic representation of the Hellenistic kingdoms, where the female members of the ruling families also played an important role as dynastic linkages<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore it seems reasonable to assume that experience of the local population during the civil wars of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., with internal Roman conflicts taking place especially in the Eastern part of the empire, strengthened the desire for a stable rule. In this case the women of the imperial house could have been seen as additional guarantors for an undisturbed succession, leading to civic safety and lasting prosperity for the cities.

Returning to the reliefs of the Sebasteion and looking in more detail on their narrative content it is remarkable that there is almost a complete lack of any depiction of ritual or ceremony<sup>24</sup>, which are usually the most important subjects of Roman imperial art<sup>25</sup>. The preference for allegoric compositions, sometimes resembling common mythological images, seems also to be rooted in the aforementioned provincial perspective. An aspect that might at first sight be interpreted as influenced by Rome is the incorporation of the personification of the Roman Senate, which is depicted as the only Roman political institution along with the emperor in two reliefs (fig. 3)<sup>26</sup>. However, it is again the provincial coinage which leads to another conclusion. From local coins of at least 107 cities of Asia Minor an obverse image is known which nearly always shows a bust of a young man, in rare cases of an older man or sometimes even a female bust, in combination with an inscription naming the figure as the personification of the Roman Senate (fig. 4)<sup>27</sup>. Surprisingly this coin image was not created in Republican times, before the emperors and their images were adopted, but in early imperial times, as Giovanni Forni has shown convincingly. It remained in use up to the time of Gallienus. Because this coin image has nearly no parallels in Rome or in other provinces, the reasons for its invention must be searched in the province itself. It can perhaps be explained by the existence of a public political discourse about the Roman system of government, conducted by the provincial elite. As Polybios and later on Aelius Aristides have pointed out<sup>28</sup>, the Roman constitution was not easy to classify within Greek categories of political systems. From a Greek point of view the Roman constitution was a mixed or better composed one, combining elements of democracy, aristocracy and monarchy<sup>29</sup>. It seems hardly surprising that besides the emperors, it was especially the Senate as the counterpart of the Greek boule that was a matter of special interest for the Greek cities.

<sup>21</sup> Burnett – Amandry – Ripollès 1992, 44–47.

<sup>22</sup> Drusilla as Persephone: BMC Greek Coins Smyrna 272–276 = RPC I 2472; Poppaea as Nike: BMC Greek Coins Smyrna 291 = RPC I 2486.

<sup>23</sup> Concerning the Ptolemies cf. Brunelle 1976; Kyrieleis 1975; Albersmeier 2005, 252–257. Concerning the women of the Seleucids cf. Fleischer 1991, 127–128. For the Attalids see Queyrel 2003, 24–27. 263–276.

<sup>24</sup> There is one probable exception: Smith 2013, 131–133 C3 shows an empress (Livia [?]) besides an altar and a servant with a tablet.

<sup>25</sup> Hölscher 1980, 265–341.

<sup>26</sup> Smith 2013, 134–138 C5: Agrippina and Claudius, crowned by Roman Senate (see fig. 2); 156–158 C18: unidentified Emperor, crowned by the Roman Senate.

<sup>27</sup> Forni 1954, 49–168; Kienast 1985, 253–283; Martin 2013, I 84–93. 136–139.

<sup>28</sup> Pol. 6, 1–18; Aristeid. 26, 90. Concerning the relation between Aelius Aristides and Polybios cf. Carsana 1990, 74–75; Fontanella 2008, 211–212. See also Pernot 2008, 175–201, who discusses the relation between Aristides and Rome more generally.

<sup>29</sup> Ries 1975; Carsana 1990; Welwei 2002, 25–35.



In summary, with regard to the formal composition and the iconography as well as to the political meaning, the reliefs of the Sebasteion clearly differ from official Roman art in Rome and Italy. At Aphrodisias the main focus lies on the military superiority of Rome over all barbarians outside the empire, guaranteed by the emperors themselves because of their personal capacity. Other important issues are the representation of the imperial family as guarantor for an undisturbed and long-lasting rule as well as for the wealth of the Asian cities assured by protection and safety at the hands of the Roman Empire. In fact, an analysis of most of the known monuments of Roman imperial art from Asia would lead to a very similar, if not to exactly to the same result<sup>30</sup>. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that a specific provincial perspective indeed existed and was expressed by images which reacted primarily to local needs, as shall be illustrated by another example.

In the area around the modern village of Kula in Lydia a very interesting relief was found (fig. 5)<sup>31</sup>. According to an inscription it was set up by an unknown ancient city in context of the official dedication of a public space, which is unfortunately not further specified, to the emperor Caligula. Above the inscription a rectangular relief of rather simple quality is carved, showing the emperor as rider in a military dress with a spear in hand. Directly in front of him stands a clothed female figure in a gesture of sorrow, identified by an inscription as the personification of Germania. Again, the emperor is fighting alone, without any entourage, and he is represented in the manner of a hero, in this case in the scheme of local rider heroes. Furthermore the decision to depict a female personification as the only opponent results in an image showing the emperor riding and fighting against an unarmed female figure, which is, at least in comparison to official Roman art in the West, rather unusual. However, in focusing on the absolute military supremacy and the personal capacity of the emperor, using a well-known scheme from mythological contexts to elevate the emperor and his achievements, the depiction corresponds very well to the provincial perspective mentioned above.

Even some larger and very prominent monuments seem to be easier to understand when analysed from such a provincial point of view. This applies even to the so-called Parthian Monument, erected some years before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. at Ephesos, the capital of the province Asia<sup>32</sup>. From its incredibly rich decoration several relief slabs and fragments are preserved, which can be divided, relating to their topic, into five groups. The first one presents an extensive battle scene, showing Romans fighting against barbarians. From a Roman point of view two features are rather surprising: Firstly, the barbarians are not clearly characterized as one specific enemy. Instead it seems that barbarians from all around the empire were depicted. Secondly, among the Romans there are several outstanding figures and personifications fighting closely beside the soldiers. The interpretation of these features and the historical background of this scene have been intensively discussed in recent years<sup>33</sup>. At present it seems most plausible to assume that this frieze was not supposed to depict a specific historical battle, but rather give a more general image of the military supremacy of Rome over all barbarians outside the empire. This interpretation as well as the insertion of several heroic figures among the Romans corresponds very well to the above mentioned provincial concepts.

<sup>30</sup> Of course it is not possible to discuss all respective monuments here. Within the project »Handbuch der römischen Staatsdenkmäler«, which is supervised by Tonio Hölscher, a more detailed study will be published, taking account of more than 100 relevant monuments.

<sup>31</sup> Trieste, Mus. Civici di Storia ed Arte inv. 2228. H 0.6 m. W 0.63 m. Cf. IGR IV 1379 = TAM V 1, 235; Mommsen 1888, 18–21; Schumacher 1935, 12 no. 51; Boschung 1989, 92. 120–121 no. 51; Krierer 2004, 82. 192 no. 149.

<sup>32</sup> There are many publications about this monument. Most of them are mentioned by Oberleitner 2009. Later contributions are: Fuchs 2009, 347–378; Fittschen 2009, 157–179; Töpfer 2012, 54–61; Faust 2012a, 143–176; Faust 2012b, 319–352. Please consult also the articles by A. Landskron and S. Faust in this volume.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Eichler 1940, 488–494; Stähler 1987, 110–111; Liverani 1996/1997, 168–169; Landskron 2001, 121–129; Oberleitner 2009, 286–293; Winkler-Horaček 2009, 198–215; Faust 2012a, 154–159.

This is also true for the well-known so-called Adoption scene from this monument, which shows the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius in the act of sacrificing and accompanied by the young princes Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus<sup>34</sup>. In the background just behind Hadrian an additional fifth male figure is standing of which only its youthful head is visible. Different proposals have been made for its identification<sup>35</sup>. The long hair covering most of the ear suggests an interpretation as an allegorical figure. Regarding the above mentioned provincial coinage showing a youthful head, identified by the inscription as the personification of the Roman Senate, a corresponding identification of this figure seems to be most reasonable. Its inclusion suggests again that in Asia the Senate was perceived as a constitutive and integral part of the Roman system of government. However, the key to a proper understanding of the whole scene lies in the large sceptre in the background between the emperors. Because of its position and the fact that it is not directly held by one of these figures an emblematic meaning of the sceptre has to be assumed. Most scholars have interpreted it as the symbol of ruling power and the whole scene as a visualisation of the events of the year 141 A.D., when Hadrian adopted Antoninus Pius, who simultaneously had to adopt Marcus Aurelius und Lucius Verus. Until today, only the question, whether a specific historical event or a certain ceremony is depicted – and if so, what kind of event or ceremony – has been discussed. Without doubt the main topic of this joint presentation of three generations of emperors was to express the hope for an undisturbed succession to the throne. However, sceptres were not originally part of the costume of the emperors; instead, they were adopted from the iconography of Zeus/Jupiter<sup>36</sup>. Especially in Greek art sceptres such as the one depicted in this scene are usually connected with gods<sup>37</sup>, which leads to an additional meaning of this image, namely the equation of the dominance of Rome on earth, represented by the emperors and the Senate, with the rule of the gods in heaven.

The remaining fragments which can be attributed to the same frieze belong to a large offering scene, which at first sight appears very Roman. However, a closer look reveals several conspicuous features. For instance, all costumes of the human participants are of Greek character<sup>38</sup>, which means that the ceremony represented should not be located at Rome, but in the province and very probably in Ephesos itself. In all likelihood, not a specific act is depicted but a representation of an ideal offering act in the capital of the province.

This assumption also offers a new interpretation for the third group of reliefs, which shows representatives of different cities. Even though the original volume of this gallery is unknown, it seems rather surprising that all preserved figures refer to cities located in the east, with the sole exception of Rome. If this gallery was supposed to give an impression of the sheer size of the empire, it would be a big coincidence if only fragments of eastern cities had been preserved. Therefore it should be considered that in fact only eastern cities were depicted besides Rome. In the context of the offering scene, these figures could have represented an ideal audience or ideal participants of a joint offering act of all Hellenic cities for the well-being of Rome and the

<sup>34</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 215–222 with references.

<sup>35</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 216.

<sup>36</sup> Alföldi 1935, 110–117.

<sup>37</sup> Especially the long sceptre was originally the attribute of Zeus in Greek art, cf. Alföldi 1935, 114. Later on, it was used also for other gods. For instance, a nearly identical sceptre is held by an enthroned god, presumably Asklepios, on a Hellenistic votive relief, now in Munich, inv. 206 (see Wünsche 2005, 118–119). Many depictions of Zeus with similar sceptres are mentioned in Tiverios 1997, 310–374. Fuchs 2006, 89–100 pointed out that even the Roman personification of *providentia* is sometimes depicted with such a sceptre. Therefore she interpreted the whole scene as a visualization of this Roman concept. However it seems rather doubtful that the sceptre alone could have been understood as specific reference to *providentia*, because the figure was not very popular even in Roman imagery. Cf. also Scott 1982, 455; Polito 1994, 562–567.

<sup>38</sup> In Oberleitner 2009, 215–218 all relevant garments are identified as Roman costumes, whereas in earlier publications such as Oberleitner 1978, 77–78 they are correctly named as Greek costumes.

emperors<sup>39</sup>. Rome's inclusion into this gallery would mean nothing other than the integration of Rome into the *koinon* of Greek cities, which reminds us of the above mentioned concept behind the gallery of Greek myths at Aphrodisias.

In sum it seems reasonable to assume that even the concept behind the imagery of the so-called Parthian monument, which was erected in the capital of the province, was strongly influenced by a provincial perspective on Rome. In fact, this applies to nearly all of the known political images from Roman Asia Minor. Nevertheless, there are very few exceptions of which especially one has to be discussed in more detail, namely the cenotaph of Gaius Caesar at Limyra<sup>40</sup>. Essentially, the architectural design corresponds with the common prototype for monumental tombs as it consists of a large podium with a temple-like structure above, which is in this case rectangular in shape and decorated with pilasters. The extensive iconographic programme, comprised of large friezes covering each side of the podium, is more important in the present context. Although the reliefs are badly preserved, the general topics can be identified without doubt<sup>41</sup>. As Jürgen Borchhardt has demonstrated, the southern frieze showed a procession of horse-riders, most probably the *transvectio equitum* of Gaius Caesar (fig. 6), which took place in Rome on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 6 B.C. The western frieze depicted Roman and Parthian soldiers, who, however, do not fight each other, which is why the subject could be the peace agreement of the year 2 A.D. On the north side a second procession was depicted, in this case with at least one carriage. Possible topics are the *processus consularis*, the triumph or the *pompa funebris* of Gaius Caesar himself. Finally, the eastern frieze displayed a large offering scene, depicted in a very common Roman composition. Overall, these topics are very characteristic of Roman imperial art as it is known from Rome and Italy, not however from Asia. Even the iconography looks entirely Roman. Furthermore, not only the narrative images, but also the architectural decoration clearly follows Italian models, which is substantiated by a pilaster from the upper structure that is decorated with tendrils arranged like a candelabrum<sup>42</sup>. Such architectural decoration is well-known from Italy but has no parallels in Asia<sup>43</sup>. However, although all decorative parts of the cenotaph appear to be purely Roman, stylistic observations indicate that the reliefs were manufactured by craftsmen from Asia Minor<sup>44</sup>. Consequently, the question arises why this monument, which was erected in a provincial city by local craftsmen, does not show any influence of the provincial perspective on Rome discussed above?

To answer this question it is helpful to take a closer look at the proceedings after the death of another important member of the Julio-Claudian family and possible heir to the throne: in the year 19 A.D. Germanicus, the nephew and adoptive son of Tiberius, died in Antioch on the Orontes. Afterwards, the Roman Senate decided to erect several commemorative monuments not only at Rome but all over the empire, as recorded by Tacitus<sup>45</sup>. Additionally several fragments of copies of this decree have been found, of which the findings from Siarra in Spain are the most important<sup>46</sup>. Of particular interest are the detailed provisions in the decree, defining not only the building types of the monuments but also the respective inscriptions and, to some extent, their decoration. For instance, the arch planned to be erected at Mainz was supposed to be crowned by a statue of Germanicus regaining the military standards lost by Varus some years before. Considering the great

<sup>39</sup> Joint offering acts of two or more cities within the framework of a *koinon* or *homonoia*-agreements are well attested especially in Asia by local coinage as well as by corresponding decrees. Sheppard 1984–1986, 229–252; Kienast 1995, 267–282; Burrell 2004, 343–371. The concord between the Asian cities is also the main issue of Aelius Aristeides' speech to concord (XXIII). In chap. 23 he mentioned even the importance of Ephesos.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Ganzert 1984; Borchhardt 1993, 85–97; Borchhardt 2002; Spalthoff 2010, 159–160 no. 6; Plattner 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Borchhardt 2002.

<sup>42</sup> Plattner 2012, 249–264.

<sup>43</sup> Plattner 2012, 249–252.

<sup>44</sup> Borchhardt 2002, 69–73.

<sup>45</sup> Tac. ann. 2, 83.

<sup>46</sup> CIL A Se 927. Selected bibliography: Gónzález – Fernández 1981, 1–36; Gónzález 1984, 55–100; Gónzález – Arce 1988; Eck et al. 1996; Sánchez-Ostiz 1999; Gónzález 2002.

prominence of Gaius Caesar – especially in regard to the plans of succession under Augustus – it is reasonable to assume that the *senatus consultum* after his death was even more comprehensive and much more detailed. However, this would mean that the possibilities of the city of Limyra to exert influence in the course of planning the cenotaph would have been very limited. Bearing in mind that the imagery ignores any local iconographical tradition, it seems reasonable to assume that at least the decoration was planned without any special regard to the cenotaph's later location and the people who would, in effect, be the actual viewers.

This at first glance surprising result shifts the focus from the direct perception of the monument towards the act of decreeing and especially towards the nationwide publication of the *senatus consultum* which followed<sup>47</sup>. Thus, most probably, the primary audience of the cenotaph were not the citizens of Limyra, but Roman citizens all over the Roman Empire who were to be informed about the construction planning and the proposed decoration of this monument by the publication of the *senatus consultum* in the most important cities<sup>48</sup>. In contrast, at Limyra the cenotaph and especially its decoration, differing not only in formal aspects from other provincial monuments but also in regard to its narrative content and its conceptual meaning, must have been perceived as something like a foreign body. Against this background it is hardly surprising that no detail of the cenotaph's decoration was ever adopted in local imagery – not even the arrangement of the tendrils on the pilaster.

Summing up, the so-called Roman imperial art in the Roman provinces of western Turkey shows clear differences in comparison with official art in Italy and other provinces, which cannot be explained simply by different artistic traditions. The image of the emperor and the perspective on Roman rule expressed through such depictions diverge substantially. In Asia Minor the emperor was not seen as *primus inter pares* and not as the incarnation of typical Roman virtues like *pietas*, *clementia* or *iustitia*. The emperor was perceived as a charismatic ruler, fighting personally against the barbarians and protecting the entire empire against all enemies. Only under his protection could the cities grow and prosper, which is why the existence of a constant and durable regime at Rome without any internal struggles was of particular importance to the inhabitants of the provinces. In this context the imperial family as the ruling dynasty was also a matter of special interest. Special attention was paid to the Roman Senate, probably because of its comparability with the Greek boule. In contrast, rituals and civic acts, which dominate official images at Rome, seem to have had no specific metaphorical or thematic meaning for the provincial inhabitants. Accordingly, they created their own picture of a ruling polis called Rome and in like manner a specific image of the emperor, which was propagated in literature, epigraphy, numismatic imagery and official art. Hence the question arises, whether the concept of Roman imperial art needs a more detailed differentiation, because at least in Asia most monuments could be described better as an eastern provincial art dialogue about the Roman Empire.

<sup>47</sup> At the end of the SC (fr II b 21–27) it is stipulated »that the consuls should order the magistrates and representatives of the municipia and colonies to send a transcript to the municipia and colonies of Italy and to the colonies in the provinces, and that those who are in charge in the provinces will be acting rightly and properly if they take care that the present decree of the Senate is posted in as frequented a place possible«.

<sup>48</sup> There are several other monuments for which similar circumstances can be assumed, such as for the cenotaph of Drusus the Elder at Mainz (Panter 2007) or the cenotaph of Trajan at Selinus (Karamut 2005, 1–6; Türkmen – Demir 2006, 153–156; Winterstein 2009, 27–41). Especially for the latter one recent investigation indicates that its architectural decoration was strongly influenced by models from Italy and Rome.

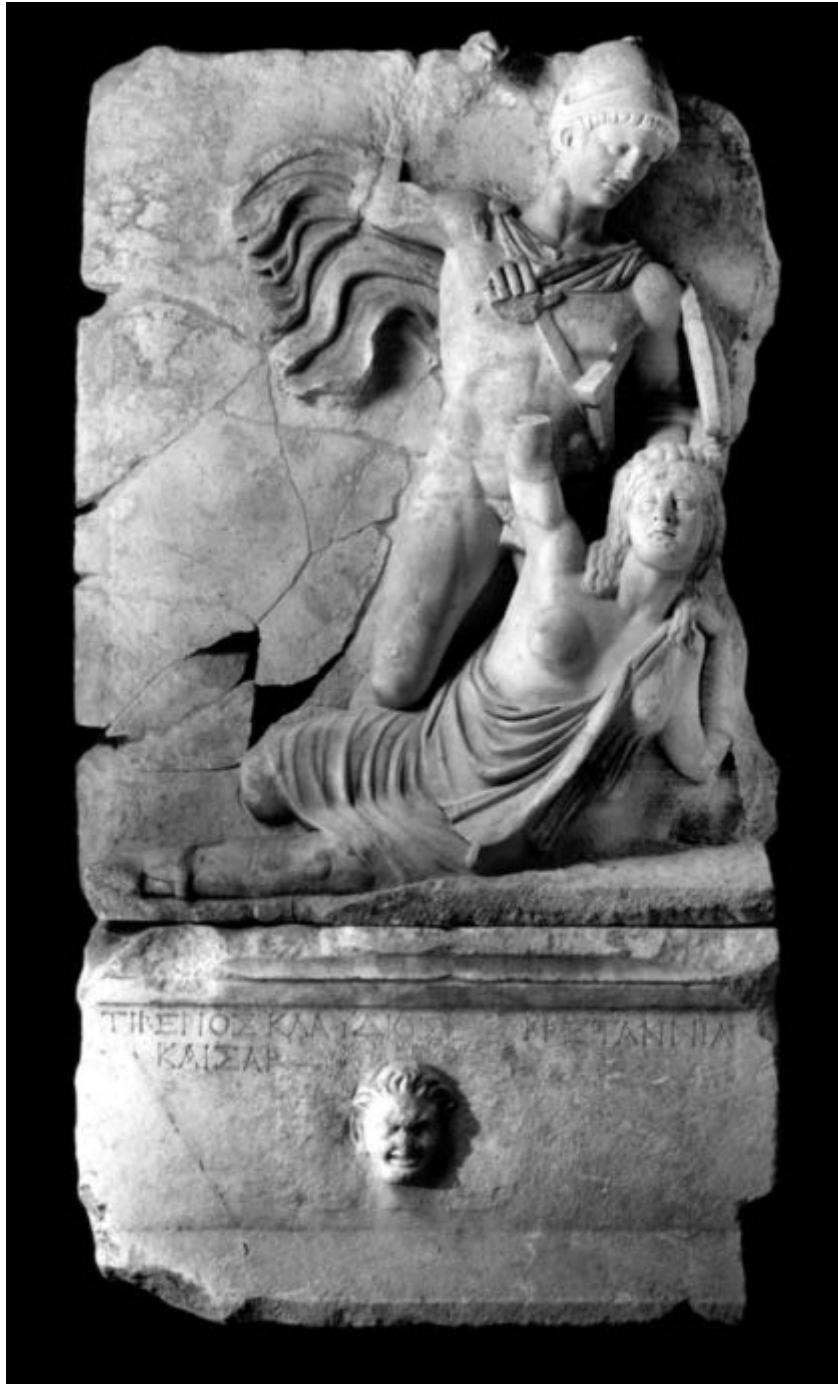
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1 Sebasteion, Aphrodisias, Relief C10: Claudius defeats Britannia



- 2 Sebasteion, Aphrodisias, Relief C5: Claudius, united with Agrippina by clasped hands and crowned by the Roman Senate



- 3 Sebasteion, Aphrodisias, Relief C18: Unidentified Emperor, crowned by the Roman Senate



- 4 Bronze Coin, minted by the city of Laodiceia (139–144 A.D.). On obverse a bust of the youthful Senate is shown. Vienna, KHM inv. 19891



- 5 Relief found nearby modern Kula (Lydia), showing Caligula and Germania. Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte di Trieste inv. 2228



6 Limyra, Cenotaph of C. Caesar, Relief-slab from the *transvectio equitum*-frieze. Antalya Mus. inv. 1.15.92



STAVROS VLIZOS

## THE SEATED ZEUS IN IMPERIAL ASIA MINOR

### FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE\*

#### ABSTRACT

Imitating or modifying cult statues in Roman times was controlled by religious needs, not by the intention to copy and preserve the true stylistic forms of particular art works.

The imperial art production of the seated Zeus in the east of the Roman Empire was influenced by the Pheidias Zeus and the cult statue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus. However, through these two works the Roman sculptors adopted principally an idea, an iconographic theme, which could be used for the representation of the god in various circumstances. The significance of the Pheidias iconography of Zeus, in particular, was generated by the potency and the universality of this image. This is evident in the Roman representations with a cultic as well as a decorative function.

Both »models« affected the iconographic, typological and philosophical characteristics of the reproductions in Asia Minor during the imperial period. Needless to say, there are particularities depending on the regional focus of the presentation and the narrative repertoire, identity and ideological issues, as well as the setting of the proposed Zeus image.

#### ÖZET

#### İmparatorluk Dönemi Küçük Asya’ındaki Oturan Zeus: İşlevi ve Önemi

Roma Dönemi’nde kült heykellerinin imitasyonu ve uyarlanması belirli sanat eserlerinin gerçek stilistik formlarını kopyalamak ve korumak amacıyla değil dini ihtiyaçlara göre şekillendirilmiştir.

Oturan Zeus tasvirlerinin Roma İmparatorluğu’nun doğusundaki imparatorluk sanatı üretimleri Phidias’ın Zeus’un dan ve Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus kült heykelinden etkilenmiştir. Bu iki çalışma aracılığıyla Roma heykeltraşları öncelikle bir fikri, tanrının farklı durumlarda gösterilebileceği bir ikonografik konuyu uyarlamışlardır. Phidias’ın Zeus ikonografisinin önemi, özellikle tasvirin etki gücü ve evrenselliğinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu, hem kült işlevli hem de dekoratif işlevli Roma tasvirlerinde belirgindir.

Her iki model de İmparatorluk Dönemi’nde Küçük Asya’da üretilen reproduksiyonların ikonografik, tipolojik ve felsefi özelliklerini etkilemiştir. Burada sunum ve anlatım repertuarının ağırlığına, ayniyetlik ve ideolojik konulara ve ayrıca Zeus tasvirinin sunulacağı yere bağlı olarak değişkenlik gösteren özelliklerin olduğunu söylemek gereksizdir.

With regard to the appropriate representation of ancient divinities in Roman times, the authors of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. already considered an ideal statue as the imitation of an idea. In early imperial times, Propertius (4, 2) opines that the statue as such is ambiguous and open to diverse uses and interpretations<sup>1</sup>. This discussion becomes much more specific in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D., when the intensive interest of authors in the cultural heritage of the past generated a wealth of texts with a classicistic, retrograde mythical-historical frame of reference<sup>2</sup>. In his »Hymn to Heracles«, Ailius Aristeides claims that the ancient images of gods were not simply »Old History« for the public of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. but part of a continuing preoccupation with the divine which

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<sup>1</sup> Ando 2005, 45; Boschung 2007, 85–86; Bumke 2008, 131–132; Rüpke 2009, 132–134.

<sup>2</sup> Ewald 1999, 89; Platt 2011, 215.

was always present and alive<sup>3</sup>. For such authors as Dion Chrysostomos, Maximus of Tyre, and Philostratos, the famous cult statues of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. were symbols of Greek art, as well as of a vital religious tradition worthy of preservation<sup>4</sup>. The focal point in the first book of the »Antiquitates Romanae« by Dionysios of Halicarnasseus (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 1, 69, 3) was not, e.g., the Trojan Palladium as an object of artistic accomplishment but the religious thought it embodied in regard to sacral characteristics and ritual practice<sup>5</sup>.

## MODEL?

The general validity of the representation of the enthroned Olympian Zeus, as well as the philosophical and theological interpretations that the work allowed, are highlighted by the fact that it was from the beginning a benchmark, an exemplum of perfection, and an *opus nobile*<sup>6</sup>. In order to investigate the extent and direction of typological change within the Roman material, in comparison to a Pheidian model, the reconstruction drawing by Friedrich Adler (fig. 1), which is based on Hadrianic coin types, is extensively taken into account<sup>7</sup>. So, what are the basic aspects of the Pheidian iconography of Zeus Olympios which have come down to us through literary sources and coins<sup>8</sup>? They are: the strictly hierarchical principles of composition, the covered lower body, the nude upper body, and the ends of the himation folds falling low across the shoulder. In addition, there are the attributes of the Nike in the outstretched right hand and the sceptre in the left<sup>9</sup>. The block-like effect of the Pheidian cult statue, which enhances its monumentality, is further emphasized by the throne. This figure of the Pheidian Zeus may have influenced the production of related representations of the god throughout the empire, well into the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>10</sup>.

As is apparent in the art production of post-Pheidian and Hellenistic times, this tradition was continued more intensively and on a broader basis, enriched by variations and new schemata, particularly during the last two centuries B.C.<sup>11</sup>.

One of the most important Roman works that was most likely influenced by the Olympian Zeus was the Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus<sup>12</sup>. However, the reproductions and resonances of the Republican Roman cult statue clearly show that its morphology deviated considerably from the Pheidian work<sup>13</sup>. As in the late Classical and Hellenistic versions, the main difference is in the figure's pose and the arrangement of the robe. The pose of the Capitoline Zeus/Jupiter is obviously more complicated<sup>14</sup>, with a less block-like appearance and an expansion towards the

<sup>3</sup> Platt 2011, 216.

<sup>4</sup> Platt 2011, 224–235.

<sup>5</sup> Anguissola 2007, 100.

<sup>6</sup> Bäbler 2000, 233.

<sup>7</sup> Adler – Curtius 1892, pl. 11; Vlzos 1999, 5, 17–18; Davison 2009, 324–329.

<sup>8</sup> Richter 1966, 168; Vlzos 1999, 3–5; Bumke 2008, 130; Lapatin 2011, 79.

<sup>9</sup> On the attributes Bäbler 2000, 236.

<sup>10</sup> Bäbler 2000, 237; Stevenson 2011, 155–167. That this tradition of the type of the seated/enthroned Zeus was nothing new within the artistic production of Greek art becomes obvious when investigating the material: especially in black- and red-figure pottery the scheme of the seated Zeus was often used in the context of depictions of »the birth of Athena«, »the assembly of the gods«, and »libation scenes«.

<sup>11</sup> Waywell 2002 on Vlzos 1999: »Five schemata are discussed, Lyon, Rome, Malibu, Pergamon, and Konya. The only category felt to derive in any close way from the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias is the Lyon schema, which is believed to reflect a Greek cult-statue of the early fourth century. The other four schemata are held to originate later in the fourth century to the first century BC. The similarity of the Malibu schema to the Zeus Sosipolis from Priene and the enthroned Zeus on the Lagina frieze is evident. The more mobile Pergamon and Konya schemata show cross-fertilization, and both are taken back to basic forms in the second and first centuries.« Lapatin 2011, 88.

<sup>12</sup> Davison 2009, 354–355. On the cult statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, the Capitoline Triad and the temple at the Capitol in Rome see the commentary of Chalcidius on Plato's Timaios (337. 440) and Suet. Cal. 52. Regarding the popularity of Olympian Zeus in Roman times see Cic. orat. 2, 8–9; Prokl., comm. on Tim. 81c–d.

<sup>13</sup> Regarding the type of Jupiter Capitolinus and its relation to the Capitoline Triad see Constantini 1997.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Maderna 1988, 27–29, 164–193 no. JT 1–45; Davison 2009, 356. On the importance of Zeus in the framework of the cultural policy of the Hellenistic rulers, especially of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, see Kreutz 2007, 262.

figure's left side. Compared to the Pheidian Zeus, it displays a dynamic mobility, which is emphasized by the naked torso and the way in which only a short end of the bunched-up himation falls across the shoulder. It has meanwhile been demonstrated that these characteristics – and, consequently, the Domitianic Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome as well – have their origin in the Malibu Zeus schema<sup>15</sup>. Since this schema corresponds largely to the statue of Zeus Sosipolis from Priene and the enthroned Zeus of the Lagina frieze, its beginnings can be traced back confidently to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., respectively, in Asia Minor<sup>16</sup>.

The Capitoline Triad in particular contributed considerably to the popularity of this Jupiter image, because it passed from the Republic to the expanding Roman Empire<sup>17</sup>. The new colonies were given *capitolia* with the appropriate group of cult figures as a symbol of Roman rule, affirming that they were part of the Roman State, the new Imperium<sup>18</sup>.

Obviously, the study of material culture reveals a variety in the sculptural representation of the seated god. This is confirmed by the testimony of the literary sources, analysis of which follows.

## LITERARY EVIDENCE

In imperial times, the significance attributed to the Greek statues of gods was based not so much on the talent of the sculptor as on the principle of the relevant knowledge<sup>19</sup>. The Roman creations not only reflected the cultural self-image of the ›Second Sophistic‹, but also agreed with a characteristic attitude in ancient educational theory, namely that personal talent manifests itself not so much in a claim to originality as in the capacity for *mimesis* of earlier great artists<sup>20</sup>. The creative *mimesis* of authors, especially those of Aristotelian and post-Aristotelian rhetoric, became an important basic principle of Roman art production and determined it to a large degree<sup>21</sup>.

Reviewing the wealth of recent publications dealing with the function and status of Greek statues of gods and, in particular, with their reception during the imperial period, it becomes apparent that the seated Zeus and, specifically, his relation to the Pheidian Zeus in Olympia, is still a challenge<sup>22</sup>.

The examination of the status of this Zeus sculpture in imperial times, within the framework of religious, artistic, and political-historical contextualization, and through case studies, has by no means been exhausted. Nonetheless, it has been recognized by now that although the representations of Zeus, especially in the Roman East, certainly stand within the tradition of Greek sculptural language, they cannot to be traced back to a specific original<sup>23</sup>.

The classicistic art theory of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries B.C., as recorded in Cicero (Brut. 70), Quintilian (hist. 12, 10, 7–9) and Pliny (nat. 43, 51), concentrates on the canonization of obligatory exempla within the individual categories<sup>24</sup>. Already in that period, art was evaluated

<sup>15</sup> Vlizos 1999, 56–82, esp. 64–74. Similarly, in the northern provinces of Gaul and Germany the intermediary position was held by Northern Italy: Noelke 1981, 382 n. 665.

<sup>16</sup> See also Waywell 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Noelke 1981, 382.

<sup>18</sup> Kreutz 2007, 247; Fishwick 2014. Together with the related cult image, these *capitolia* were a visible and evident sign of any claim to power by Rome, subordinated to I.O.M. who, according to the Roman conception of their highest god, led them to rule the world.

<sup>19</sup> Niemeyer 1996, 32–40; Squire 2011, 325–349; Platt 2011, 226.

<sup>20</sup> Plot. 5, 8, 1, 32–40. Ewald 1999, 123; Borg 2004. Regarding the termini *mimesis* and *imitatio* see Halliwell 2002, 317.

<sup>21</sup> As in drama, the process of free copying in art focused on the general rather than the specific: Plat. rep. 500c; Aristot. poet. 9, 1451b; Quint. inst. 10, 2; Hor. ars 268; Lucr. 3, 5; Ps.-Longinos *de sublimitate* 13. See Halliwell 2002, 287–312 and de Jong 2005, 616–621.

<sup>22</sup> See esp. Bremmer – Erskine 2010.

<sup>23</sup> Schwabl et al. 1978; Vlizos 1999, 114–118.

<sup>24</sup> Bäbler 2000, 234; Boschung 2007, 63–64.

according to moral-philosophical criteria and the Pheidian Zeus in Olympia was considered the most sacred manifestation of this principle in the Graeco-Roman world<sup>25</sup>.

During mid-imperial times, the Pheidian Zeus was perceived not just as a statue but as the par excellence figural embodiment of Greek religious tradition<sup>26</sup>. Pausanias (5, 11, 1) praised this work enthusiastically, and for the satirist Lucian (*de morte Peregr.* 6) the Pheidias statue was the measure of all cult statues<sup>27</sup>. The philosophical thought of Dion Chrysostomos, which was influenced by the Stoics, further emphasized the power of the image, by demonstrating how it was influenced by the Homeric texts, thus confirming the importance of Greek religious tradition within the framework of the Roman Empire<sup>28</sup>. In this regard, the representation is liberated from its dependence on a recognizable model. Text and image correspond reciprocally and allow the reader and observer to formulate his own vision of the divine<sup>29</sup>.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., it was Plotinus (*Ennead.* 5, 8, 1, 38–40) who claimed that Pheidias created Zeus by depicting him as the god would show himself, if he wanted to appear before our eyes. The sculpture is thus perceived here in the intelligible world, through the intellect and not through the senses<sup>30</sup>. Even in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., Proclus (*in Tim.* 1, 265, 18–24) reiterated that the Pheidian model depicted Zeus as described in Homer<sup>31</sup>.

This survey of the literary sources shows that Pheidias, adopting Homer's verse (2, 8, 438–443), had created in his figure of the enthroned Father of the Gods a type that remained valid beyond the end of antiquity; the Zeus in Olympia thus represents the highpoint of a development<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, it should be emphasized that the discourse was within the framework of literary sources since Homer, foremost a discourse amongst intellectuals, especially during the imperial period. It is clear that the following corpus has to be examined in light of this fact.

## THE MATERIAL

The published material from Roman Asia Minor, comprising only six sculptural works in marble from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. – mainly in statuette format –, offers only an elementary basis for an investigation:

- 1) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. 1132. From Tralleis. 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>33</sup>.
- 2) Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. 62. From Kyme or the wider area of Smyrna. 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>34</sup>.
- 3) Selçuk, Ephesos Archaeological Museum inv. 1/24/83. From the canal at Curetes Street, near Hadrian's Gate in Ephesos. 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>35</sup>.
- 4) Side, Archaeological Museum inv. 469. From the region of Çavuş/Manavgat. 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Vlivos 1999, 5–9; Pekáry 2007; Bremmer – Erskine 2010, esp. chap. 9, 24; McWilliam 2011, chap. 5, 8, 9; Platt 2011, 224–235.

<sup>26</sup> Platt 2011, 239.

<sup>27</sup> See also Boschung 2007, 86 on Lucian (*Gall.* 24) regarding the Pheidian Zeus and how the Christians underscored the hypocrisy of paganism.

<sup>28</sup> Muller-Dufue 2002, 312–315; Auffarth 2006, 7; O'Sullivan 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Platt 2011, 324.

<sup>30</sup> Halliwell 2002, 313–323.

<sup>31</sup> Halliwell 2002, 323–334.

<sup>32</sup> Bol 2004, 140.

<sup>33</sup> Vlivos 1999, 130 M.2 pl. 14, 2, with bibliography.

<sup>34</sup> Vlivos 1999, 131 M.3 pl. 15, 1, with bibliography.

<sup>35</sup> Vlivos 1999, 134 M.11 pl. 19, 1, with bibliography.

<sup>36</sup> Vlivos 1999, 133 M.9 pl. 18, 1, with bibliography. A purely decorative function may be assigned to this statuette, found in a building along with statuettes of Ares and Aphrodite.

5) Konya, Yalvaç Museum inv. 40. From Antiochia ad Pisidiam. 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>37</sup>.

6) Afyon, Archaeological Museum. From the region of Çavdarlı. Late 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>38</sup>.

The seated figures can be identified as Zeus due to the presence, or at least traces, of an eagle or a thunderbolt or a phiale. The footstool is also one of the identifying attributes. In Roman Asia Minor, as opposed to the rest of the empire, no relevant examples have survived that would allow a contextual interpretation. Unfortunately, for most of the works assigned here, the original context in which they were displayed cannot be established. However, given the more dynamic statuary scheme, we may presume that the function of these monuments was flexible. The statues may have served as cult images or as votive offerings in a private or public space.

Due to the analogies in the position of arms and legs, as well as the seated motif and the draping of the garment, it is obvious that these representations follow different basic concepts and refer only indirectly to the Pheidian Zeus. What is decisive here is the general impression of movement in the statuary construction, which is emphasized by the contraction of the torso, the slightly turned head, and the shortness of the bunched-up folds of the mantle lying on the left shoulder of the nude upper body. The rather slim body structure, the pose and the tentative shift in the axis give the figure a feeling of looseness, which was certainly alien to the Zeus statue in Olympia<sup>39</sup>. Specifically, the statues nos. 1–4 may be ascribed to a common basic concept, which can be traced back to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and must be connected to the original representations of the so-called Zeus Sosipolis and the Zeus from the east side of the Hekateion frieze in Lagina<sup>40</sup>. This scheme survived until Severan times but was already popular in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Due to this fact and the concordance with the relevant early imperial sources, the possibility that this basic concept provided the model for the Domitianic Jupiter Capitolinus and that through this current political and ideological connotations were transmitted, cannot be ruled out<sup>41</sup>.

On the basis of the pose and the drapery, the works from Konya (no. 5) and Afyon (no. 6) can be traced to a different principle. The characteristic motif of the edge of the himation falling between the legs and the basic concept of a rather restrained figure can be dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>42</sup>. Judging by the available evidence, it may be presumed that the late Republican Jupiter Capitolinus (fig. 2) followed the basic scheme of the late Hellenistic period<sup>43</sup>. Indicative of how the late Hellenistic statue was received is the fact that the particular motif of the himation folds falling between the legs is encountered in Pompeian wall-paintings and in the iconography of the early emperors<sup>44</sup>.

The almost 2 m high statue from Pisidian Antioch, which is now in the Museum of Konya (no. 5 fig. 3), is identified as Zeus by the eagle and the Nike with palm frond standing on the right leg of the throne. The figure, dating to Flavian times, adheres to a frontal composition, although the sharply bent legs contrast strongly with the rigid upper body. The crisp folds of the fine himation follow the movement of the legs. The arrangement of the mantle, the frontal posture, and size are recognizable features of the Classical sculptural repertoire, as seen in the Pheidian Zeus. However, the plasticity in the treatment of the individual parts of the upper body and the drapery of the mantle are intentionally different, because the Roman artist evidently considered the Classical concept as too rigid and restrained. Through the addition of Hellenistic-style elements, the whole becomes more vivid and varied.

<sup>37</sup> Vlizos 1999, 138–139 K.1 pl. 24, 2, with bibliography.

<sup>38</sup> Şahin 1998, 39–40, fig. on p. 40.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Vermeule 1975, 101.

<sup>40</sup> Vlizos 1999, 64–74, esp. 72–74.

<sup>41</sup> Vlizos 1999, 64–65.

<sup>42</sup> Vlizos 1999, 95–110, esp. 106–107.

<sup>43</sup> Vlizos 1999, 105–110.

<sup>44</sup> Maderna 1988, 27–32. 174 pls. 6–10; Vlizos 1999, 103–104.



In the rendering of the mantle, the statuette of the Zeus figure in Afyon (no. 6 fig. 4), probably a votive offering placed in a shrine as part of a small pantheon, of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., establishes a direct link with the Capitoline cult statue<sup>45</sup>. The sense of movement and openness shows that this is a late Republican type. The pose of the arms and legs, as well as the curvature of the torso, distance this Zeus statuette from the sculptural principles of the Pheidian model, in favour of Hellenistic forms. The narrow bunch of himation folds across the left shoulder and, especially, the lowered right arm with a clutch of thunderbolts in the hand, confirm the artist's preference for the Hellenistic-Roman tradition.

One of the most interesting examples that can be related to a Hellenistic model is the cult statue of Zeus in the temple of Zeus Philios and Trajan in Pergamon, of which no traces of a predecessor have been found<sup>46</sup>. The coin types show that the enthroned Zeus represents a now standardized iconographic type: characteristic features are the sense of movement in the general compositional concept in which the seated figure expands into space, and the usually nude upper body (fig. 5)<sup>47</sup>. Already in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., Zeus images of this type appear on Alexander tetradrachms<sup>48</sup>. Fragments found in the temple cella attest that this must have been, as in most *neokoroi* temples, a colossal statue in acrolithic technique<sup>49</sup>. Zeus Philios probably became the emperor's cult partner in Pergamon because there was a strong precedent in the city for the new temple of Trajan, namely the temple of Roma and Augustus. That the Zeus statue, together with that of Trajan, was not erected until after the second *neokoros* title of Pergamon is recorded in a later inscription, of Severan times<sup>50</sup>. The inscription also records that the two Pergamene *neokoroi* were granted in favour of the emperor cult and not in favour of the gods. This differentiation was based on the fact that in the first case (at least in the metropoleis of Pergamon, Smyrna, Ephesos, Kyzikos and Sardis) the emperor cult was administered by officials of the *koinon*, whereas in the latter case the office probably continued to be held by the respective priesthood. The choice of Zeus Philios as Trajan's cult partner was, therefore, a purely political decision that specifically served the emperor's own propaganda. Since there was certainly no earlier cult of Zeus Philios in Pergamon, Barbara Burrell correctly claims that we are dealing here with a programmatic orchestration in favour of Trajan not Hadrian<sup>51</sup>. Furthermore, the epithet Philios indicates that the choice of this specific god to share the cult of Trajan was purely political: Zeus is the patron of kings and in this role he – and by extension the emperor too – controls friendships and alliances<sup>52</sup>.

As we have said, in Roman Asia Minor, as opposed to the rest of the empire, no relevant examples have survived that would allow a contextual interpretation. One such example outside Asia Minor is the heavily symbolic ›copy‹ of the cult statue of Zeus Olympios in Cyrene, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., which was intended to confirm the bond and the homogeneity with the Greek motherland<sup>53</sup>. This image offered the local Greek élites, who were also in charge of the cult administration, an ideological solidarity that was not limited to the special status of their ancestry but also signified political and cultural integration into the Roman Empire.

Another example is Zeus Hypsistos in Dion, the Colonia Iulia Augusta Diensis in Macedonia<sup>54</sup>. Here, the sense of movement in the treatment of the garment, as well as the lowered right arm with thunderbolt, establish a direct connection between the Pheidian Zeus statue and the

<sup>45</sup> See Vermeule 1975, 100–101.

<sup>46</sup> Raeck 1993; Burrell 2003, 22–37, esp. 22–30; Radt 2011, 209–220.

<sup>47</sup> Radt 2011, fig. 156.

<sup>48</sup> Vlivos 1999, 89–94.

<sup>49</sup> Raeck 1993, figs. 4–5; Radt 2011, 210–212.

<sup>50</sup> Burrell 2003, 29.

<sup>51</sup> Burrell 2003, 26–28.

<sup>52</sup> Burrell 2003, 23.

<sup>53</sup> Goodchild et al. 1958; Steuernagel 2009, 313–316.

<sup>54</sup> Pantermalis 2003; Pantermalis 2009.

Capitoline cult image. In this case the sponsor intended to align the divine image with the imperial cult, that is, metaphorically, with Jupiter Capitolinus. The local and Roman élites probably perceived the message conveyed through the medium of the statue, as intended, and identified with it<sup>55</sup>. Among other things, Zeus statue and architectural context were also expedient in the fusion process between the Roman claim for power and the former Greek cultural identity<sup>56</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

On as broad a basis as possible and with aesthetic, ideological and religious components in the foreground<sup>57</sup>, the investigation presented here provides the following results: the Pheidian Zeus during imperial times was the highpoint of a long development and, as also attested in Second Sophistic discourse, an idea, knowledge, and, finally, an identity-forming symbol<sup>58</sup>. Regarding the Zeus representations in imperial Asia Minor, we can speak only of re-presentations of a theoretical ›image‹ whose origins should be sought in the Homeric epics. The artists were inspired by literature and philosophy, and transferred these connotations into their own religious and socio-political contexts<sup>59</sup>. Pheidian iconography thus contributed to the popular appeal of the scheme of the seated Zeus, without an obligation to follow established rules. The best-known example of how this Olympian model continued to evolve in imperial times is the Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, although this creation is based on the traditions of Late Classical and, especially, Hellenistic art. The propagation of political goals, namely affirming Rome's power, was thereby given precedence<sup>60</sup>. The sculptors of imperial times in Asia Minor had thus adopted an abstract iconographic theme that could be used for representing the god in various circumstances and according to the requirements of the clientele. Typologically and contextually we are dealing with a fusion of traits that relate to Hellenistic models and the cult image in Rome. The coexistence in terms of religious and artistic traditions of the Hellenistic Greek past with the imperial Roman present is characteristic, and this hybrid identity should be envisaged in these images of Zeus/Jupiter<sup>61</sup>.

In comparison to other regions of the empire, an investigation of the available evidence for the seated Zeus in Asia Minor proves to be difficult, even though Zeus is one of the most frequently represented gods there: a more precise attribution to the enthroned schema can only be made on the basis of iconography. The diversity in the veneration of the supreme god is attested by the variety of his epithets<sup>62</sup>. In spite of this, two phenomena are apparent: the statue types of Zeus are proportionally few in relation to the written sources, and there is no specific iconographic tradition of Zeus in Asia Minor. It is obvious that the majority of Zeus cult statues in this region was produced during Hellenistic times and that these creations drew on a few Greek originals which were only partially varied<sup>63</sup>.

Finally, it is known that the imitation or variation of cult statues in different sanctuaries or public environments was controlled by religious and political needs. Especially in the case of Zeus, the intention was not to copy precisely a certain art work, or to preserve faithfully its style and form, but rather to secure the continuity of this statue's semantic value – religious, political and intellectual – throughout time<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. also Stewart 2003, 300; Hölscher 2004; Hingley 2005, 81.

<sup>56</sup> Regarding this process see Papantoniou 2013, esp. 50.

<sup>57</sup> Anguissola 2007, 106–107.

<sup>58</sup> On the issue of identity see Bowman 1992, 133, 137, 141 and recently Andrade 2013.

<sup>59</sup> The artist did not work in front of the original, he did not make a copy *in situ*: Richter 1966, 166–170; Noelke 1981, 382; Vlizos 1999, 10–19; Lapatin 2011, 81.

<sup>60</sup> As in the Hellenistic period the image started to take on a new meaning as secular ruler, and in the imperial period it became the unmistakable symbol for the ruler as god.

<sup>61</sup> Stewart 2003, 300; Hölscher 2004; Hingley 2005, 81.

<sup>62</sup> Schwabl 1993.

<sup>63</sup> Vollkommer 1997, 384.

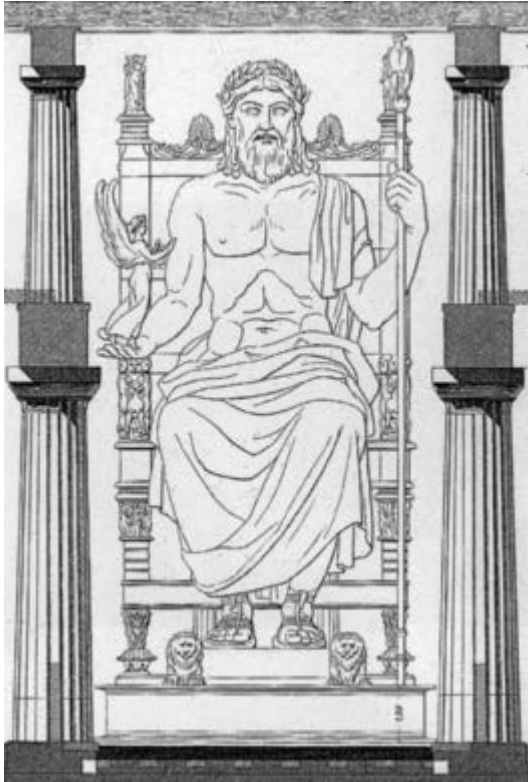
<sup>64</sup> Richter 1966, 166–170; Noelke 1981, 382; Vlizos 1999, 10–19; Lapatin 2011, 81.

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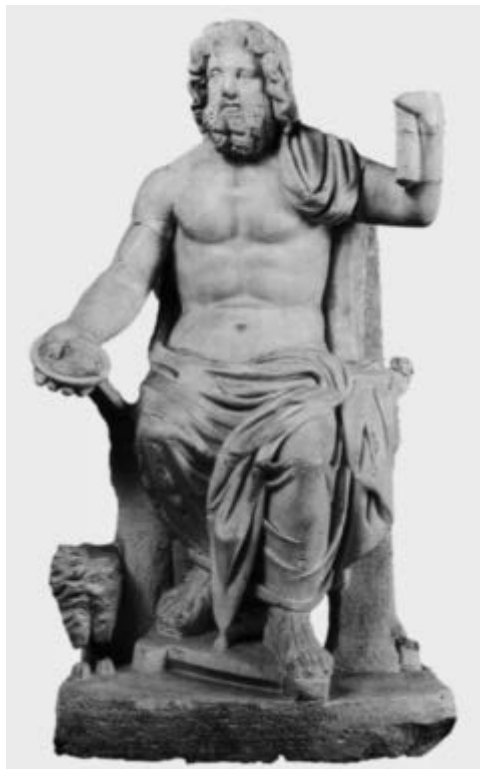
References of figures: Fig. 1: after Adler – Curtius 1892, pl. 11; fig. 2: Drawing after Vlzos 1999, pl. 30, 5; fig. 3: after Vlzos 1999, pl. 24, 2; fig. 4: after Şahin 1998, fig. p. 40; fig. 5: after Radt 2011, fig. 156.



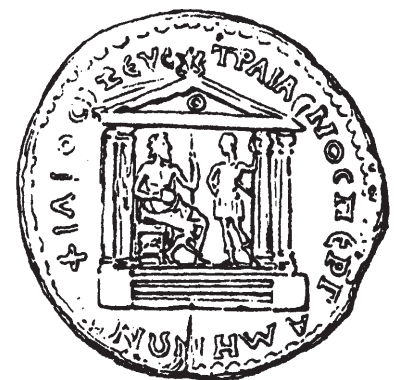
1 The Pheidias Zeus in Olympia



2 Late Republican Jupiter Capitolinus

3 Zeus statue in Konya, Yalvaç  
Museum inv. 40

4 Zeus statue in Afyon, Archaeological Museum

5 Coin drawing of Zeus Philios in  
Pergamon



ADEM YURTSEVER

## GLADIATOR-THEMED ARTEFACTS IN THE SIDE MUSEUM\*

## ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the gladiator-themed artefacts in the Side Museum. The discovery of two of these three 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. findings near the Side theatre can be accepted as strong evidence of gladiator performances in the city. The unearthed gladiator reliefs in Side, dated to after 275 A.D., reflect severe changes in the sociological structure of the settlement. Gladiatorial games appeared in Anatolia as a part of the Romanization process. The purpose of Romanization was to show the respect of the Anatolian peoples to the Roman Empire. The policy of Romanization was introduced in Side especially during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. The aim of this study is to examine how works of art may reflect the ideology of the empire, in the light of the gladiator-themed artefacts from Side, an important harbour city of Pamphylia.

## ÖZET

## Side Müzesi'ndeki Gladyatör Konulu Eserler

Bu çalışma Side Müzesi'nde sergilenen gladyatör temalı eserler üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. MS. 3 yy. sonu – 4. yy. başına tarihlenen iki eserin Side tiyatrosu yakınında ele geçmesi kentte gladyatör oyunlarının düzenlendiğini gösteren önemli bir kanıttır. Gladyatör kabartmalı eserlerin varlığı bu dönemde Side'nin sosyal yapısında büyük değişikliklerin olduğuna işaret etmektedir. Gladyatör oyunları Anadolu'ya Romanizasyon'un bir parçası olarak getirilmiştir. Romanizasyondaki amaç Anadolu halkının Roma İmparatorluğu'na korkuyla birlikte saygısını perçinlemektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda Side'de özellikle MS. 3. yy. ile birlikte Romanizasyon politikasına ağırlık verilmeye başlanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Pamphylia'nın önemli liman kenti Side'de ele geçmiş gladyatör temalı eserler ışığında imparatorluk eliyle oluşturulan sanatın hizmet ettiği anlayışı ortaya koymaktır.

Side is known to be the most important port city of Pamphylia and through trading, the city was able to flourish even in the late period of the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup>. The gladiator reliefs examined here indicate that the city maintained its wealthy status even in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., for the organisation of gladiatorial games required large resources. These monuments are important because they reveal the wealth and titles given especially in the context of the imperial cult and the functioning of the policy of Romanization in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The earliest evidence of the gladiatorial games in Side can be found in the last will and testament of the consul Licinnius Mucianus. Mucianus<sup>2</sup> of Side was the consul in 177/178 A.D. and he left money for the organisation of gladiatorial fights and *venationes* to be put on after his death<sup>3</sup>. This inscription suggests that the orchestra was probably the chosen location for the gladiatorial games and *venationes* in the theatre of Side before 177 A.D.<sup>4</sup>. Besides, J. Nollé notes that the

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<sup>1</sup> Mansel 1978, 16–17.

<sup>2</sup> Özsağlam-Mutlu 2013, 75–76 (P29 C–D).

<sup>3</sup> Carter 1999a, 211 no. 437; Nollé 1993a, no. 59; SEG 43, 962; Mann 2011, 58. 65.

<sup>4</sup> There is another inscription about the gladiatorial games or *venationes* in Side. In this inscription, a priest asks for permission from the empire for exceeding the limit for the entertainment days. It is dated to the high imperial period by Nollé; see Nollé 2001, no. 138.

80 cm high plaques around the orchestra were erected to protect the audience<sup>5</sup>, possibly again before the date mentioned in the inscription (fig. 5). Another important piece of evidence for the existence of the gladiatorial games in Side is the city coin dated to the reign of Emperor Caracalla (211–217 A.D.), which depicts scenes from such games<sup>6</sup> (fig. 6 c).

The last and most important datable evidence regarding the existence of the gladiatorial/*venatio* games are the monuments dedicated to Modesta<sup>7</sup> and Modestus<sup>8</sup> (cat. 1–2 figs. 1–2). Both of these objects attest to the existence of gladiatorial games organised in Side, in addition to agonistic festivals<sup>9</sup>. The inscriptions on the monuments<sup>10</sup> verify that gladiatorial games were organised in Side at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. One of the artefacts was dedicated to the élite citizen Modestus, while the other was dedicated to Modesta, priestess of the imperial cult. These two heavily damaged pieces were found in front of the theatre, built near the Late Antique City Gate<sup>12</sup>. The monuments were probably positioned on the colonnaded street, most probably on the stoa or in another location in front of the theatre (fig. 4).

The reliefs, which were carved on round columns, indicate that the monuments were intended to be seen from all sides. K. Graf Lanckoroński was the first who saw the pieces; he was able to read »MODE« in the inscriptions on the monuments<sup>13</sup>. Secondly, C. E. Bosch read the inscriptions completely, and after the importance of the pieces was understood, they were moved to the museum, first in the entrance, and then exhibited outdoors.

The monolithic monument dedicated to Modestus is made of reddish marble (cat. 1 fig. 1). The reliefs are composed by two different scenes on the top and bottom. In the bottom scenes, gladiatorial contests are exhibited. In the first scene, a fight between two opponents is portrayed. Both figures are depicted in relief. In this scene, a *secutor*<sup>14</sup> type gladiator with leg armour stretches his right leg forward and holds his shield before him. Opposing him, a *retarius*<sup>15</sup> type gladiator is shown. Because of damage, not all details in these figural series can be clearly seen. Just behind the *retarius* stands another male figure who is depicted with his hands raised, possibly indicating a referee. The referee's legs are unsuccessfully depicted, as their anatomy of the legs is disproportionate with each other (fig. 7). This depiction of the referee figure provides some insight into relief art in Side between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.

In addition to the referee, there are also other gladiatorial groups, but it is impossible to describe these figures. Also in this heavily damaged section, a diagonal long spear can be discerned. This spear, considered with the other one on the Modesta monument, may separate the fight scenes from each other. On the upper area, there is an inscription in a *tabula ansata*<sup>16</sup> and lion

<sup>5</sup> Nollé 1993a, 201–202.

<sup>6</sup> SNG Pfms 4, Pamphylia, no. 695; Nollé 1992/1993, 60 fig. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Inv. 1925.

<sup>8</sup> Inv. 1926.

<sup>9</sup> For the agonistic festivals in Side, see: Nollé 1986, 204–206; Nollé 1993a, 84–88; Strasser 2003, 63–76; Weiss 1981, 315–346; Alanyalı 2011, 75–92; Uzunaslán 2008, 117–128; Yurtsever 2012, 78–85.

<sup>10</sup> For the inscription on the monuments, see: Nollé 2001, nos. 111–112; Robert 1971, 144 no. 101–102; Bosch et al. 1951, 48–49 no. I–II; Polat-Öğüt 2006, 135 EP. 12.271; Carter 1999a, 211 no. 438.

<sup>11</sup> Nollé 2001, 415–419.

<sup>12</sup> Bosch et al. 1951, 50.

<sup>13</sup> Lanckoroński 1890, 133.

<sup>14</sup> For the *secutor* type of gladiators, see: Mann 2009, 282; Nossov 2009, 67; Carter 1999a, 89–90; Futrell 2006, 99; Uzunaslán 2010, 175–177; Polat-Öğüt 2006, 40; Majjer 2008, 81.

<sup>15</sup> For the *retarius* type of gladiators: Mann 2009, 282; Carter 1999a, 87–88; Carter 1999b, 262–268; Futrell 2006, 96–98; Nossov 2009, 62–66; Uzunaslán 2010, 166–169.

<sup>16</sup> The letter A appears on the left side of *tabula ansata*, while on the right side appears the letter E. The meaning of the letter A is first in the Greek alphabet and the other letter E stands for *endoxos* (glorious), which is among the titles of the ancient city of Side. These letters are therefore used to emphasize the first and richest city of Pamphylia. We can see this example especially on the coins of Side and Perge. Side city goddess Athena holds the letter A on coins because the city is emphasized as the first city of Pamphylia. These letters are to be understood in relation with the rivalry between Side and Perge. See: Nollé 1990, 244–265; Nollé 1993b, 297–317.

depictions on both sides of it. The inscription is as follows: According to the decision of the foremost, glorious and splendid metropolis of Side, the Tetrapolit gerousia honours Modestus, also known as Artemios, from a renowned family<sup>17</sup>. Through this inscription, one can conclude that Modestus was an élite citizen in Side<sup>18</sup>.

The second object to be discussed is dedicated to the imperial cult priestess Modesta<sup>19</sup> (cat. 2 fig. 2). The upper and lower areas of the monument, made of reddish marble, have a round profile. The reliefs on the piece were arranged in two rows one above the other. The bottom row is reserved for gladiatorial fights as on the previous object. On the top row, there are two lions, one depicted sitting and the other rearing on his hind legs. The animal on the left is a lioness, sitting on her two hind legs. Between the two lions, there is an inscription in a *tabula ansata*<sup>20</sup>. The lion on the right seems to reach out and hold the *tabula ansata* with its claws (fig. 9 a–b).

Beneath the lions, there are *provocator*<sup>21</sup> type gladiatorial groups fighting. All the gladiatorial groups are depicted on a slightly raised relief surface. In the first group, two gladiators with heavy weapons appear. They wear winged helmets and knee guards, and fight with a short sword. The gladiators are portrayed at the moment of attack<sup>22</sup>. In fact, this scene might reflect the beginnings of the fight (fig. 9 a). The second gladiatorial group resembles the first group, similarly depicting *provocator* type gladiators in contest. One of the gladiators swings his sword as the other defends himself with his shield (fig. 9 b). Just beside the gladiators, although the figure is heavily damaged, a referee raising his hands can be discerned.

In the last gladiatorial group, the dynamism of the figures is quite remarkable. The gladiatorial group is located below the lion on the right side of the inscription. Here, a gladiator lies on the ground while another one jumps onto him. The attacking gladiator is depicted as he swings his sword and gives the fatal stroke to his opponent. The figure also carries a round shield. Only the legs of the prostrate gladiator can be seen. The torso of the figure is broken and missing (fig. 9 c). Once again, long spears can be seen on the first scene and this one. Their purpose is most probably to separate the scenes, or mark the beginning and the end of the fight (fig. 2). Based on the inscriptions on the monuments, both pieces are dated by Nollé between the period of Tacitus and Diocletian (274–305 A.D.)<sup>23</sup>.

It has been suggested that both the Modestus and Modesta monuments functioned as statue bases<sup>24</sup>. However, on the top of the monuments there is no footprint or similar trace. There are, however, two preserved holes approximately 5 cm wide × 5 cm deep on the upper surface of the monuments. These holes do not prove that the monuments were used as statue bases, but they may well have supported an object such as a prize wreath or small statues for honouring Modestus and Modesta. In close proximity to both of the monuments found in the colonnaded street, an inscribed statue base was found with a footprint on top of it, and made of the same type of marble as the examined samples (fig. 8). This monument shows that the same type of marble was used for statue bases in Side. All the gladiator reliefs and the statue base made of the same type of marble and found in the colonnaded street reveal that the city's stoa was decorated with sculptures. One can therefore conclude that Side's stoa was an architectural area chosen for the presentation of civic activities to the public.

<sup>17</sup> See below cat. 1; Nollé 2001, no. 111; Bosch et al. 1951, 48 (no. 1).

<sup>18</sup> Bosch et al. 1951, 49; Nollé 2001, 415–416.

<sup>19</sup> The inscription on the monument of Modesta gives valuable information about Modesta. One can see the term *archieria* here, used for the head priestess of the cult of the Roman emperor.

<sup>20</sup> See below cat. 2; Nollé 2001, no. 112; Bosch et al. 1951, 51 (no. 2).

<sup>21</sup> For the *provocator* type of gladiators, see: Mann 2009, 282; Nossov 2009, 61–62; Carter 1999a, 93; Wisdom 2001, 42; Uzunaslán 2010, 162–163; Polat-Öğüt 2006, 39; Majer 2008, 82.

<sup>22</sup> The most important aspect of the *provocator* gladiators is their combat with each other. See: Nossov 2009, 62.

<sup>23</sup> Nollé 2001, 419.

<sup>24</sup> Mansel 1978, 209.

The final piece is a grave stele belonging to a *secutor* (?) type gladiator (cat. 3 fig. 3). The stele was purchased by the museum and its findspot is not entirely clear. No inscriptions are preserved on the stele. The gladiator was depicted with his shield on his left side and his helmet resting on his shield. In his right hand he carries a sword. The piece can probably be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. A similar piece is exhibited in the Izmir Museum<sup>25</sup>.

In addition to this, another *provocator* type relief piece was recognised in 2011 in the museum depot (fig. 6 a). The original location of the object is unknown, nor can it be dated with precision. A lamp in the exhibition hall of the museum is dated to the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>26</sup>. According to the inventory it was found in Antalya. On the discus side of the lamp, two gladiators were depicted in combat position (fig. 6 b). These pieces in the Side Museum reflect the trend of the period, and provide archaeological evidence regarding the existence of gladiatorial games, evidence which is preserved from many cities of Asia Minor.

The Modestus and Modesta monuments were dated with the help of the inscriptions on them and these dates appear to be correct. At this point, it is important to understand the purpose in the choice and utilization of the iconographic language, as well as the exhibition of them in front of the Side theatre.

The iconographic and artistic language used in Side gladiator reliefs is obscure. The irregularity of the compositions and the lack of a specific order in the events depicted can be interpreted as the features of provincial art. The artefacts dedicated to Modestus and Modesta look similar in many ways. The figures interpreted as referees are identical in terms of the folds on their clothes and the dynamism with which they are shown. While different types of gladiators appear on the monument of Modestus, only the *provocator* type gladiators were carved on the monument to Modesta. Here, the figures were created using high relief technique, and were depicted on a flattened surface. Clothing details are not evident. One can assume from the figures that the outcome of the attacks is unknown. Although the workmanship on these figures is quite elaborate, the narrative ability leaves something to be desired. In general, the artistic features reflect the characteristics of the Tetrarchic period<sup>27</sup>. Furthermore, propaganda as a political instrument throughout the empire can clearly be seen on the contemporary Side gladiator reliefs.

The closest parallels to the Side examples were found in Kibyra, Pisidia. These examples have been dated to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>28</sup>. The Kibyra examples tell a narrative story of the gladiators. The beginning and the conclusion of the fight were perfectly described, whereas it is hard to draw conclusions regarding the beginning and end of the combat on the Side examples. One can only propose that the lances on the reliefs may have been used to separate the scenes or as filling motifs. The Side examples from the 4<sup>th</sup> century are important in showing the level of provincial art in Pamphylia.

In the light of current data, one can assume that the gladiatorial games in Side were financed by the city élites and important government officers<sup>29</sup>. The purpose of the games, organised by the city élites and priests of the imperial cult, was to introduce Roman traditions and life style to the inhabitants of the provinces<sup>30</sup>. Most of the cities in Anatolia competed with each other to gain the title *neokoros*<sup>31</sup>. Some cities such as Side are known to have received this title more than

<sup>25</sup> Robert 1971, 152 pl. 23; Pfuhl – Möbius 1979, 299 no. 1227 pl. 184; Aybek et al. 2009, 171 no. 154.

<sup>26</sup> Bailey 1972, 103 pl. 32–33; Bailey 1980, 131 pl. 1, Q760; Metin 2012, 303 K 71. K 74.

<sup>27</sup> Vermeule 1967, 328–352; Duby 1996, 12; Yurtsever 2012, 101. 104–105.

<sup>28</sup> Uzunaslın 2010, 104–105 figs. 20. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Gladiatorial games had been organised by *archiereis* who were chosen by the provincial council in the East. See: Schneider 1918, 769; Mann 2009, 279–280; Mann 2011, 60–62. 76. 83–86.

<sup>30</sup> City elite Modestus and empire cult priestess Modesta tried to introduce Roman traditions to the inhabitants of Side.

<sup>31</sup> Nollé 1993a, 88–94; Klose 2005, 125; Uzunaslın 2010, 139.

four times<sup>32</sup>. The games were an important symbol of respect and loyalty shown to the Roman Empire<sup>33</sup>. The gladiatorial fights and *venationes* reveal Roman influence<sup>34</sup>. Birthdays and anniversaries of rule of the emperors were celebrated with festivals lasting for days<sup>35</sup>. While these celebrations included Hellenistic competitions and entertainments, they also featured gladiatorial contests, *venationes* and free feasts<sup>36</sup>.

This policy is known as Romanization<sup>37</sup>. The phrase in the inscription dedicated to priestess Modesta (τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν τὴν ἐκ προγόνων φιλότε[ι]-μουν) supports the assumptions here. Modesta's title as ἀρχιέρεια (*archieria*) and her leading role in the gladiatorial games show the contributions of the priests/priestess to Romanization in Side. Modesta's role as a sponsor in the gladiatorial games seems to be related to her position as a priestess, and one of the duties of the servants of the imperial cult was to take part in the organisation of the games<sup>38</sup>.

The frequency of the gladiatorial games in Asia Minor increased in particular in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>39</sup>. The native people of Asia Minor, who had rejected importing gladiatorial games into their traditional contests, began adopting the gladiatorial games with the festivals in honour of the cult of the emperor<sup>40</sup>. The economic crises at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century intensified the competition between the cities to be favoured by the empire<sup>41</sup>. During the festivals, gifted from the emperor to the city with the title of *neokoros*, the cities continued to celebrate their traditional *agones*<sup>42</sup>. As a result, cities perhaps unintentionally introduced gladiatorial games into their religious festivals. Such a situation seems to have applied at Side.

The priestess of the cult of the emperor and the city élites contributed to the introduction of Latin traditions in the region by organising these games. The continuation of the gladiatorial games in Side despite the economic crises seen in many of the cities of Asia Minor reveals the degree of the wealth in the city in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century<sup>43</sup>. One of the reasons for this prosperity is the location of the city, which was the supply centre for the Roman legions during this period. The existence of the gladiatorial games at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century indicates that Side, as a Hellenized polis, was very familiar with Latin traditions. The evidence discussed in this paper provides possible clues for a Latinized Roman Side, with the help of Roman traditions and Romanization policies.

<sup>32</sup> For the *neokoros* title in Side: Burrell 2004, 181–189; Baz 2012, 29–47.

<sup>33</sup> Wiedemann 1995, 43.

<sup>34</sup> Price 2004, 162.

<sup>35</sup> Price 2004, 183–188.

<sup>36</sup> Uzunaslán 2010, 140.

<sup>37</sup> For a discussion of the term »romanization« see Mann 2011, 16–23; for the gladiatorial games seen in the context of romanization see Mann 2011, 24–29 and *passim*.

<sup>38</sup> Carter 1999a, 211 no. 432. The main task of the priestess of the imperial cult seems to be the organisation of gladiatorial games. See: Schneider 1918, 769.

<sup>39</sup> Uzunaslán 2010, 181; Mann 2011, 54–55.

<sup>40</sup> Price 2004, 162; Uzunaslán 2010, 140.

<sup>41</sup> Burrell 2004, 335–342; Zanker 2010, 302–307.

<sup>42</sup> Mann 2009, 287.

<sup>43</sup> Onur 2009, 302–305.



**Cat. 1: Monument dedicated to Modestus**

Findspot: in front of the Late Antique City Gate.

Inv. 1925

Dating: between the reigns of Tacitus and Diocletian, ca. 275–305 A.D.

Total height: 2.16 m; top diameter: 0.22 m; lower diameter: 0.79 m.

Description: The monument is made of reddish veined marble. It has an octagonal foot and a circular pedestal above.

Above the circular pedestal are relief scenes.

Inscription: There is an inscription in the *tabula ansata*. On the right side of the *tabula ansata* is the letter E, on the left side, the letter A.

Height of inscription: 0.45 m; width of inscription: 0.55 m; height of letter: 0.035 m.

Bibliography: Nollé 2001, no. 111; Bosch et al. 1951, 48–49 no. 1; Robert 1971, 144 no. 101–102; Lanckoroński 1890, no. 133; Carter 1999a, 211 no. 438; Polat-Öğüt 2006, 135 (EP. 12.271).

Μόδεστον τὸν  
καὶ Ἀρτέμιον τὸν  
α' ἐγ' γένους φιλόδοξον ἐ.  
ἢ Τετραπωλειτῶν γε-  
ρουσία κοινῷ δόγματι τῆς  
λαμπρᾶς μητροπόλεως Σίδης.

»According to the decision of the foremost, glorious and splendid metropolis of Side, the Tetrapolit gerousia honours Modestus, also known as Artemios, from a renowned family.« (Nollé 2001, 416).

**Cat. 2: Monument dedicated to Modesta**

Findspot: in front of the Late Antique City Gate.

Inv. 1926

Dating: between the reigns of Tacitus and Diocletian, ca. 275–305 A.D.

Total height: 1.83 m; top diameter: 0.85 m; lower diameter: 0.95 m.

Description: The monument is made of reddish veined marble. The upper and lower portion of the monument is profiled.

Inscription: There is an inscription in the *tabula ansata*. On the right side of the *tabula ansata* is the letter E, on the left side, the letter A.

Height of inscription: 0.47 m; width of inscription: 0.64 m; height of letter: 0.035 m.

Bibliography: Nollé 2001, no. 112; Bosch et al. 1951, 51–52 no. 2; Robert 1971, 144 no. 101–102; Lanckoroński 1890, no. 133; Carter 1999a, 211 no. 438; Polat-Öğüt 2006, 135 (EP. 12. 272).

Μοδέσταν τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν  
τὴν ἐκ προγόνων φιλότε[ι-]  
μον, ἢ Τετραπωλειτ[ῶν γε-]  
α' ρουσία κρίσει τῇ[ς μητρο-] [ἐ.]  
πόλεως Σιδ[ητῶν ἐξά-]  
κ[ις νεωκόρ[ων]. (vac.) ]

»According to the decision of the foremost and glorious metropolis of Side, six times neokoros, the Tetrapolit gerousia honours the archieria Modesta, of honourable ancestry.« (Bosch et al. 1951, 51).

**Cat. 3: Gladiator Grave Stele**

Findspot: in front of the Altinkum Camping (parcel no. 199).

Inv. 809

Dating: 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

Total height: 0.44 m; width: 0.325 m; depth: 0.13 m.

Inscription: –

Description: The monument is made of hard limestone. There is a *secutor* type gladiator on it. The figure wears leg armour; his left leg and face have been destroyed. The *secutor* holds a *gladius* with his right hand and with his left hand he touches his helmet, which rests on a square shield.

Bibliography: for similar examples: Robert 1971, 152 pl. 23; Pfuhl – Möbius 1979, 299 no. 1227 pl. 184; Aybek et al. 2009, 171 no. 154.

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Metin 2012  
Nollé 1986  
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Nollé 1992/1993  
Nollé 1993a  
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Nollé 2001  
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1 Cat. 1: Modestus monument

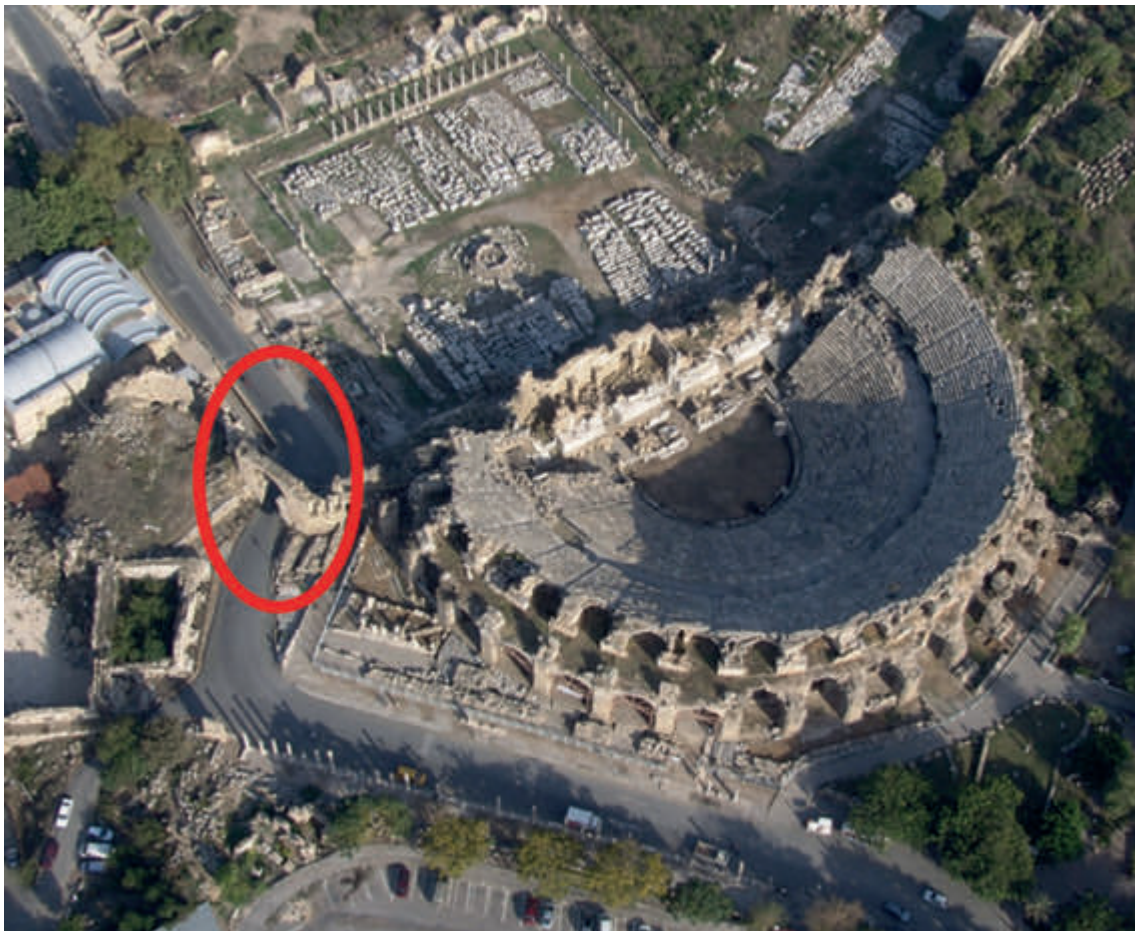


2 Cat. 2: Modesta monument





3 Cat. 3: Gladiator grave stele



4 Possible findspot of the Modestus and Modesta monuments





5 The regulation of the orchestra for the gladiatorial games



6 a-c Other archaeological evidence of gladiatorial games in Side



7 Detail of the referee figure from the Modestus monument



8 A sculpture base from the colonnaded street, near the theatre



a

b

c

9 a–c Scenes from the Modesta monument

## **II SCULPTURES IN THEIR LOCAL CONTEXT**



HÜSEYİN SABRİ ALANYALI

## ALTE FUNDE – NEUE GEDANKEN: SIDE, SOGENANNTES GEBÄUDE M

### ABSTRACT

#### Old finds – new ideas: Side, so-called Building M

In 1948, A. Müfid Mansel began to excavate the so-called Building M. At that time he identified this edifice as a gymnasium or as an agora. Accordingly, the building was interpreted as a ›civic agora‹. Under my direction, in this area and in its surroundings clearing work was carried out, and large rooms were discovered near this structure. These rooms must belong to part of a large Roman bath complex. The so-called civic agora is therefore to be understood as the *palaestra* of the baths, and ›Building M‹ as the ›Imperial Hall‹. During Mansel's excavations numerous statues were found in the ›Imperial Hall‹, which were studied by Jale İnan: she investigated these sculptures on the basis of their relationship to Greek large-scale sculpture, as was customary in scholarship of the time. The sculptures, however, have until now not been sufficiently investigated as genuine Roman works. In this article the sculptural programme of the so-called Building M will be addressed. This has great significance for the cult of the Roman emperors, the history of the city, and Roman sculpture in general.

### ÖZET

#### Eski buluntular – yeni düşünceler: Side, M binası olarak adlandırılan yapı

1948 yılında A. Müfid Mansel M Binası denilen yapıyı kazmaya başlamıştır. Kazı çalışmalarından sonra binayı Gymnasium veya Agora şeklinde yayınlamıştır. Daha sonra yapı Devlet Agorası olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bina çevresindeki çalışmalarımız sırasında bitki temizliği yapılırken yapıya bitişik odalardan oluşan bir kısmın olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Bu odaların eklendiği bina büyük bir olasılıkla Roma Dönemine ait bir Hamam yapısı olmalıdır. Devlet Agorası olarak isimlendirilen alan Palaestra ve M Binası da ›İmparator Salonu‹ olmalıdır. ›İmparator Salonunda‹ Mansel kazılarında birçok sayıda heykel ele geçmiştir. Heykeller Jale İnan tarafından yayınlanmıştır. Fakat İnan dönemin heykel araştırmaları anlayışına göre bu heykelleri Hellen Orijinallerine göre değerlendirerek incelemiştir. Fakat çok az araştırmacı heykelleri Roma Heykeltraşlığı açısından incelemeye ve değerlendirmeye almamıştır. Bu yazıda M Binasına ait heykeller resim programı çerçevesinde ele alınıp, irdelenmeye çalışılmıştır. Resim programında Roma İmparatorları onurlandırılmış, şehir tarihçesi ve roma heykeltraşlığı açısından önem taşımaktadır.

Die ›Staatsagora‹ von Side ist schon in der älteren Literatur bekannt<sup>1</sup> und wurde zunächst als ›Gebäude M‹ bezeichnet. Später jedoch wurde dieselbe Benennung für den sog. Kaisersaal desselben Gebäudes verwendet<sup>2</sup>. Der ›Kaisersaal‹ ist gut erhalten, zahlreiche Skulpturenfunde zeigen, dass er weder in spätrömischer noch byzantinischer Zeit zerstört wurde. Eine bauliche Verbindung von ›Kaisersaal‹ und ›Staatsagora‹ war immer in Diskussion. Bereits A. M. Mansel hatte die Anlage in seinen Veröffentlichungen als »Staatsagora« oder »Palästra« bezeichnet<sup>3</sup> und bemühte sich um die Restaurierung des gut erhaltenen Bauwerks. Mit der Restaurierung beauftragt wurde in den 1960er Jahren der österreichische Bauhistoriker A. Machatschek (Abb. 1), und nach Fertigstellung entwickelte sich das Gebäude zu einem Anziehungspunkt für Touristen. Die Wirkung wurde durch die Aufstellung einer Nemesisstatue in einer Nische zusätzlich

<sup>1</sup> Mansel 1950, 683–686; Mansel 1951, 305; Mansel 1952, 435–436; Mansel 1956, 58–69.

<sup>2</sup> Mansel 1963, 109–121; Mansel 1978, 169–186.

<sup>3</sup> Mansel 1950, 683–686; Mansel 1951, 305; Mansel 1952, 435–436; Mansel 1956, 58–69; Mansel 1963, 109–121; Mansel 1978, 169–186.



verstärkt. In den 1990er-Jahren wurde die Statue jedoch in das Museum transportiert (Abb. 2)<sup>4</sup>, sodass dem Betrachter heute vor Ort kein akkurates Bild der reichen Ausstattung des Gebäudes geboten wird.

Als die Ausgrabungen im Jahr 2009 unter meiner Leitung wieder aufgenommen wurden, wurde auch die Vorstellung einer baulichen Verbindung zwischen ›Staatsagora‹ und ›Kaisersaal‹ erneut aufgegriffen. Bei Rodungen an der Südseite der ›Staatsagora‹ entdeckten wir 2011 einige Räume, die mit der ›Staatsagora‹ eng verbunden waren. Der gesamte Baukomplex entpuppte sich als Badeanlage<sup>5</sup>, sodass die ›Staatsagora‹ demnach als Palästra anzusprechen ist, zu welcher der ›Kaisersaal‹ gehörte (Abb. 3)<sup>6</sup>; eine analoge Situation ist auch aus anderen römischen Städten Kleinasien bekannt<sup>7</sup>.

Bislang nicht ausführlich erarbeitet wurde das Bildprogramm der Skulpturenausstattung des Saals: J. İnán behandelte die Skulpturen in ihrem Buch »Roman Sculpture in Side« als Einzelwerke und legte – wie es zu dem damaligen Zeitpunkt in der Skulpturenforschung üblich war – den Fokus vor allem auf die griechischen Vorbilder der Typen<sup>8</sup>.

Thema dieses Artikels ist das Bildprogramm des sog. Gebäudes M, dessen Skulpturen sich in drei Gruppen einteilen lassen: Porträtstatuen von Kaisern und ihren Familienangehörigen, Statuen von Göttern sowie Statuen von Athleten. Aufgrund lückenhafter Angaben zu den Fundumständen sind die Aufstellungsorte der Statuen nur teilweise bekannt.

In der mittleren Nische im ersten Stock stand die Panzerstatue eines Kaisers, deren Kopf umgearbeitet ist. J. İnán zufolge handelt es sich vielleicht um Licinius (Abb. 4)<sup>9</sup>. Zudem werden zwei weitere umgearbeitete männliche Porträts – eine Porträtstatue (Abb. 5) und ein Porträtkopf (Abb. 6) – in tetrarchische Zeit datiert<sup>10</sup>, sodass wir ein Bildprogramm aus spätrömischer Zeit vor uns haben. Die Panzerstatue mit dem zu Licinius umgearbeiteten Porträt stammt ursprünglich aus hadrianischer oder frühantoninischer Zeit. Trotz finanzieller Probleme in der Spätantike führten die Sideten ihre Bauvorhaben weiter, für neue Bildprogramme wurden kaiserzeitliche Skulpturen gesammelt, verändert und auch an anderen Stätten wiederverwendet – ein Vorgang, der auch in anderen kleinasiatischen Städten beobachtet werden kann. Auch in Side nahm der Kaiserkult eine wichtige Rolle ein, Bildnisse der Kaiser und der kaiserlichen Familie waren Instrumente der Loyalitätsbekundung<sup>11</sup>. Inschriftliche und numismatische Quellen bezeugen die zahlreichen Neokorien der Stadt, die mit den Götterkulten verbunden waren<sup>12</sup>. Bei den weiblichen Gewandstatuen könnte es sich ursprünglich um Porträts von Angehörigen des Kaiserhauses oder um Privatporträts von Stifterinnen und Gattinnen von Stiftern gehandelt haben (Abb. 7)<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Mansel 1963, 119 Abb. 97; Mansel 1978, 174 Abb. 189; İnán 1975, 101–102 Taf. 5, 47, 1–3.

<sup>5</sup> Alanyalı 2012, 535. 543 Abb. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Das ›Gebäude M‹ und die an der Südseite des Gebäudes liegende Therme wurden noch nicht ausführlich bearbeitet. Bei der Planung der Arbeiten wurde die Therme bisher nur vorläufig dokumentiert (Abb. 3). Eventuell wurde die Therme früher errichtet und der Gebäude-M-Komplex erst später an die Nordseite der Therme angesetzt.

<sup>7</sup> z. B. Yegül 1982; Newby 2005, 230–246; Burrell 2006, 437–450; Auinger 2011; Steskal 2008, 295–296.

<sup>8</sup> İnán 1975.

<sup>9</sup> Mansel 1963, 117–118 Abb. 92; İnán 1965, 35–37. 84–86 Taf. 30, 1; 31, 1–2; İnán – Rosenbaum 1966, 86–87 Nr. 63 Taf. 40, 1–2; 41, 3.

<sup>10</sup> Porträtkopf: İnán 1965, 38. 86–87 Taf. 32, 1–2; 33, 1; İnán – Rosenbaum 1966, 87–88 Nr. 64 Taf. 40, 3–4; Statue: İnán 1965, 39–40. 87–88 Taf. 30, 2; 33, 2–3; İnán – Rosenbaum 1966, 88–89 Nr. 65 Taf. 41, 1–2. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Nollé 1993, 96–98. 122–125; Alanyalı 2011, 77; Alanyalı 2016, 149.

<sup>12</sup> Nollé 1993, 97. 122–124; Burrell 2004, 181–188.

<sup>13</sup> Weibliche Gewandstatuen s. İnán 1975, 120–121 Nr. 54 Taf. 57, 2; 135–137 Nr. 67 Taf. 65 (hier Abb. 7); 138–139 Nr. 69 Taf. 66, 2–3.

Zu den dargestellten Göttern zählen Apollon<sup>14</sup>, Hermes (3)<sup>15</sup>, Ares<sup>16</sup>, Hygieia<sup>17</sup>, Asklepios<sup>18</sup>, Nemesis (Abb. 2)<sup>19</sup> und Nike<sup>20</sup>. Apollon wurde in der Stadt mit dem Beinamen Sidetes verehrt<sup>21</sup>. Neben Apollon wäre aber auch eine Statue der Athena zu erwarten, zumal beide als Hauptgottheiten der Stadt anzusehen sind<sup>22</sup>. Im Epibaterios-Fest wurden beide Gottheiten verehrt, ihre Statuen wurden im Rahmen des Festes in Schiffen um den Hafen geführt<sup>23</sup>. Mit diesem Einschiffungsfest wurde nach den Wintermonaten (Mare Clausum) der Handel wieder eröffnet. Bei diesem Anlass bedankte sich die Stadt bei den Göttern und wünschte sich ein neues erfolgreiches Jahr. Somit wäre auch im sog. Gebäude M die Aufstellung einer Athenastatue naheliegend.

Stattdessen kamen hier jedoch drei Statuen des Hermes zutage<sup>24</sup>. Obwohl Bildwerke des Hermes in Side auch an anderer Stelle vermehrt vorkommen, erscheint der Name des Gottes nicht in den Inschriften der Stadt, was insofern überrascht, als Hermes für Side als Handelsstadt mit Sicherheit von Bedeutung war<sup>25</sup>. Erklärt werden kann das Fehlen eigentlich nur mit den spärlichen epigrafischen Belegen, denn eine antike Handelsstadt ohne Hermes kult ist nicht vorstellbar.

Neben Ares wurde auch Aphrodite verehrt, deren Kult aber nicht erstrangig war<sup>26</sup>. Gemeinsam ist das in der Stadt aber doch beliebte göttliche Liebespaar auf einer der Parapetplatten des monumentalen Nympheions abgebildet, die Darstellungen der wichtigsten Gottheiten der Stadt enthielten<sup>27</sup>.

Wichtig für die Sideten war auch der Kult des Asklepios und der Hygieia<sup>28</sup>, der zu dem Kreis des Apollon, dem Hauptgott, Stadtgründer, Retter und Träger weiterer Beinamen, gehörte. Umfassend verehrt wurde in pamphyllischen Städten auch Nemesis<sup>29</sup>, die einerseits zärtlich und beschützend, andererseits aber auch Angst einflößend war. Die Menschen mussten sich vor ihr in Acht nehmen, weil sie Maßlosigkeit nicht duldete.

Die letzte Statuengruppe ist jene der Athleten, die klassische Vorbilder nachahmen<sup>30</sup>. Statuentypen des Phidias, Polykleitos und Lysippos wurden hier nachgebildet, was J. İnan in ihrem Werk mit Replikenlisten zu den Originalen der römischen Skulpturen ausarbeitete<sup>31</sup>. A. Linfert diskutierte vor allem das Programm der Athletenstatuen im »Kaisersaal« des »Gebäudes M«<sup>32</sup>. Ausgangspunkt seiner Überlegungen war die Basis einer Athenastatue aus Claudiopolis in Kilikien, deren Inschrift auf ein zweites »PHEIDIAKON«, also ein zweites kopiertes Werk des

<sup>14</sup> İnan 1975, 29–31 Nr. 4 Taf. 12, 1–2.

<sup>15</sup> Torso eines Hermes (Kyrene-Perinthos-Jüngling): Mansel 1963, 118 Abb. 94; İnan 1970, 21–26 Taf. 14, 2; 15, 1–3; 16, 1; İnan 1975, 19–29 Nr. 3 Taf. 10, 2; 11, 1–3; Newby 2005, 263 Anm. 128; Torso eines Hermes (Hermes Richelieu): İnan 1975, 74–77 Nr. 22 Taf. 34, 2; 35, 1–3; Torso des Hermes Typus Sandalenbinder: Mansel 1963, 116–117 Abb. 91; İnan 1975, 92–95 Nr. 32 Taf. 42, 1–2; Newby 2005, 263 Anm. 127 Abb. 8. 21.

<sup>16</sup> Mansel 1963, 118 Abb. 93; İnan 1975, 47–50 Nr. 10 Taf. 22, 1–3.

<sup>17</sup> Mansel 1963, 118 Abb. 95; İnan 1975, 98–101 Nr. 36 Taf. 45, 1–2; 46, 1–2.

<sup>18</sup> İnan 1975, 149 Nr. 103 Taf. 72, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Mansel 118 Abb. 97; İnan 1975, 101–102 Nr. 37 Taf. 5. 47, 1–3.

<sup>20</sup> Mansel 1963, 118 Abb. 96; İnan 1975, 168–170 Nr. 94 Taf. 79, 1–3.

<sup>21</sup> Nollé 1993, 40. 112–114; Alanyalı 2005; Alanyalı 2011, 77–78; Alanyalı 2016, 148–149.

<sup>22</sup> Nollé 1993, 105–112; Alanyalı 2011, 76–78; Alanyalı 2016, 147–149.

<sup>23</sup> Nollé 1993, 109–110.

<sup>24</sup> s. Anm. 15; Alanyalı 2011, 82; Alanyalı 2016, 153.

<sup>25</sup> Nollé 1993, 121.

<sup>26</sup> Nollé 1993, 119.

<sup>27</sup> Mansel 1978, 105–106 Abb. 113.

<sup>28</sup> Nollé 1993, 115–116.

<sup>29</sup> Nollé 1993, 120–121.

<sup>30</sup> Athletenstatuen: İnan 1970, 17–21 Taf. 13–14; İnan 1975, 13–18 Nr. 1 Taf. 6–7; Newby 2005, 262 Anm. 124 Abb. 8. 19 (Diskobolos-Torso); İnan 1975, 19 Nr. 2 Taf. 8, 1–2; 9, 1–2; Newby 2005, 262 Anm. 124 Abb. 8. 19 (Torso des Diskobolos von Myron); İnan 1975, 40–41 Nr. 7 Taf. 19, 1–3; Newby 2005, 263 Anm. 125 Abb. 8. 20 (Torso des Diadumenos des Polykleitos); İnan 1975, 72–74 Nr. 20 Taf. 32, 1–2; 33, 1–2 (Athleten-Torso); İnan 1975, 83–85 Nr. 28 Taf. 38, 1–2; 39, 1–2; Newby 2005, 263 Anm. 126 (Torso des Apoxyomenos des Lysippos).

<sup>31</sup> İnan 1975; Rez. s. Linfert 1979.

<sup>32</sup> Linfert 1995.

Phidias, hinweist. Linfert interpretierte die Position der Statuenkopien nach klassischen Meisterwerken im ›Kaisersaal‹ von Side anhand der Kombination dieser Werke und ihrer Meister in der antiken Fachliteratur.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich feststellen: Die Sideten errichteten im Rahmen ihrer kolossalen Therme eine mächtige Palästra und an deren Ostseite den ›Kaisersaal‹. Dieser monumentale Bau war hinsichtlich Architektur und Skulpturendekoration reich geschmückt<sup>33</sup>. Die romanisierten Sideten erstellten ein Bildprogramm, in dem Politik, Religion und Agon miteinander verknüpft und bedeutungsvoll präsentiert wurden.

Bisher waren in Side drei Thermen bekannt, zu denen nun das ›Gebäude M‹ als vierte Therme hinzutritt. Römische Thermen boten bekanntlich nicht nur Bademöglichkeiten, sondern waren ein beliebter Treffpunkt und Übungsplatz für Athleten und Knaben. Der ›Kaisersaal‹ diente vorwiegend repräsentativen Zwecken für fremde Besucher. In tetrarchischer Zeit wurde in seinem ersten Stock der Kaiser dargestellt und geehrt, um den engen Kontakt mit dem Kaiserhaus zu demonstrieren. Zu den dargestellten Gottheiten in diesem Saal gehörten Apollon, Hermes, Ares, Asklepios, Hygieia und Nemesis, wobei einige wichtige Götter des sidetischen Pantheons fehlen; zu erwarten wären Athena, Artemis, Dionysos, Demeter und Kybele<sup>34</sup>. Erklärt wird dieser Umstand womöglich dadurch, dass es sich hier um die Ausstattungsphase tetrarchischer Zeit handelt.

Die Skulpturen der Athleten wurden nach herausragenden Meisterwerken der Klassik geschaffen<sup>35</sup>. Der sog. Kaisersaal wurde als repräsentative Halle für die Demonstration der Loyalität gegenüber dem Kaiserhaus<sup>36</sup>, die in Side verehrten Gottheiten und die Präsentation der Agone errichtet. Der Schöpfer des Bildprogramms versuchte, ein ›Gesamtkunstwerk‹ aus Architektur und Skulpturendekoration zu erschaffen.

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<sup>34</sup> Dazu s. Alanyalı 2011; Alanyalı 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Linfert 1995, 159–164; Newby 2005, 262–263. 267.

<sup>36</sup> Ein offizieller Kaiserkult ist hier nicht nachzuweisen, ebenso wie in den anderen vergleichbaren Gebäuden in Kleinasien, vgl. die Diskussion z. B. in Yegül 1982; Newby 2005, 238–239; Burrell 2006, 437–450. 459–462; Auinger 2011, 119–120. 127–128; Steskal 2008, 295–296; Strocka 2012, 209–210.

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Abbildungsnachweis: Alle Abbildungen © Archiv der Side-Ausgrabung.





1 Side, »Gebäude M« nach den Restaurierungsarbeiten Ende der 1960er Jahre



2 Nemesisstatue an ihrem originalen Platz







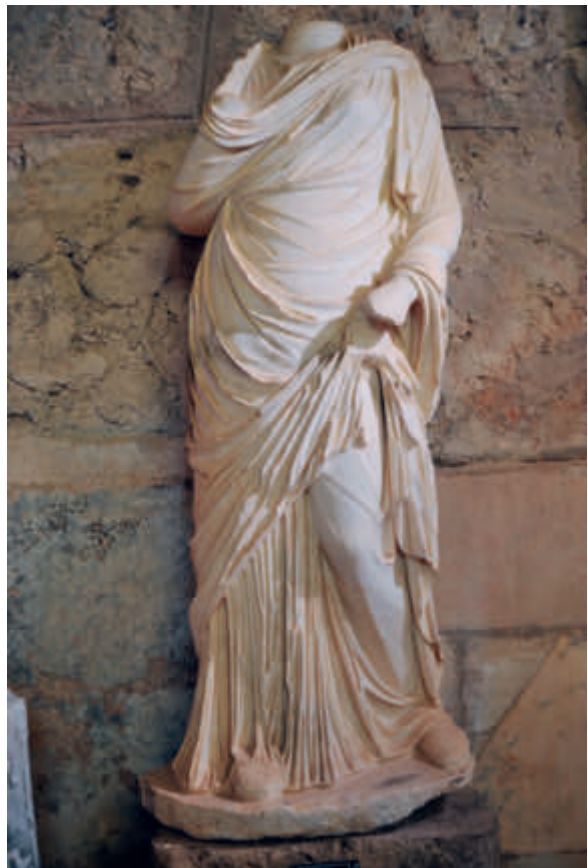
4 Panzerstatue mit Kaiserporträt (Licinius [?])



5 Männliche Porträtstatue



6 Männliches Porträt



7 Weibliche Gewandstatue



FRANCESCO D'ANDRIA

## SCULPTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PLOUTONION IN HIERAPOLIS

### ABSTRACT

The recent discovery in Phrygian Hierapolis of the sanctuary of Hades (Ploutonion, grotto, theatron, tholos, and dedicatory inscription to the gods of the Underworld) allows us to give a new interpretation of the sculptures found in this sacred space: particularly the colossal marble cult-statue of Hades-Serapis. Moreover, during the last week of the 2013 campaign, two important marble statues representing Cerberus, the three-headed dog, and the chthonian snake were found near the entrance to the grotto that was considered the Gates of Hell. The paper stresses the symbolic meaning of the two sculptures in the context of the sanctuary dedicated to the Gods of the Underworld. The ancient literary sources (Strabo, Cassius Dio, Damascius and others) underline the importance of the Ploutonion traditions in the construction of civic identity of Hierapolis. The paper focuses on the presence of sculptures connected with the gods of the Underworld also in the other most important public spaces of the city (theatre, sanctuary of Apollo, agora, etc.). The iconography will be investigated in connection with numismatic, epigraphic and literary evidence from the Phrygian city.

### ÖZET

#### Hierapolis'deki Plutonium Konteksindeki Heykeller

Frigya Hierapolis'de bulunan Hades Kutsal Alanı'ndaki son keşifler (Plutonium, mağara, *theatron*, *tholos* ve yer altı tanrılarının adanmış adak yazıtı) bu kutsal alanda bulunan heykelerin yeniden yorumlamasına olanak verir: Özellikle Hades-Serapis'in mermerden devasa Kült heykeli. Ayrıca 2013 yılının son haftasında biri üç başlı köpek Kerberos, diğeri Khtonios yılanı tasviri olmak üzere iki önemli mermer heykel Cehennem'in Kapısı olarak düşünülen mağaranın girişinin yanında bulunmuştur. Makale, iki heykelin Yeraltı Tanrılarına adanmış kutsal alan konteksi içerisindeki sembolik anlamını vurgulamaktadır.

Yazılı antik kaynaklar (Strabo, Cassius Dio, Damascius ve diğerleri) Plutonium geleneğinin Hierapolis'deki sivil kimliğin oluşturulmasındaki öneminin altını çizmektedirler. Bu makale Yeraltı Tanrıları ile ilgili heykellerin kentin diğer önemli kamusal alanlarında da (tiyatro, Apollon Kutsal Alanı, Agora, vb.) bulunmalarına yoğunlaşır. İkonografi, Frig şehrinde gelen nümizmatik, epigrafik ve yazılı belgeler ile bağlantılı olarak incelenecektir.

In the last few years, the area south of the Sanctuary of Apollo, in the heart of ancient Hierapolis, has been the object of intense investigations. These started with intra-site prospections to support the publication of the Atlas of Hierapolis and the geological map showing the position of the thermal springs throughout the area<sup>1</sup>. Today, waters from these springs still replenish the basins and pools that constitute one of the site's greatest tourist attractions. In this area, the discovery of the water sources and the basins on either side of the 1<sup>st</sup> century marble tholos led to its being interpreted as the Sanctuary of the Springs, linked to health cults, as in other Mediterranean contexts<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See D'Andria – Scardozzi – Spanò 2008, foglio 34; for the geological investigations of the faults and thermal springs, Campagna – Scardozzi 2013, 197–220; Marabini – Scardozzi 2015, 227–268.

<sup>2</sup> D'Andria 2013a, 115–120; for a preliminary description of the excavations inside the complex, identified in the initial phase of the research as the Sanctuary of the Springs, see D'Andria 2012, 480–481 figs. 4–5; D'Andria 2013c, 128 figs. 4–6.

In the course of the 2011 campaign, the excavations had brought to light a rectilinear theatron with travertine seating and a façade with Ionic semi-columns that framed the entrance to a cave from which thermal waters and gases emerge. It was thus possible to identify the Ploutonion described by ancient authors such as Strabo (13, 4, 14), Cassius Dio (68, 27) and Damascius (Βίος Ἰσιδώρου, in Photius 131). These literary sources refer to a theatre from which the spectators could watch the sacrifice of bulls by asphyxiation and the rites performed by the eunuchs of the goddess Kybele, who were able to enter the cave without coming to any harm. The discovery of the dedicatory inscription to Pluto and Kore in 2013, located above the entrance to the cave, provided definitive confirmation that this was the famous Ploutonion described and visited by numerous ancient authors such as Cicero (Div. 1, 36), who declared that he had seen the site: *Plutonia in Asia ... quae vidimus*<sup>3</sup>.

## CONTEXT OF DISCOVERY OF THE SCULPTURES

The sacrifice of the bulls appears to be referenced by the term *tauriskon* carved on the architrave next to the dedication to the divinities of the Underworld, and also by a frieze discovered in the area, bearing the unusual figure of a bull tied for sacrifice next to a palm.

The excavations of the Ploutonion are still in progress (figs. 1–2); they have brought to light numerous fragments of marble sculptures, indicating a considerable presence of statues and reliefs throughout the area of the sanctuary. Some are *ex voto* and must have been attached with nails to the walls of the religious complex, such as the small marble relief of a female figure (32 cm high) carrying fabric on her head as an offering to Kore-Persephone (fig. 3), recalling the nuptial rites represented in the pinakes of Locri<sup>4</sup>.

The area of the Ploutonion was however affected by various transformations in the Byzantine era (from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c.). In this period other sculptures were brought to the area and reused in the construction of walls, causing the progressive loss of the ancient religious function of the complex. It is thus essential to carefully study the sculptures' context of discovery, in order to verify whether they originally belonged to the Ploutonion.

Clearly transported from the North Agora, e.g., are the Ionic capitals with masks and those with lions sinking their teeth into bulls, reused with other architectural pieces and inscriptions in the large wall A, built at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century to hide the entrance to the cave<sup>5</sup>.

In this period of gradual abandonment of the Ploutonion's religious functions, an area within the complex was also set aside for the production of lime, and various marble artefacts were brought there to be transformed in the kilns. These activities may explain the presence of a finely crafted statue of Dionysus, about 1.5 m high (fig. 4). In terms of its dimensions and style, it seems to be comparable with the other statues of divinities (Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Hades) that decorated the aediculae of the second order of the theatre's *scaenae frons*<sup>6</sup>, and may thus have belonged to the sculptural decoration of that monument.

In contrast, clearly belonging to the sanctuary is the beautiful female head (22 cm high) that was found in an infill layer containing votive materials, oil lamps, bowls for libations and the burnt

<sup>3</sup> The preliminary presentation of the activities that led to the identification of the Ploutonion can be found in D'Andria 2013b, 157–199.

<sup>4</sup> Prückner 1968, 39–46; Torelli 1977, 165–166 pl. 7.

<sup>5</sup> For a description of the large wall A and its chronological context, see D'Andria 2013b, 175–178 fig. 22. For the sculptural decoration of the Agora see Rossignani – Sacchi 2011, 234–247.

<sup>6</sup> The headless statue is of a standing figure with the weight on the right leg. The left arm is raised and the right arm is pointing downwards, perhaps holding a kantharos. The figure is wearing a short chiton, over which is a *pardalis* belted below the breast, while the himation rests on the left shoulder and the back, and is held by the right arm. The statuary scheme (of the Hope type) may be compared to the statues in Copenhagen and the Hermitage, replicas of an original of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. Inspired by the same model is a Hellenistic terracotta from Syria (Gasparri 1986, 436–437 no. 128 b, Copenhagen; no. 128 c, Hermitage; 434 no. 305, terracotta). – Regarding the statues from the theatre, see Bejor 1991, 3–15 cat. 1–5 pls. 2–7.

remains of birds, all attributable to cult activities<sup>7</sup>. The head, sculpted separately and then attached to the body, presents a hairstyle with a knot at the top and stylistic features of the Hellenistic tradition (fig. 5). Such features, which can be recognised in Hierapolis from the Augustan to the Julio-Claudian ages, achieved their fullest expression in the so-called Tomba Bella<sup>8</sup>.

Of a different character and meaning is another relief, unfortunately covered in calcareous incrustations and corroded by the seismic gases, which was discovered inside cistern D, situated to the north of the broad space in front of the tholos<sup>9</sup>. The marble block (115 cm high) has a high relief of a standing female figure, with the weight on her left leg, with a himation draped over the right hip; in her left hand she seems to be holding a vegetal item with three branches, possibly a bundle of marsh canes. The lower left corner of the relief is badly damaged; if the object on which the figure seems to be leaning is a large vase from which water gushes forth, then the figure may be interpreted as the personification of a spring. This would be entirely compatible with the context of the thermal waters, which could have been at least partly channelled into cistern D<sup>10</sup>.

### THE REUSED SCULPTURES IN WALL G

The sculptures reused in the large Middle Byzantine wall (wall G) in the area east of the theatron<sup>11</sup> certainly come from the context of the sanctuary, unlike the reused blocks of wall A, obtained from the demolition of the large buildings of the North Agora. Considering the stratigraphic and contextual reading of the structure, the iconographic features of the sculptures reused in wall G are also comparable with the cults and functions that were practised in the sacred area. Of particular importance are two large fragments of a colossal statue (about 4 m high) of a male divinity seated on a throne wearing a chiton that shows the figure's powerful build and a himation that hangs from the left shoulder, covering the back of the figure and the left leg<sup>12</sup>. Given its size, it is believed to be the cult statue that was probably kept in a temple inside the sanctuary. The type of statuary recalls the model of Hades-Serapis by Bryaxis, as does another marble statue found in the theatre showing Hades seated on a throne flanked by the three-headed dog Cerberus and an eagle<sup>13</sup>. The close similarity in terms of the arrangement of the clothing and the position of the figure enable us to state that the colossal statue discovered inside the Ploutonion is also the representation of the god Hades<sup>14</sup>. Considering the dedication of the sanctuary to the two Underworld divinities, the statue was probably part of a group, possibly flanked by a statue of Kore-Persephone, no trace of which has been found however. During the excavation campaign 2013, a fragment of a head attributable to the same colossal statue of Hades was found in the deposit of blocks dumped in front of the cave in the Early Byzantine period. Unlike the statue of the theatre, in which the hair is arranged in two parallel sets of locks on the forehead, this fragment shows locks of wavy hair with an anastole in the centre of the forehead, apparently inspired by a late-classical model, as in the bronze statue of Serapis in the British Museum.

Found in the same Middle Byzantine wall (G) was another reused marble block with a decorative relief (61 cm high, 89 cm wide), probably belonging to a base-altar. On the front face are three dancing female figures holding hands (fig. 6). The dancers are shown in frontal view with the two lateral figures turned slightly towards the girl in the centre. They are wearing himatia

<sup>7</sup> The archaeozoological data pertaining to the bones of birds (chickens, doves and smaller birds) will be the object of excavation and specific research in future campaigns. These data recall the account by Strabo (13, 4, 14), who speaks of having thrown sparrows into the cave and seeing them die of asphyxiation.

<sup>8</sup> Romeo 2011, 199–200 fig. 12, 8.

<sup>9</sup> For the site plan of the complex, see D'Andria 2013b, 174 fig. 22.

<sup>10</sup> Cycles with a broad variety of personifications of springs and rivers are present in Hierapolis in the city's two main nymphaea, see D'Andria 2011a, 150–172.

<sup>11</sup> D'Andria 2013b, 174 fig. 22, wall G.

<sup>12</sup> D'Andria 2013b, 189–191 figs. 31, 33.

<sup>13</sup> Bejor 1991, 3–6 pls. 2–3; D'Andria 2013b, 189 f. fig. 32.

<sup>14</sup> D'Andria 2013b, 189–190 figs. 31–33.



variously draped over their upper bodies while the long chitons are flared outwards as an effect of the dancing movement. The quality of the relief is not exceptional: the hands and parts of the drapery appear rather approximate. However it is clearly inspired by prestigious models in the Hellenistic tradition, such as the friezes of Sagalassos and Knidos<sup>15</sup>. While the former belongs to a heroon located in the public area of the city, the relief of Knidos uses the motif of dancing girls as a central element of the images decorating the altar of Apollo, which, as in the case of the Ploutonion in Hierapolis, was located near a spring, on the lower terrace dominated by a flight of steps leading up to a rectilinear theatron. The theme of figures dancing while holding hands may recall ritual purification practices performed in the sanctuary of Hades. The theme of the ›linked dance‹ is also seen in the figures of the marble frieze on the podium of the theatre: in the cycle of Apollo, girls, linked by a garland, dance before the naked god in the act of sprinkling water on them with a laurel branch, typical of katharsis rituals<sup>16</sup>.

Reused in wall G, and attributable to the sanctuary is another marble relief, again severely eroded by the gases, which belonged to the façade of a marble building with an arched pediment (70 cm high; 85 cm wide; height of the bust: 54 cm). The relief shows a bearded, bare-chested figure whose left shoulder is covered by a himation; the elongated face and the type of beard suggest a philosopher rather than a divinity (fig. 7). Another distinctive aspect of the portrait is the crown on the figure's head, composed of very broad leaves that the botanists I have asked attribute to the plane tree. If this is the case then it should be stressed that the plane tree is closely linked to the healing practices that took place in the sanctuaries of Asklepios. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., in the oration dedicated to the well of Asklepios, Aelius Aristides describes the healing practices that took place in the sanctuary and speaks of the healthy waters that flowed from a spring next to a plane tree, i.e. from the foundations on which the temple was built<sup>17</sup>. In the Ploutonia of the valley of the Maeander, as in that of Acharaka near Nysa, Strabo (14, 1, 45–47) associates the caves, considered to be the gates to the Underworld, with healing practices performed in front of the entrances by means of incubation: worshippers stayed the night in the area and were healed by the divinity while they slept. The health aspect of Hades seems to clash with the fearsome characteristics of those places, where the emission of gases killed animals that strayed too near, particularly birds, and where bulls were also sacrificed by causing them to be asphyxiated by carbon dioxide. In the Ploutonion of Hierapolis as elsewhere, the two opposing aspects – the dangerous gases and the healthy thermal waters – are combined in the figure of Hades, who takes on the characteristics of Serapis, associated with the use of water for healing.

In this framework, the bearded figure crowned with a wreath of plane tree leaves, found in wall G, can be considered the portrait of a wise man, probably a famous doctor associated with the healing practices that are assumed to have taken place in the sanctuary in Hierapolis as in other cult sites linked to thermal springs. The insertion of the bust within a semicircular tympanum also recalls the *clipeus* portraits of philosophers, attested in Hierapolis in the late ancient period in the portrait of Socrates<sup>18</sup>, and in numerous and better quality examples from Aphrodisias<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Bruns-Özgan 1995, 253–256 fig. 2.

<sup>16</sup> D'Andria – Ritti 1985, 75–76 pls. 21, 2; 22, 2. Also associated with chthonian contexts is the pillar of Hekate from the Mithraeum of Sidon, around which are three girls dancing hand-in-hand, Bergmann 1999, 24 pl. 29, 3. The function of Apollo as a purifying god is also seen in the important inscription containing the text of an oracle of Klaros: Ritti 2006, 194–199; Guizzi 2012, 681 fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Behr 1981, 236; Aristeid., Εἰς τό φρέαρ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου 253 (= Orationes 39, 6). According to Pliny the Elder (nat. 16, 240): *Regionem Aulocrenen diximus, per quam Apamea in Phrygiam itur; ibi platanus ostenditur, ex qua pependerit Marsuas victus ab Apolline, quae iam tum magnitudine electa est*. The account is particularly significant if we consider the context of Apamea, a city near to Hierapolis, where waters also play an important role, due to the presence of the springs of the Maeander, with cults such as those of Marsyas and Kybele, divinities of nature and health-giving waters: Nollé 2006, 56. 81.

<sup>18</sup> For the *clipeus* portrait of Socrates discovered in Hierapolis, see D'Andria – Mannino 2007.

<sup>19</sup> For portraits of the philosophers of Aphrodisias, see Smith 1991.

## THE STATUES OF THE SERPENT AND CERBERUS

The main discovery of the last few weeks of the excavations of 2013 definitely belongs to the sculptures situated in the central part of the sanctuary. Not far from the entrance to the cave of the Ploutonion a marble sculpture of a snake (110 cm wide) coiled around a cylindrical element (fig. 8) came to light. The statue was found among blocks, originally belonging to a portico that had been dumped in the 6<sup>th</sup> century to obscure the entrance to the Ploutonion. The head of the snake was discovered a short distance away. At the bottom of the relief is a lion's paw; the piece was probably the lateral slab of a base, perhaps part of the entrance to the cave, considered the Gates of Hell. Indeed, the inner side is roughly hewn and another symmetrical block probably decorated the other side of the base. In the context of its discovery, the presence of such a sculpture is particularly significant. The serpent is closely linked to the Underworld by a long iconographic tradition dating back to the Archaic period. In the relief of Chrysafa in Sparta for example, the serpent is represented with a pair of seated chthonian divinities; one of these holds a kantharos in the act of performing a libation while a snake climbs up the back of the throne<sup>20</sup>. A serpent is also seen preceding the quadriga of Hades in one of the reliefs of Chiragan, with the scene of the abduction of Persephone. This connection appears to be particularly significant if we consider the stylistic relationships of these sculptures, discovered in a site in southern France, with the artistic environment of Asia Minor<sup>21</sup>.

The marble relief with the serpent also needs to be understood in relation to the evolution of the city in the Early Byzantine period (5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> c.). This period saw the rise of the cult of the apostle Philip, who, according to an ancient and authoritative tradition, evangelised Hierapolis before being martyred there. The cult of the saint was centred on the Christian sanctuary built on the hill to the north-east of the city, and it is to this milieu, in a framework of intense interaction with followers of the Montanist heresy (particularly numerous in this area), that the apocryphal *Acta Philippi* has been attributed. The text narrates the life of the apostle and his various travels until his arrival in Hierapolis, referred to as Ophiorhyme, the city of the serpent (*Acta Philippi* 108)<sup>22</sup>.

The text also points out that its citizens practised the cult of Echidna, a viper to which libations of wine were offered. The expression ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ ὕδης («and Hades is his road», *Acta Philippi* 110), referring to the serpent, shows the clear connection with the Underworld, any consideration of which in the context of Hierapolis must take account of the presence of the famous sanctuary of the Ploutonion. It may be argued that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the *Acta* were written, before the complete obliteration of this place of pagan worship, the images of chthonian serpents, in the central part of the area in front of the cave, may have provided the basis for the Christians' association of the serpent with Hierapolis. In an anti-pagan key, the serpent is of course the symbol of Evil (πατήρ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὁ διάβολος, *Acta Philippi* 110), from which the city can be liberated only by the message of Christianity<sup>23</sup>.

Of particular importance for understanding the system of images in the sanctuary is the extraordinary discovery made in September 2013, which I am delighted to be able to present here. During work in the area in front of the cave, the removal of the Early Byzantine infill material exposed the water table of the thermal springs. Among the blocks that had been dumped there, on the south side of the cave entrance, the flowing water washed away the mud, revealing a marble statue (120 cm high; 67 cm wide) of Cerberus, the three-headed guard dog of Hades (fig. 9 a. b).

<sup>20</sup> The Attic votive reliefs with Zeus Meilichios, represented sitting on a rock and flanked by a snake also refer to the chthonian context; in another relief, now in Berlin, the coiled snake is going out from a cave, in front of two praying figures: Giuman 2008, 137–139 figs. 2–4.

<sup>21</sup> Lindner 1984, 89–90 n. 123 pl. 29: the presence of the serpent is linked by the author to Minerva rather than the chthonian context, Lindner 1988, 403 no. 39.

<sup>22</sup> *Acta Philippi* ed. with commentary by Bovon – Bouvier – Amsler 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Weber 1910, 211–216, in which the Echidna is seen as a projection of the cult of Kybele in its chthonian dimension.

The place of discovery, right next to the rocky aperture that the ancients considered the gateway to the Underworld, is of extraordinary significance. The three-headed dog appears to be sitting on its haunches, in frontal view, and its anatomy is rendered with an approximate but energetic treatment. Particularly in the rendering of the paws and claws, it recalls the statue of the crouching lion from Nymphaeum A in nearby Laodicea<sup>24</sup>. The locks of hair on the three heads may also be said to allude to a lion's mane; they are rendered in a more sober fashion than the statue of Hades from the theatre, in which Cerberus's heads appear to be crowned by thick manes that even extend on to the chest, where the two serpents intertwine as if forming a collar. The position of the three heads is also different: in the statue from the theatre, they are looking towards the spectator, while in the sculpture from the Ploutonion only the central head is in a perfectly frontal position while the two lateral heads are seen in profile and the size of the heads is out of proportion with respect to the rest of the body. It was also observed, at the moment of the discovery, that the profile of the canine heads recalls that of the *kangal*, the Anatolian sheep dog, which may have been a source of inspiration for the sculptor. The importance of this discovery lies not just in its position within the sacred area but also in its considerable size, which distinguishes it from other representations of Cerberus, generally smaller and belonging to statuary groups with Hades or Herakles, the latter in the act of capturing the three-headed monster as one of his twelve labours. It should also be pointed out that the workmanship on the right side of the statue seems less refined, as if it was intended to be placed next to another sculptural element as part of a larger group. It has been suggested that it may have belonged to the colossal statue of Hades, but it is too small with respect to the hypothetical height of that statue. It is possible that this image of Cerberus was positioned right next to the arch marking the entrance to the Underworld.

### CHTHONIAN MYTHS IN THE OTHER MONUMENTS OF HIERAPOLIS

The discovery of the Ploutonion of Hierapolis opens up a new line of research into the impact of the myths linked to the sanctuary on the imagery and self-representation of the city's identity. Some places have a special importance in that they represent obligatory meeting points for the civic body. As part of the processional itineraries, marked by various stages beginning at the entrance to the city and passing by the main monuments including the nymphaea and the temples, the theatre played a special role. Indeed, it is in the theatre that we see the full panoply of images relating to the colony's origins, its relationship with the imperial family, and the main myths linked to the sacred area. The imagery, arranged in a complex iconographic programme, makes reference to the broader context of religion in Asia Minor<sup>25</sup>. The *scaenae frons* of the theatre, the anastylosis of which has been completed, includes a series of representations that reference the city's main mythical traditions and religious sites. As well as themes connected with Apollo and the nearby oracular sanctuary, there is great emphasis on images linked to the Ploutonion, not only the well-known statue of Hades-Serapis, but also the two reliefs located at the base of the second order, aligned with the *versurae* in a position of general visibility near the *diazoma*.

The two friezes are located in a symmetrical position on the right and left sides of the *scaenae frons*, at the same height as the frieze with the imperial family placed over the *porta regia* and the Dionysian friezes, placed symmetrically above the two loggias on the building's north and south *paraskenia*. The scene of the abduction of Persephone by Hades on a chariot driven by Hermes and Eros and followed by Athena is located to the left, on the south side, while the scene of Demeter's pursuit on the chariot pulled by winged serpents is on the north side. The two episodes are thus conceptually distinct, reflecting the different moments in which the events happen in the

<sup>24</sup> Şimşek 2007, 147 fig. 55 j.

<sup>25</sup> D'Andria – Ritti 1985, 175–186; Di Napoli 2002, 379–412.

myth<sup>26</sup>. In the latter frieze a reference to the landscape of Hierapolis can be recognised on the left side of the relief which shows a rocky slope, an apparent allusion to the travertine formations that have made the site of Pamukkale (the »castle of cotton«) famous<sup>27</sup>. Lying on the rocks, looking at Demeter's chariot, is a lightly-clad female figure holding a marsh cane, recognisable as the personification of a spring; the image is however characterised by a turreted crown, which recalls the civic aspect and may constitute a reference to the city of Hierapolis itself, indicated in the theatre's inscription as *potnia nymphon* (the lady of the springs). This representation has a significant parallel in the frieze of the theatre in Nysa on the Maeander, another city where Strabo refers to the presence of a Ploutonion or Charoneion, in Acharaka; in those reliefs the scene of Persephone's abduction is also represented within a rocky landscape, characterised by the presence of numerous personifications of rivers and springs<sup>28</sup>.

In the aediculae of the 1<sup>st</sup> order of the *scaenae frons* were four statues of standing female divinities, of which only the two central pieces are in a good state of conservation and have been restored to their original position. The craftsmanship and quality of the marble show a high level of execution and a derivation from Hellenistic models; this led us to suppose that they may belong to the phase preceding the Severan-era theatre, which the latest investigations have enabled us to date to the Augustan period<sup>29</sup>.

The statue on the right (237 cm high) has woollen lappets with knots and a veil with a fringe; of particular significance is the gesture of *anakalypsis*, the hand uncovering the right-hand side of the face<sup>30</sup>. The figure holds a torch in her left hand that also seems significant, enabling us to interpret this as the image of Kore-Persephone. Thus the theatre presents an iconographic programme that blends mythological themes, linked to the Anatolian cults of Apollo and Artemis, with the theme of the divinities of the Underworld, leaving the Dionysian repertory in the background.

Another place in the city where chthonian characteristics emerge strongly is the Sanctuary of Apollo, built on the same fault-line as the Ploutonion, where the same natural phenomena, i.e. thermal springs and emissions of poisonous gases, can be seen. The building housing the alphabetic oracle, the bothros, the reference to Apollo Kareios and the inscription with the oracle of Klaros, prescribing the offering of »immaculate victims« to the chthonian gods, are all elements that characterise the sanctuary complex in terms of its connections with the divinities of the Underworld<sup>31</sup>. The images decorating the various monuments inside the sanctuary also emphasise these references: in the broad open space in front of the theatron which leads to the terrace of the temples there was probably a base with a frieze representing Demeter and Kore in addition to the Apollonian Triad<sup>32</sup>.

Lastly, the themes linked to the Ploutonion and the chthonian nature of the city's cults are recalled in another symbolic location, the North Agora. Here, despite the destruction caused by the earthquake and the systematic demolition of the marble monumental structures, in the south-west area a relief on the corner column of the porticoes surrounding the square was conserved. Inside an aedicula is a triple-form representation of the goddess Hekate, in which the civic aspect is expressed in attributes such as the crown, the cornucopia and the sceptre<sup>33</sup>. These symbols transform a typical Underworld divinity – here shown outside the usual schemes – into a

<sup>26</sup> Sobrà – Masino 2010, 396–397 figs. 24–25. In the imperial-age theatre in Parion, the marble frieze presents the scene of the pursuit of Demeter on the chariot driven by serpents in the presence of other divinities: Başaran 2013, 82–84 figs. 82–85.

<sup>27</sup> D'Andria 2011b, 345–347 fig. 4.

<sup>28</sup> Lindner 1994, 122 pl. 16.

<sup>29</sup> D'Andria 2012, 143–161.

<sup>30</sup> Bejor 1991, 24–25 pls. 15, 16, 1–2.

<sup>31</sup> Semeraro 2012, 303–322.

<sup>32</sup> D'Andria 2011a, 166–168.

<sup>33</sup> D'Andria 2001, 51–58.

personification of the city of Hierapolis itself, where natural phenomena give rise to myths and cults linked to the chthonian universe.

The city's self-representation strategies are also seen in objects such as the coins bearing representations of the myths associated with the divinities of the polis. The circulation of these objects propagated local religious traditions across a much wider area. Naturally the most commonly represented theme is that of Persephone's abduction on the chariot driven by Hades, which, together with the image of Apollo with the crown of the Hierapolitan *agones*, became one of the key symbols of the city's identity.

Other numismatic images show Hades and Kybele standing or sitting on the throne, flanked by one or two lions; the Magna Mater is represented in the same scheme as Hygieia, perhaps in reference to the therapeutic function of the sanctuary in which the extremely ancient female cult persisted side by side with that of the chthonian divinities introduced by the Greek colonists<sup>34</sup>.

The system of images that reached its highest expression in the sacred area of the Ploutonion was manifested in all the monumental complexes where the public life of the city was conducted; via objects such as coins, it also entered the everyday activities of the citizens. Seen in their proper context, the images reveal other more complex meanings that go beyond individual stylistic analyses and the traditional practice of iconological comparison, which often does not take account of the specific local situation, conditioned by the natural context and by long-standing practices and traditions.

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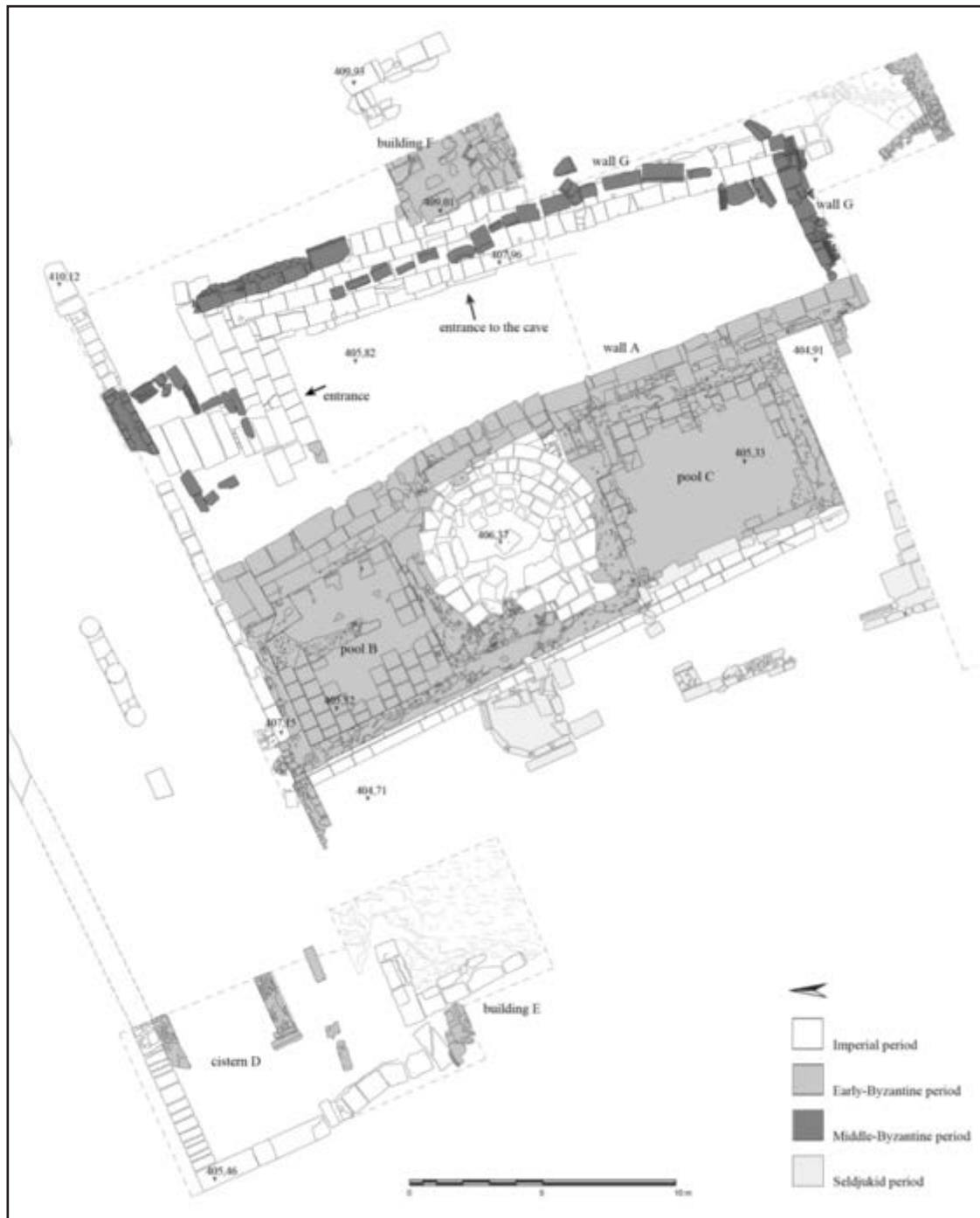
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1 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: General plan



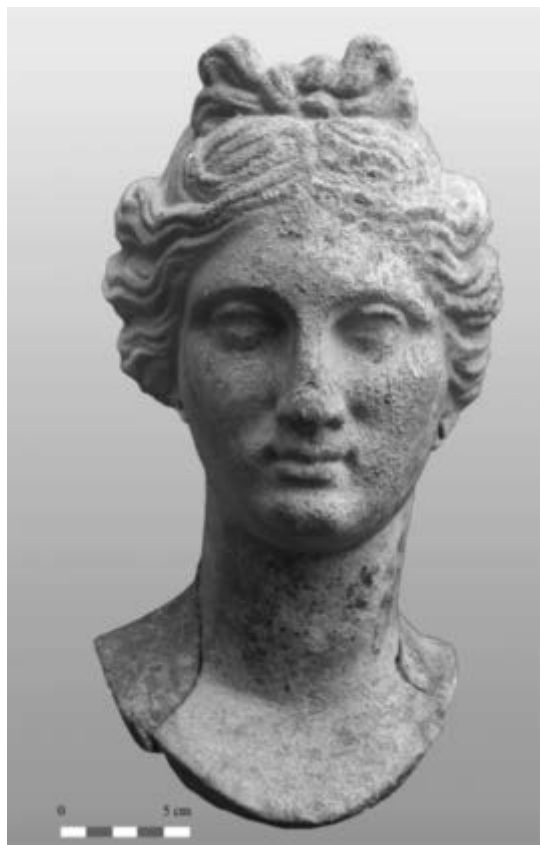
2 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: The excavation of the area in front of the grotto. To the right, the statue of the snake



3 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Female figure carrying fabric on her head



4 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Statue of Dionysos



5 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Female head



6 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Relief with dancing female figures





7 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Relief of bearded figure

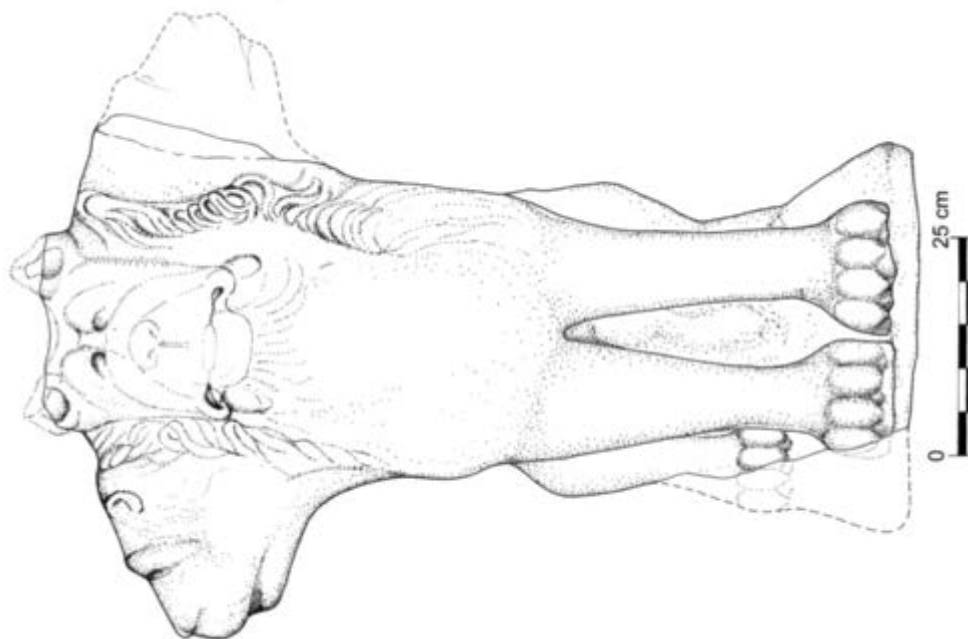


8 Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Statue of a snake





9 a Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Statue of Cerberus



9 b Hierapolis, Ploutonion: Drawing of the statue of Cerberus (F. Malinconico)

SERAP ERKOÇ – MUSTAFA KOÇAK

## FOUR RELIEF-PEDESTALS FROM PATARA

## ABSTRACT

In 2011 and 2012 the area immediately east of the so-called harbour bath in Patara was excavated. Contrary to an expected palaestra, a square hall with a large apse in the east and 14 niches on the sides came to the light. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., this square hall must have been added to the main building consisting of *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium*. It continued to exist most likely until the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., but its function was not always the same. The sculptural finds from this space are moderate as are those from the entire bath. Of interest are four pedestals showing male figures in high relief. The former setting of these sculptures in the hall can be easily determined. They formed at least the bulk of the sculptural repertory of the western façade, opposite the large apse. The following article deals *inter alia* with the question of the meaning(s) of this constellation.

## ÖZET

## Patara'dan Dört Kabartmalı Pedestal

2011 ve 2012 yıllarında, Patara'da Liman Hamamı olarak adlandırılan gelen yapının hemen doğusundaki alanın kazısı gerçekleştirilmiştir. Burada, hamama ait bir *palaestra* beklenirken, doğusunda apsisi, kuzey ve güney yüzlerinde toplam 14 derin nişi ile kare planlı büyük bir salon ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Söz konusu bu salon, MS. 3. yüzyılda, soğukluk, ılıkılık ve sıcaklıktan oluşan ana binaya eklenmiş olmalıdır. Zaman içerisinde işlevinde değişiklikler geçiren bu alan, büyük olasılıkla en azından 7. yüzyılın sonuna kadar kullanılmaya devam edilmiş olmalıdır. Bütün hamam yapısında olduğu gibi, bu mekandan da ele geçen heykel buluntuları fazla değildir. Yine de, ön yüzlerinde yüksek kabartma halinde erkek figürleri yer alan dört adet kaide ilgiye değerlidir. Bu kabartmalı kaidelerin, salonda oturdukları yerler kolayca tespit edilebilmiştir. Bunlar, büyük apsisin karşısındaki duvarın, yani salonun batı duvarının, heykel programının en azından önemli bir bölümünü oluşturmuş olmalıdırlar. Aşağıdaki makale, diğer kimi konuların yanı sıra, bu kompozisyonun içerdiği anlam sorusu ile de ilgilidir.

During recent excavations in Patara four pedestals came to light that depict standing male figures in high relief (figs. 1–4). With regard to the discovery site, material, form, dimensions and content, they form a tightly closed ensemble. For the first time these interesting finds offer some insight into the sculptural program of one of the studied buildings in this Lycian city. However, they also present problems, which are presented below.

## LOCATION

The pedestals were uncovered in the so-called Harbour Baths, which, as their name suggests, were constructed in the immediate vicinity of the harbour, in the northwest of the city, south of the Tepecik-Hill (fig. 5)<sup>1</sup>. The whole complex is built on a ca. 75 × 30/45 m wide trapezoidal area<sup>2</sup>. In the western part, three rooms from east to west, *frigidarium* – *tepidarium* – *caldarium*, form the core of the building complex. At a later date, from the east a representative hall was added to this core. It is a 40 × 40 m square hall. Its eastern wall includes a large apse with three rectangular

<sup>1</sup> In earlier literature: ›north baths‹ (Farrington 1995, 158 no. 41 fig. 18) or ›hürmalık hamamı‹, ›thermae of date grove‹ (Korkut 2003; Gülşen 2008; Işık 2011, 50–52). For the city plan, see: Bruer – Kunze 2010.

<sup>2</sup> In the east, that is, the spaces with mosaic floor, the excavation is still ongoing, so that we can not yet determine the exact extent of the building complex.

niches, which were probably intended for statues. On the northern and southern sides, 3.50 m deep and 2.80 m wide niches between eight projecting piers are located, four of them serving as entrances. Barrel vaults covered the individual niches, while the whole hall was covered by a huge barrel vault. The floor was laid with marble slabs. It is uncertain what lay under this hall. From a typological perspective, this hall is a *basilica thermarum*<sup>3</sup>. As in many other examples, this hall also communicates directly with the *frigidarium*. As with the others, also here we cannot determine the function with clarity; it is likely that it served a variety of purposes.

All the four pedestals come from this *basilica thermarum*. A few other sculptural finds also come from this hall, whereas from the bath complex as a whole, statue fragments of nude youths and an over life-size torso of Heracles of the Lenbach-Type were found. We cannot be sure, however, if these statues were actually part of the original sculptural decoration – with the possible exception of the Herakles due to its size. Among the finds are, e.g., fragments from an *ostotheke* with reliefs or very small statuettes (Aphrodite Fréjus type), which would not be expected in a bath context. Moreover, not a single statue base was discovered in the Harbour Baths.

It is therefore only these pedestals which can undoubtedly be assigned to this hall, and their exact location in it can even be defined. Each of the pedestals is about 1 m high and preserves two holes for dowels on the top. On the outer wall of the *frigidarium*, which also forms the west wall of the *basilica thermarum*, there are six large consoles. About 1 m above the consoles are pairs of mounting holes. The distances between the individual pairs of holes on the wall correspond to those of the pedestals so that we can easily assign each pedestal to a certain console. Unfortunately, two of the formerly six pedestals are missing, one in the south and one in the centre (fig. 6).

## FUNCTION

Were these pedestals part of a columned, multi-storeyed façade, as in the examples in Sagalassos or in Corinth<sup>4</sup>? There is clear evidence against such a façade construction in the Harbour Bath of Patara. For static reasons the consoles need to be supported from below if they are to carry pedestals and additionally columns. This, however, was not the case, because on the one hand the bottoms of the consoles are rounded, and on the other hand some of the consoles are located over doorways. In addition, the dowels, at least in one piece clearly traceable (P1, fig. 1), were not embedded into the stone surface, which means nothing more could be placed on the pedestal. Hence, the pedestals must have stood alone on the consoles; they could not have been used to support anything.

Yet, some factors indicate that they were not originally intended for the consoles of the Pataran *basilica thermarum*. First of all, the placing of statues on consoles was not an unusual practice, especially in the East<sup>5</sup>. However, we could not find any other example which is comparable with the Pataran case: a sole relief-pedestal on a console. Furthermore, the upper surfaces of the two pedestals show anathyrosis, which only makes sense if they were once used to support some further elements (columns etc.). Moreover, the lower parts of the relief-figures, the feet in particular, are carefully modelled, even though these parts were not visible from below. This indicates that the pedestals were originally intended for eye level, not for the consoles three metres above the floor. And, even if clearly observable in only one case, it seems that the back part of the cornice has been chiselled away so that it could be moved closer to the wall. We therefore assume that these

<sup>3</sup> For *basilica thermarum* see Nielsen 1990, 162; Yegül 1992, 414–416 fig. 501; Steskal 2008, 298–299.

<sup>4</sup> Sagalassos: Mägele 2011, fig. 21, 13; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 238 no. 98. At the Hadrianic nymphaeum in Sagalassos the projecting pilasters serve as pedestals; they are not free standing. Corinth: Stillwell 1941, esp. 73–75 figs. 40, 51; von Hesberg 1983. Further examples are the pedestals of the Arches of Septimius Severus and of Constantine in Rome.

<sup>5</sup> The next example can be found in Patara itself: on the consoles of the Arch of Mettius Modestus statues were placed, which is evident from the inscriptions (see Işık 2011, 45–46). Further examples in the East: Højte 2005, 39–40 fig. 8.

relief-pedestals must have been placed here after their first use in another context. But what was this context? For this it is necessary to discover what the original function of these pedestals was.

As is known, the present form (profiled base – square shaft – profiled cornice) appears in many contexts in Greek and Roman antiquity, such as altars, statue bases, supports for votive offerings (column monuments, etc.), or very commonly in architecture as a base for columns and pillars. In the present case, we can easily rule out several possibilities mentioned above. These were not altars firstly because any attachments or traces for an altar are missing, and secondly it would be very unusual to set up four (or even six) similar-looking altars<sup>6</sup>. They also did not serve as statue bases, since they lack any traces (for dowels, etc.) for attaching bronze or marble statues<sup>7</sup>.

Pedestals have been used as socles in votive contexts since the Classical period<sup>8</sup>. Occasionally such pedestals are decorated with reliefs, such as a Hellenistic example in Cyrene, the *Colonna di Pratomede*<sup>9</sup>. However, even this interpretation is not applicable to the Pataran finds, because these votive offerings, column monuments, etc., usually do not appear in large groups, but instead they are in general individual monuments. It is therefore difficult to connect our finds with such a context.

The only possibility remains to seek a use in the field of architecture. D. Wannagat has demonstrated that since at least the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. pedestals were used as support elements for columns or pillars<sup>10</sup>. This practice became very common, especially in Roman architecture. Those decorated with reliefs are, however, extremely rare, although a comprehensive study of such material is still lacking (perhaps because of this rarity [?]). Only a few examples are known such as the pedestal with relief from the probably Augustan façade in Corinth<sup>11</sup>. The other examples are later in date, such as the North Façade of the Odeion in the Athenian Agora<sup>12</sup>, the above-mentioned arches in Rome and the Nymphaeum in Sagalassos. Possibly the anathyrosis of the Pataran pedestals speaks for a primary use in such an architectural context, but we cannot connect them with any known building in the city. However, this option too presents problems. As is known, clamps and dowels linked the stone architectural elements of ancient buildings. Our pedestals, however, lack the expected traces of such construction methods.

In sum, we can only state that these pedestals were moved into the Harbour Baths after an unknown primary use. From this time on they functioned not as architectural elements, but only as image carriers.

## DATES

When were they moved into the bath? A *terminus ante quem* suggests itself. Above the first console to the south, a pair of mounting holes is still visible, so a pedestal must have been mounted on it. But this console was either largely destroyed and was no longer visible after the construction of the *basilica thermarum*. It is therefore likely that the pedestals had already been placed on the consoles before the erection of this hall. According to the pottery findings from the test trenches in the *basilica thermarum* and the mosaic floor in the adjacent rooms, the hall cannot be dated earlier than the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>13</sup>. The previous observations suggest that the main building (the three rooms) must have been constructed at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or at the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, the pedestals were moved to their final position

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schraudolph 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schmidt 1995, in particular the drawings figs. 205–213.

<sup>8</sup> Wannagat 1995, 17–48.

<sup>9</sup> Wannagat 1995, figs. 39–40. 43.

<sup>10</sup> Wannagat 1995, 49–93.

<sup>11</sup> See n. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Thomson 1950, 110–124.

<sup>13</sup> The excavation is not yet completed, see Erkoç 2015.

<sup>14</sup> See Alanyalı 2009, 139.

sometime during this period (100–250 A.D.). Since they were used secondarily in the baths, it is more than likely that they were already made before the construction of the baths, that is, during the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.

For this postulated production time for the pedestals stylistic comparisons may be adduced. However, their state of preservation makes such an analysis difficult. Nevertheless, some observations can be made: under the headgear of one of the figures (P4, fig. 4), short curls of hair fall over the forehead. The pointed ends of the curls are curved like a sickle, while each individual curl is divided obliquely by a cutting line. Similarly modelled curls appear on the head of Emperor Claudius from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias<sup>15</sup>. The Sebasteion provides more possibilities for comparisons, especially regarding the wings of other figures (P1, fig. 1). These are, namely, a Nike, a Pegasus and an eagle<sup>16</sup>. At first it can be noted that the border of the wings, both on Nike and on the Pataran figure, is strongly accentuated. The feathers of our figure terminate in pointed ends, as do those of the Pegasus and the eagle. So it is stylistically possible that the relief-pedestals were produced around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Probably after an earthquake, maybe that of 141 A.D., they were moved into the Harbour Baths<sup>17</sup>.

The pedestals remained in the Harbour Baths until their rediscovery, even though not all in the same way. The pedestals P2, P3 and P4 were reused in various late walls in the converted *basilica thermarum*. Initial research suggests that these walls must have been constructed first after the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., that is, at the time when the bath was abandoned and workshops were established<sup>18</sup>. The pedestal P1, on the other hand, stood on its console most likely until the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., if not even to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Its two broken pieces were discovered together, almost on the surface of a 3 m thick deposit. The layer immediately below it dates to the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It must have fallen down following an earthquake which destroyed the building completely, in the location where also the limekilns from the 12–13<sup>th</sup> centuries were buried. However, the figures were manipulated most probably before the construction of late spolia-walls. On pedestal P1 (fig. 1), it can be clearly observed that the genitals and breasts were deliberately chipped away.

Briefly stated, neither the primary context of these pedestals nor their function is yet known (maybe this will always be the case). Sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. they were moved into the bath, possibly after an earthquake. With the growth of Christianity, these figures were reworked, as so often occurred at that time<sup>19</sup>. After this damage came a period (the establishment of workshops), in which the reliefs were simply ignored. Whilst one of them was left in its place, the others, which had perhaps fallen down in an earthquake, were treated as raw material and installed in walls alongside other stones.

## IDENTITIES

Now let us turn to the figures. Who are they? Three of them are relatively easy to identify. The first figure (P1, fig. 1) with large wings stands with crossed legs on the plinth. His hands disappear behind his back. The figure wears a tunic-like dress<sup>20</sup>, exposing the genitals. On his head, he

<sup>15</sup> Smith 2013, pls. 61–62.

<sup>16</sup> Smith 2013, pls. 25, 143, 152.

<sup>17</sup> The very destructive earthquake from 141 A.D. is well known. So *inter alia*, Opramoas from Rhodiapolis provided extensive funds for the reconstruction and reparation of the Lycian cities. In Patara, he funded a double stoa at the harbour (Bruer – Kunze 2010, 55 n. 10). Maybe as part of these rebuilding works major changes took place in the city: the colonnaded street was reoriented, now towards the harbour (Aktaş 2013). It is possible that the relief-pedestals were brought into the bath at this time.

<sup>18</sup> See Alanyalı 2009, 125.

<sup>19</sup> A not unusual practice in Late Antiquity: see Hannestad 2001; for further late ancient methods of treating statues in Asia Minor, see Jacobs 2010 with further literature.

<sup>20</sup> In the literature the term *tunica manicata* or *anaxyrides* is applied to these clothes (Vermaseren 1987, no. 864 and no. 883, once refers to this clothing as *tunica manicata* and at another time *anaxyrides*). However, the *tunica manicata* is a long-sleeved, knee-length closed shirt, used in particular for the representations of ›Barbarians‹



wears a ›Phrygian cap‹ (or so-called tiara). The iconography is very clear: the wings, the specific clothes, the exposure of the genitals, and the disappearance of the hands identify him clearly as the Enchained Attis. Several examples exist which conform to this scheme, e.g. one from Cyzicus in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul<sup>21</sup>.

In many ways, the Patara Attis (P1) differs from the other known exemplars of this motif. This concerns first of all the garment: in the majority of examples, the upper part looks like an open shirt (as with the Attis from Cyzicus), which is held only with a medallion or knob on the chest. Its sides then billow outwards (like sails) to make a bow and lead to the lower part of the garment. Sometimes these ›sails‹ are doubled with a belt at the waist marking the separation<sup>22</sup>. Only in a few examples, the upper part resembles a closed shirt with v-neckline (similar to a Roman tunica); this is the case in the Patara Attis and some other examples<sup>23</sup>. Some of these examples, however, combine the closed upper part with v-neckline, with the billowing side areas like sails, which the Patara Attis does not.

In the Patara Attis, however, the part of the garment on the abdomen is rolled into a band, which describes a wide arc on the body leaving the genitals free. This manner of depiction evokes the late Hellenistic Hermaphrodites of the *anasyromenos* schema<sup>24</sup>. Perhaps this was done on purpose, as an allusion to the hermaphrodites. In this sense the emphasis on breasts is interesting. This is particularly evident on the right breast, where the drapery folds are disposed radially, thus accentuating the breast below.

From the next figure (P4, fig. 4), only the upper body is preserved. Most probably a standing figure is represented here. As with P1 it has also large wings, which cover nearly the whole background. The figure wore a garment which is not clearly identifiable. On its head it wears a tiara or a ›Phrygian cap‹ as does the figure P1. This figure must also be Attis. However, the shape of the wings differs from the other one: the upper ends are rolled inwards, and they are not arched as in P1. Furthermore the wings of P4 are more asymmetrically arranged (both in width and in height) in contrast to the symmetrical wings of P1. This is not the only difference between the two figures. The head and the face of the P4 figure are more rounded, and the neck is shorter and fatter. There are also differences in the pedestals: the cornice behind the head of P4 is not profiled. Therefore, this figure probably represents a child in a pose of active movement. Very likely this is a dancing Attis, as in a terracotta example from Myrina<sup>25</sup>.

The third naked figure (P2, fig. 2) displays the well-known Lykeios posture with one hand resting on the top of the head. In this pose, we usually find Apollo or Dionysus. In the present case, it must be the god of wine: on the left side of the figure, on the profile, the rest of an object in high relief is preserved. Its cone like form and the bumpy surface evoke a bunch of grapes

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(Cleland et al. 2007, 31). In contrast, the *anaxyrides* are not so clearly defined as the *tunica manicata*, but they can be understood more or less as trousers (Cleland et al. 2007, 6). This, too, is commonly found among the ›Barbarians‹ or ›Orientals‹, e.g. on a figure from Ephesos (according to Karwiese 1967, 87 this figure is Attis, yet Feuser 2013, 144–146 no. 111, now rightly identifies it as an ›Oriental‹). But what Attis wears here, and in many other cases, are not *anaxyrides* and much less a *tunica manicata*, because it is only one piece (comparable but not identical clothing worn by Amazons or other ›Barbarians‹ is often to be found in Greek vase painting). Either it was a garment which actually existed, which was interpreted by Greeks and later Romans in visual arts, or it was totally a Greco-Roman fantasy gown. In our opinion the latter is true in the case of Attis: the knobs on the legs are completely impractical for actual pants.

<sup>21</sup> Vermaseren 1987, no. 284. For an enchained Attis without wings: Korkut 2000, 171–178.

<sup>22</sup> Vermaseren 1986, nos. 126–128.

<sup>23</sup> Vermaseren 1986, nos. 86. 137; Vermaseren 1982, no. 662 pl. 194; Vermaseren 1987, no. 495 pl. 109 and no. 883 pl. 194; Nikoloska 2010 figs. 101. 116; Korkut 2000, figs. 1–3.

<sup>24</sup> See Oehmke 2004, nos. 56. 69. 76. 77 and 88. Might this also be considered as an indication for the early production of the Pataran reliefs? Also cf. Karwiese 1967, 91.

<sup>25</sup> Vermaseren 1987, no. 495 pl. 109.

or a thyrsus<sup>26</sup>. Most probably, the other plant parts such as leaves and stems (for grapes) or rod (thyrsus) as well as the support<sup>27</sup> under the left arm were rendered in colour.

The poor state of preservation of the last figure (P3, fig. 3) makes identification difficult. However, it is clear that a child with a plump body is presented. Since wings are lacking, it cannot be Eros. Close to this piece a fragment of a right hand holding a cylindrical object was found (fig. 7). The material is identical to those of the pedestals and the size is also suitable; the hand must belong to this figure. On the basis of the finger position (the index finger pointing upwards) and the cylindrical shape one might suppose a sceptre or rod-like object. If this is so, the person depicted here must be also Dionysus, or rather Dionysus as a child, as a bronze figure from Pompeii demonstrates<sup>28</sup>. However, some unusual design elements are of interest for the interpretation of the figure. A comparison of the sides reveals an interesting difference: while the left side of the figure is explicitly pressed against the background, the other side is freed from the relief background. This must mean that the figure clearly pivots on the left leg to the left. So here again we are dealing with a >child<, which, as with the child Attis (P4) moves energetically.

Thus, we have the following figures in following sequence on the consoles from south to north: enchained Attis – resting Dionysus – Dionysus as child – Attis as child. How can the present constellation be interpreted?

## MEANING

First of all some particularities should be emphasized: to our knowledge, a representation of Attis in a bath context is not documented until now, while other oriental figures such as Ganymede or Paris occur relatively often. Furthermore, the mythological connection between the two deities is relatively weak. Dionysus plays a role in the castration of Agdistis, but this was never a subject in ancient visual arts<sup>29</sup>. It is also not common for Attis and Dionysus to appear together in the same sculptural context. Only one later example is known in the West, namely in Ostia<sup>30</sup>. Finally, the cult of Cybele and Attis is not common in Lycia, nor are images of Attis<sup>31</sup>. Here, too, the two Attis figures from the Harbour Baths are accordingly rare.

The special features mentioned above do not simplify an interpretation of the present composition. If Attis or Dionysus appeared alone, an interpretation might be easier: one particular aspect of these figures, e.g. the erotic, might have been emphasised<sup>32</sup>. In fact, it is not unlikely that many ancient spectators saw these figures from an erotic perspective. The allusion to the Hermaphrodite (Attis) is not without grounds. Of course, the associations which each single figure and the entire composition may evoke in the spectator vary greatly, as they are recruited from quite different fields of myth and religion. The interpretation would have depended on the level of education of the spectator. The architectural context must also not be forgotten, as this played a vital role in the interpretation<sup>33</sup>.

If the identifications and reconstructions proposed above are correct, we have two gods (formerly three), each of them in two different representations. Moreover, they form two clearly distinguishable groups, each of them on one side of the facade. What can be seen in the groups? Seen

<sup>26</sup> Schröder 1989, 153 no. N12 pl. 17: a table leg from the art market, above the head of Dionysus, on the cornice a bunch of grapes with bird; Schröder 1989, 135 no. E2 pl. 10: terracotta figure from Cilicia, on the right side only a cone-shaped thyrsus is visible. Comparable with the figure E2 is also that of an amphoriskos (138 no. F5 pl. 11).

<sup>27</sup> There are also representations of Dionysus in Lykeios-schema without support, especially in relief. Some examples are given in Schröder 1989, nos. A16 (pl. 4); A18 (pl. 18); C4 (pl. 8); F2; F3; F5 (pl. 11).

<sup>28</sup> Sodo 1993, 140 no. 5; further examples in: Manfrini-Aragno 1987, 119–126 figs. 232–246.

<sup>29</sup> Attis was, so to speak, the product of this Dionysian intervention (Karwiese 1967, 90–95).

<sup>30</sup> Rieger 2004, 151–152, no. MMA 24.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Vermaseren 1987; the cult of Cybele (with the names Μήτηρ Ὀρεῖα or Μήτηρ Θεῶν) is rarely attested in Lycia, mostly in the mountainous northern regions. Attis, however, is very rare indeed (see Efendioğlu 2008, *passim*).

<sup>32</sup> Bartman 2002, *passim*; Karwiese 1967, 91.

<sup>33</sup> See for an interesting interpretation of sculpture in relation to the different bath spaces Dally 2012, 215–234.

from the left two gods stand: the first one, although capable of flying, is in chains, while the other one is in repose with a hand resting on his head. On the other side a pronounced agile body posture (rotation and dance) connects the two figures. The central aspect of the whole composition is virtually movement, or rather: non-movement vs. movement. With regard to their location, these two obviously antithetical concepts can be reconciled and so underline the same concept, namely a sense of pleasure. This is achieved by expressing exemption from the hardships of everyday life (by doing nothing) and active participation in the pleasures (by dancing), which this space offers.

But there is one more aspect that should not be disregarded, namely, the already mentioned double appearance of each deity in two different forms: once as a young adult and once as a child. This deliberate juxtaposition or confrontation can be interpreted from a religious perspective. As mystery gods Attis and Dionysus share a particular feature: they die and are resurrected<sup>34</sup>. So the image of the enchained young adult Attis refers to his death (probably by castration). The dancing child Attis, on the other hand, celebrates his resurrection. In the same manner, the child Dionysus symbolizes rebirth, while the resting Dionysus represents a standstill<sup>35</sup>. In this context, the grapes (if this is what they are) next to the head of the resting Dionysus are very significant, as they ripen even in the fall, that is, just before nature and the god deace. It is evident that one of the central aspects of both cults plays an important role in the present display: the life cycle. Resurrection/regeneration, furthermore, is also a concept of happiness commensurate with the function of the ancient baths. It is well known that baths were places where one could indulge in pleasure in the broadest sense<sup>36</sup>. Perhaps the placing of the images here should be understood as intending to praise the qualities of this edifice in particular and of bathing in general: take a bath – and be reborn as the gods were!

What is so attractive about this constellation is not the message alone. Similar contents can be found in many visual programmes or in the individual images of ancient bath buildings<sup>37</sup>. Of particular interest in the present case are the unusual protagonists in an unusual composition. The Pataran finds should be seen as small-scale testimonies for the richness of the language of visual communication in this Roman ›province‹.

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<sup>34</sup> See Taylor-Perry 2003, *passim*.

<sup>35</sup> This posture (one hand resting on the top of the head) means actually rest and so standstill (see Schröder 1989). But one may ask, whether, in the present setting, it could be possible to interpret this posture as reference to the death of the god.

<sup>36</sup> Manderscheid 1981, 31–43.

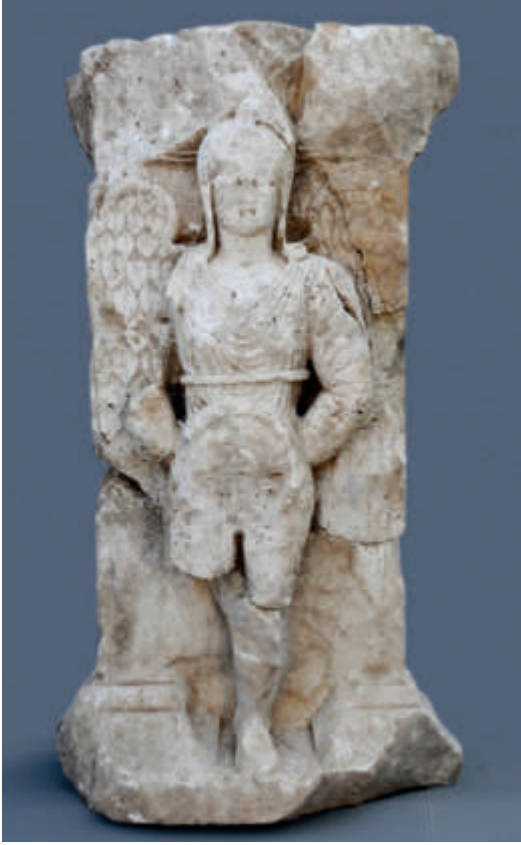
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References of figures: Figs. 1–5. 7: © Patara Excavations, archive; fig. 6: Drawing Architect Gonca Gül, photo © Patara Excavations, archive.





1 P1



2 P2



3 P3



4 P4



5 Patara, Harbour Baths. Aerial view





6 Western wall of *basilica thermaeum*



7 Hand fragment

EVA MORTENSEN

## HEROES IN ASIA

MEMORABLE HEROES AND THEIR PLACE IN THE CITYSCAPE<sup>1</sup>

## ABSTRACT

The cities of late Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor employed different heroes in their cityscape in order to communicate their past and the cultural identity of the inhabitants. Both the old traditional heroes and the new benefactor heroes were involved in shaping the identity of the cities. The connection between traditional and new heroes can be found in the topographical contexts where they were honoured, and these spatial settings will be studied in this article. Benefactors were honoured with publicly displayed statues and decrees in the same settings as the traditional heroes received worship – and some were even buried in the city in line with a practice reserved for traditional heroes. The cities selected to illustrate the above are the Ionian cities Ephesos, Priene and Metropolis and the Carian cities Halikarnassos and Knidos.

## ÖZET

**Asya'daki Kahramanlar. Unutulmaz kahramanlar ve Kent Görünümündeki Yerleri**

Küçük Asya'nın Geç Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi şehirleri, geçmişlerini ve halklarının kültürel kimliklerini dışarıya aktarabilmek amacıyla kentlerin dış görünümünü oluşturmada farklı kahramanları kullanmışlardır. Hem eski geleneksel kahramanlar hem de yeni hayırsever kahramanlar kentlerin kimlik oluşturmalarına katkı sağlamışlardır. Geleneksel ve yeni kahramanların arasındaki bağlantı onurlandırıldıkları topografik konteksler içinde görülebilir ve bu mekansal anlayış bu makalede inceleneceklerdir. Hayırseverler, geleneksel kahramanların onurlandırıldığı aynı yerlere yerleştirilen, kamuya yönelik olarak sergilenen heykeller ve genelgeler ile onurlandırılmışlardır ve hatta bunların bazıları, aslında sadece geleneksel kahramanlara özgü olan bir uygulama ile şehrin içinde defnedilmişlerdir. Yukarıda anlatılanları gösterebilmek için İon şehirleri Efes, Priene ve Metropolis ve Karia'dan Halikarnassos ve Knidos şehirleri seçilmiştir.

The ancient cities shaped their identity through the recollections of the past and the anticipations of the future, and in this interplay, heroes were significant. They founded, ruled, fought for and gained prestige for their cities, thus being heroes of the past as well as of the future. Therefore, the heroes received prominent places in the urban landscape. The aim of this article is to explore whether similar strategies regarding topographical contexts were employed when different types of heroes received a lasting place in the public space of Ionian and Carian cities in the late Hellenistic and Roman period. In the first part I will discuss the different types of heroes encountered in the Greek East in this period, and I will outline the locations in which traditional heroes received cult and worship. Based on this, the second part of the article will investigate the topographical contexts through four case studies.

The majority of the empirical material for this study is not sculpture as such, but rather statues mentioned in inscriptions and statue bases. The information provided through the epigraphic

<sup>1</sup> This article was written in 2014 while I was conducting my PHD study. Thus, several of the aspects discussed in the article are further explored and discussed in my unpublished dissertation from which various sections of this article derive: Mortensen 2016. – I would like to express my thanks to Birte Poulsen for discussions and comments, and to Kasper Simonsen and Signe Isager for their invaluable help regarding questions of epigraphic character. All errors herein are my own.

medium is essential to understand the sculptural landscape of the cities and to understand how statues were placed in and interacted with the cityscapes<sup>2</sup>. Inscriptions may also contradict the information and patterns of sculptural practice evidenced by the statues themselves<sup>3</sup>.

## MYTHICAL AND HISTORICAL HEROES – AND BENEFACTORS

In antiquity, heroes were an integrated part of the religious belief system and occupied a place between mortals and gods. Like the gods, the heroes could be worshipped through monuments and statues, but as heroes were mortals they would – unlike the gods – also die and be buried. Shrines in connection with tombs could therefore become focal points in the continued veneration. Throughout antiquity the way heroes were perceived and worshipped transformed, and new types of heroes could emerge. In the present article I wish to draw out the connection between the traditional (mythical as well as historical) heroes and benefactors.

In every city there were benefactors who did their part to beautify, improve and help their city in different ways, thus promoting their city in the competition for prestige, status and titles, highly important in the Hellenistic and Roman period. At the same time the benefactors had a chance to display themselves. For their generosity, they could receive heroic honours and they could be termed ›hero‹ in the inscriptions honouring them<sup>4</sup>. This elevation of benefactors into the heroic sphere was fuelled by the general atmosphere of the Hellenistic and Roman period. It had become common practice to worship contemporary rulers and important officials in the Greek world. When Augustus received the overriding power, honours for individuals other than the emperor were heroic, while he, the living emperor, was subject to divine worship<sup>5</sup>. But is it valid to view the benefactors as heroes along with the heroes from the past? D. D. Hughes, in his important study on post-Classical hero cult, states that the heroised contemporary persons did not compromise the worship of the traditional heroes, and to the Greeks these different types of heroes were presumably not so dissociated as we think<sup>6</sup>. Also C. P. Jones stresses that living men could be perceived as heroes important to the cities<sup>7</sup>.

But how do the benefactors fit into the definition of a hero? Heroes are usually defined as mortals, who had lived and died or vanished, and who due to their ascribed powers came to receive some kind of worship or posthumous religious attention<sup>8</sup>. Through their wealth, benefactors had the means and thereby the power to put their mark on the cityscape – for instance, they could have monuments erected and they could make arrangements for a festival<sup>9</sup>. It can also be argued that the powers were ascribed to these benefactors by their fellow inhabitants, who should be consulted before a wealthy citizen could make improvements or additions to the public city centre or the festival calendar. Inscriptions give us ample evidence for negotiations where the boule and the demos were involved in deciding conditions and terms for receiving these benign and/or calculated gifts and the homage the benefactor could expect in return<sup>10</sup>. Is it then valid to view the attention given to the benefactors in the eastern part of the empire as religious attention or worship? They received different kinds of honours, they were celebrated and sometimes this praise was repeated annually. The honorary titles, such as *ktistes* (founder) and *soter* (saviour)<sup>11</sup>, which were

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Ma 2013.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Højte 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Hughes 1999, 171–172.

<sup>5</sup> Habicht 1970; Price 1987, 23–51.

<sup>6</sup> Hughes 1999, 172–173.

<sup>7</sup> Jones 2010, 93–96. However, his view of who were perceived as living new heroes is rather narrow compared to this study.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Antonaccio 1995, 1; Bravo 2009, 11; Ekroth 2009, 130.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Zuiderhoek 2009, 78–94.

<sup>10</sup> van Nijf 1997, 113–116; Zuiderhoek 2009, 106–107.

<sup>11</sup> Zuiderhoek 2009, 123; Mortensen 2015a.



originally employed for heroes and gods, were bestowed on the benefactors and reveal that they could be viewed as objects of worship. Additionally, more benefactors received cultic honours as will be seen throughout this article; the erection of a heroon, a tomb within the city walls and worship along with a deity. To return to the definition of a hero, there is one essential part of the definition which does not fit the benefactors – they had not necessarily died before they received honours displayed in public space.

The way the ancients perceived heroes underwent continuous transformation; hero cult persisted up until Late Antiquity and along the way it acquired new meanings<sup>12</sup>. From the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the term *heros* was not only used for epic figures and small deities, but also for heroised persons. The terminology, ideology and rituals employed in hero cult were transferred from the mythical sphere to the historical sphere and the sphere of the present. Historical city founders, lawmakers, athletes, poets, philosophers and warriors who fell in battle could now receive heroic honours<sup>13</sup>. Not only personages important to the entire community received these honours, for in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. private individuals and associations began to found hero cults for deceased family and association members<sup>14</sup>. It has in several instances been suggested that *heros* had become synonymous with ›deceased‹ and that the religious meaning was no longer present<sup>15</sup>, but this notion is not widely accepted; even though the phenomenon of heroisation was extended it did not mean that the extension was without rules and regulations. The percentage of tombs for ›ordinary dead heroes‹ is rather small, and often the individuals are compared in the inscriptions to legendary heroes or the tombs are decorated with heroic scenes<sup>16</sup>. The extended use of the term *heros* developed further, and in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the first two centuries A.D., benefactors (ruler as well as citizen) became objects of heroic honours after their death – and in Asia Minor also while they were living. While this heroisation of great (and wealthy) men took place, the hero cults of the traditional heroes also witnessed a revitalisation in this period<sup>17</sup>.

The heroes examined in this study are those belonging in the mythical sphere as well as those belonging in the historical sphere – either as figures from the past or personages in the present with some kind of hero status. The ancients would surely have been aware that some heroes were men of their own age, while others were legendary figures that also their great-grandparents had heard tales about as children, but on some levels they did not differentiate between ›new‹ and ›old‹ heroes. Both had an important role to play in the identity formation of the cities and in the collective consciousness and memory of the inhabitants<sup>18</sup>. They were part of the same tradition where the maintenance and the creation of the image of the city were paramount<sup>19</sup>.

## PLACES OF CULT AND WORSHIP

The traditional heroes could be worshipped in shrines – Mycenaean *tumuli*, other monumental tombs or monuments with no tomb<sup>20</sup>. Many different terms were used to designate a cult place for a hero, *tymbos*, *taphos*, *mnema*, *heroon*, *hieron*, *temenos* and *naos*<sup>21</sup>, but only the term *heroon* was used exclusively for cult places of heroes<sup>22</sup>. M. Mikkola has reviewed how the term *heroon* was

<sup>12</sup> Hughes 1999, 174.

<sup>13</sup> Boehringer 1996; Boehringer 2001, 25. 31; Hughes 1999, 168; Jones 2010; Waelkens 1983, 274–275; Schuller – Leschhorn 2004, 141–142. On founders, see Malkin 2001.

<sup>14</sup> Hughes 1999, 168–170.

<sup>15</sup> Lattimore 1942, 97–99; Nock 1972, 842; Price – Kearns 2004; Rhode 1925, 532–533; Waelkens 1983.

<sup>16</sup> Boehringer 1996, 52; Cormack 2004, 153; Hughes 1999, 170–171; Jones 2010, 49–50. 65.

<sup>17</sup> Hughes 1999, 173.

<sup>18</sup> Hughes (1999, 173) draws attention to this.

<sup>19</sup> Mortensen 2015a. See also Schuller 2004, 130, where a connection between mythical heroes and individuals honoured for their concern with the city is made.

<sup>20</sup> Kearns 1992.

<sup>21</sup> Kearns 1992, 66; Mikkola 2008.

<sup>22</sup> Seiffert 2005, 24.

used by the ancient writers and in inscriptions, and especially Pausanias seems to use the word for more monumental constructions rather than just mere tombs<sup>23</sup>.

The cult places could be in a variety of locations both within a city and outside. In the city, the city gates, reflecting the dual identity of the hero (inside/pure/divine versus outside/polluted/human), were locations for hero worship<sup>24</sup>. The city founders were to be buried at the agora, and hero cult places could also be located in the vicinity of important public buildings near the agora, as for instance the prytaneion and the bouleuterion<sup>25</sup>. The gymnasiums (as well as stadiums and hippodromes) could house hero cults, and also the sanctuaries of gods were utilised – usually if the hero had a connection with the god, e.g. as founder of the divine cult or as the first priest of the god<sup>26</sup>. Worship of heroes could thus take place in a variety of locations within the city, and these can be divided into four main spaces: places for sports, agoras, entrance situations and sanctuaries of the gods<sup>27</sup>. These locations of cult places for the traditional heroes will be of interest when looking into the worship of heroes in the Roman-period Greek East, and they will be explored through four case studies. The first two concern gymnasiums and agoras. Androklos and the Vedii family in Ephesos constitute the first case and the benefactor Zosimos in Priene the second case. In the third case study, the city gate as a setting and Apollonios in (Ionian) Metropolis are in focus, and in the last case study two benefactors from Halikarnassos and Knidos will be employed to shed light on heroes in temples.

## ANDROKLOS AND THE VEDII IN EPHEOS

According to the literary sources, the Athenian prince Androklos led the Ionians to Asia Minor, where he founded Ephesos after killing the wild boar<sup>28</sup>. From the late Hellenistic period and until Late Antiquity he was present in the cityscape<sup>29</sup>, especially along the sacred street where he could be seen decorating different fountains and the so-called temple of Hadrian (fig. 1)<sup>30</sup>. Also inscriptions attest to his presence near the sacred street. One statue of the *ktistes* himself and statues honouring *paraphylakes*, engaged in the cult of Androklos, have been found here<sup>31</sup>. Furthermore, a late antique inscription terms the square in front of the theatre *syagros* which means wild boar or wild boar killer<sup>32</sup>. Whether this meant that some sort of monument with Androklos and the wild boar could be seen here<sup>33</sup>, that a cult area of Androklos existed here<sup>34</sup>, that his tomb mentioned by Pausanias was located here<sup>35</sup>, or that something else connected to the *ktistes* was found here, is not known. From an inscription we also learn about a monument called Androkloneion<sup>36</sup> – perhaps

<sup>23</sup> Mikkola 2008, 17, 28.

<sup>24</sup> Kearns 1992, 74; Maier 1961.

<sup>25</sup> Pind. O. 1, 149. Kearns 1992, 72; Martin 1951, 194–201; Malkin 1987, 200–203; Mikkola 2008, 17; Seiffert 2005, 26–27.

<sup>26</sup> Kearns 1992, 77–82; Seiffert 2005, 26. The cult places mentioned above are mainly evidenced through literary sources.

<sup>27</sup> Seiffert 2005, 27.

<sup>28</sup> Paus. 7, 2, 8–9; Strab. 14, 1, 3; 14, 1, 21; Athen. 8, 361. Androklos and the wild boar are not connected in the literary sources. For a discussion of a fusion of different versions of the founding myth, see Mortensen 2015b. See also Kerschner et al. 2008, 11–15; Rathmayr 2010, 19–21; Thür 1995a, 63–65; Fontani 2002, 29; Mortensen 2015a, 220–227. For a discussion of the literary sources about the Ionian migration, see Prinz 1979, 320–375; Mortensen 2015a.

<sup>29</sup> Rathmayr 2010; Fontani 2002; Thür 1995a.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Rathmayr 2011, 138, 141–142; Quatember 2011, 69; Thür 1995a, 80–103; Thür 1995b, 159–177.

<sup>31</sup> IvE 501. 644. 4371; SEG 54, 1183; SEG 34, 1107; SEG 52, 1123. See also Thür 1995a, 71–74; Rathmayr 2010, 22–23.

<sup>32</sup> IvE 557; SEG 49, 1486.

<sup>33</sup> Thür 1995a, 73.

<sup>34</sup> Schneider 1999a, 476–478; Schneider 1999b, 121–122.

<sup>35</sup> Paus. 7, 2, 9. Karwiese 1985, 221.

<sup>36</sup> IvE 4371; SEG 34, 1107; SEG 52, 1123.

the club house of the *paraphylakes*, perhaps the tomb of Androklos<sup>37</sup>, perhaps part of a larger cult area<sup>38</sup>, or perhaps a public square for banquets and other rituals<sup>39</sup>.

Androklos could also be encountered in the Vedius Gymnasium in the northern part of the city (fig. 2). This building was constructed in the Antonine period by Publius Vedius Antoninus (Vedius III), a friend of the emperor Antoninus Pius<sup>40</sup>. The sculptural programme of the gymnasium consists of deities, athletes and portrait figures, presumably members of the Vedius family<sup>41</sup> – Androklos appears in this gathering of ideal sculpture and portraiture as a young hunter with his dog and most probably also with the wild boar<sup>42</sup>. It has been discussed whether this Androklos statue represents a portrait; Antinoos is one suggestion<sup>43</sup>, and the son (Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus)<sup>44</sup> and the grandchild (Titus Flavius Papianus)<sup>45</sup> of Vedius III have also been suggested. The last two are known to have died young, which agrees with the youthful portrait<sup>46</sup>. Furthermore, both of them were related to heroes, so portraying one of them as Androklos seems obvious; the grandchild is known from an inscription in which he is termed hero and honoured with a statue<sup>47</sup>, while the son (Vedius IV) is known from more inscriptions, three of them honouring him as *ktistes*<sup>48</sup>. Vedius IV is not the only one in the family to bear this honorary title. Also his father (Vedius III), his grandfather (Vedius II) and his great-grandfather (Vedius I) presumably received the title<sup>49</sup>.

Several links were accordingly established between the legendary founder Androklos and the Vedii. The benefactor family could be seen next to Androklos in the sculptural display of their bath-gymnasium – the statue of Androklos perhaps even representing both the legendary founder and a member of the family. Furthermore, the *ktistai* titles of the Vedii obviously allude to a comparison between them and the legendary *ktistes*. More indirectly, the location of the bath-gymnasium in the area called Koressos also creates a link between Androklos and the Vedii<sup>50</sup>. Koressos is known from the founding myth, where the Ionians settled on the slopes of this mountain. The mountain toponym was later employed for one or two city quarters<sup>51</sup>. Locating the bath-gymnasium in the Koressos area creates a topographical relation between old and new *ktistai*<sup>52</sup>. Furthermore, the setting of the gymnasium connects both Androklos and the Vedii to the old traditional heroes commonly worshipped at gymnasiums<sup>53</sup>.

One of the inscriptions honouring Vedius IV as *ktistes* belongs to a statue base, which was set up by traders calling themselves Androkleidai<sup>54</sup>. The links between the Vedii and Androklos are

<sup>37</sup> Engelmann – Knibbe 1984, 143–144.

<sup>38</sup> Schneider 1999a, 476–478; Schneider 1999b, 121–122.

<sup>39</sup> Fontani 2002, 33. Other inscriptions related to Androklos, but not related to the worship of him: IvE 2044. 1064. 3079. 1548. 1943; Knibbe – İplikçioğlu 1981/1982, 128 no. 133. See also Rathmayr 2010, 21–24; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, nos. 03/02/15; 03/02/31; 03/02/38.

<sup>40</sup> IvE 431. 438. See e.g. Steskal 2001.

<sup>41</sup> Keil 1929a, 38–44; Keil 1929b, 21–32; Dillon 1996; Aurenhammer 1990, nos. 23. 37. 66. 86. 87. 138; Manderscheid 1981, 34–35. 88–91.

<sup>42</sup> Aurenhammer 1990, no. 105. The discussion about the interpretation of the figure as Androklos is summarised in Rathmayr 2010, 29 n. 54.

<sup>43</sup> Hahland 1954.

<sup>44</sup> Rathmayr 2010, 30–31.

<sup>45</sup> Fittschen 1999, 105–106.

<sup>46</sup> Rathmayr 2010, 31.

<sup>47</sup> IvE 676A.

<sup>48</sup> IvE 730. 3079 and Knibbe – İplikçioğlu 1981/1982, 125 no. 123.

<sup>49</sup> IvE 3075. 2065. 727. Kalinowski 2002, 132–134.

<sup>50</sup> IvE 3013. 666A. 730. 27; SEG 52, 1127; SEG 47, 1619. Paus. 5, 24, 8. See Engelmann 1997.

<sup>51</sup> Strab. 14, 1, 21; Athen. 8, 361. Engelmann 1997; Steskal – La Torre 2008, 310. For a review of the debate regarding the location of the Koressos Mountain and the city quarter(s), see Kerschner et al. 2008, 16–18.

<sup>52</sup> Kalinowski 2002, 124–135.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. in Thebes, see Paus. 9, 23, 1.

<sup>54</sup> IvE 3079. See also Kalinowski 2002, 134–135; Rathmayr 2010, 21–22; Rogers 1991, 107–108.

consequently manifold, and in addition to being shaped by the family, the links are also imposed on the family by the inhabitants honouring them for their benefactions and their generosity. Accordingly, they were also honoured with statues set up in different spaces in the city. Twelve statue bases for the many members of the family have been found at the Tetragnonos Agora, and it is likely that these were displayed as a family monument, which through the years had more and more statues added<sup>55</sup>. The agora is a common place to honour deserving citizens with statues, but it is also the domain of the founding hero. One more link between old founder and new founders is thus established.

### ZOSIMOS IN PRIENE – A HERO BURIED WITHIN THE CITY WALLS?

In the smaller city of Priene, a gymnasium was also used in connection with a hero. Here a benefactor was honoured with a tomb next to the gymnasium he had helped create.

In the early imperial period, a tomb was built just next to the theatre and behind the city's upper gymnasium (fig. 3). The lower chamber of the tomb contained remains of the coffin, the skeleton of the deceased and a number of grave goods, including glass vessels, ceramics, a silver ring with a gem, bronze objects and two bronze *strigiles* as well as a coin dating to 2 B.C.–A.D. 4. Above the burial chamber was a room, perhaps used in connection with the funerary banquet, opening up towards the gymnasium to the south with an arched window. This could have held a statue of the deceased<sup>56</sup>. H. Schörner has dated the grave goods and the tomb in the Claudian period<sup>57</sup>. Being buried within the city walls was an exceptional honour, and usually something reserved for the heroic figures from the past, due to their abilities of protecting the city<sup>58</sup>. There is no sure evidence of who was honoured with this tomb, but it could be the benefactor Aulus Aemilius Zosimos, as already suggested by J. Raeder and followed by F. Rumscheid<sup>59</sup>.

In early imperial Priene, completion and renovation of existing monuments and buildings took place, and one of the buildings receiving attention was the upper gymnasium<sup>60</sup>. A renewed bath-gymnasium was erected sometime during the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>61</sup>, and from an inscription we know that Zosimos paid for the heating installation (presumably) for this bath<sup>62</sup>. This information comes from a long honorific decree for Zosimos set up on the western wall of the Hieria Stoa by the agora. Here it appeared together with other honorific inscriptions, and of these, three were for Zosimos<sup>63</sup>. D. Kah has recently reviewed the decrees concerning Zosimos, usually dated after the first Mithridatic war, and he argues convincingly that the decrees should date as late as the Augustan period<sup>64</sup>. Thus, it is likely that Zosimos helped renovate the new bath-gymnasium, that he died in the Claudian period and that he is the owner of the tomb.

From the inscriptions it is also evident that Zosimos would have been visible in the city in the form of statues, for each inscription informs us that statues of Zosimos in bronze, gold (gilt) and marble as well as a painted representation should be set up in the most remarkable places in the city. The Athena sanctuary and the agora must surely be included in these places<sup>65</sup>. The many decrees decorating the walls of the stoas surrounding the agora tell of honourable citizens being awarded honorary wreaths and statues to be erected in the city. That the agora was one of the locations for these statues is also evidenced by the many foundations for small honorary monuments

<sup>55</sup> IvE 726. 3075–3085. Kalinowski (2007) argues that two statue groups for the family existed; SEG 57, 1115.

<sup>56</sup> Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 277–280; Rumscheid 2002, 80; Raeder 1984, 29–30.

<sup>57</sup> Schörner 2007, 102–104; Schörner 2005, 222–224.

<sup>58</sup> Seiffert 2005, 27.

<sup>59</sup> Raeder 1984, 30; Rumscheid 2002, 82.

<sup>60</sup> Rumscheid 2002, 80–82.

<sup>61</sup> Raack 2012, 292.

<sup>62</sup> IvPriene<sup>2</sup> 68; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 277; Rumscheid 2002, 82.

<sup>63</sup> IvPriene<sup>2</sup> 68–70; SEG 55, 1274. See also Fröhlich 2005.

<sup>64</sup> Kah 2012, 63–66.

<sup>65</sup> IvPriene<sup>2</sup> 68–70. See also Robert 1930, 114–117; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 206; Ma 2013, 98–99. 142–148.

and bases for statues found here. Through time, the agora had become venue for the many monuments honouring rulers, athletes and other deserving citizens, and as the space evolved, the many accumulating monuments and statues split the agora in two different spaces and created a new route through the agora<sup>66</sup>. Unfortunately, it is not possible to connect the statues mentioned in the decrees with the monuments and bases at the agora, although suggestions have been proposed<sup>67</sup>. The statues of Zosimos would have been part of this honorific ensemble displayed at the agora.

In Priene, the benefactor Zosimos was honoured like a traditional hero with a burial place just next to the gymnasium. He was not linked to any specific mythical hero, like the Vedii in Ephesos, but he was connected to the traditional heroes through the setting of his memorials – statues and tomb.

### APOLLONIOS OF METROPOLIS RECEIVES A HEROON BY THE CITY GATE

No famous founder pervaded the cityscape of Priene as Androklos did in Ephesos. But the eponymous hero Naulochos was honoured as protector of the city near the city gate, the so-called Quellentor, from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. with a now lost relief and an inscription<sup>68</sup>.

In Metropolis in Ionia, a city gate was also employed in relation to hero worship. We do not know of any legendary founder of Metropolis, which was most likely a Seleucid refoundation<sup>69</sup>, but a certain Apollonios was worshipped by the city gate with a heroon. This is known through one of the honorary decrees belonging to the statue base of his bronze statue set up in the agora (fig. 4). Two decrees on the same base concern Apollonios, son of Attalos, and his activities in Metropolis in the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.<sup>70</sup>. These inscriptions have induced much scholarly research because of their contents regarding, among other things, the revolt by the usurper Aristonikos<sup>71</sup>. In addition to obtaining tax concessions and money for the education of young men, Apollonios was in command of the men from Metropolis fighting on the Roman side against Aristonikos. In this war Apollonios died, and afterwards a decision was made to honour him with a bronze statue set up in the agora at the most visible spot. On the base, the decreed decision as well as an older decree honouring Apollonios should be displayed.

Furthermore, his sons, who volunteered to take on the costs of the statue, were given the right to build a heroon for their father on private ground by the city gate. The inscription also states that attempts should be made to bring back Apollonios' bones – perhaps these were to find their final resting place in the heroon. That his heroon was not placed within the public city centre, but instead on private ground, does not make the honour less heroic. It was still part of the public sphere, and a place near the city gate would have ensured that people leaving and arriving in Metropolis would have seen the city's monumentalised commemoration of Apollonios. Whether or not the heroon was actually built, we do not know. But the *in situ* find context of the statue base reveals that his statue was erected in the agora, where it could be seen just next to the city's bouleuterion<sup>72</sup>. Thus, the city's new hero, Apollonios, could be encountered in two places fit for a hero, namely at the agora and by the city gate, and his memorial by the city gate was even de-nominated as a heroon.

<sup>66</sup> von Kienlin 1998/1999, 248–251; von Kienlin 2004; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 206–213.

<sup>67</sup> von Kienlin 1998/1999, 249.

<sup>68</sup> IvPriene<sup>2</sup> 195. See also Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, no. 03/01/01; Schede 1964, 17–21; Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 44. 182; Maier 1961, 96–97; Lohmann 2002, 229–230; Seiffert 2005, 37.

<sup>69</sup> Meriç 2004, 45.

<sup>70</sup> Dreyer – Engelmann 2003; SEG 53, 1312; Mortensen 2015a, 230–231.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. Jones 2004; Chaniotis 2013; Virgilio 2006; Dreyer – Engelmann 2003.

<sup>72</sup> Dreyer – Engelmann 2003, 2.



## PHILODEMOS AND ARTEMIDOROS IN THE TEMPLES OF THE GODS

In early imperial Halikarnassos, a city celebrating its earlier ruler Maussollos as a hero buried at the agora<sup>73</sup>, a benefactor called Philodemos made himself noticed. He was a member of the Drakon family which appears in several inscriptions around the turn of the millennium, and their contributions to the city earned them various honours<sup>74</sup>. Philodemos, son of Drakon, appears in a rather fragmented honorary decree for a board – possibly a board of *strategoï*. The services that the *strategoï* offered their city were to be honoured with stelae set up in prominent places in the city<sup>75</sup>. Philodemos received extraordinary honours; three statues in different materials, bronze, marble and gold (gilt), were to be set up in the city. Furthermore, the one in marble should be *synnaos* with Apollo Archegetes. G. Hirschfeld reconstructed this part of the inscription based on a contemporary inscription from Knidos honouring Artemidoros who was a member of a highly influential and rich family<sup>76</sup>. He had received even more extraordinary honours than Philodemos; among other things he was to be buried in the gymnasium, statues in bronze, marble and gold (gilt) were to be set up in the city – three of each, and a gilded statue was to be *synnaos* with *Artemis Hyakynthotrophos kai Epiphanes*, of whom he was priest for life. It has been suggested that this Artemidoros was a friend of Caesar – actually, the friend who tried to warn him about the conspiracy<sup>77</sup>. Artemidoros certainly must have been a highly esteemed citizen since he received all of these statues in addition to a heroic tomb setting within the city in the gymnasium – furthermore, he was to receive divine honours (*timai isotheoi*)<sup>78</sup>.

Both Philodemos and Artemidoros earned themselves a place within the temples of the gods, and their statues (*eikones*) were to be *synnaoi*. This means that their statues were to share the temples with Apollo and Artemis respectively and enter into cult partnership<sup>79</sup>. Temple-sharing between two or more gods and between gods and heroes is a familiar practice<sup>80</sup>. It is also known from ruler and emperor cult, but there is not a plethora of known examples from Greece and Asia Minor<sup>81</sup>. Therefore, it is all the more surprising that two Carian benefactors moved into the temples. It is well-known that statues could be set up in sanctuaries and temples without being cult statues, and both in Greek and Latin, the terminology regarding statues seems to take this into consideration<sup>82</sup>. *Agalma* is preferably used to designate a god, whereas *eikon* is a more general term for a statue. But *agalma* is not solely used for cult images, and there are also examples of statues of benefactors called *agalmata*<sup>83</sup>. In the inscriptions regarding Philodemos and Artemidoros, the word *eikon* is used, and this is commonly understood as not referring to a cult image. But the statues were to be *synnaoi*, which must mean that they had a share in the cult in the temples. So in addition to the two benefactors being honoured with statues in the city, they even became co-partners in cults for gods. It was not a wide-spread phenomenon that Hellenistic rulers and Roman emperors received this honour, so it must be viewed as an exceedingly high honour for the two benefactors from Halikarnassos and Knidos – an honour for heroes.

<sup>73</sup> Jeppesen 1994.

<sup>74</sup> Hirschfeld 1893, nos. 892. 893. 899; SEG 16, 652–653; SEG 36, 974; SEG 51, 1503. See also Poulsen 2011, 426–427.

<sup>75</sup> Hirschfeld 1893, no. 893; SEG 51, 1503.

<sup>76</sup> IvKnidos 59; Hirschfeld 1893, no. 787; SEG 51, 1518; SEG 53, 1223. See also Thériault 2003; Bruns-Özgan 2009.

<sup>77</sup> Newton 2010, 238–239; Jenkins 2005; Plut. Caesar 65.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion of Artemidoros' honours, see Thériault 2003, 244. 248–252.

<sup>79</sup> Nock 1972, 204.

<sup>80</sup> Garland 1992, 21–22.

<sup>81</sup> Nock 1972, 202–251; Steuernagel 2010; Damaskos 1999, 303; Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994. The situation is different in Egypt (Nock 1972, 206–218; Damaskos 1999, 302).

<sup>82</sup> Stewart 2003, 19–35.

<sup>83</sup> Stewart 2003, 25 n. 19; Tuchelt 1979, 68–70; Schmidt-Dounas 1993/1994, 74.

## SIMILAR TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS

The sculptural landscape of the cities of Asia must be understood both in relation to the actual remains of sculpture and also in relation to the epigraphic record – not only counting statue bases, but also inscriptions mentioning statues. The epigraphic evidence of statues has here been employed in order to highlight the connections between old and new heroes in their topographical settings. It is clear that new heroes were placed in the topographical settings already connected with hero worship when they received a place in the urban landscape of late Hellenistic and Roman cities in Ionia and Caria<sup>84</sup>. Their statues and honorary decrees could be seen adorning the public focal area of the cities, namely the agora, which also moved the new heroes closer to the traditional heroes. Also city gates and gymnasiums were venues for encountering the new as well as the traditional heroes and in two of the presented case studies a tomb for the benefactor was located by the latter. Furthermore, two decrees reveal that benefactors could have their statues set up in the temples of the gods even sharing their cult.

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<sup>84</sup> Damaskos pays attention to this regarding heroa and tombs, Damaskos 2004, 152.

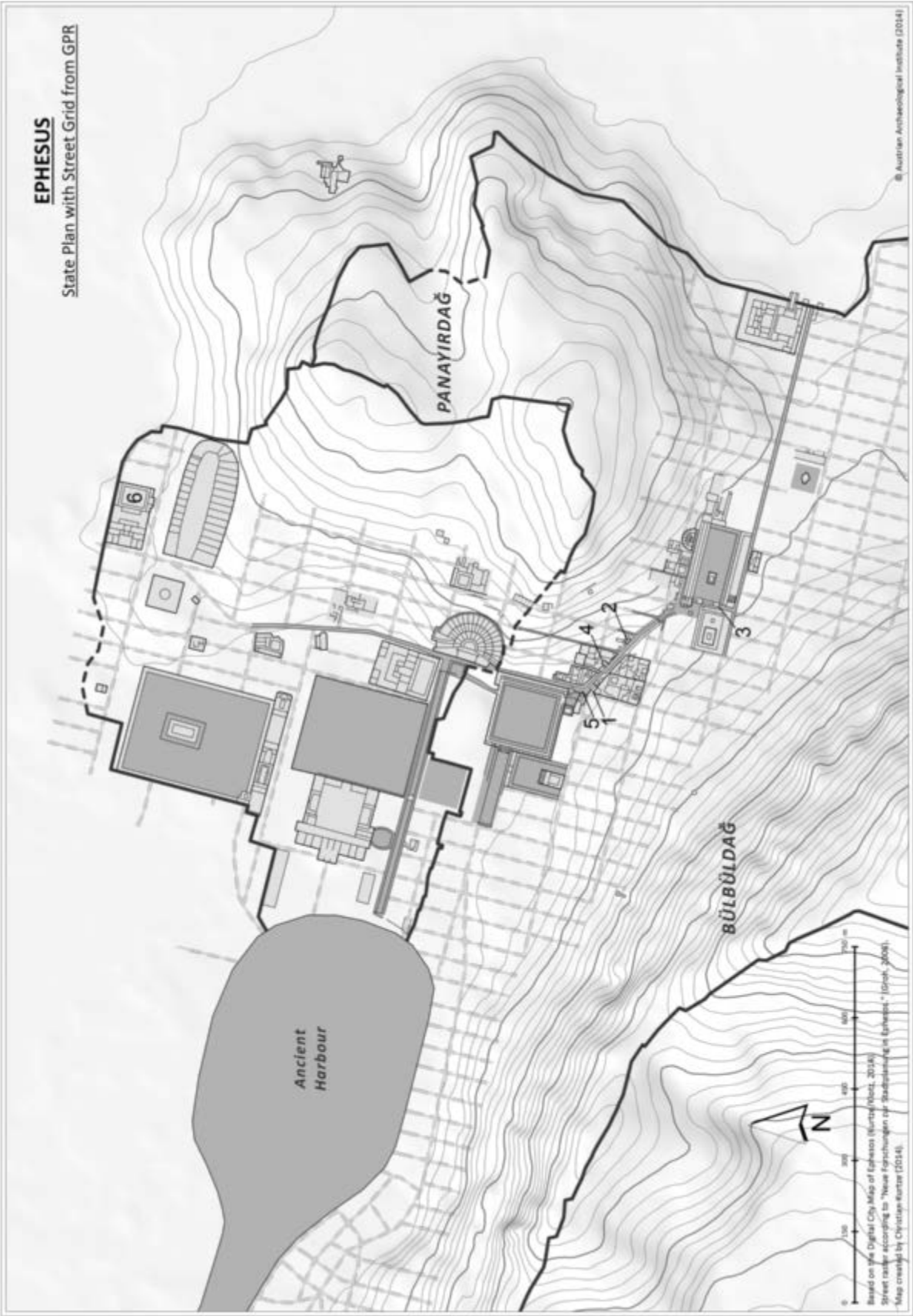
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References of figures: Fig. 1: Map by Christian Kurtze (numbers added by the author), © OeAW-OeAI; fig. 2: Birte Poulsen; fig. 3: Martin Kovacs; fig. 4: Author.





1 Ephesos 1) Late Hellenistic fountain. 2) Nymphaeum Traiani. 3) C. Laecanius Bassus Nymphaeum. 4) Temple of Hadrian. 5) Approximate find spot of Androklos statue base (IVE 501). 6) Vedius Gymnasium



2 Androklos statue  
from the Vedius  
Gymnasium in  
Ephesos



3 The heroon of Zosi-  
mos in Priene



4 The statue base  
of Apollonios in  
Metropolis

ELISABETH RATHMAYR

## SCULPTURAL PROGRAMS OF SPECIFIC RESIDENTIAL UNITS OF TERRACE HOUSE 1 AND 2 IN EPHESES

### ABSTRACT

Among the sculptures from the dwellings in the Terrace Houses we find representations of gods, divine forces and portraits, the latter portraying the inhabitants, maybe ancestors and certain Roman emperors. Whereas only a few can be assigned to the period following the construction of the residential units, the majority can be attributed to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. Observable is the ongoing use of sculptures from the Hellenistic predecessors as well as the reuse of sculptures, many of them deriving from religious-cultic contexts. By scrutinizing the sculptures, whose places and contexts are known, we learn that their position as well as their integration into the context – architecture, wall decorations, etc. – was very important and if possible planned beforehand. If we can identify the owner family, as is the case for Residential Unit 6 and maybe also for Residential Unit 2 in Terrace House 2, it is possible to connect rebuilding, decoration and display of certain sculptures with the life and career of the homeowners.

### ÖZET

#### Efes'deki Yamaç Evler 1 ve 2'nin Belirli Konut Birimlerinin Heykel Programları

Yamaç Evler'deki konut birimlerinde bulunan heykeller arasında tanrıların, ilahi güçlerin, buranın sakinlerini belki de atalarını gösteren portre ve Roma İmparatorlarının tasvirleri bulunur. Bunların sadece az bir kısmı konut birimlerinin yapımından hemen sonraki döneme tarihlenirken, çoğunluğu MS. 2.–3. yy.'a atfedilebilir. Hellenistik seleflerinden gelen heykellerinin devam eden kullanımın yanında pek çoğu dini-kült kontekstlerden gelen heykellerin tekrar kullanıldığı da göze çarpar. Yerleri ve kontekstleri bilinen heykeller dikkatle incelendiğinde, konumlarının yanında konteks (mimari, duvar dekorasyonu, vb.) ile uyum sağlamalarının da çok önemli olduğunu ve mümkünse önceden planladığını öğrenmekteyiz. Yamaç Evler 2'deki Konut Birimi 6 ve belki de Konut Birimi 2'de olduğu üzere eğer konut sahibi aileyi tespit edebilirsek, yeniden ayağa kaldırma, süsleme ve belirli heykellerin sergilenmesi ile ev sahibinin hayatı ve kariyeri arasında bağlantılı kurmak mümkündür.

## I BUILDING PERIODS OF THE TERRACE HOUSES 1 AND 2

The present paper focuses on particular sculptures from the Ephesian Terrace Houses 1 and 2 which will be evaluated in the context of their settings.

At first I will give a short overview of these large multi-storied apartment houses which were inhabited by the elite of the town. With the term ›Terrace Houses‹ an area in the city-centre of the Hellenistic-Roman town of Ephesos is defined<sup>1</sup>. To the north lies Curetes Street, a main thoroughfare and processional road, and to the south the ›Hanghausstraße‹; in the east and west the building complexes are flanked by alleys. The area of the Terrace Houses was already developed in the Hellenistic period. These earlier structures – among them peristyle houses in the northern parts of these complexes<sup>2</sup> – were destroyed in the early imperial period, presumably by the earth-

<sup>1</sup> For Terrace House 1: Lang-Auinger 1996 and Lang-Auinger 2003; Terrace House 2: Krinzing 2010; Thür 2005; Thür – Rathmayr 2014; Rathmayr 2016a; for the Terrace Houses in general Ladstätter 2013.

<sup>2</sup> For the Hellenistic dwelling on the area of Terrace House 1: Lang-Auinger 1996, 86–90; for a court-house on the area of Terrace House 2: H. Thür, *Datierung der Bauphasen*, chap. I.4; E. Rathmayr et al., *Hellenistische Strukturen*, chap. XXIII.1, both in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014.

quake of 23 A.D.<sup>3</sup>. While the area of Terrace House 1 was rebuilt in the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>4</sup>, the Residential Units 1 to 7 of Terrace House 2 (fig. 1) were constructed in the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. (= Building Period I)<sup>5</sup>. Concerning the chronology of these residential units, extensive reconstructions and new decorations can be observed in the early Hadrianic (= Building Period II) and in the late Severan period (= Building Period IV)<sup>6</sup>. Building Period III refers to the construction of the Apsidal Hall 8 in Residential Unit 6 in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. While the dwellings of Terrace House 2 were destroyed by a series of earthquakes in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. and not rebuilt for residential purposes afterwards, in some parts of the living quarters in Terrace House 1 new decorations of walls in Late Antiquity are observable<sup>7</sup>. Yet also here the earthquakes of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. caused a lot of damage and the living standard was lower than before<sup>8</sup>.

## II THE SCULPTURES

But let me now move on to the sculptural finds and to their significance as important elements of the splendid furnishings of these houses.

We turn first to a terracotta *heros equitans* relief from the Hellenistic peristyle house on the area of Terrace House 1<sup>9</sup>. It was found *in situ* in a niche of the peristyle which was placed high up on the wall of its southern hall. According to the sacrificial scene on the relief and its central position inside the house a function within household cult is obvious. We can assume that the heros as an apotropaic force was called on to protect the household against evil. Based on the corresponding dating of the construction of the house and the probable production time of the relief as well as by the alignment of its placement to the ambient architecture, it was presumably part of the architectural planning of the building. We can therefore assume that it was ordered by the very first homeowner of the house<sup>10</sup>.

A comparable situation can be observed in Residential Unit 2 of Terrace House 2. In this house a *heros equitans* relief was set up in a niche of the southern hall of the Peristyle SR 22/23<sup>11</sup> (figs. 1–2). Also here the construction time of the dwelling and the period when the relief was made seem to be contemporary<sup>12</sup>, thus indicating that the relief was part of the original layout and ordered by the homeowner of this period.

<sup>3</sup> For this and the catastrophe of 17 A.D.: Tac. ann. 4, 13, 1; CIL X 1624 = ILS 156.

<sup>4</sup> For dating the destruction of the Hellenistic house to the Tiberian period and the construction of the *domus* to the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.: Ladstätter 2003, 83–85.

<sup>5</sup> A summary of the newest proposals concerning the dating of the different building periods of the *Wohneinheiten* (WE) (= Residential Units) H. Thür, Zur Datierung der Bauphasen – Anmerkungen zur Methodik, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. I.4.

<sup>6</sup> See the relevant contributions in: Krinzinger 2010; Thür 2005; Thür – Rathmayr 2014; Rathmayr 2016a.

<sup>7</sup> Recently Zimmermann – Ladstätter 2010, 165–167.

<sup>8</sup> For the building periods of Terrace House 1: Lang-Auinger 1996, 26–27; for a slightly later dating of the construction of the *domus* Ladstätter 2003, 84–85.

<sup>9</sup> Lang-Auinger 1996, 90 pls. 29, 30; Lang-Auinger 2003, 229–232, 239 cat. TK 27; for this relief type Cermanović-Kuzmanović et al. 1992, 1019–1081.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. a *heros equitans*-relief with an inscription in which the heros is asked to bring good luck to the house of the owner (Τόνδε σὺν εὐτυχίαι σώϊζοις Διομήδεος, οἶκον, ὄναξ, δεξιτερὴν, χεῖρ ὑπερ' αἰέν ἔχων) in Tybout 2005, 391–398 (also for the importance of this relief-type in the domestic cult in the Greek East from the classical to the later Roman imperial period).

<sup>11</sup> For the relief recently Christof 2010, 657–658, 665 cat. S 1 pl. 280.

<sup>12</sup> The construction can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D.; for Building Period I E. Rathmayr, Bauphase I, in: Krinzinger 2010, 428–432. Instead of a dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. by E. Christof and others (see n. 11), I prefer a later date in the very late 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C. or in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. Compared to the *heros equitans* relief from Terrace House 1 which can be dated around 50 B.C., differences in style and form indicate that the one from Residential Unit 2 in Terrace House 2 originated later in time.



Besides these obvious similarities, differences can also be noticed among these reliefs: first of all they are manufactured differently, which cannot be reduced to the varying materials, but to the time of their production. Based on stylistic evidence, the one in the Hellenistic house was made around 50 B.C., while the other one in Residential Unit 2 presumably in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Furthermore the placement differs: whereas the Hellenistic relief (34 × 24.6 cm) was set up at a height of 3 m, the example in Residential Unit 2 (60 × 51 cm) is positioned at a height of 1.40 m. This lower placing at eye level together with the larger size of the relief not only increased its visibility but also considerably reduced the distance between the worshippers and the recipients of the offerings depicted on the relief. A cylindrical marble base which is standing on the western stylobate of the Peristyle SR 22/23 aligned with the relief (figs. 1–2) could have been used as an altar concerning the household cult related to the relief<sup>13</sup>.

Apart from these examples there are only a few other sculptures from Terrace House 2 which can be attributed to specific building phases: among them is a well head in the peristyle 21 of Residential Unit 4 (figs. 1 and 3), which was made up of four marble blocks, the rear block still standing *in situ*<sup>14</sup>. The front side of the rear block is decorated with a relief showing three nymphs in a roundel, the sacred atmosphere emphasized by garlands on bucrania above them. Considering that it was only visible when drawing water from the well, a religious meaning is obvious<sup>15</sup>. Presumably the nymphs as gods of springs should help to protect the water and thus the health of the residents<sup>16</sup>. As the well already existed in the later Hellenistic period and the relief can be dated to the same period, both might have belonged already to a preceding building which existed on the area of the later Residential Unit 4<sup>17</sup>. When this earlier building was destroyed and Residential Unit 4 was built, the well and the well head stayed in use until the destruction of the house in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

Like the *heros equitans* relief in Residential Unit 2 discussed before, this relief attests that religious traditions were perpetuated over a very long time, in this case over a period of nearly 400 years. This traditionalism contributed to the long life of these sculptures. Besides, their old age might have made them even more venerable for the inhabitants of the following periods. For them these old deities could have played a central role in the family identity, especially considering that presumably ancestors installed the sculptures and the related cults.

In Residential Unit 4 also a reuse of sculptures can be observed. In the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. two *Totenmahlreliefs* (funerary banquet reliefs) were installed in flat niches on the southern wall of room 5, one on top of the other<sup>18</sup> (figs. 1. 4); underneath them a painting of a bust portrait was added, which was badly preserved when the house was excavated and is now lost<sup>19</sup>. On the opposite wall we find the painting of a large, rearing snake<sup>20</sup>. Whereas Room 5 used to be the vestibule of the house, it received a new function and was therefore newly decorated. The *Totenmahlreliefs*<sup>21</sup> and the topics of the paintings are geared to each other and indicate that the room was solely used

<sup>13</sup> Rathmayr 2010a, 693 pl. 180.22. A function as an altar is indicated by the cylindrical form which is typical for altars in the Greek east; cf. the altar in the peristyle of Residential Unit 7 in Terrace House 2 in Rathmayr 2016, 650–655.

<sup>14</sup> For the well Thür 2005, 40 pls. 32, 34; for the relief and its dating Rathmayr 2005, 214–215. 228 cat. S 13 pl. 141.

<sup>15</sup> See already Rathmayr 2005, 221, 224; Rathmayr 2006, 112–113 fig. 9.

<sup>16</sup> For the power of these deities e.g. Herter 1979, 207–215.

<sup>17</sup> For the Hellenistic structures on the area of Residential Unit 4: Thür 2005, 96.

<sup>18</sup> For this installation Thür 2005, 40–42 fig. 11 pls. 7, 3; 24, 2; for the dating and function of the reliefs in their context Rathmayr 2005, 209–211. 223. 227 pl. 138.

<sup>19</sup> Thür 2005, 42 fig. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Zimmermann 2005, 114 pls. 6, 2; 85, 7.

<sup>21</sup> For this relief type and its use e.g. Fabricius 1999.



for household cult from now on until the destruction of the house. Cult practice is reflected by the findings of an incense burner and a lamp<sup>22</sup>.

In the same period when the alteration of Room 5 took place, Room 4 was converted in the new vestibule<sup>23</sup>. It was equipped with a *Totenmahlrelief* too, which was inserted in a niche on the north wall<sup>24</sup>.

The topic of the reliefs in the Vestibule 4 and the Sacrarium 5 showing a hero and a heroine feeding a snake was presumably chosen to protect the household, while the additional paintings of Room 5, above all the painted bust portrait, might hint at ancestor worship<sup>25</sup>. Next to their settings in *vestibula* and *sacraria* we find this relief-type in peristyles too. The latter is proven by another *Totenmahlrelief* from Terrace House 2<sup>26</sup>. It was found in the debris of the southwestern corner of the Peristyle 24 of Residential Unit 5 (fig. 1). We can suggest that it was certainly set up in a niche of the peristyle, whether on the ground or on the upper floor.

Summarizing, the *Totenmahlreliefs* from the Ephesian Terrace Houses are older than the construction time of the dwellings. They were originally used as tomb stele<sup>27</sup> and only secondarily displayed in the private sphere. In the case of Residential Unit 4 we can assign the relocation to Building Period III in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Since we find them in different spaces within the houses I assume that they were primarily chosen because a hero was depicted on them. This hero was honoured as a powerful deity who should protect the household. In the case of the two *Totenmahlreliefs* of Room 5 of Residential Unit 4, a painting showing a bust could hint at ancestor worship as well. In contrast to the *heros equitans* reliefs which might have had a similar function within the houses, the *Totenmahlreliefs* were set up much later than the construction time of the dwellings; they were much older than the building period they were used in, they stemmed from originally different contexts (tombs) and they were set up inside the private houses because of their specific religious meaning (heroes as a powerful deity). Since the *heros equitans* reliefs were produced up until the later Roman imperial period, the selection of one or the other relief type for a similar purpose within the household cult in one and the same living blocks (Terrace Houses) should be due to the taste of the homeowners. But whether they chose a *heros equitans* relief or a *Totenmahlrelief*, they put their households under the protection of powerful heroes.

During the rebuilding of Residential Unit 4 in the late Severan period the under life-size statue of Artemis from around 100 B.C. was displayed in a niche of Room 7<sup>28</sup> (figs. 1 and 5). Due to the presence of mural paintings depicting Apollo and the Muses<sup>29</sup>, the room might have been used as a library. Therefore the paintings and the statue could have been chosen to serve and emphasize the purpose of the room: Artemis as sister of Apollo and as an antique – the statue was more than 300 years old when it was arranged here – would have fitted very well into this context<sup>30</sup>.

Before this installation in Room 7, the Artemis statue was used as a fountain figure. This is attested by reworking for the installation of a water pipe on its rear side and right hand. Since we know that the Artemis was set up in the niche in Building Period IV and that at the same time a

<sup>22</sup> For these findings Vettters 1978, 967–979; Eichler 1964, 54–55.

<sup>23</sup> Thür 2005, 38–40.

<sup>24</sup> Rathmayr 2005, 208–209, 211, 223, 227 cat. S 2 pl. 138.

<sup>25</sup> For this interpretation see also Rathmayr – Zimmermann 2014; for ancestor worship in general and the significance of this cult in dwellings e.g.: Pfister 1950, 190–192; Hamblet 2006, 48–50.

<sup>26</sup> Vettters 1973, 100 pl. 18 (size: 0.40 × 0.32 m). I suggest a date similar to that of the *Totenmahlrelief* S 2 from Residential Unit 4 in Terrace House 2 which I attribute to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (Rathmayr 2005, 211, 227 pl. 138).

<sup>27</sup> See Fabricius 1999, 39–45.

<sup>28</sup> For the date and functions of the statue in its new contexts Rathmayr 2005, 211–213, 223–225, 227–228 cat. S 5 pl. 139; for the finding situation Stročka 1977, fig. 203; Thür 2005, pl. 7, 1.

<sup>29</sup> Zimmermann 2005, 118 pl. 86.

<sup>30</sup> For this interpretation see also Rathmayr – Zimmermann 2014.

water basin in Peristyle 21 was abandoned<sup>31</sup>, the statue was presumably arranged at the rim of the basin before its final display in Room 7. Here in the peristyle Artemis was probably combined with other statues, whereby an under life size fisherman from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. would have fitted perfectly<sup>32</sup>. Whereas from Building Period II to III (ca. 120–150 A.D.) the walls of the peristyle were decorated with Apollo and Muses as in the last setting of the Artemis in Room 7, from Building Period III to IV (150–220/230 A.D.) the court-walls were decorated with garden paintings<sup>33</sup>; therefore in this relatively long inhabitation period the ambience of a garden inside the house was created by the media of architecture, paintings and sculptures<sup>34</sup>. Unlike the Artemis, the fisherman was not used for the décor of the house after the basin was abandoned in Building Period IV, as this figure was found together with other filling material in a trench of the dwelling. It might be that the much higher value of the Artemis statue has to be evaluated in relation to its much higher age, to the fact that it copied presumably a work of the famous classical sculptor Praxiteles and to the long history of the sculpture before it became part of the furnishings of the house<sup>35</sup>.

In sum, the Artemis is a Hellenistic work from around 100 B.C. which was presumably set up in Residential Unit 4 around 120 A.D. Before, it might have stood in a sanctuary, maybe combined with other statues. It is a fine work which was highly esteemed by the inhabitants of Residential Unit 4. While the Artemis could have added to a religious atmosphere in both of its settings in Residential Unit 4 – at the rim of the basin one could have thought of a sacred grove, whereas in the niche of Room 7 of a temple –, in my opinion the decorative aspect had priority.

Let us now consider sculptures from Residential Unit 2, which were part of the house-décor in the last period of inhabitation from 220/230 A.D. to the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. In this phase we can attribute bronze statuettes of Sarapis, Isis Panthea and Athena to the house<sup>36</sup> (fig. 6 a–c). These imperial period works, which were not made at the same time, were used as an ensemble. This is clear because they were found together in the northwestern corner of the Peristyle SR 22/23 in the destruction layers of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. (fig. 1) Together with them a small bronze altar was discovered, which proves that the gods were the recipients of household cult (fig. 6 d).

We do not know the residents of this period by name, but they might be portrayed in three ivory heads which were inserted into busts<sup>37</sup> (fig. 7 a–c). This interpretation is based on the time of the destruction of the house in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. and the dating of the portraits to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. By the corresponding material and size of the portraits it is obvious that they belonged and were set up together. Based on the age and sex of the heads a couple and their son are very likely.

In the case of the bronze statuettes and the ivory portraits the finding situation does not reveal whether these ensembles were displayed on the ground floor or on the first floor of Residential Unit 2. The circumstances, however, do inform us that it was a representative area for the homeowner and his family; in the case of the cult statuettes it was the peristyle (SR 22/23), in the other case it was a large room affiliated to the court (SR 28) (fig. 1). Due to the small size of these figures they were presumably arranged on a precious table or in a niche.

<sup>31</sup> Thür 2005, 54–55 pls. 71, 1; 75, 1; 134, 2.

<sup>32</sup> For this statue Rathmayr 2005, 207 f. 225. 227 cat. S 1 pl. 131.3; 137.

<sup>33</sup> Zimmermann 2005, 106–109. 112 pls. 83–85.

<sup>34</sup> Rathmayr – Zimmermann 2014; cf. the water installations and the decorations of Rooms 8 and 36 of Residential Unit 6; see below.

<sup>35</sup> For the Artemis as a work imitating a statue of Praxiteles and for a combination with other statues according to the marks on the front side of the base see Fleischer 1971, 176–188.

<sup>36</sup> Rathmayr 2010b; Rathmayr 2010a, 693–694 pl. 246.

<sup>37</sup> Recently Christof 2010, 660 B-S 24. 25. 26 pl. 292.

In the Terrace Houses not only gods and residents were represented in sculptures, but also the Roman emperors. Depictions of them reflect the veneration of the inhabitants for their rulers<sup>38</sup>. Well known is the depiction of Trajan on the ivory frieze found in Residential Unit 2 which may have belonged to a piece of furniture such as a *sella curulis*<sup>39</sup>. At least in the last inhabitation phase of the house it was part of a richly furnished room (SR 18 or SR 18.1). In addition to the frieze, the room was equipped with marble and ivory statuettes and small portraits in bust form belonging to different periods<sup>40</sup>. Besides the ivory frieze from the Trajanic period and a man wearing a toga, holding a scroll in his left hand and seated on a *sella curulis* from the Trajanic-Hadrianic period<sup>41</sup>, most of the other sculptures derive from the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>42</sup>. Thus the sculptures seem to have been set up in this room in two different periods: in the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. and in the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. Considering that these sculptures (emperor and non-emperor images) were placed together in one room – regardless of whether it was room SR 18 on the ground floor or SR 18.1 on the first floor – over such a long period, they must have been very important for the subsequent residents. Whereas the private portraits are supposedly showing the residents of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the ivory frieze and the seated figure wearing a toga, probably Trajan, Hadrian or a high official, might reflect a (close) relation of an ancestor to these Roman emperor(s). Due to the topics of the sculptures the room could have served the residents as a family archive. If this is the case, we can assume that the room was not only open to guests, but moreover served as a reception space where the homeowner underlined his high status by means of the achievements of his ancestors.

One forbear could have been the Roman knight C. Vibius Salutaris, a person who is attested in Ephesos at least in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>43</sup>. He is famous for establishing an endowment which is known through an inscription from the Theatre<sup>44</sup>. As the name Salutaris is mentioned in graffiti in the Latrine SR 29 of Residential Unit 2<sup>45</sup> he was probably the homeowner of this house. This option is supported by the existence of the ivory frieze with the display of Trajan, an emperor for whom Salutaris had a special veneration. This is clear by an order in his endowment whereupon he was allowed to set up silver images of Trajan and Plotina in his house during his life time<sup>46</sup>. Moreover – and this is a brand-new interpretation – perhaps the so-called *Theaterfries* stemming from the same room as the frieze showing Trajan does not illustrate an ancient play, but instead shows scenes reflecting the procession from the Artemision to the theatre which Salutaris had arranged in his endowment<sup>47</sup>. Therefore if Salutaris was the owner of Residential Unit 2, with the exception of the emperor images which were added to the other sculptures of the endowment stored in the pronaos of the Artemision after his death, all the other furnishings stayed in the house. They seem to have played an important role concerning the identity and the self-image of the subsequent homeowners.

<sup>38</sup> This is also true for graffiti addressing Roma; see Taeuber 2005b, 136 GR 26; 140 GR 73.

<sup>39</sup> For the ivory works stemming from this room Dawid 2003.

<sup>40</sup> For the furnishings of the room Rathmayr 2010a, 692.

<sup>41</sup> Auinger 2010, 667–670.

<sup>42</sup> Among them are a small ivory portrait of a woman from the later Severan period and an ivory statuette of a young man in himation from 230–250 A.D.; for the images Dawid 2003, pls. 36–37. 40.

<sup>43</sup> Rogers 1991, 1–19.

<sup>44</sup> For the text, with English translation, Rogers 1991, 152–185.

<sup>45</sup> Taeuber 2005a; Taeuber 2010, 123. 472–473.

<sup>46</sup> IvE 27B, 150–158.

<sup>47</sup> Space does not permit me here to argue this point in detail, but in my opinion the preserved reliefs do not depict actors (they are not wearing *cothurni* and masks), but real persons wearing toga and himation; they are bringing objects to a theatre, whereby one of the *togati* seems to hold a statuette; for the dating, I do not follow the Severan dating of Dawid 2003, 66; instead I prefer a date from the later 1<sup>st</sup> to the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., because of the toga-type depicted on the ›*Theaterfries*‹ (Bb according to Goette 1990, 50–54) and its style (the toga is treated as a soft, heavy textile with ›teigige‹ [doughy] folds).

Whereas the emperor cult in Residential Unit 2 can only be assumed, the cult of Tiberius and Livia is attested in Residential Unit 7 by the archaeological record<sup>48</sup>. In this house portraits of Tiberius and Livia were found in a niche of Room 38 (figs. 1. 8). The portraits were oriented to the main entrance. Because there is no sign for a door on the threshold and due to the broad opening onto the Peristyle 38b, there is a close connection to a marble altar and a stationary offering table positioned in the court (fig. 8). Furthermore, instead of a door the entrance could be closed by barriers and therefore the accessibility into Room 38 regulated, a feature which is quite often found in the case of buildings with religious functions<sup>49</sup>. Based on this context, I am sure that Tiberius and Livia received the sacrifices which were offered on the altar and the table in the nearby court. The reason for the veneration of Tiberius and Livia might have been the support of the emperor for Ephesos after the earthquake of 23 A.D. which caused great damage to the town. We can speculate that the homeowner who established the cult in his house had a special relation to this emperor. It is conceivable that this person held an office within the official adoration or cult of Tiberius in Ephesos<sup>50</sup>.

As Residential Unit 7 had a connecting door to Residential Unit 6 both houses had the same residents<sup>51</sup> (fig. 1). In this house we learn about the homeowner of the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. through inscriptions, which were connected with sculptures<sup>52</sup>. While the inscriptions are still *in situ* the sculptures combined with them are lost. They can be partly reconstructed by their bases and by the related texts. Let us begin with the inscription in the Peristyle 31a located in the front part of the house. It is incised on the rear wall of a fountain from 120 A.D.<sup>53</sup>. This wall is built between the intercolumniations of the south side of the peristyle, and the front of each wall-section is articulated with pillars recalling statue bases. The inscription in question is inscribed on the top molding of the central pillar. The text Διόνυσος Ὀρείος Βάκχιος πρὸ πόλεως / οὗ ἱερᾶται Γάιος Φλάβιος Φούριος Ἄπτος<sup>54</sup> addresses Dionysos Oreios Bakchios and his priest Gaius Flavius Furius Aptus. On the top side of the rear wall above the inscription, clamps are still preserved in their original positions, indicating a cylindrical base with a diameter of ca. 23 cm and therefore a life size bust<sup>55</sup>. The exact fixing-technique indicated by the clamps is proven by a portrait bust from Ephesos which has lateral clamp holes on the lower molding of its base<sup>56</sup>. Regarding the topic of the bust, according to the inscription either Dionysos or Furius Aptus is possible. Yet I tend to the representation of Furius Aptus, because all busts from the Terrace Houses are combined with portraits and no god or goddess is presented in bust form. And as the homeowner focuses on his Dionysos priesthood in the text – probably written by himself – I suggest that in the lateral positions he had set up statues of Dionysos, maybe worked as counterparts. Due to the size of their placements these sculptures were under life-size.

To sum up, through the architecture and the inscription we can reconstruct an ensemble composed of a portrait bust showing the homeowner in his role as priest of a particular Dionysos cult flanked by under life-size statues of this god. Sculptures and inscription were oriented towards the inner Vestibule 31c, this orientation being pronounced even more by a barrier which was installed

<sup>48</sup> In detail see Rathmayr 2016a, 650–659; Rathmayr (forthcoming).

<sup>49</sup> Mattern 2008; Mylonopoulos 2011, 269–291.

<sup>50</sup> In this context I would like to mention an inscription from the Artemision (IvE 1687), the so-called *Große Spendenliste*, from which we learn that Tiberius was honoured in Ephesos with his own priest, an *archiereus*, because of his support after the earthquake.

<sup>51</sup> For the interconnection of these dwellings see Rathmayr 2016a, 670–673 text-fig. 2.

<sup>52</sup> For the homeowners see Rathmayr 2009.

<sup>53</sup> H. Thür, Rekonstruktion der Bauphasen, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. IV.3.A.

<sup>54</sup> IvE 1267; Taeuber 2014, chap. XII IST 1 pl. 126; »Dionysos Oreios Bakchios outside the town, whose priest is Gaius Flavius Furius Aptus« (translation E. Rathmayr).

<sup>55</sup> For details E. Rathmayr, Skulpturen, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. XIV.6.2.

<sup>56</sup> Selçuk, Efes Müzesi 742 (bust) and 2359 (head), which will be published by Aurenhammer (forthcoming). See Steskal 2010, 206–207 cat. SK 8 pl. 240, 1 (front view).



behind the sculptures on top of the rear fountain wall<sup>57</sup>. At the same time, the barrier together with large marble-framed doors bordering the fountain on its eastern and western ends, separated the front from the back part of the house. Therefore statues and text through which Furius Aptus pointed to his Dionysos priesthood were displayed to a bigger audience than the following sculpture-text-ensembles of Room 36.

These were in the back part of the house which was open – at least at particular times – to selected groups of people and friends. Also in this case the sculptures are not preserved, but the bases are still standing *in situ*<sup>58</sup>. They flank the entrance into the Apsidal Hall 8, a place suitable for receptions, meetings and *convivia*. When the statues were set up, a large water basin was installed in the Apsidal Hall creating the ambience of a grotto, maybe referring to the sizable dining-grottoes of imperial villas in Italy<sup>59</sup>. Due to the inscriptions on their front sides, which honour Aphrodite as goddess of the sea<sup>60</sup>, I suppose that statues in the Anadyomene-type, supposedly worked as counterparts, stood here. The epigrams, which again may have been composed by Furius Aptus himself, not only relate to the statue types but also reveal a special adoration for Aphrodite as a powerful sea goddess by the homeowner. Not only the setting of the large water basin in the Apsidal Hall 8 can be referred to this aspect of Aphrodite, but also the furnishings of Room 36 itself: here too, where the statues of the goddess were oriented towards the entrance, a central water basin was installed, which was probably decorated with the statue of an Eros riding on a dolphin<sup>61</sup>. Moreover the text on one base mentioning Furius Aptus and his friend Perikles in their roles as guests and hosts can be interpreted in the light of the importance concerning receptions and *convivia* in the life of the elite in this period<sup>62</sup>.

This high socio-political status of the owner family of Residential Unit 6 is furthermore reflected by other sculptures, which were put down against a wall of Room 36a (fig. 1): these are an over-life-size bust of Marcus Aurelius and a portrait of a man from around 230 A.D. which was very probably combined with a *paludamentum*-bust found here as well<sup>63</sup> (fig. 9). While in general emperor portraits in private houses can be seen as a sign of loyalty towards the emperor, the honouring of Marcus Aurelius with a portrait in Residential Unit 6 could be explained through the history and career of the owner-family. In this context it is significant that under the reign of Marcus Aurelius the homeowner Furius Aptus held the office of an *alytarches*, a high office within imperial cult, and his son T. Flavius Lollian Aristobulus was appointed into the *ordo senatorius*. Therefore the veneration of Marcus Aurelius might not just have been a manifestation of general loyalty, but also of gratitude for gaining these prominent positions. The male portrait which was found together with the emperor head might have shown the homeowner of the Late Severan period. Its large size, the superb quality and the manner of representation combine to display the high (military) rank of this individual. Unfortunately we do not know where and how these portraits were set up in the house. It is clear from their importance, however, that they belonged

<sup>57</sup> Thür – Rathmayr 2014, pl. 38 below.

<sup>58</sup> H. Thür, Baubefund, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. III.2.16.

<sup>59</sup> Following Galik et al. 2014, XXI it is very probable that fish used at the *convivia* were kept in this basin.

<sup>60</sup> Eastern base: Ζηνὸς καλλιγόνοιο καὶ εὐτέ- / κνοιο Διώνης ἀβροτάτη / μακάρων χαῖρε θεὰ θύγατερ. / ὄντως ἀφρογενὴς τε καὶ ἐκ πόν- / τοιο βέβηκας χαϊτάων παλά- / μαις κύματα πεμπομένη (»Daughter of fair-siring Zeus and Dione, mother of beauty, tenderest always of all blissful divinities, hail! Truly born in foam and out of the sea thou arrivest, sending with your arms surges of waves from your hair.« Translation by Stefan Hagel/IKAnt-OeAW); Western base: Γάϊον καὶ Περικλῆα σάω πολύολβε / Κυθήρη ἡμὲν ἐπὶ ξεινῆς ἥδ' ἄρ' / ἐνὶ σφετέρῃ / ξεινοδόχον τέ. σὲ γὰρ περὶ- / ἀλλα θεάων τείουσιν προοφρόνως / πάντα σεβιζόμενοι. (»Gaius and Pericles, o Cythera, provider of riches, guard, both when they're abroad and when they stay in their homes, both as guests and as hosts. For it's you of all goddesses whom they honour foremost and first, paying you worship and awe.« Translation by Stefan Hagel/IKAnt-OeAW); for these inscriptions recently Taeuber 2014, chap. XII IST 2–3 pl. 126.

<sup>61</sup> E. Rathmayr, Skulpturenfunde, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. XIV.6.3.

<sup>62</sup> Rathmayr 2016b.

<sup>63</sup> E. Rathmayr, Skulpturen, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. XIV cat. S 36 pl. 153 (Marcus Aurelius); S 37 and 37a pl. 154 (male portrait).



to a setting in one of the main rooms on the ground floor, where the homeowner and his family received guests and clients. Perhaps they were arranged in the Marble Hall 31, where a number of marble bases were found<sup>64</sup>. The fact that these busts were kept in the representative spheres of the house until its abandonment in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. shows that they were precious also for the (public) appearance of the subsequent homeowners, presumably relatives of *Furius Aptus*<sup>65</sup>.

Finally, features observed in Residential Unit 6 can also be found in the *domus* of Terrace House 1<sup>66</sup> which is a large peristyle house. Since it was constructed in the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. with a main building period around the middle of this century<sup>67</sup>, it is contemporary with the alterations in Residential Unit 6 under *Furius Aptus*'s guidance. The similarities between these houses concern the connection to Curetes Street, the large size, the substantial and high peristyles and splendid decorated halls predestined for receiving clients and guests.

Concerning the gradation of accessibility which was achieved by means of architecture and sculptures with associated inscriptions in Residential Unit 6, similar methods can be found in the *domus*: this is the construction of a fountain in the southernmost area of the court, its rear wall built between the intercolumniations, with a herm fence displayed on its top<sup>68</sup>. Just as in Residential Unit 6 this arrangement resulted in a separation between the front and the back where the reception rooms were situated. In contrast to Residential Unit 6, *in situ* inscriptions providing evidence regarding the residents are missing here.

Among the inscriptions found in Terrace House 1 is an inscribed altar<sup>69</sup>. Its small size (H 37 cm, diameter 30 cm) would fit for a setting in a non-public realm. The same is also true for the text<sup>70</sup> which is dedicated to Dionysos by persons occupying high public and religious offices. It reads: Διονύσω / Μουνδικίος / ἱεροφάντης / σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Μουν- / δικίῳ τῷ ἀγωνο- / θέτῃ τοὺς {δυροο} / θυρσοὺς ἀνέ- / θεκεν<sup>71</sup>. Whereas Moundikios, the father held the office of a hierophant within the cult of the Ephesian Curetes, the *agonothesia* of his son is related to an agon, according to the text presumably an agon for Dionysos. The dating of the Moundikioi on the altar is difficult, because in the lists of the Ephesian Curetes all four members of this family share the same name and all of them held the office of a hierophant. But because there is only one Moundikios attested as an *agonothetes*, a high and costly office, I would tend to identify his father not with Lysimachos Moundikios the third as D. Knibbe did<sup>72</sup>, but with Lysimachos Moundikios the fifth<sup>73</sup>, who was active in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. If I am right and the altar stood in a private dwelling, then we should take into consideration that a cult honouring Dionysos took

<sup>64</sup> Taeuber 2014, chap. XII IST 4–9, whereby in the text of IST 7 pl. 126 the father of C. Fl. *Furius Aptus* could have been honoured.

<sup>65</sup> For this assumption E. Rathmayr, *Skulpturen*, in: Thür – Rathmayr 2014, chap. XIV.7.

<sup>66</sup> For the *domus*, Lang-Auinger 1996, 92–119.

<sup>67</sup> The new dating of the *domus* by Ladstätter 2003, 84–85 to the first two decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. coincides with the dating of bases and capitals by Jenewein 2003, 86–94.

<sup>68</sup> Lang-Auinger 1996, 95; Aurenhammer 2003, 178 with a dating of the herm fence to the Hadrianic period.

<sup>69</sup> Eichler 1966, 105 no. 7: »gefunden verbaut im Hanghaus 1«, whereby 1964 the northeastern corner of Terrace House 1 was excavated.

<sup>70</sup> In the text the mentioned members of the Lysimachoi Moundikioi family are only named Moundikios, not even differentiated by numeration like in the Curetes' lists (β', γ', δ', ε'), and an eponymous office is missing; for the inscription on the altar: IvE 1211, SB 2058 (D. Knibbe); for this family: Knibbe 1981, 116–117 no. 84<sup>k</sup>. 19<sup>k</sup>. 20<sup>k</sup>. 21<sup>k</sup> and 22<sup>k</sup>; cf. with a text on an altar from the public sphere in Knibbe 1981, 63 no. F 2 (altar from the *prytaneion*).

<sup>71</sup> »Moundikios, the hierophant, together with (his) son, Moundikios, the *agonothetes*, dedicated the thyrsos to Dionysos« (translation: Kaja Harter-Uibopuu/University of Hamburg, Dept. of Ancient History).

<sup>72</sup> Without providing reasons Knibbe 1981, 116–117 no. 20<sup>k</sup> who generated a stemma of this family thought of Lysimachos Moundikios the third. He was *haghearch* prior to 120 A.D.

<sup>73</sup> Lysimachos Moundikios the fifth held his office until around 192 A.D.; my suggestion is based on the fact that in this family the sons always follow their fathers in being a *hierophantes*, but there is no Moundikios *agonothetes* in the Curetes' lists.

place in this building. In this case the Moundikios, father and son on the altar, could have been the homeowners.

Whereas this altar was used as a spoliu in Terrace House 1 and therefore we can only suspect that it had been part of the *domus*<sup>74</sup>, several portraits, among them the head of Commodus, can be assigned to this house<sup>75</sup>. While the so-called private portraits very likely show residents from different times of habitation<sup>76</sup>, the head of Commodus was surely set up for a specific occasion. For this, it might be important that under the reign of Commodus the Artemiseia as well as the Hadrianeia increased nominally and cultically, as they were now called Artemiseia Komodeia and Hadrianeia Komodeia<sup>77</sup>. On these grounds, the adoration of Commodus in the *domus* could be explained on the one hand by this general reverence, and on the other hand the possibility exists that the homeowner of the *domus* held an office within the cults or festivities designated for this emperor. Moreover, as other Ephesian inscriptions attest that Commodus was adored by an association as »Neos Dionysos«, this club could have met in the *domus* as well. The marble altar discussed earlier could have therefore been part of the imperial period display of the representative spheres of the *domus* and the Moundikioi, the residents in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>75</sup> For these sculptures Aurenhammer 2003, 157–181 and for Commodus p. 204 S 82 pl. 107 (»around 182 A.D.«).

<sup>76</sup> The male bronze portrait might show the homeowner of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D., the female marble portrait a resident of the late Severan period; for these sculptures Aurenhammer 2003, 194 S 11 pl. 84 (»late Severan«; 195 S 18 pl. 88 (»early to mid-Severan«).

<sup>77</sup> Lehner 2004, 48–49. For the importance of Commodus in Ephesos see furthermore IvE 47, an inscription which informs us that the *synhedrion* of the Curetes was renovated by the *prytanis* M. Aurelios Menemachos in the reign of Commodus and also that distributions were handed out to the *gerousia Kommodiane* (for this reference I would like to thank François Kirbihler/Université de Lorraine).

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- 2 Residential Unit 2 of Terrace House 2: view onto the southwestern area of the Peristyle SR 22/23 with the *heros equitans* relief in the niche of the south wall and a marble altar on the western stylobate



- 3 Residential Unit 4 of Terrace House 2: view onto the rear block of a well head showing a relief with nymphs on its front side





4 Residential Unit 4 of Terrace House 2: view onto the southern wall of Room 5 with one of the two ›Totenmahlreliefs‹ *in situ*



5 Residential Unit 4 of Terrace House 2: view onto the western wall of Room 7 with the statue of Artemis in the niche, surrounded by wall paintings depicting Apollo and the Muses (220/230 to 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.)



a



b



c



d

6 a–d Residential Unit 2 of Terrace House 2: bronze statuettes of Sarapis, Isis Panthea and Athena and a bronze altar found in the Peristyle SR 22/23 in the debris of the destruction of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.



a



b



c

7 a–c Residential Unit 2 of Terrace House 2: ivory heads of a couple and their son from the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., found in room SR 28





- 8 Residential Unit 7 of Terrace House 2: view onto the Peristyle 38b with a marble altar und table in the court and onto Room 38 with a large vaulted niche, where the portraits of Tiberius and Livia were found



- 9 Residential Unit 6 of Terrace House 2: finding situation of the bust of Marcus Aurelius and the late Severan head in Room 36a





MICHAELA FUCHS

## THE FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF DIONYSOS AT TEOS\*

## ABSTRACT

In all likelihood, the Temple of Dionysos at Teos is to be identified with the structure built by the influential Hellenistic architect Hermogenes and mentioned by Vitruvius. Its construction is linked to the decision taken by the Ionio-Hellespontic *technitai* to establish itself at Teos. However, the epigraphical evidence argues against a much-discussed assumption directly crediting the Dionysian society of artists with commissioning the temple. Rather, the edifice was a communal sanctuary administrated without the *koinon*'s involvement. Notwithstanding that, the latter's presence will have lent inspiration to the building project. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the local planners used the format of the frieze of the temple to assert that, owing to the guild's move to the city, the cultivation of the arts at Teos had acquired prominent status. It is important to note in this regard that the frieze did not exclusively thematize the thiasos enacted for the glorification of the god. The muses interspersed throughout the frieze, and the artistic disciplines they stand for, are, in a general sense, visualizations of the city's cultural aspirations. Thus, imagery showing Dionysian revelry became interwoven with indications of the elevated standard of artistic refinement now dominating at Teos. But there is more. Through the inclusion of a scene depicting an offering before an archaic image of a goddess cradling a child (Leukothea), legends referring to the city's foundation and the venerable cults attached to them were made visible.

## ÖZET

## Teos Dionysos Tapınağı'nın Frizi

Büyük bir ihtimalle, Teos Dionysos Tapınağı Hellenistik dönemin etkin mimarı Hermogenes'in yaptığı ve Vitruvius'un sözünü ettiği yapı olarak tanımlanabilir. Yapının inşası İonia-Hellespontos *technitai*'nın Teos'da yerleşme kararına bağlanmıştır. Ancak epigrafik bulgular, çok tartışılan tapınağın yaptırılmasının doğrudan Dionysos Derneği sanatçılarına atfedilmesi varsayımına karşı kanıtlar ortaya koymaktadır. Yapı, daha çok *koinon*'un katılımı olmadan yönetilen ortak bir kutsal alandı. Buna rağmen birliğin buradaki varlığı yapı projesine ilham vermiş olmalıdır. Bu saptama, yerel planlamacıların tapınağın frizini, tapınağın yapımının ve Teos'daki kültürün tanınmış bir hale gelmesinin bu loncanın şehre gelmesi sayesinde olduğunu iddia etmek için kullanmalarıyla desteklenir. Bu bağlamda, frizin konusunu sadece tanrının yüceltilmesi için yapılan *thiasos*dan oluşmadığının belirtilmesi önemlidir. Frizin farklı yerlerinde bulunan Muslar ve onların temsil ettiği sanatsal disiplinler, genel anlamda bu şehrin kültürel özlemlerinin göselleştirilmeleridir. Böylece Dionysos şenliklerini gösteren tasvirleri, artık Teos'da hakim olan sanatsal incelikteki yüksek standartlar ile kaynaşmıştır. Ancak burada daha fazlası söz konusudur. Tanrıçayı (Leukothea) kucığında bir çocukla gösteren Arkaik bir tasvir önünde yapılan sunu sahnesinin eklenmesi ile şehrin kuruluşu ve kutsal kültür ile ilgili efsaneler göselleştirilmiştir.

In 1764/1765, an expedition led by Richard Chandler, on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti undertook a tour to Greece and Turkey<sup>1</sup>. In 1765, the travellers also reached Teos whose remains were in a deplorable state. One was able to identify remnants of the city walls, of the theatre, and of the southern harbour, but it took an effort to identify the Temple of Dionysos mentioned in various ancient sources. Nevertheless, a number of architectural members were recorded, and a hypothetical floor plan was published in volume I of *Ionian Antiquities*<sup>2</sup>.

\* I am grateful to my friend, Musa Kadioğlu, whom I thank for having given me the opportunity to participate in the excavation of a site that holds a lot of promise.

<sup>1</sup> Chandler 1775; on Teos 134–140.

<sup>2</sup> Chandler 1769, 6–12 pl. 1–6.

During the last third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., the paramount fame of the local Dionysian cult induced the Ionian *koinon* of the Dionysian *technitai*, or artists, to choose Teos as the focal point of their activities<sup>3</sup>. In connection with the guild's self-establishment, a new temple was erected with whose creation the then innovative architect Hermogenes<sup>4</sup> was entrusted. That edifice gained fame by virtue of being mentioned in Vitruvius' »Ten Books on Architecture«. Among other things, Vitruvius emphasized that Hermogenes was worthy of the highest praise for having fixed the proportions of the *eustylos*, as exemplified in the temple of Dionysos at Teos (Vitr. 3, 3, 8).

Consequently, it is no surprise that, from the inception of research on Greek architecture in modern times on, curiosity has centered on manifest works of Hermogenes as architect and architectural theoretician. Almost 100 years after Chandler had spotted the temple at Teos, Richard Pullan, again sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, investigated the structure, producing plans and reconstructions of the building which, however, reflected only its last phase owed to a Hadranic reconstruction<sup>5</sup>. Pullan's excavations lasted only from April to July 1862, but, aside from architectural fragments, brought to light several slabs of a figural frieze which – against the resistance of local authorities – found their way to England, where they were handed over to the British Museum<sup>6</sup>. Part of the frieze slabs not abducted were transferred to Smyrna, modern Izmir, and placed in the garden of the Archaeological Museum. When they were still at the place of their discovery, however, the reliefs had been drawn by the painter Harald Jerichau, whose sketches Gustav Hirschfeld published in 1876<sup>7</sup>. Photographic documentation was to follow in the 1890s for individual images (EA nos. 1345–1348).

However, at the core of research on ancient Teos there stood, abstracting from Pullan's endeavours to reconstruct the Temple of Dionysos, the ample epigraphical material which Chandler had already begun to record<sup>8</sup>. It was only in 1922 that Charles Picard, given the superficiality of the English excavations, stated the necessity of digging afresh at Teos so as to gain closer insights regarding the cult of Dionysos in northern Ionia<sup>9</sup>. It took two years of negotiation between the École Française in Athens and the Turkish government to allow those activities to begin, whose aim it was to systematically excavate Teos. Understandably, the Temple of Dionysos claimed centre stage in those endeavours. A detailed report on the first campaign in 1924 was quickly published<sup>10</sup>, while a second one, referring to the undertakings in 1925 never saw the light of day. However, excavation diaries provide evidence that further fragments of the frieze were uncovered, but these were only described in a summary manner. Prior to the French resumption of the excavations, more elements of the frieze must have been in existence either *in situ* or in the museum at Izmir, as is apparent from passing notes in the literature on our topic<sup>11</sup>. Regrettably, also the finds from the excavations carried out by Y. Boysal and B. Ögün in 1962 and 1966 remained unpublished<sup>12</sup>. At any rate, more relief slabs had come to light at the time, only two of which were published – without any comment other than that they belonged to the Temple

<sup>3</sup> Aneziri 2003, 174–179. 375–376 D 2.

<sup>4</sup> Comprehensively on Hermogenes: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990.

<sup>5</sup> Pullan 1881, 38–39 pls. 22–25; 53–54; complementary information in Lethaby 1915, 12–13. 25. 28–33; cf. also below.

<sup>6</sup> Pullan 1881, 38 pl. 25; Lethaby 1915, 12; Smith 1904, 416–417 no. 2570; Hahland 1950, 81–82 L 10–11 figs. 43–44; Rumscheid 1994, II 86 no. 354.6 pl. 185, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, 23–30 pl. 5 and Hilfstaf. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Chandler 1775, 96. 100 with reference to Chishull 1728–[1731 (?)]. Cf. Hamilton 1842, 11–20. 450–454; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880a, 47–59; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880b, 110–121; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880c, 164–182; Judeich 1891, 291–299; Plassart – Picard 1913, 155–246; Demangel – Laumonier 1922, 307–355.

<sup>9</sup> Picard 1922, 406; see also p. II of the preface.

<sup>10</sup> Béquignon – Laumonier 1925, 281–321.

<sup>11</sup> Walter 1922–1924, 234–235; Demangel 1933, 404–405 with n. 1 on p. 405.

<sup>12</sup> Only short reports on the excavation activities themselves exist, with no mention of the finds: Boysal – Ögün 1962, 12–13; Boysal 1962, 5–7; Boysal 1965, 231–233; see, however, Mellink 1965, 146.

of Dionysos<sup>13</sup>. For the reconstruction of the building's frieze, however, they turned out to be of crucial importance<sup>14</sup>.

In the reliefs of the temple Dionysian activities are shown, in which the god himself participates (fig. 1)<sup>15</sup>. He is slouched on a piece of rock, holds his thyrsos staff in his right while turning his wreathed head towards a figure behind him, who is offering him, right arm raised, a bunch of grapes. Though only partly preserved, the individual portrayed can only have been Ariadne, the remainder of whose figure has fallen victim to damage at the right end of the slab. At the tip of the Dionysian cortege, a maenad playing the castanets may be seen, followed by a centaur who seems to have pounded a *tympanon* or hand-drum.

Walter Hahland was the first to occupy himself with the frieze<sup>16</sup>. Publishing his research in 1950, he connected the representations to the Tean wine miracle referred to by Diodorus. He relates that Teos was one among many places vying to be accepted as home to Dionysos<sup>17</sup>. To corroborate this claim, the Tean lore had it that »even to this day, at certain times [connected to festivities honouring the god] in their city a fountain of wine, of unusually sweet fragrance, flows of its own accord from the earth« (Diod. 3, 66, 2).

Notwithstanding the incompleteness of the scene, Hahland insisted that its topic could have only been the celebration of this viticultural miracle<sup>18</sup>. Intent on fortifying his argument, he adduced a relief of unknown origin (fig. 2), nowadays kept in the museum at Izmir<sup>19</sup>. There, in front of a cave on a bluff, Dionysos is seen reposing, his right arm resting on his head while the left one is draped in an animal skin. Behind him, a large horn of plenty is visible, another variety of which is balanced by his comrade Ariadne who, using her left hand, grasps some fruit from inside it. Within the grotto, an abundance of wine gurgles forth, allowing a youth, who is approaching from the right, to replenish his jar with the prized liquid.

However, in the frieze block from the Tean temple, cave and wine spring are absent. One can rule out that those items were once depicted to the right of Ariadne, as in the slab's surface connecting upwards and within the area of the break, dowel holes have survived<sup>20</sup>, testifying to the fact that the slab ended here. Had the fount been portrayed on the subsequent plate, it would have been too far removed from the god, leading to the conclusion that the Tean frieze slab could hardly have depicted the wine miracle.

Within the thiasos that is approaching the divine couple from either side, centaurs play an important role and can even be said to be the governing theme of the frieze in general. They are incorporated into the more customary following of Dionysos and mingle peacefully with maenads, satyrs, silenoi and Pan, all of whom are blissfully parading along. Thus, on one slab<sup>21</sup> in a comparatively good state of preservation, a centaur proceeds towards the right. While hugging the shoulders of a youth in front of him, he sports a horn-shaped drinking vessel in his right hand and gazes back at another youth behind him, who is carrying a pointed amphora. On another slab<sup>22</sup>, two galloping centaurs can be discerned, on whose backs youthful satyrs are seated, sounding their instruments. Amongst these, the one in front is unmistakably a female due to her clearly

<sup>13</sup> Akurgal 1987, 114 fig. 180 b; on the temple 92; Rumscheid 1994, 86 under no. 354.6 pl. 187, 5.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. below.

<sup>15</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 1; Hahland 1950, 75 R 1 fig. 27; Williams Lehmann 1962, 26 fig. 53; Williams Lehmann 1969, 316 fig. 264; Webb 1996, 73 fig. 30; Strang 2007, 157 pl. 21 a.

<sup>16</sup> Hahland 1950, 66–109.

<sup>17</sup> For reference Otto 1933, 91–93; Merkelbach 1988, 54–57, cf. 110; Strang 2007, 140–142.

<sup>18</sup> Hahland 1950, 85.

<sup>19</sup> Hahland 1950, 85–87 fig. 46; Strang 2007, 157–158 pl. 21 b.

<sup>20</sup> Hahland 1950, 10 R 1.

<sup>21</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 1; EA 1347; Demangel 1933, 404 fig. 80; Hahland 1950, 76 R 2 fig. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; EA 1345, 1; Demangel 1933, 404 fig. 81; Hahland 1950, 77 R 5 fig. 31; Williams Lehmann 1969, 251 fig. 208.

defined breasts, and the same gender may tentatively be assumed for her comrade. Here, music is the dominant theme: the she-centaur playing the castanets turns backwards towards a satyr playing the double flute, while, at the same time, her female counterpart beats a hand drum.

A similar configuration occurs on a frieze slab that came to light during the recent excavations begun by Ankara University in 2010<sup>23</sup>. On the back of a centaur striding to the right rides a silenus whose head is shown in full frontal view. In his uplifted right hand, the latter held an object whose nature is no longer discernible. The group is preceded by a satyr who carries a pointed amphora on his shoulder and looks backwards. The second<sup>24</sup> of the two newly-discovered slabs likewise shows a centaur hurrying to the right with an animal skin tied around his neck, and there are remains of a contour that suggest the presence of a maenad.

The popular rider-and-mount-group motif is also found on another, fragmentary slab<sup>25</sup>. Remarkably, however, in this instance the movement develops towards the left. What catches the eye is the back view of the sturdily built rider, whose attention is directed towards the somewhat overdimensioned kantharos, playfully extended by the subsequent centaur. In addition, remnants of a cortege moving to the left are preserved on an additional slab<sup>26</sup>: following the preceding centaur whose tail can still be seen next to the break on the left, comes the group of a centaur, typically wielding a tree branch, and a youth fondly looking up, cuddling his host.

According to Hahland, those sections of the frieze which showed divergent depictions of movement, pertained to different stretches of the peristasis, but he did not offer any kind of an explicit explanation<sup>27</sup>. However, it does seem logical that the frieze's cortege converged, from both the longitudinal sides of the temple towards the pronaos; meaning that the slabs oriented leftward were placed on the northern side, those oriented rightward on the southern one, both of them uniting in a scene where Dionysos must have been centrally placed (cf. fig. 3). However, a change of direction at the back corners of the peristasis is imaginable. At least, this is suggested by a corner stone discovered during the Turkish excavations of the 1960's<sup>28</sup> (fig. 4). There, on the front face of the block, a female figure is visible, whose billowing cloak testifies to her motion towards the right. Furthermore, interrupted by a corner capital, the hind part of a centaur, armed with a tree branch and moving to the left, is extant.

The humorous Bacchic activities come to a halt of sorts in the figure of a calm centaur strumming a lyre, with a tripping maenad positioned by his side<sup>29</sup>. Hahland had found fault with the absence of stationary pictorial elements which, according to him, would have been helpful in overcoming »die Monotonie der sich über lange Strecken hin wiederholenden gleichförmigen Bewegungsmotive«<sup>30</sup>. Realistically speaking, however, caesuras of that kind do by all means exist. Not only does the centaur just mentioned provide proof against Hahland's position; even more so do the muses who are found interspersed in the cortege.

A relief which is today badly damaged was once much better preserved when Hirschfeld had it drawn by Harald Jerichau in 1874<sup>31</sup> (fig. 5). Once more, two centaurs are shown rapidly moving towards the left. The younger one plays the flutes, with a youthful satyr seated on his back. The other one, shouldering an amphora, addressed his attention to a further figure of which nothing is preserved. In between, a mossy silenus, likely busying himself with the flutes, can be seen striding along. In the midst of this cortege, oriented towards the left, a frontally depicted

<sup>23</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>24</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>25</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 4; EA 1346, 1; Hahland 1950, 79 L 6 fig. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 3; EA 1345, 4; Hahland 1950, 79–80 fig. 38.

<sup>27</sup> Hahland 1950, 69. 83.

<sup>28</sup> Unpublished.

<sup>29</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; EA 1345, 3; Hahland 1950, 78 L 2 fig. 34.

<sup>30</sup> Hahland 1950, 84.

<sup>31</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; Hahland 78–80 fig. 35–36.

female in fluttering garb strumming a lyre stands out. Iconographically, her posture foreshadows representations of the muse Terpsichore in a pattern well-known from Roman sarcophagi<sup>32</sup> (fig. 6). The muse of dance and poetry has slightly lifted up her left leg while, with the torso of her body, she turns towards the right, i.e. in the direction of the instrument which rests clenched under her left armpit. Correspondingly, her right arm is folded and directed towards the lyre.

Another muse can also be identified. Appearing on an almost completely preserved frieze slab<sup>33</sup> (fig. 7), she wears the garment typical of *kitharodes* while strumming the lyre. She must be Erato, the muse who inspired amorous poetry. In a calm pose, her figure interrupts the rapid leftward flow of the thiasos. As is customary, she appears in a high-girded, sleeved chiton with mantle added to the back, as is also seen e.g. on a sarcophagus in Aphrodisias<sup>34</sup> (fig. 8). No trace, however, is left of the ribbon which helped her stabilize her heavy musical instrument.

The centaurs' dominance in the Dionysiac procession is not quite as surprising as is that of the muses. Hahland had failed to recognize them as such. The person strumming the *kithara* he mistook for a male, while calling the muse who is most likely Terpsichore simply a »musician playing the lyre«; this identification was also applied to a female musician recorded on a now lost fragment<sup>35</sup>. In any case, the presence of the muses becomes clear, when one considers the specific sort of events which, in the last third of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., affected the city of Teos. As mentioned initially, this was the time when the Ionio-Hellespontian *technitai* made the city their centre of activities, as is attested in what is known as the »*ktematónia* inscription«<sup>36</sup>. Given that the inscription contains a statement to the effect that the town was to donate a piece of property to the company, researchers repeatedly assumed that, therefore, the preserved Temple of Dionysos ought to have been located on that particular plot of land where it served as the guild's sanctuary<sup>37</sup>. However, there are a number of considerations that argue against this assumption, one being that the concept of »a piece of property« is hard to reconcile with the very small stretch of territory surrounding the ruins of the known Tean temple<sup>38</sup>. Its remains are to be attributed to the city's main cult location where, owing to the initiative not of the *technitai*, but of the local authorities, in the years 204–202 B.C. portrait statues of king Antiochos III and his sister Laodike had been set up, labelling them as σύνναοι θεοί. In any case, there can be no doubt that the *technitai*'s presence at Teos sped up the erection of the temple in existence<sup>39</sup> for whose construction the vanguard architect Hermogenes could be won. One bears in mind that not only did the traditional Tean cult of Dionysos gain by the artists' presence, but so did the town as a whole when seen as a cultural centre. It is to this constellation that the commissioners of the Hermogenean temple point to by way of its relief decoration. The planners of the temple's decoration did not shy away from emphasizing that, owing to the *koinon*'s move, the arts, by virtue of musicians and actors, had undergone a considerable boost. It follows that the presence of the muses in the frieze underscores the city's claim to cultural fame.

Consequently, the Tean frieze was not exclusively dedicated to myths and matters to do with Dionysos, allegorically making reference to rites dedicated to the god on his festive occasion. Scenes that refer to cultic activities are interspersed with others referencing the cultural potential

<sup>32</sup> See e.g. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung inv. I 171: Wegner 1966, 88–89 pls. 8 a; 9 a. b; 10–12; 14 a; 137 a. b (with literature).

<sup>33</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 4; EA 1348; Demangel 1933, 405 fig. 83; Hahland 1950, 77 L 1 fig. 33; Akurgal 1987, 114 fig. 180 a.

<sup>34</sup> Aphrodisias, Museum: Wegner 1966, 10–11 pls. 83 b; 85 a. b.

<sup>35</sup> Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 9; Walter 1922–1924, Beibl. 235; Hahland 1950, R 6 fig. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Aneziri 2003, 174–179; 375–376 D 2 (with literature); cf. Strang 2007, 250–259.

<sup>37</sup> Hahland 1950, 90–97; Stampolidis 1987, 197–206; cf. N. Stampolidis in: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990, 115–116; with regard to the following cf. Aneziri 2003, 174–179.

<sup>38</sup> Yaylali 1976, 116–120.

<sup>39</sup> Aneziri 2003, 178.



of the city. This being so, two reliefs now in the Tarih Sanat Müzesi<sup>40</sup> (fig. 9), both in quite a reasonable state of preservation, shed an interesting side light. They depict an act of offering in front of a female goddess. These slabs were, routinely and on grounds of their seemingly enigmatic themes that did not appear to fit in with the bacchanalian cortege, kept separate from those fragments which were confidently attributed to the Tean frieze. However, their role cannot be underestimated for the understanding of the Tean frieze as a whole. It must be remarked, though, that the early excavators had a better understanding of the complexion of things: quite simply the two reliefs in question are a precise match to the remainder of the slabs<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, their inventory numbers are consistent with those of the other frieze plates. It appears that both of the reliefs were initially, in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum, correctly united with the rest of the frieze slabs – until a later date when this connection was no longer recognised.

As part of the original sequence, there appeared a lit altar and an image of a female deity dressed in a thin chiton and mantle covering her right arm and falling freely down the figure's back. However, the garment is not pulled up to cover the head. Rather, the veil rests on her shoulders and is superimposed on a cap worn underneath. This particular mode of applying a veil<sup>42</sup>, from Hellenistic times on, is commonly found on grave reliefs, images of priestesses, and sundry portrait statues<sup>43</sup> stemming, for the most part, from southern Asia Minor. From either side a number of figures approach the cult image with, in both cases, a man accompanied by a flute-blowing maiden. To the right, two women join in, carrying a robe obviously intended to embellish the cult image. Once this is understood, the object held by the leader of the cortege is no longer hard to explain. It can only have been a vessel filled with pleasantly scented oil<sup>44</sup>, seeing that it was common practice for the head priest to anoint the sacred image in the process of performing sacred rites<sup>45</sup>.

So who does the cult image represent? The object which the goddess is carrying on her left arm has for quite some time resisted interpretation. A miniature version of a lion was proposed, supposedly symbolizing the »Macht der großen Herrin der Tiere« (*Potnia theron*), as well as a kid held by Aphrodite Pandemos<sup>46</sup>. However, in spite of all the damage the relief has undergone, an identification as an animal has to be ruled out: the posture and group composition simply do not fit. It seems much more appropriate to see this as a child which the goddess held against the left part of her chest, comparable to depictions of Aphrodite and the boy Eros<sup>47</sup>.

At this point, mythology comes to our aid. A man by the name of Athamas<sup>48</sup>, who according to legend was a hero and also the king of Thessalian or Boeotian Orchomenos, was credited with the founding of Teos. This is unquestionably related to the migration of the Dorians as reflected in oral tradition. Strabo (14, 1, 3) and Pausanias (7, 3, 6) provide records of colonized cities, according to which Teos was inhabited by Minyans from Orchomenos, who had arrived jointly with Athamas.

<sup>40</sup> inv. 185. 186: EA 1349; Drexel 1921, 45–50 pl. 9, 3; Langlotz 1961, 123–124 pl. 26, 3–4; Möbius 1962, 287; Fleischer 1978–1980, 66 fig. 3; Fleischer 1973, 115.

<sup>41</sup> The height measures 60.5 cm, thus corresponding exactly to the other slabs' measurements, abstracting from the crowning element of the egg-and-dart absent from these two slabs. As to the measurements cf. also Hahland 1950, 69. The marble used is identical in all cases.

<sup>42</sup> On this cf. R. Känel in: Berger 1990, 283–299 no. 245; see also Känel 1989, 123–124 pl. 14; cf. already Langlotz 1961, 122–124 with a somewhat different interpretation.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. e.g. İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 249–250 no. 228 pls. 161, 2. 3; 162; 256 no. 234 pl. 167, 1. 2.

<sup>44</sup> Already taken into consideration by Langlotz 1961, 123, according to whom the vessel's content was earmarked for religious rites.

<sup>45</sup> Detailed information on the practice of anointing divine images in Hock 1905, 51–52, on dressing them Hock 1905, 53–59; cf. Funke 1981, 688–693; Frateantonio 1999, 903.

<sup>46</sup> Langlotz 1961, 123. On Aphrodite Pandemos carrying a he-goat in her arm cf. Simon 1969, 250–252 fig. 243; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 16 no. 65 with fig.; cf. Delivorrias et al. 1984, 98–100.

<sup>47</sup> Delivorrias et al. 1984, 119 no. 1233 with fig.

<sup>48</sup> On Athamas cf. Escher 1896, 1929–1933; Schwanzar 1984, 950–953; cf. Strang 2007, 45.

Interestingly, Athamas, who was wed to Ino<sup>49</sup>, a sister of Theban Semele, called as his own a palace where, according to one of the mythical traditions, the infant Dionysos was handed over by Hermes into the care of the royal house<sup>50</sup> (cf. Apollod. 3, 28). Only a few vase paintings reflect this version of the story. On a Faliscan stamnos preserved in the Villa Giulia<sup>51</sup>, Hermes, holding a child in his arm, approaches a ruler figure with a sceptre, behind whom a female is visible, likewise enthroned and holding a sceptre. Consequently, the two of them are to be interpreted as Athamas and Ino. We encounter them again on an Attic hydria housed in a private Athenian collection<sup>52</sup>, where they are seen receiving the newborn against the background of palatial architecture.

It must be emphasized that taking care of boyish Dionysos was the central topic of the myth involving Ino – and the one, moreover, that was to determine her later literary fame. Sadly, Hera's anger brought insanity to Ino, who saw no other recourse than to hurl herself into the sea. Fortunately, Poseidon and the nymphs welcomed her amongst their coterie, deciding to call her by a new name: Leukothea – the shimmering goddess of waving floods<sup>53</sup>.

Apparently, the cult of Leukothea was quite important at Teos<sup>54</sup>. The month of Leukatheón was named for her – marking the inception of the New Year, when officials were admitted into office<sup>55</sup>. But, for the ephebes, the date also marked their introduction into civilian rights<sup>56</sup> – doubtless another reason for festive emotions and behaviours. The significant aspect of all this, and specifically with regard to our frieze, is that at the same point in time the games of the Leukathea were celebrated<sup>57</sup>. The upper echelons of the city, in addition to receiving libations, were wined and dined and almost buried under proclamations of honour and respect<sup>58</sup>. However, the honouring of Leukothea was the task, and a special one too, of the priest serving the cult of Poseidon – who also supervised the correct enactment of the concomitant games. For all of that, the Tarih Sanat slabs now provide singularly well-preserved evidence.

With confidence we may state that the reliefs depict the opening of the games. The rigorous appearance of the female idol standing centrally, must doubtless be interpreted as indicative of the longevity of the cult of the goddess<sup>59</sup>. The clearly visible navel of the figure she cradles leaves no doubt of its human nature. Consequently, it can be none other than the young Dionysos. From the right, the responsible priest approaches, extending a vessel containing ointments; his followers are female cultic servants presenting the newly-woven garment. Flute players accompany the scene, and likewise a man holding a long torch, with which the fire on top of the altar will be lit.

The question regarding the frieze's date is closely connected to the ascription of the temple itself to Hermogenes. R. P. Pullan believed that the temple he had discovered could not possibly be the *eustylos* as mentioned in Vitruvius<sup>60</sup>. Instead, the differences in craftsmanship that he observed while analysing the various sections of the building led him to believe that the temple was the result of Roman restructuring. He found supporting evidence for his supposition in an inscription

<sup>49</sup> On Ino cf. Farnell 1921, 35–47; Eitrem 1925, 2293–2306; Nercessian 1990, 657–661; see also Schwanzar 1984; Strang 2007, 143–145.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Schwanzar 1984, 950; Gasparri 1986, 417; cf. Strang 2007, 143–145.

<sup>51</sup> Fuhrmann 1950/1951, 113 fig. 5; 127–128; Schwanzar 1984, 951 no. 3.

<sup>52</sup> Oakley 1982, 44–47 pl. 8; Schwanzar 1984, 951 no. 1.

<sup>53</sup> On Leukothea cf. Eitrem 1925; Bremmer 1999, 110. According to Hyginus (fab. 2) she received the name by the will of Dionysos.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Graf 1985, 405–407; Strang 2007, 144–145.

<sup>55</sup> Demangel – Laumonier 1922, 307–319 no. 1. 2 = SEG II 579. 580; Herrmann 1965, 37–38 lines 30–38. 57. 65–67; Graf 1985, 406; Strang 2007, 126. 160.

<sup>56</sup> Herrmann 1965, 38 lines 38–44. 67; Graf 1985, 406; Strang 2007, 161.

<sup>57</sup> CIG 3066, 25; Herrmann 1965, 37 lines 16–17. 57–58: against the reconstruction of the inscription as referring to a feast honouring Poseidon Graf 1985, 406 n. 17; cf. also Strang 2007, 125–126. 144–145. 160.

<sup>58</sup> CIG 3065. 3066; Herrmann 1965, 37 lines 9–24. 57–60.

<sup>59</sup> Langlotz 1961, 124 felt reminded of Anatolian votives of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> c., cf. Langlotz 1961, pl. 26, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Pullan 1881, 39.

from the architrave of the temple<sup>61</sup> – an inscription which was further clarified by the excavations carried out by the French in the 1920s<sup>62</sup>. For its reconstruction see figure 10<sup>63</sup>.

The title of Panionios, which is also documented in Ephesos and Miletos<sup>64</sup>, must pertain to the last years of Hadrian's reign. Clearly, it was coined in imitation of the emperor's honorific title as Panhellenios, which was bestowed upon him on the occasion of the founding of the Panhellenion at Athens in 131/132 A.D.

On the other hand, the inscription does not allow us to conclude that the temple was, in its entirety, only founded during the Hadrianic age. We must also consider restorations following one of the many seismic disasters which shook Asia Minor and Teos at more or less regular intervals. Interestingly enough, Hirschfeld, in publishing his first sketches, already drew attention to similarities between the Tean frieze and slabs from the temple at Magnesia<sup>65</sup> – likewise ascribed to Hermogenes<sup>66</sup>. Following the same line of reasoning, and considering facts to be gleaned from the historical tradition, he dated the Tean frieze to the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. In spite of Hirschfeld's proposal, the date remained open, permitting Hahland to preface his ruminations on the temple's frieze by stating that, up to his time, the reliefs had not yet found a fixed place in Hellenism<sup>67</sup>. Hahland's observations regarding the slabs preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Izmir, however, provided evidence derived from dowel holes that the reliefs in question must have been employed twofold. For this reason, Hahland came to the conclusion that the frieze was reemployed and partly repaired under Hadrian<sup>68</sup>.

In fact, a number of relief slabs do exist that visibly depart stylistically from the bulk of what else is preserved. The two blocks removed by Pullan and now in the British Museum<sup>69</sup> are to be numbered among them. It appears that we are faced with two matching blocks, consequently representing the most coherent part of the Dionysian cortege. There, male and female centaurs are represented, with riders on their backs; they are preceded by a female basket carrier, and a dancing maenad also participates. Renewed investigations would be required to determine whether Hahland was right to surmise that these slabs were reworked in imperial times<sup>70</sup>. Contrary to that, it seems safe to assume a Hadrianic origin for one relief already detected by Chandler<sup>71</sup>, as well as for two others uncovered during the Turkish excavations of the 1960s<sup>72</sup>. There, too, the subject is the Bacchanalia, even if the precise content of the more damaged relief is difficult to determine.

The better preserved slab<sup>73</sup> (fig. 11) is a rectangular member with a pillar marking the transition to the lateral section. If the assumption is correct that the cortege proceeded from each long side towards the front of the temple<sup>74</sup>, this slab should be assigned to the corner turning towards the temple's main side. Thus, returning to the corner-block mentioned above (fig. 4), its logical placement would then be the southwestern corner on the back of the building (fig. 3).

In sum, the Dionysiac frieze of the Tean temple seems in no way to have been restricted to the worship of the divinity and the thiasos enacted in his honour. By including the muses, the

<sup>61</sup> Pullan 1881, 38; Lethaby 1915, 29; Hirschfeld 1876, 29.

<sup>62</sup> Demangel – Laumonier, 1922, 330–331 no. 10; Béquignon – Laumonier 1925, 309–310 no. 4–5.

<sup>63</sup> Reconstruction by Robert 1943, 86–89.

<sup>64</sup> Robert 1943, 88–89.

<sup>65</sup> Hirschfeld 1976, 29.

<sup>66</sup> *Vitr.* 3, 2, 6; cf. M. Kreeb in: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990, 109–110; 104–109; Rumscheid 1994, 25–28; Webb 1996, 89–92.

<sup>67</sup> Hahland 1950, 66.

<sup>68</sup> Hahland 1950, 74–75. 87. 91–97. 105–106.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. above n. 6.

<sup>70</sup> Hahland 1950, 81–82 n. 39.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. above n. 21.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. above n. 13.

<sup>73</sup> Akurgal 1987, fig. 180 b (left).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. above.

city's high educational standards were celebrated, courteously acknowledging the merits of the Dionysian guild. Of central importance are two fascinating reliefs which are today in the Tarih Sanat Museum (fig. 9). To repeat: based on their subject matter, these slabs were erroneously excluded from the remainder of the more easily legible frieze of the temple, in spite of the slabs' measurements and the fact that they received sequential object numbers when they were found. Decisive for the understanding of the frieze's composition in its entirety is the depiction of an offering dedicated to a female cult image of archaic appearance, which of necessity must be identified as Leukothea. Nevertheless, I hope to have demonstrated that the inclusion of this scene is crucial for understanding not only the temple's meaning, but also the early Hellenistic history of the city of Teos itself.

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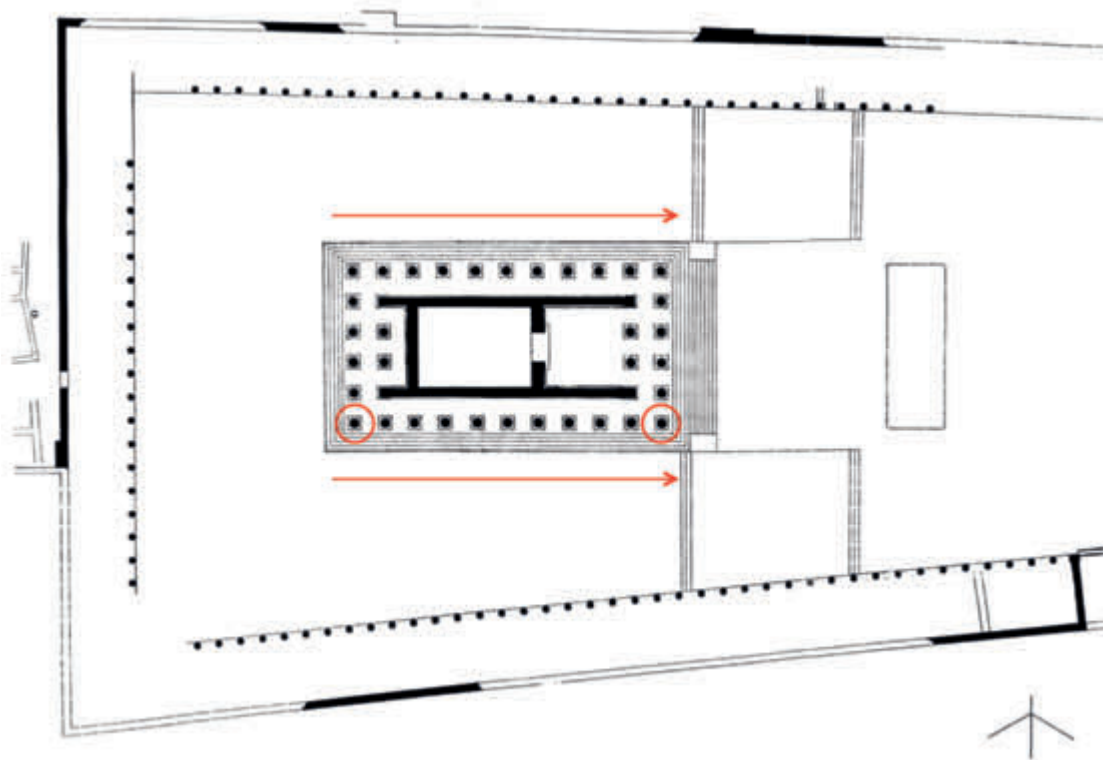




1 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 175: Dionysian cortege and slouched Dionysos



2 Relief, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 241: wine miracle



- 3 Precinct of the temple of Dionysos, based on the plan by Duran M. Uz, 1987, with orientation of the friezes indicated



- 4 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 3539: Dionysian cortege



5 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 176: Dionysian cortege and Terpsichore



6 Sarcophagus, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung inv. I 171



7 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 184: Dionysian cortege and Erato





8 Sarcophagus, Aphrodisias, Museum



9 Offering dedicated to a female cult image, Izmir, Tarih Sanat Museum inv.185. 186

|                            |                |                    |                   |              |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|
| A                          | B <sup>1</sup> | C                  | D                 | E            | F <sup>2</sup> |
| ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩ [ρ Καῖσαρ]       | ΘΕΟΥΤΡ [α] ΙΑΝ | ΟΥΠΑ [ρθικου υι]   | ΟΣ ΘΕΟ [υ Νέρου]  | ΑΥ [ιωνος] - |                |
| ΠΑΝ [ι] ΩΝΙΟ [ς ἀρχιερεῖς] | ΣΜΕΓΙ [σ] ΤΟΣ  | ΔΗΜ [αρχικῆς ἐξου] | ΣΙΑΣ [το ., ὑπατ] | ΟΣΤ [δ.] -   |                |
|                            |                |                    | ΕΝ                |              |                |

10 Hadrianic dedicatory inscription



11 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Tarih Sanat Museum

MARIA AURENHAMMER – GEORG A. PLATTNER

## THE EROTES AND SATYR FRIEZE OF THE THEATRE AT EPHEOS – SEEN IN THE CONTEXT OF EPHESIAN, ASIAN AND METROPOLITAN SCULPTURE

### ABSTRACT

Hundreds of fragments of a frieze from the late Flavian *scaenae frons* of the Great Theatre at Ephesos were unearthed in the early years of excavations, now housed mostly in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and in the British Museum. R. Heberdey and F. Eichler painstakingly worked on the reconstruction of the slabs. Currently, a monograph on the frieze is in preparation by G. A. Plattner (KHM) and M. Aurenhammer (OeAI). The thin slabs are made of Thasian marble. The long frieze features Erotes hunting wild animals and reveling. It uses figural types and motifs of the classical and Hellenistic repertoire. Erotes as hunters are a popular motif in the decoration of theatres in Asia Minor. The Ephesian frieze shows high quality in workmanship and inventiveness. It may be compared with the reliefs of the Temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome (renovated under Trajan) and with the sculptures from the ›Domitian's Fountain‹ at Ephesos (92/93 A.D.). Eight slabs featuring a single reclining satyr were also reconstructed. The continuous Erotes frieze adorned the socle zone of the middle storey of the theatre façade, while the satyr slabs were positioned on the protruding sections. The thin relief slabs were set in front of an already finished back wall, a fact which has implications for the date of the frieze.

### ÖZET

#### Efes Tiyatrosu'nun Erot ve Satyr Frizi – Efes, Asya ve Metropol Heykelleri Bağlamında Bir Bakış

Kazı çalışmalarının ilk yıllarında Efes'deki Büyük Tiyatro'nun Geç Flaviuslar Dönemi *skene frons*'una ait frizinin yüzlerce parçası ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Bunların çoğu şu anda Viyana Sanat Tarihi Müzesi'nde ve British Müzesi'nde bulunmaktadır. R. Heberdey ve F. Eichler levhaların rekonstrüksiyonu üzerinde özenle çalışmışlardır. Şu anda ise frizlerle ilgili bir kitap G. A. Plattner (KHM) ve M. Aurenhammer (ÖAI) tarafından hazırlanmaktadır. İnce levhalar Thasos mermerinden yapılmıştır. Uzun frizde Erotlar yabani hayvan avında ve eğlenirken görülmektedir. Frizde Klasik ve Hellenistik repertuara ait figürel tipler ve motifler kullanılmaktadır. Avlanan Erotlar Küçük Asya'daki tiyatro süslemelerinde sevilen bir konudur. Efes Frizi çok kaliteli bir işçilik ve yaratıcılık örneği gösterir. Friz, Roma Venus Genetrix Tapınağı'nın (Traian Döneminde yenilenmiştir) kabartmaları ve Efes Domitian Çeşmesi (MS. 92/93) heykelleri ile karşılaştırılabilir. Üzerlerinde tek başına uzanan bir Satyr bulunan sekiz levha da rekonstüre edilmiştir. Aralıksız devam eden Eros Frizi tiyatro cephesinin ikinci katının taban kısmını süslerken, Satyr levhaları öne çıkan bölümlere yerleştirmişlerdir. İnce kabartma levhaları daha önce bitirilmiş arka duvarın önüne yerleştirilmiştir. Duvarın daha önce bitirilmiş olduğu gerçeği frizleri tarihlendirilmesi için önem taşır.

In the first years of the Austrian excavations at Ephesos (since 1895), the scholars focused on major Roman imperial monuments such as the Harbour Baths and the Great Theatre. These buildings had always been visible to a certain extent. John Turtle Wood had already worked in the *cavea* of the theatre, literally raking up the debris, as Austrian scientists mentioned later<sup>1</sup>, bringing some fragments of sculpture to the British Museum in London<sup>2</sup>.

The main aim of the Austrian expedition in 1897–1900 was to understand the architecture of the theatre, first of all that of the *scaenae frons*, the stage building, and to study the sculptural

<sup>1</sup> Wood 1877, 76; R. Heberdey in: Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Smith 1900, 185–188.



decoration<sup>3</sup>. Due to an Irade of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, some of the findings were sent to Vienna as a gift from the Sultan to the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I<sup>4</sup>. Although hundreds of blocks from the architectural remains of the façade were preserved, the archaeologists selected only some single elements. In contrast, they made an enormous effort to collect every small fragment that could presumably have been a part of the friezes or the free standing sculptural decoration of the stage building. In the Imperial Collection of Greek and Roman Antiquities in Vienna, today part of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Rudolf Heberdey and his colleagues started immediately to join broken parts of the Eroses and Satyr frieze together and to reconstruct relief slabs at least partly (figs. 1–6). They carried out this work with such incredible precision that it has not been possible to find any new joints since then.

Already in the first exhibition of findings from Ephesos which opened in 1901 in the Theseus Temple in the Volksgarten in Vienna, three reconstructed relief slabs from the Eroses frieze were on display<sup>5</sup>. After World War II, Fritz Eichler, director of the collection in those days, worked on the fragments again, defining smaller groups of single fragments which he joined together. Unfortunately, notes and sketches mentioned in his article<sup>6</sup> are not preserved, neither in the Kunsthistorisches Museum nor in the Austrian Archaeological Institute which he directed after retiring from the museum. In 2009 the authors of the present article started a project as a cooperation between the Kunsthistorisches Museum and the Austrian Archaeological Institute to prepare a final publication of this outstanding frieze<sup>7</sup>. This project is part of a large scale Theatre project which was undertaken from the late 1990s until 2011 by several Austrian institutions and university departments and which will result in a series of publications covering all parts of the building, its decoration and its findings<sup>8</sup>.

The frieze slabs consist of Thasian marble (dolomite)<sup>9</sup>. This might be surprising at first sight, as we know a series of marble quarries in the vicinity of Ephesos and probably in the property of Ephesos<sup>10</sup>. While the white/greyish local marble was widely used for architecture and also for sculpture, for the purpose of large-scale sculptured friezes the fine grained white marble from the Greek island was preferred, as was also the case for the so-called Parthian Monument<sup>11</sup>.

The high quality of workmanship of the theatre frieze is emphasised by the use of colour to increase the visibility for the audience. Traces of red colour (grounding [?]) are still visible on several fragments as on the cart or on the hair of some Eroses (figs. 1. 3). Several more remains of colour were traced using a XRF-handheld unit provided by the IAEA in Vienna (fig. 3)<sup>12</sup>. First results show several micro elements indicating different shades of ochre. Striking are the remnants of lead not only on the figures but also on the background of the reliefs, indicating white lead, perhaps as grounding or to brighten up the marble itself.

Iconographically, the frieze covers two themes: a long frieze featuring Eroses and a series of slabs depicting a single figure of a reclining Satyr.

In the Eroses frieze, groups of Eroses are depicted hunting a variety of animals and reveling in front of the plain pictorial background. Ample space is allotted to the individual scenes (figs. 1–3).

<sup>3</sup> The results were presented in Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912.

<sup>4</sup> Oberleitner et al. 1978, 36. 58–59. 61–65; Wohlers-Scharf 1995, 87–88. 277–278.

<sup>5</sup> Schneider 1901, 13–15 nos. 21–22.

<sup>6</sup> Eichler 1956–1958.

<sup>7</sup> See: Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014.

<sup>8</sup> See now: Krinzinger – Ruggendorfer 2017. The cooperation was forged by the OeAI, the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of History of Art, Building Archaeology and Restoration at the Technical University, Vienna.

<sup>9</sup> Until now, only a few samples could be analysed by Walter Prochaska, Montanuniversität Leoben, Austria.

<sup>10</sup> For the quarries and the marbles used at Ephesos, see recently Yavuz – Bruno – Attanasio 2011; Prochaska – Grillo 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Oberleitner 2009, 389–391.

<sup>12</sup> The investigations were undertaken in cooperation with the Conservation Science Department of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

The figures are plastically rendered, in some cases body parts project from the low base moulding. The Eroses are not designed as putti but as athletic boyish hunters. The hunt takes place in the wilderness which is illustrated by rocky terrain and single trees, many of them oak trees (figs. 1. 2. 5)<sup>13</sup>. In the hunting scenes, the Eroses brandish spears and stones, and they are assisted by lean hunting dogs (figs. 1. 2)<sup>14</sup>. The sculptors clearly enjoyed presenting their knowledge of and their craftsmanship in the illustration of a wide variety of animals, as there are lions, boars, deer, stags, ibex and hares<sup>15</sup>. Two scenes show the lion hunt: in one scene, two Eroses are chasing a lion moving to the right, whereas in the second scene a lion is breaking away in front of a rocky barrier, hunted by two Eroses (fig. 1)<sup>16</sup>. An exceptional figure is the lioness sitting on its haunches whose paw is caught in a snare<sup>17</sup>.

Similarly, the sculptors took great care in the variation of the Eroses' hairstyles: aside from the usual curls we see the melon coiffure and the locks pulled up on top of the head (figs. 1. 3. 4).

The figural repertoire of the mythological and the historical hunting and battle scenes as well as the repertoire on the sarcophagi with hunting scenes draw from a common source of figural types and motifs which go back partly to the high classical period<sup>18</sup>. This is also illustrated by the Ephesian frieze and shall be exemplified here by several motifs and figural types. The motif showing an animal breaking out of a cave towards the left, with a hunter brandishing a spear in back view at the right and the half-size figure of another hunter hurling a stone above the rocky barrier (cf. fig. 1) is popular on the scenes of the Caledonian boar hunt on the main group of the Meleager sarcophagi from Rome<sup>19</sup>. But the motif of the cave with the escaping animal and the half-size figure above the cave appears already on Etruscan alabaster cinerary urns of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. with the Caledonian hunt<sup>20</sup>. The combination of a boar, a hunter in back view and another hunter behind the animal is already used in 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. – scenes of the Caledonian hunt, as e.g. on a slab of the Heroon of Trysa in the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>21</sup>. In the Ephesian scene (fig. 1), the hunt is transported into the world of boyish Eroses and the prey animal is replaced by a lion.

The Ephesian lion hunt based on this traditional motif was probably framed on its left side by the frontal figure of a hunter leaning back and striking out with his spear (fig. 2). This is another figural type common in hunting scenes since the high classical period<sup>22</sup>. On the Ephesian frieze, this type appears several times, as well as the hunter seen from the back.

Another traditional figural type of a hunter – in the Ephesian frieze fighting against a boar – eyes the animal, but turns back his torso and strikes out with both hands behind his head, so that one of his arms is entwined around the head<sup>23</sup>.

Traditionally, hunting scenes are accompanied by the transport of the kill<sup>24</sup>. The removal of the kill is divided into two scenes on the Ephesian frieze<sup>25</sup>. On one reconstructed slab, two Eroses drag

<sup>13</sup> For the long tradition of rocks and trees in hunting scenes starting in the late archaic period see Fornasier 2001, 56–57 fig. 25; 63–64 320 EV-20; Barringer 2001, 18–19. 20 fig. 4; Dietrich 2010, 173–174. 205. 337–340. 428. 439–440.

<sup>14</sup> Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, figs. 2–4. 9–10.

<sup>15</sup> Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 49 figs. 3–4. 6–7.

<sup>16</sup> Eichler 1956–1958, 15 fig. 8; Strocka 2010, 115 fig. 28; Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 49 figs. 3–4.

<sup>17</sup> Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 49 fig. 8.

<sup>18</sup> Fornasier 2001, 86–101.

<sup>19</sup> Koch 1975, 8–10 for the iconographical tradition; 11–12. 72–75 for the prototypes.

<sup>20</sup> Koch 1975, 11; Krauskopf 1992, 420 no. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Trysa: Koch 1975, 72; Oberleitner 1994, 32–33 figs. 58. 60. 62; Fornasier 2001, 236 fig. 91; Barringer 2001, 194. 196–197 fig. 109; 199; Landskron 2015, 110–121 pls. 61–63.

<sup>22</sup> Fornasier 2001, 89–90 fig. 46.

<sup>23</sup> Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 50 fig. 10. Cf. the motif of the right arm encircling the head on the central figure of the Apulian amphora of the Lycourgos painter, Fornasier 2001, 83–84 fig. 42; 293 EA-18 and the figure of Alexander the Great as lion hunter on the Base from Messene, 227–228 fig. 89; cf. e.g. Seyer 2007, 148.

<sup>24</sup> Examples: Barringer 2001, 80–83 figs. 44–46 and Schnapp 1989, 75–78 figs. 104–106 (black-figure vase-painting); the small hunting frieze of the »Klagefrauensarkophag« from the necropolis of Sidon, Fleischer 1984, 30–35 pls. 16–17.

<sup>25</sup> Eichler 1956–1958, 16–17 figs. 9–10; Strocka 2010, fig. 27; Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 50 figs. 11–12.

a stag on their shoulders; the ›front man‹ buckles under the burden. On the other slab, an Eros on the right is about to haul a doe onto a light, two-wheeled cart with spoked wheels, which is drawn by a horse and already filled with prey (fig. 3)<sup>26</sup>. The figural type of Eros carrying an animal on its shoulders is based on Hellenistic prototypes<sup>27</sup>.

Aside from the hunting scenes, Erotes are depicted sitting and standing in a rocky landscape<sup>28</sup> and reveling as part of a komos, raising drinking vessels<sup>29</sup>. Images of Erotes with raised drinking vessels go back to the Hellenistic age and are present in various media in late Hellenistic/early Roman imperial art<sup>30</sup>. Two other fragments show elements of a sacral, rocky landscape: one fragment features a burning altar and the remains of a temple, another small fragment shows the feet of the statuette of a god displayed on a rock, in front of a tree<sup>31</sup>.

Regarding the date of the frieze, the relief slabs of the Temple of Venus Genetrix of the Forum of Caesar in Rome offer a clue<sup>32</sup>. This temple was renovated under Trajan and consecrated in 113 A.D.; its architectural decoration still carries on the Flavian style<sup>33</sup>. Hadrianic stamped bricks prove that construction work continued after the consecration under Trajan<sup>34</sup>. The abundant sculptural decoration of the temple is dominated by images of Erotes<sup>35</sup>. The slabs showing Erotes killing bulls which adorned the exterior of the cella offer the best comparison for the Ephesian frieze<sup>36</sup>. The figural types of the Erotes in Ephesos (fig. 4) and Rome may be compared, as well as details of the facial features, e.g. the design of the eyes.

Recently Volker M. Strocka has pointed out that a hairstyle featuring thick and tightly curled locks, ending in drill holes, is characteristic of the Flavian sculptural style<sup>37</sup>. This design of the curly locks can be discovered also on some of the Erotes' heads of the Ephesian frieze, though with less use of the drill (figs. 1. 3). As to Ephesian parallels, the Erotes may be compared with the head of Zeus from the so-called Domitian's Fountain at the Ephesian Upper Agora which was erected in 92/93 A.D. and oriented towards the square<sup>38</sup>. There, the image of the enthroned Zeus Olympios/Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus was framed by two figures of reclining Ephesian river-gods – a group which was reconstructed by Strocka who linked the sculptures technically and stylistically with the colossal Ephesian portrait of Titus and assigned this group to an Aphrodisian workshop<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Sen. Phaedr. 76 f. uses the term *plaustrum* for the vehicle transporting the kill. For the *plaustrum* e.g. Herzog-Hauser 1950, 2551–2556; White 1975, 79–82 no. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Matz 1958, 65–68 no. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Eros sitting on a rock: London, British Museum, 1868.6-20.24, Smith 1900, 188 no. 1251. Cf. the seated Eros on the hunting frieze from the ›Piazza d'Oro‹ in the Villa Adriana, Conti 1970, 22 no. 6 pl. 11, 3.

<sup>29</sup> For one of the Ephesian Erotes with a kantharos: cf. Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 50 fig. 13.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. e.g. the Hellenistic frieze with dancing Erotes on a silver alabastron from Thessaly, Hermary et al. 1986, 925 no. 905 (with rhyton [?]); Pompeiian 4<sup>th</sup>-style wall paintings: Hermary et al. 1986, 1032 nos. 640. 644. For the *komoi* on Roman sarcophagi and their forerunners Kranz 1999, 47–75. 89–103, especially 96–98.

<sup>31</sup> Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 50 fig. 14. For Hellenistic and early Roman imperial reliefs with depictions of bucolic sanctuaries cf. e.g. Hesberg 1986, 7–32; for the relief in Munich, Fuchs 2002, 34–38.

<sup>32</sup> Strocka 2010, 115.

<sup>33</sup> Amici 1991, 75–136; Milella 2007, 100–101. 108–117 figs. 107. 113–114. 117–140; Pinna Caboni 2008, 57; Maisto – Vitti 2009, 31–80; Strocka 2010, 103–104.

<sup>34</sup> Bianchi 2008, 55; Bianchi 2009, 36–41; Bianchi 2010, 379–391.

<sup>35</sup> Floriani Squarciapino 1948, 61–118; Ulrich 1984, 211–253; Milella 2007, 108–117; Pinna Caboni 2008, 58–59; Milella 2010, 455–469.

<sup>36</sup> Floriani Squarciapino 1948, 67–74. 82–88; Milella 2007, 108–110. 112 figs. 121–122. 125–126; Milella 2010, 456–457 figs. 1–2.

<sup>37</sup> Strocka 2010, 118–119.

<sup>38</sup> Fountain: Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 100 fig. 60; 189–190 no. 27 fig. 116; Plattner – Schmidt-Colinet 2005, 246–249 figs. 8–9.

<sup>39</sup> Strocka 1989, 77–92 pls. 39–41 (Zeus: figs. 6–7); Strocka 2010, 118 fig. 36.

Taking these metropolitan and Ephesian comparisons into account, the theatre frieze can be dated to the late Flavian/early Trajanic era. Construction work at the northern and southern wings of the Ephesian theatre ended in the late Flavian and Trajanic Period (92 A.D.; 102–112 A.D.)<sup>40</sup>.

Hunting friezes featuring Eroses are a popular decorative motif of theatres and other monuments of Asia Minor<sup>41</sup>. As members of the Dionysian circle, Eroses also become part of the figural repertoire of theatre decorations<sup>42</sup>. Small architectural members with friezes featuring Eroses as charioteers and riding dolphins and marine monsters appear for the first time in Pergamon: they were discovered in the theatre, but also in other parts of the city<sup>43</sup>. In the Roman theatres, the choice of the hunting motif may also be understood as an allusion to the *venatio*.

Most of the Roman hunting friezes in Asia Minor date to the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. and to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century; the blocks from the acropolis at Metropolis are obviously the earliest example<sup>44</sup>. Chronologically, the unfinished, rough frieze from the Heroon II in Miletos is closest to the Ephesian frieze<sup>45</sup>. Later examples from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century are the frieze from the exterior of the stage building of Miletos and the frieze adorning the 2<sup>nd</sup> century phase of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Aizanoi<sup>46</sup>. Besides, the frieze blocks with hunting Eroses built into the city wall of Aphrodisias, the blocks with hunting Eroses and animal fights above the proskenion-doors of the theatre at Perge and the small hunting scenes adorning the soffits of the architraves of the theatre at Hierapolis have to be mentioned<sup>47</sup>. Compared with these friezes and scenes, the Ephesian frieze demonstrates its exceptionally high quality.

Several figures in these Asian hunting friezes allude to the techniques of the *bestiarii* (e.g., the horizontal position of the spear) and the weapons of gladiators (the shield)<sup>48</sup>. The Ephesian frieze lacks these allusions to the *venatio* and the gladiatorial games. But inscriptions from the southern *analemma* of the Ephesian theatre, honouring T. Flavius Montanus, mention *venationes* and gladiatorial games in celebration of the completion of the theatre<sup>49</sup>.

Thematically, the Ephesian frieze combines the hunting scenes with a komos, and fragments point to the setting in a sacral landscape<sup>50</sup>. As to typology and motifs, it combines a series of figures of the classical repertoire with figural types and motifs rooted in Hellenistic art.

All of the Satyr slabs – originally probably eight slabs – feature a single Satyr of the same type, turned to the left or to the right, reclining in a vine bower on a panther's hide, one arm with

<sup>40</sup> Epigraphic evidence, north wing: IvE 2035; south wing: IvE 2037. 2061–2062; R. Heberdey in: Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912, 160–161 nos. 35. 37; 174–176 nos. 61–62; Styhler-Aydın 2017, 457. 460.

<sup>41</sup> Schwingenstein 1977, 45–46; Lindner 1994, 103.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Schauenburg 1976, 32–33 (Eroses in the Dionysian sphere); Schwingenstein 1977, 45–48; Lindner 1994, 104 (Eroses as part of theatre decorations).

<sup>43</sup> Winter 1908, 294–297 no. 384 pl. 39; 299–301 nos. 386–387 pl. 39; Lindner 1994, 103; Grüßinger 2011, 90.

<sup>44</sup> Metropolis: Aybek 2009, 121–122 nos. 246–248 pl. 62 (late Hellenistic/early Roman imperial).

<sup>45</sup> Weber 2004, 26–27. 28–31. 77–79. 96–100 figs. 56–57 pl. 16 (end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c./1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.); Köster 2004, 86–88. 96–97; Bol 2011, 74–79 pl. 31 (R. Bol – B. F. Weber).

<sup>46</sup> Miletos: Altenhöfer – Bol 1989, 17–47 (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.); Köster 2004, 87–88 (3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.); Bol 2011, 148–152 pls. 69–76; Aizanoi: Rohn 2008, 127–133. 203–204; Rohn 2010a, 119 figs. 121–122. 126; Rohn 2010b, 345. 348 fig. 8; 351 (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.); Wörrle 2011, 146. 150 fig. 8.

<sup>47</sup> Aphrodisias: Conti 1970, 32 pl. 18 figs. 1–2; De Staebler 2008, 298–299 fig. 14; Perge: Atik 2000, 317–318 fig. 4; Öztürk 2009, 27–28 fig. 20; 134–135 nos. 36–42 pl. 3 figs. 4–5 (early to mid-Severan); Hierapolis: De Bernardi Ferrero 2007, 71 fig. 155; Pensabene 2007, 267–268 fig. 51 (Severan).

<sup>48</sup> The horizontally held spear in the friezes from Metropolis and from the stage building of Miletos: Metropolis: Aybek 2009, 121–122 nos. 246–247 pl. 62; Miletos: Altenhöfer – Bol 1989, 29. 38–45 nos. 8. 12–13. 18–19. 23 pls. 2–4; Bol 2011, 148–149 nos. VII. 2.8; 2.12–13; 2.18–19; 2.23 pls. 71–72. 74–75. The gladiatorial shield in Miletos and Perge: Miletos: Altenhöfer – Bol 1989, 29. 41 no. 17 pl. 3; Bol 2011, 149. 151 no. VII. 2.17 pl. 73; Perge: Öztürk 2009, pl. 3 fig. 4–5.

<sup>49</sup> R. Heberdey in: Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912, 174–176 nos. 61–62; IvE 2061–2062; Styhler-Aydın 2017, 460.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the presence of local gods and sanctuaries in the frieze from the stage building at Miletos: Altenhöfer – Bol 1989, 28. 36 no. 2; 37 no. 6; 44–45 nos. 25 and 26 pls. 2. 4–5; Bol 2011, 148–149. 151–152 nos. VII. 2.2; 2.6; 2.25; 2.29 pls. 69–71. 75–76; Lindner 1994, 104–108 for the general interpretation of theatre friezes.



the *pedum* resting on the panther's head (fig. 6)<sup>51</sup>. The Satyr leans in a relaxed position against the vine, the torso is upright, the head is turned aside, one of his knees and the second arm are raised, and his feet are crossed in a casual manner. The figural type of the Ephesian Satyrs with its heavily accented bone structure and musculature is based on Hellenistic prototypes like the Barberini Satyr<sup>52</sup>. Parallels for the posture of the Ephesian Satyr are figures in the Vatican and in the Milles Collection<sup>53</sup>. In the Roman imperial era reclining Satyrs/Silanoi were used as fountain figures<sup>54</sup>.

Satyrs and Silanoi are of course an apt choice for the decoration of theatres. As free-standing sculptures, they already adorn Hellenistic theatres, and starting in the early imperial era, they also become part of theatre friezes<sup>55</sup>. Satyrs and Silanoi reclining on wine skins are popular in the decoration of the *pulpitum*<sup>56</sup>.

In the preliminary publication of the façade of the Ephesian theatre in 1912, George Niemann commented on the probable position of the frieze very cursorily<sup>57</sup>. While he proposed three positions of the slabs – in the lower storey above the doorways, in the niches of the middle storey or in a presumable socle of the middle storey, respectively – already Hans Hörmann preferred the last-mentioned, pointing out that especially for a continuous frieze this would be an appropriate location<sup>58</sup>.

Arzu Öztürk who studied the architecture of the façade in the Theatre project, follows the opinion of Hörmann<sup>59</sup>. In her reconstruction (fig. 8), the frieze covers the socle zone that protrudes in eight engaged sections. As already mentioned, the fragments suggest a minimum number of eight Satyr slabs, at least four orientated to the left, four to the right, respectively. It is obvious to associate the Satyr slabs with the eight protruding sections, literally ›foregrounding‹ the much bigger Satyrs from the continuous frieze with hunting Erotes.

All the slabs are remarkable in technical terms. They are worked as very thin blocks: sometimes their back wall is not thicker than 3–5 cm. Hence, these slabs were not integrated in a masonry bond. The thin slabs would not have been able to carry weight from blocks on top. In fact, the thin reliefs were set in front of an (already finished) back wall of solid rock masonry. The crowning moulding which surely existed but is not preserved, was set on top of the back wall, probably not touching the upper surface of the relief slabs.

This explains why there are nearly no technical joints visible on the preserved reliefs. Beds for clamps explain how the single slabs were fixed probably to the adjacent back wall (fig. 5). The back sides of the reliefs bear traces of a stone saw (fig. 7). As usual the traces of the saw do not cover the entire surface as it was not possible to cut stone completely through; the last part obviously was broken carefully (fig. 7, lower end of the fragments)<sup>60</sup>.

The question remains whether the block was cut first before chiseling the relief (resulting in a dangerously thin background that could break easily) or, the other way round, whether the figures were sculpted first and the block was cut afterwards, which seems even less probable: using a stone saw always bears risks, hardly one of the sawn surfaces is really even. Presumably, it might have been a compromise: the figures were carved in their outlines, the background already worked off to a certain degree. The detailed work and the finish of the figures were probably done only after cutting the block.

<sup>51</sup> Eichler 1956–1958, 14–15 fig. 7; Aurenhammer – Plattner 2014, 52–53 fig. 15–16.

<sup>52</sup> Mandel 2007, 147–149.

<sup>53</sup> Vatican: Amelung 1903, 49–50 no. 36 pl. 5; Milles Collection: Andrén 1965, 101–102. no. 19 pl. 23.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. e.g. the figure in the Vatican, see the preceding footnote, and the young Satyr from the Ephesian Nymphaeum Traiani: Quatember 2011, 71 cat. 7 pl. 120, 1–2.

<sup>55</sup> Schwingenstein 1977, 35–42; Fuchs 1987, 132–133.

<sup>56</sup> Fuchs 1987, 77–78 A V 1.2; 89 A V 1.2; 142 pls. 29, 1. 2; 33, 3. 4.

<sup>57</sup> G. Niemann in: Heberdey – Niemann – Wilberg 1912, 93–94.

<sup>58</sup> Hörmann 1923/24, 294. 320–322.

<sup>59</sup> Öztürk 2006, 205–218; Öztürk 2010, 331–342.

<sup>60</sup> For the technique of stone saws cf. Seigne 2000, 223–234; Mangartz 2010, especially 1–5. 21–22. 26–27.



During the process of the carving of the reliefs it was obviously precisely clear how much space was allotted for each slab. As far as it is provable according to the preserved fragments, the slabs seem to have had very different lengths. Nevertheless, the scenes always correspond to the size of the respective slabs. A scene never continues on an adjacent block, nor does a figure ever overlap the edges, cut in half by the joint. Therefore, the composition of the single scenes and of the entire frieze was explicitly coordinated with the architectural layout of the façade.

Considering the fact that all the relief slabs were surely produced off the building site and that their mounting requires an already finished back wall leads back to the question of dating. The reliefs could be produced at the same time but also some years later than the façade itself<sup>61</sup>, leading to a *terminus ad/post quem* in the late Flavian period, allowing also a date in the early Trajanic era, when, as mentioned above, some major building activities in the theatre were still carried out.

In regard to Ephesian sculpture in general, the theatre frieze can be rated among the highly qualitative sculptural productions extant in the city, like the sculptural programs of the baths<sup>62</sup>. But it is also among the best works of art preserved in Asia Minor. The frieze bears comparison with sculptural decorations commissioned for the Imperial fora in Rome. Topics like the probable origin of the workshop or the reconstruction of the composition of the frieze – if possible at all due to the fragmentary state of the slabs – will be discussed in the monograph on the frieze which is in the course of preparation.

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<sup>61</sup> On the contrary, the Eros frieze of the theatre-stadion of Aizanoi is partly carved on constructive masonry blocks integrated into the façade; cf. Rohn 2008, 126–133. 247–250 fig. 39 pls. 68–69. 109. 114.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the sculptural decorations of the Vedius Baths and the East Gymnasium, Manderscheid 1981, 44–45. 88–93 nos. 173–206; for the Vedius Baths see Auinger 2011, 117–129.

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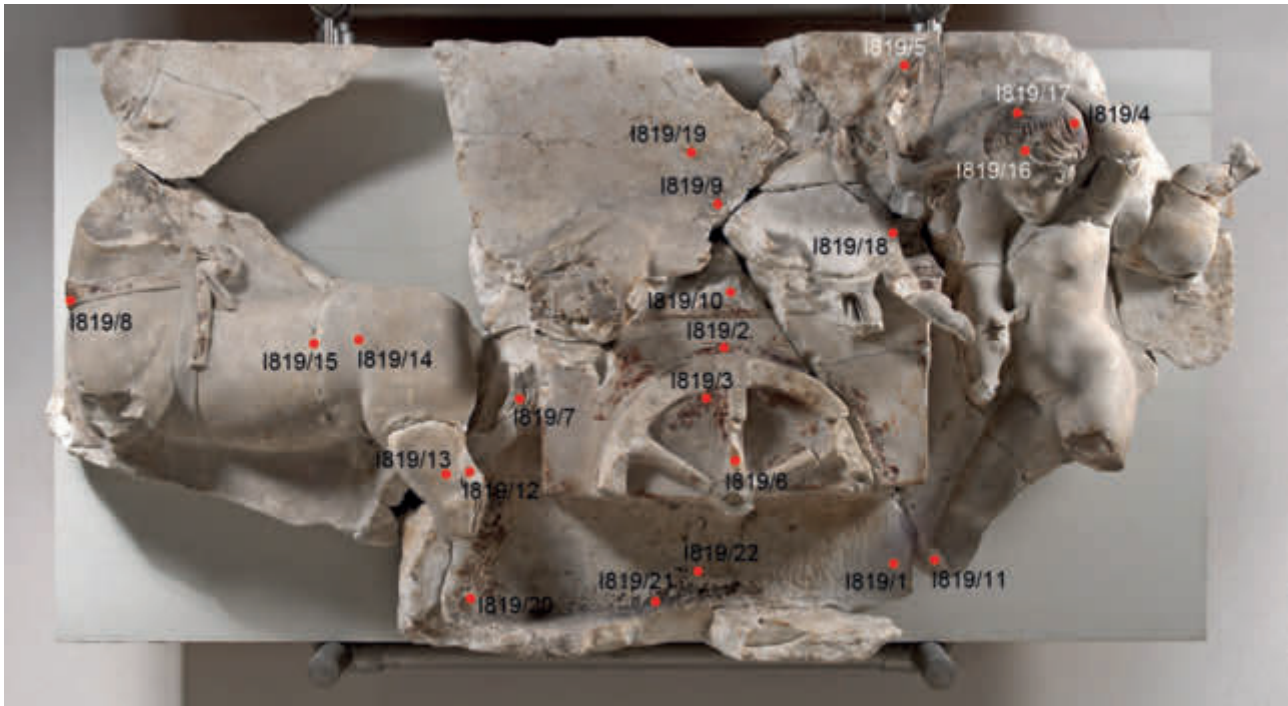


1 Eros hunting a lion (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 821)



2 Hunting Eros (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 1907)





3 Eros and cart with prey; marked positions of XRF-measurements (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 819)



4 Hunting Eros (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 1906)





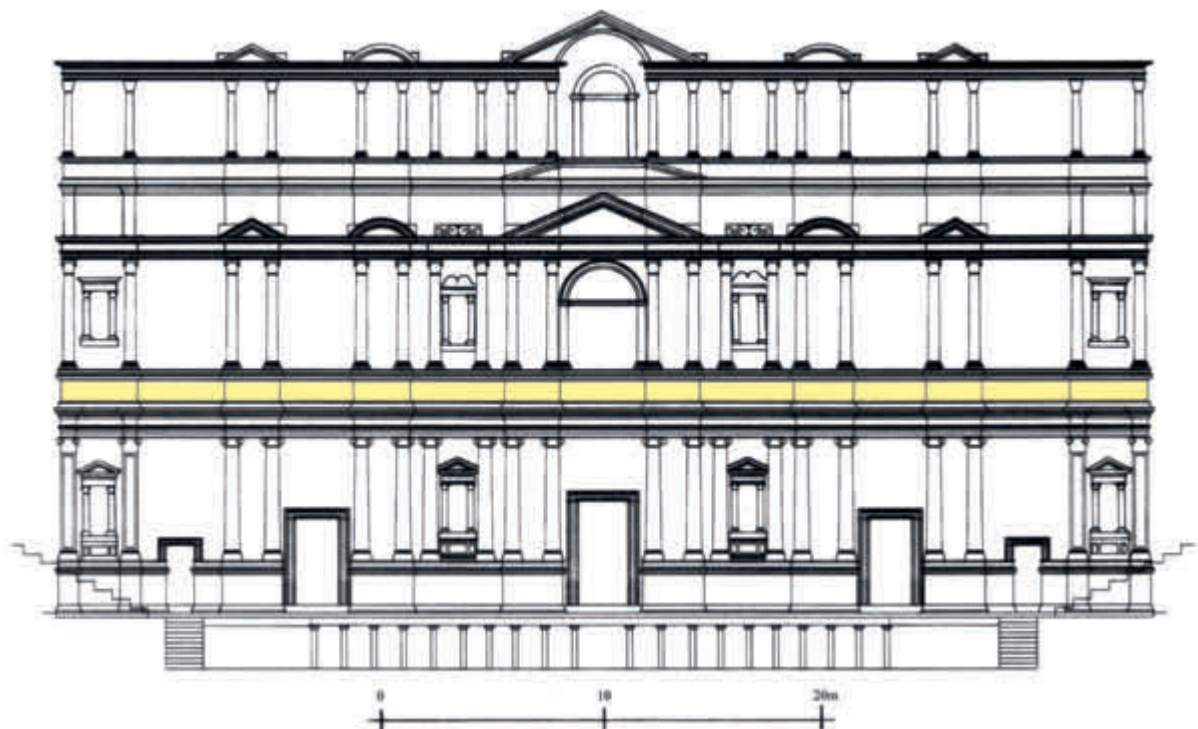
5 Tree (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 1960)



6 Reclining Satyr (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 2088)



7 Back of relief slab Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. I 1939 with traces of the stone saw



8 *scaenae frons* of the Ephesian Theatre (after A. Öztürk) with presumable position of the Eros frieze (yellow)



BAHADIR DUMAN

## TWO RELIEFS AND FOUR EMPERORS FROM TRIPOLIS AD MAEANDRUM

### ABSTRACT

The ancient city of Tripolis is located within the boundaries of Yenicekent, Buldan, Denizli in the south-west of Turkey. The two marble reliefs constituting the subject of this study were found near one of the gates on the fortification wall built to be adjacent to the Colonnaded Street – one of the main streets of the city in the Late Roman period. On the two reliefs made of medium-grained white marble, the two emperors frontally depicted standing shoulder to shoulder are crowned by two Victory figures. There are cavities with a depth of about 10 cm on the upper exterior profiles of the reliefs detected in the north and south of Southern Entrance Gate 1 in the 2012 excavation season. The cavities concerned encourage one to think that the reliefs were located on the tympanum of one of the gates built at specific intervals on the fortification wall enclosing the city. Dated based on the inscriptions on them and their stylistic criteria, the reliefs also reveal significant data about the date of construction of the fortification wall enclosing the city and similar constructions seen in the cities in the region.

### ÖZET

#### Tripolis ad Maeandrum'dan İki Kabartma ve Dört İmparator

Tripolis antik kenti Türkiye'nin Güney Batısında Denizli İli, Buldan İlçesi, Yenicekent Mahallesi sınırları içerisindedir. Bu çalışmaya konu edilen iki mermer kabartma Geç Roma Dönemi'nde kentin ana caddelerinden biri olan Sütunlu Cade'nin bitişiğine inşa edilen sur duvarında yer alan kapılardan birinin yakınlarında bulunmuştur. Orta taneli beyaz mermerden yapılan her iki kabartmada da omuz omuza cepheden betimlenen iki imparator Victorialar tarafından taçlandırılmaktadır. 2012 kazı sezonunda 1 no.lu Güney Giriş Kapısı'nın kuzey ve güneyinde tespit edilen kabartmaların üst dış profillerinde yaklaşık 10 cm. derinlikte oyuklar bulunur ki, söz konusu oyuklar kabartmaların kenti çevreleyen sur duvarında belli aralıklarla yapılan kapılardan birinin *tympanon* bölümünde yer aldığını düşündürmektedir. Üzerlerindeki yazıtlar ve stil kritik yöntemiyle tarihlenen kabartmalar aynı zamanda kenti çevreleyen sur duvarının yapım tarihi ve bölge kentlerinde görülen benzer yapılaşma ile ilgili olarakta önemli veriler ortaya koymaktadır.

The ancient city of Tripolis is within the boundaries of Yenicekent, Buldan, Denizli in the south-west of Turkey. Extending over an area of about 3 km<sup>2</sup>, the ancient city is located on the southern slope of a hill overlooking the valley on the north-western margin of the Lycus/Çürüksu Valley. Short-term archaeological excavations were carried out in Tripolis in 1993 and between 2007 and 2009. The excavations of the 3<sup>rd</sup> period were relaunched in 2012 under the scientific advisorship of the author, and are still ongoing<sup>1</sup>.

Recent archaeological research in Tripolis, which remains within the boundaries of the Lydia Region, shows that the earliest settlement traces in the city began during the Chalcolithic period and continued until the 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. with interruptions in some periods. The major earthquakes that occurred in the city in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. allowed the formation of closed contexts. It is clear that these closed contexts will play an important role in dating the finds obtained in the archaeological excavations to be carried out in Tripolis and the cities in the region.

<sup>1</sup> Duman 2013, 179–200.

In the fortification wall that borders the southern section of Tripolis of the Late Roman period are gates which provide entry into the city at specific intervals. Two of the gates have been unearthed during the excavations carried out so far. In the 2012 excavation season, two embossed reliefs were found in the entrance and exit of an arched gate that provided entry into the city through the fortification at the intersection of the Colonnaded Street and the Hierapolis Street, i.e. Fortification Gate 1 with stronger fortifications (fig. 1). The discovery of archaeological material in areas different from its original location also brings about serious problems with regard to dating the material. This problem is frequently encountered as a result of the reuse of the smoothly hewn blocks during the construction of the fortification walls in the majority of the cities particularly in Asia Minor in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.

Both reliefs were made of white marble and contain frontally depicted emperors in pairs. The reliefs concerned also provide important information on the date of construction of the fortification walls enclosing the city.

In the northern adjoining part of the Colonnaded Street, the southern façades of the tabernae destroyed by the earthquake that occurred probably in the third quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. were closed by the fortification wall in the Late Roman period. The period when the tabernae began to be reused in the aftermath of the major earthquake contains essential information for the construction of the fortification walls. Especially the southern gate of the taberna called ›Space C‹ was closed by the fortification wall; the arch stones of the arched building in the northern adjoining part of the tabernae were dismantled, and a supporting wall was built in the form of a buttress for the existing fortification wall. The construction of the wall concerned can be dated to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. consistent with coins and other finds obtained in the area. This date also gives the date of the fortification wall surrounding Tripolis. All the materials used on the fortification wall are comprised of architectural elements such as marble architrave blocks, geisa, statue pedestals, and postaments which were dismantled from the buildings of the Roman period and used on the defensive wall. Is this an indication of a sudden attack? The fortification walls built in similar fashion can be seen in many cities in Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>.

The second data about the construction of the fortification wall are the emperor reliefs mentioned in this study as well.

## RELIEF 1

The first relief with find no. TR.12.SC.MR.05 (fig. 2) was found in seven fragments in the exterior of one of the gates on the fortification wall constructed to be adjacent to the Main Street in an east-west direction during the excavation carried out in 2012; it has been restored. The equilateral triangular block made of medium-grained and gray-veined white marble is 7.5 cm in thickness; the equilateral sides are 84 cm long; and the lower edge is 105 cm long. The distance between the lower edge and the intersection of the equilateral triangles is 63.5 cm. The centrally located main composition is bordered by a frame with a width of 5 cm.

The block contains two emperor figures frontally depicted standing shoulder to shoulder. The heights of the reliefs from the background range from 3 to 4 cm. The distance between the top of the head of the emperor on the left-hand side (Valentinianus according to the inscription) and the end of his body is 24 cm, and his shoulder width is 17.5 cm. On the head of the emperor, who is depicted as beardless and at middle age, is a diadem which contains four deep cavities and which must have been decorated with gems or beads. The long hair with regular ringlets coming out of the diadem appears as a thick fringe curling inwards on the forehead and covers both ears almost

<sup>2</sup> Jacobs 2012, 118 tab. 1. She expresses that peace prevailed in Asia Minor in the period concerned and that the dates in question are debatable as there was no extrinsic threat in this process (see Jacobs 2012, 117). In addition to the fortification walls seen in Sardis, Blaundos, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, Sagalassos, Perge, Selge, and Side, similar fortifications can be followed in cities such as Tripolis and Herakleia Salbake (for Tripolis, see Duman 2013, 183 fig. 2; 184).



entirely. The rope-shaped, inwardly curled and slightly wavy hair starting from the peak of the forehead ends at the intersection of the temple and the eyebrow on both sides and forms an arched appearance in the whole forehead. Due to the intensive destruction, it is hard to give details about the eyebrows; however, the distance from the orbit is rather narrow. The eyebrows, which are flat near the nasal root, display a slope which rises towards the temples on both edges. The thick and plump eyelids encircle the large almond-shaped orbit, and the pupil was depicted with a cavity which was not very deep. The face is long and rectangular, the cheekbones are slightly protruding, and the cheeks are plump. In terms of the outlines, the face appears oblate and flat. The figure was depicted with extended right hand containing a globe in his palm. A superficially incised cross sign is seen on the globe. The left arm is concealed under his costume. The thickly draped chlamys was fastened at the right shoulder by means of a round fibula. Under the chlamys he wears a chiton with superficial folds.

According to the inscription, the second frontally depicted emperor on the right-hand side is Valens. The entire head and neck parts and the left half of the body are broken and incomplete. From the extant pieces, it can be seen that his dress was almost the same as that of Valentinianus. The only difference between him and the first emperor is that he was depicted as greeting those facing him by bending his right arm at the elbow, with his hand open and his fingers and palm visible.

There are two round and centrally carved rosettes in positions 12 and 6 of the garland with a diameter of 12.5 cm and a thickness of 2.5 cm on the central top part of the heads of the emperors, who are frontally depicted shoulder to shoulder. The garland contains the ancient Greek expression ὁμόνοια, meaning »concord«. The threats within the extensive imperial territories were shared by two fraternal emperors, with the intention of preserving the absolute boundaries of the empire. The emphasis on *concordia* between Valentinianus (Senior) and Valens (Iunior) also frequently appears on the coins as propaganda<sup>3</sup>. The two fraternal emperors in a position of being crowned by Victory were rarely depicted as standing<sup>4</sup>, but were mostly shown seated on a throne side by side together with Victory and Gloria inscriptions<sup>5</sup>.

Figures of Victory flank the main composition and carry a garland in one hand over the heads of the frontally-posed emperors. They are parallel with the frame bordering the main block: their heads are depicted frontally whereas their arms, torsos and legs are shown in profile. Parts of the left wing, feet, and ankles of the Victory on the left hand side are incomplete, while the head of the Victory on the right, her left hand carrying the garland, and substantial areas of her arm are missing. The costume of the left-hand Victory was depicted with thick folds down to the waist, leaving the left portion of her chest bare; in the lower section, her dress clings to her body revealing the form of her figure and her right leg clearly shown in profile through the drapery.

The 3-cm frame located at the bottom of the relief of the two emperors and bordering the scene contains the names of the emperors: Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Οὐαλεντιν[ιανὸς καὶ] Οὐάλης μέγ[ιστοι Σεβαστοί (?) ]<sup>6</sup>.

Of the emperors mentioned in the inscription, Valentinianus I (364–375 A.D.) ruled the Western Roman Empire (Augustus Occidentis), whereas Valens (364–378 A.D.) ruled the Eastern Roman Empire (Augustus Orientis). Thus, the early years when the emperors took office as co-regents indicate the possible date of the embossed relief. The second historical piece of information on the chronology of the relief concerns Procopius, who declared himself Augustus in Constantinople in the early years when the fraternal emperors assumed power in 365 A.D. In May 366 A.D., emperor Valens encountered Procopius in Nacolea in the Phrygia Region and defeated

<sup>3</sup> Regarding the description of Valentinianus and Valens as Senior and Iunior, see Lenski 2002, 33.

<sup>4</sup> RIC IX (1951) 5a.2 (J. W. E. Pearce).

<sup>5</sup> RIC IX (1951) 3a. 4. 4a.1. 4a.5. 16b. 17b. 17e.4. 29a. 39b (J. W. E. Pearce).

<sup>6</sup> The transcription of the ancient Greek inscriptions mentioned in the text was carried out by Prof. Dr. F. Guizzi and Dr. A. Filippini; furthermore, I thank them for their suggestions and criticisms about the dates of the reliefs.

him<sup>7</sup>. Since this event took place within the boundaries of the Eastern Roman Empire, it must have had a close relationship with the date of the embossed relief found in Tripolis. This victory, which the two emperors who had just come to power celebrated, was used as an element in the promotion of their rule and propaganda. Therefore, based on the archaeological and historical data for the first relief, it is likely to have been carved in the early phase of the years of rule of Valens and Valentinianus between 364 and 368 A.D.

## RELIEF 2

The two emperors frontally depicted side by side on relief no. TR.12.SC.MR.72 are crowned with a garland by two Victory figures in a flying position on the right- and left-hand sides (fig. 3)<sup>8</sup>. The marble block on which the reliefs are carved was made of medium-grained white marble, and one-third of the equilateral triangular block is preserved in good condition. The present width of the block is 35.5 cm; it is 32 cm in height; and its thickness varies between 6 and 8 cm. The distance between the top of the head of the emperor on the left-hand side and the section broken at the neck is 12 cm. Breaks and abrasions are present on the lower part of the forehead, the nose, and the chin. On the head of the emperor depicted as beardless and young is a diadem which contains ten deep cavities and is decorated with gems or beads. The hair coming out of the diadem is rather short and consists only of irregular incised lines with no details in terms of shape. The outlines of the forehead appear arched. Owing to the intensive destruction, it is hard to give details about the eyebrows; however, the distance from the orbit is rather narrow. The eyebrows generally appear as an oblique bow. The eye is narrow. The thick, plump eyelids encircle the large almond-shaped orbit, and the pupil is described with a deep cavity and touches the lower eyelid. The cheekbones are slightly protruding, and the cheeks are slightly plump. The mouth is closed, and the upper lip is rather thinner than the lower lip. The ears are small; however, the ear holes each were described with a small cavity. In terms of outlines, the face has a triangular, oblate, and flat appearance narrowing from the forehead to the chin.

When viewed from the opposite direction, the majority of the face of the second frontally depicted emperor on the right-hand side is in good condition except for the left ear. He was depicted in similar fashion to the first emperor in terms of outlines. The most important differences are the indication of the hair by means of several incised lines under the diadem<sup>9</sup> which has nine gems, and the appearance of the forehead, which is wider than that of the emperor depicted on the left-hand side.

There is a round rosette in the form of a central cavity in position 12 of the garland with a diameter of 13 cm and a thickness of 2.5 cm carried by the Victory figures on the central top part of the heads of the emperors, probably as on the first relief. Although the garland fillets were not depicted on the first relief, they were treated in a wavy form towards both sides on the second relief. The garland contains the ancient Greek expression εἰς ὁ Θεός, meaning »Only One God«. The Victory figures are shown in similar pose as on the first relief: they carry a garland in one hand over the heads of the emperors, and they are placed parallel to the frame which bordered the block. Even though the section containing the Victory figure depicted on the right-hand side of the main composition is broken, we can assume her appearance from the depiction of a 21.5 cm-long Victory figure – in a flying position over the left upper part of the emperor depicted on the left-hand side of the scene – which is well-preserved except for a small break on her right foot. The costume of the well-preserved Victory is belted under her chest. The folds of her dress, which

<sup>7</sup> Cramer 1832, 21; Grant 1985, 263; Lenski 2007, 97.

<sup>8</sup> The large fragment of the two-fragment relief no. TR.12.SC.MR.72 was found in the excavations in 2012, while the head fragment belonging to the emperor on the right-hand side of the relief was found during research carried out under the auspices of Denizli Archaeological Museum in 2008; both fragments were restored and joined.

<sup>9</sup> Lime particles have been preserved *in situ* in two of the cavities located on the diadem of the emperor depicted on Relief 2. Hence, originally, the cavities on the pearl diadem contained gems or similar beads.

opens towards the sides with thin but frequent folds caused by her movement, were extended over her ankles. The eyes of the Victory, who has a round face and plump cheeks, were presented by means of two deep cavities. Two round gems were perhaps located in both eyes of the Victory, as in the eyes of the emperors and in the diadems on their heads.

The general composition depicted on Relief 2 is similar to that of the first relief, yet the second relief has higher quality workmanship in terms of style and the marble used. At the centre of the scene, between the two haloed relief heads of the emperors, there is a depiction of a ram's head. The head of the ram was carved, and its horns in the form of a single spiral extending towards both sides were incised. With the pearl diadems on their heads, the emperors depicted on the second relief found in Tripolis doubtlessly belong to the two emperors. Although it is difficult to compare stylistically a relief made in low relief technique with statues, nevertheless, the eye structures of the two emperors depicted on Relief 2 can generally be compared with the togate statue found in Aphrodisias and dated to 388–392 A.D. via inscription, and which is likely to have represented Valentinianus II<sup>10</sup>. Another specimen which is comparable in terms of hair and eye shapes is the miniature portrait of an emperor dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>11</sup>. On the emperor's head, which is assigned by scholars to Honorius, the hair is depicted by thin strands at the point where it meets the forehead after coming out of the pearl diadem. Especially in this aspect, the hair coming out of the diadem on the emperor reliefs of Tripolis was shown in different directions by means of incised notches at the intersection with the forehead. Another example that is comparable with the relief from Tripolis in terms of the diadem shape is dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century to early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>12</sup>. A final example of a Roman head from the same period can be compared to the Tripolis relief, in particular in the manner in which the hair falls over the forehead in a linear fashion<sup>13</sup>.

The emperors of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire were depicted side by side on the relief. No inscription naming the emperors depicted on the scene was preserved; however, the composition depicted in both the first and second examples is a quite common composition which was used on coins particularly in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>14</sup>. The general composition and the figures can be compared with the silver dish produced for the celebration of the *decennalia* of Theodosius I in 388 A.D., known as the *Missorium* of Theodosius I, and exhibited in the Museum of Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid<sup>15</sup>. The slogan contained in the garland at the top of the relief is the most important evidence that the emperor depicted here was definitely Christian; furthermore, the emperor relief depicted on the right-hand side must have represented another co-ruler, i.e. the co-emperor. The slogan includes a message which overlaps the policies of Constantius II (337–361 A.D.) and Theodosius I (379–395 A.D.) regarding the Christian religion. Of these, Constantius II was the emperor of the East (Augustus Orientis) between 337 and 350 A.D., whereas his brother Constans was the emperor of the West (Augustus Occidentis) between 340 and 350 A.D. Nevertheless, given that especially Constantius II was an emperor who adopted the doctrines of Arrianus, the slogan in the garland contradicts the trilogy of Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit. Caesars Gallus (351–354 A.D.) and particularly Julianus (357–361 A.D.), who came to power after the two emperors concerned, again went against the slogan in the garland on the emperor reliefs with their anti-Christian expressions and actions, and pagan attitudes. Theodosius I, who ruled between 379 and 395 A.D., was the emperor of the East (Augustus Orientis), while Gratianus (367–383 A.D.) and Valentinianus II (375–392 A.D.), the two sons of

<sup>10</sup> İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 89 no. 66 pls. 41, 5; 42, 1–2.

<sup>11</sup> İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 139–140 no. 83 pl. 74, 3–4.

<sup>12</sup> Delbrueck 1933, 208–209 pl. 107.

<sup>13</sup> Delbrueck 1933, 204–206 pl. 103–104; Stichel 1982, 53–54 pl. 21.

<sup>14</sup> Lenski 2002, 31; Theodosius: RIC IX (1951) 5f. 8b. 20b (J. W. E. Pearce); Gratianus: RIC IX (1951) 5d. 17g. 18e. 33a. 34h. 39c–d (J. W. E. Pearce); Valentinianus II: RIC IX (1951) 9. 9b. 12a. 49c. 90a (J. W. E. Pearce).

<sup>15</sup> Lenski 2002, pl. 15, 13 a–c.

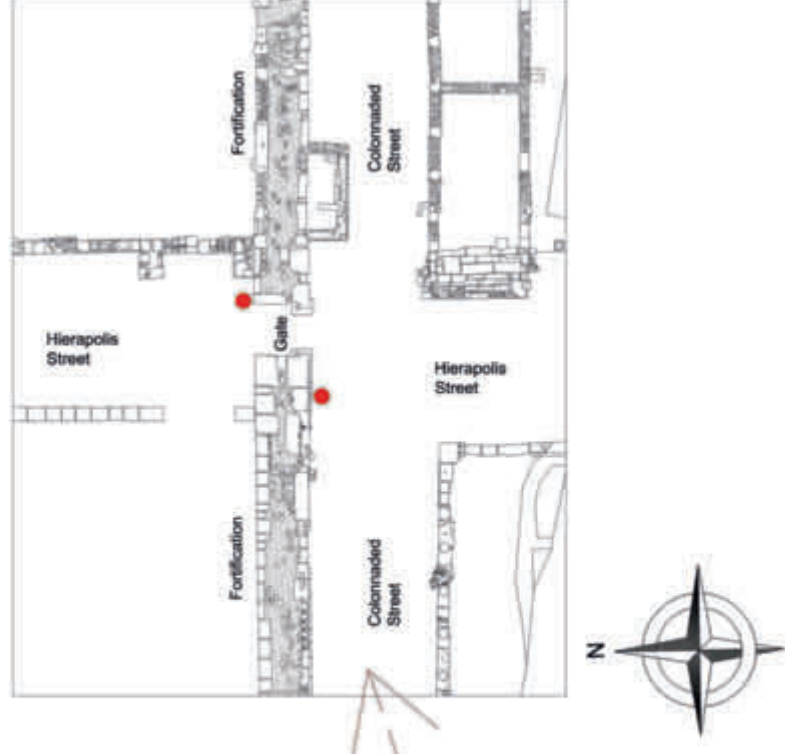
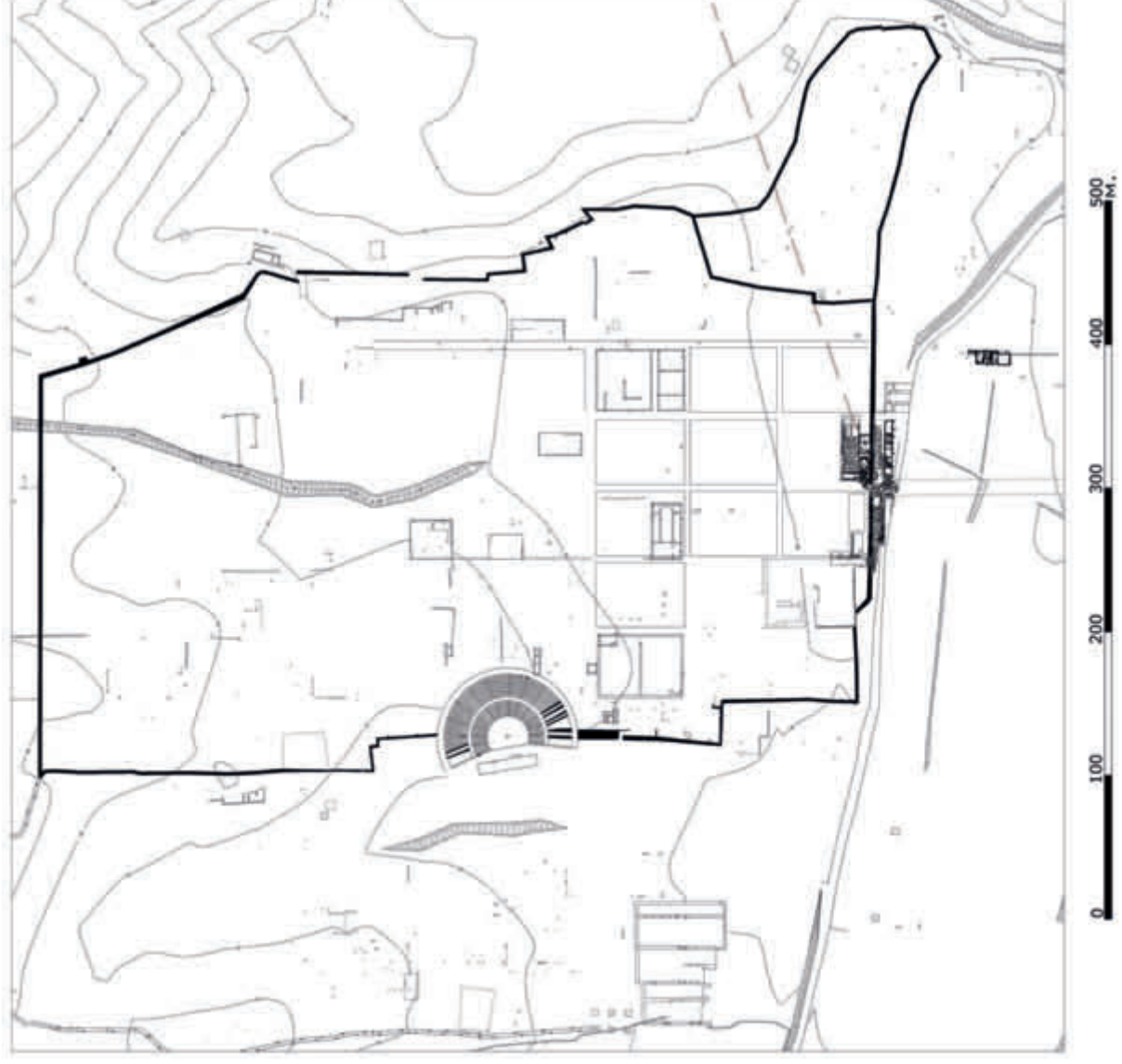
Valentinianus I, were the co-emperors of the West (*Augusti Occidentis*). The message given by the slogan in the garland overlaps the ideology of emperor Theodosius also because Theodosius I held the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381 A.D. as a Nicene Christian. Hence, the relief can be dated to the period between 379 and 392 A.D., probably to the early years of the rule of Theodosius I, and to the period ca. 379–381 A.D., when the Council of Constantinople was held. Therefore, the emperors on the second relief are most likely to have been Theodosius I and Gratian, or Theodosius I and Valentinianus II – emperors of the Eastern and Western Roman Empire.

The reliefs presented here were found near one of the gates which provided entrance into the city at specific intervals on the fortification wall that ran along the northern adjoining part of the Colonnaded Street; recent research revealed that this wall was built in the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It is most likely that the two reliefs, which welcomed those who entered the city and saw off those who departed the city, were located on the tympanum of the arcuated gate. The gate and its reliefs must have collapsed during a major earthquake that occurred in the last quarter of the century.

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2 Relief 1: Valentinianus and Valens



3 Relief 2: Theodosius and Gratianus or Valentinianus II

BENJAMIN WILL

**DER ›KNABE MIT DER FUCHSGANS‹ UND EPHEOS****RETROSPEKTIVER BEZUG UND RÖMISCHE BETRACHTER**

## ABSTRACT

**The ›Boy with the Goose‹ and Ephesos. Retrospective Reference and Roman Observers**

The ›Marmorsaal‹ in the so-called Harbour-Gymnasium at Ephesos was once ostentatiously decorated. Among the works of art unearthed was a finely crafted statue of a baby boy pressing down on a small goose. This monument is commonly believed to be a replica of a famous Greek votive offering made in the Hellenistic period, but extant only in Roman copies. Research presented here focused on establishing the exact date and form of this lost masterpiece. The aim of the contribution is to regard this ›copy‹ as evidence for the material culture of the imperial Roman era. The examination of the local architectural context and surrounding sculptural complex shows that the retrospective reference, which is so dominant in archaeological research, was not highly regarded by the Roman viewers.

## ÖZET

**›Kaz ile Çocuk‹ ve Efes. Geriye Dönük Referanslar ve Romalı İzleyiciler**

Efes'teki Liman Gymnasium'ı olarak adlandırılan yapıda bulunan ›Mermer Salonu‹ bir zamanlar gösterişli bir dekorasyona sahipti. Burada ortaya çıkarılan sanat eserleri arasında küçük bir erkek çocuğunu küçük bir kazı aşağı bastırırken gösteren, incelikle işlenmiş bir heykel bulunmaktadır. Genel olarak bu anıtın Hellenistik Dönem'de yapılan ünlü bir Yunan adak hediyesinin kopyası olduğuna inanılır ancak eserin sadece Roma Dönemi kopyaları korunmuştur. Burada sunulan araştırma, bu kaybolan başyapıtın tam tarihini ve biçimini ortaya koymak üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bu makalenin amacı bu ›kopyayı‹ Roma İmparatorluk Dönemi'nin materyal kültürünü yansıtan bir belge olarak değerlendirmektir. Yerel mimari konteksin ve onu çevreleyen heykel kompleksinin incelenmesi, arkeolojik araştırmalarda hakim olan bu geriye dönük referansların eserlere bakan Romalı izleyiciler tarafından çok da dikkate alınmadığını gösterir.

Im sog. Marmorsaal des Hafengymnasiums in Ephesos kam während der ersten Grabungen in den Jahren 1895 und 1896 eine stark fragmentierte Statue zutage<sup>1</sup>. Sie ließ sich zu einem auf dem Boden kauernenden nackten Jungen im Kleinkindalter rekonstruieren (Abb. 1)<sup>2</sup>. Sein linkes Bein ist gebeugt und zum Körper hin angezogen. Sein rechtes Bein ist ebenfalls angezogen, allerdings ist es mit der Plinthe nur durch einen dünnen Steg an der Ferse verbunden. Der Oberkörper ist von der Hüfte an vorgelegt. Dadurch liegt das weiche Inkarnat des Bauchs auf der Innenseite des linken Oberschenkels auf. Den rechten Arm hat der Knabe erhoben und nach vorn gestreckt. Der linke hingegen ist an der Flanke entlang nach unten geführt und mit der Hand drückt er auf einen Vogel, der neben ihm sitzt. Den Kopf hat der Junge in den Nacken gelegt und den Blick nach oben

<sup>1</sup> Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 67. Aurenhammer 1990, 151 nennt die Südwestecke als Fundort. In diesem Artikel bezeichnet ›Hafentherme‹ die Badeanlage im Westen und ›Verulanushallen‹ die Xystoi im Osten. Das Gymnasium zwischen diesen beiden Komplexen wird verkürzt als ›Hafenpalästra‹ bezeichnet, während die gesamte Anlage als ›Hafengymnasium‹ geführt wird.

<sup>2</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 816. s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 110 Nr. 147. Aurenhammer 1990, 149 listet die Ergänzungen und gibt detaillierte Maße. Abbildungen: Aurenhammer 1990, Taf. 91; Mandel 2007, Abb. 162.

gewandt. Die Haare sind in sanft geschwungene Strähnen zerteilt, die sich an der Kalotte aus einer Haarspinne heraus entwickeln.

Eine ausführliche Beschäftigung mit dem hockenden Knaben und seinem Vogel erfolgte dann bereits 1903 durch Rudolf Herzog und ist bis heute einflussreich. Er verbindet den Typus und damit die Wiener Replik<sup>3</sup> mit einer Stelle bei Herondas<sup>4</sup>, in der zwei Frauen wohl bei dem Besuch des Asklepios-Heiligtums auf Kos geschildert werden, die die umstehenden Kunstwerke und ihre Lebensnähe bewundern. Darunter ist auch eine steinerne Statue eines kleinen Kindes, das einen Vogel würgt oder drückt<sup>5</sup>. Herzog identifiziert dieses Tier als Nilgans, einen entengroßen Vogel, den er auch bei dem Stück in Wien erkennen will<sup>6</sup>. Durch diese Verbindung etablierte er in der Forschung – neben dem Rufnamen ›Knabe mit der Fuchsgans‹ – zweierlei: die Funktion als Weihgeschenk und daran geknüpft die Entstehung des Originals im ersten Viertel des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Dass es sich bei dem Original um ein Votiv gehandelt habe, wurde in der Forschung nie bestritten<sup>7</sup>. Die konkrete Verortung auf Kos und »das rein positivistische Lesen antiker Literatur«<sup>8</sup> hingegen werden in jüngerer Zeit vernachlässigt<sup>9</sup>. Die Datierung des Originals macht Herzog an der bewussten Annäherung an die Wirklichkeit wie bei der Darstellung des Inkarnats und das Involvieren des Beschauers durch die Gestik fest – welches beides charakteristische Züge der Kunst im frühen Hellenismus seien<sup>10</sup>. In der neueren Literatur wird meist eine Entstehung in den Jahren um 220 v. Chr. bevorzugt, wobei die von Herzog festgestellten Charakteristika keineswegs in Abrede gestellt werden<sup>11</sup>.

In der griechischen Kunstgeschichte hat die Gruppe also ihren festen Platz gefunden. Die Aufnahme und Eingliederung dieses Bildwerks in die materielle Kultur der Römer hat jenseits der Begründung einer typologischen Reihe bei der Erforschung der Skulpturen bisher keine Berücksichtigung gefunden. Im Mittelpunkt dieses Beitrags steht nun die Wahrnehmung in römischer Zeit, eben jenes retrospektiven Bezugs auf die griechische Kunst. Durch eine Kontextualisierung in das visuelle Umfeld der Wiener Replik soll diesem Aspekt nachgespürt werden. Die Wiener Replik bietet dafür durchaus fruchtbare Bedingungen: Zum einen ist durch die Fundsituation die Aufstellung im Marmorsaal bekannt und so kann dieses Kontextfeld ›Architektur‹ herangezogen werden. Zum anderen ist auch die restliche Statuenausstattung des Saals in ihren Grundzügen bereits während dieser frühen Grabungen geklärt worden. Auch dieses Kontextfeld ›Skulptur‹ steht also einer näheren Betrachtung zur Verfügung<sup>12</sup>. Anhand dieser doppelten Verortung soll gezeigt werden, wie und ob die antiken Betrachter des ›Knaben‹ in Ephesos eine Wertschätzung des retrospektiven Bezugs der Bildwerke ausgedrückt wissen wollten.

<sup>3</sup> Replikenliste bei Herzog 1903, 228–230.

<sup>4</sup> Her. Mim. 4. Knappe Charakterisierung der Quelle bei Schlegelmilch 2009, 91–92. Zur Datierung Herondas in die 1. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr.: Furley 1998, 455.

<sup>5</sup> Herzog 1903, 216–222.

<sup>6</sup> Herzog 1903, 224–227. Damit ist auch die Ablehnung der Verbindung von Herondas mit den ›Ganswürgern‹ im Typus München verbunden, die sich in der Literatur vor Herzog findet. s. dazu auch Schlegelmilch 2009, 93 Anm. 8. Kunze 2002, 147 Anm. 819; 149 verfolgt hingegen wieder die ältere These.

<sup>7</sup> z. B. bei Bieber 1961, 136–137; Aurenhammer 1990, 151; Mandel 2007, 159–160. Die Verbindung zu der Votivgattung der sog. temple boys wird auch diskutiert: Knörle 1973, 96–98; Schollmeyer 2007, 323–326. Einen Überblick über Kinderstatuen als Weihgeschenke in hellenistischer Zeit bei Vorster 1983, 85–87.

<sup>8</sup> Schlegelmilch 2009, 93–94, nochmals bekräftigend a. O. 101–103.

<sup>9</sup> z. B. bei Kabus-Preissshofen 1989, 52–54; Aurenhammer 1990, 150; Mandel 2007, 160.

<sup>10</sup> Herzog 1903, 232. Er diskutiert aber auch eine stilistische Nähe zum Oeuvre Lysipps: Herzog 1903, 234–235. s. dazu auch: Künzl 1968, 85–87. Herzogs Datierung folgen u. a. Alzinger 1970, 1695; Rühfel 1984, 260–262; Schollmeyer 2007, 322.

<sup>11</sup> Diese Datierung basiert häufig auf dem Vergleich mit dem ›Sterbenden Gallier‹, z. B. bei Krahmer 1923/1924, 163 Anm. 1; Knörle 1973, 87; Mandel 2007, 161–162. Vorster 1983, 207–209 hingegen datiert um 175 v. Chr.

<sup>12</sup> Keine Berücksichtigung findet hier der sog. Schaber von Ephesos (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. VI 3168). s. dazu auch Oberleitner 1978, 104 Nr. 129. Nach Benndorf 1906, 185–186 wurde der ›Schaber‹ in Sturzlage gefunden. Deswegen ist die Aufstellung in einer vorspringenden Adikula im Säulenumgang der Hafempalästra zwar in unmittelbarer Nähe zum ›Marmorsaal‹ gegeben, aber eben nicht in diesem. s. dazu auch: Pochmarski 1988.

## KONTEXTFELD ›ARCHITEKTUR‹

In der ersten österreichischen Grabungskampagne in Ephesos wurde ein Gebiet östlich des römischen Hafens ergraben<sup>13</sup>. Zutage kam ein quadratischer Platz, der von einer Säulenhalle umgeben war und als römische Agora gedeutet wurde<sup>14</sup>. Erst im Jahre 1931 gelang die Identifikation als Bad-Gymnasium-Komplex, als das sog. Hafengymnasium<sup>15</sup>: im Westen liegt ein Thermengebäude, dann folgt das eigentliche Gymnasium mit seiner als Palästra zu identifizierenden Platzanlage und umschließender Säulenhalle und schließlich im Osten die sog. Verulanushallen, bei denen es sich wohl um Xystoi handelt<sup>16</sup>. Bereits in den frühesten Grabungen wurde eine rechteckige Raumstruktur mit den Maßen 16 × 32 m freigelegt, begraben unter einer dicken und weitestgehend ungestörten Ascheschicht<sup>17</sup>. Die Ausgräber erwähnen eine reiche Verwendung von Marmor – so soll der Boden mit zu geometrischen Formen geschnittenen Platten belegt gewesen sein, für die allein dreizehn verschiedene Marmorsorten verwendet wurden<sup>18</sup>. Deswegen bekam der Raum den Rufnamen ›Marmorsaak‹ verliehen. Der Raum schließt sich im Süden mittig platziert an den Säulenumgang der Palästra an und besitzt hier eine mit korinthischen Halbsäulen versehene Pfeilerstellung. Dübellöcher an den Pfeilern deuten darauf hin, dass ein niedriges Gitter zwischen diesen verlief und so eine eingeschränkte Zugänglichkeit vom nördlich anschließenden Säulenumlauf anzunehmen ist.

Der gesamte Thermen-Gymnasium-Komplex am Hafen gilt als einheitlich geplanter Bau der domitianischen Zeit und der Marmorsaak als integraler Bestandteil der Palästra<sup>19</sup>. Der Bauherr ist nicht restlos geklärt, aber eine Beteiligung eines gewissen Tiberius Claudius Aristion kann als gesichert angesehen werden, was hauptsächlich auf einer stark fragmentierten Inschrift basiert, die während der ersten Grabungen gefunden wurde<sup>20</sup>. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Palästra und damit der ›Marmorsaak‹ um das Jahr 90 n. Chr. errichtet worden sein müssen<sup>21</sup>. In diese Zeit wird auch die Einsetzung der ephesischen Olympia durch Domitian gesetzt<sup>22</sup>. Eine Verbindung der Errichtung des Komplexes und der Einsetzung des Festes ist somit durchaus wahrscheinlich. Das Hafengymnasium wäre demnach ein Austragungsort für die abgehaltenen Agone gewesen<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Zusammenfassender Bericht über die Grabungsaktivitäten beider Jahre: Benndorf – Heberdey 1898.

<sup>14</sup> Überblick über Grabungsgeschichte in diesem Bereich: Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 77–81.

<sup>15</sup> Keil 1933, 14–18. s. dazu auch Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 80. Schematisierter Grundriss bei Yegül 1992, 273 Abb. 336.

<sup>16</sup> Die Nomenklatur ist keineswegs einheitlich: Yegül 1992, 272; Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 224–225; Friesen 1993, bes. 120 Abb. 5. s. dazu auch Anm. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Grabungsbericht bei Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 64–65.

<sup>18</sup> Auch die Wände sollen mit Marmor verkleidet und mit einem doppelgeschossigen Scheinsäulen-Dekor mit Nischen und vorspringenden Tabernakeln verziert gewesen sein: Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 65. Allerdings werden keine dieser Architekturfragmente weiter dokumentiert und besonders die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Raums durch G. Niemann muss damit fraglich bleiben: Wiplinger – Wlach 1995, 18 Abb. 21; Quatember 2007, Abb. 2. Die bestechende Ähnlichkeit zu der ebenfalls von Niemann angefertigten Rekonstruktionszeichnung der *scaenae frons* des römischen Theaters in Ephesos weckt jedenfalls Zweifel an der Richtigkeit: Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 91 Abb. 46. Für diesen Hinweis bin ich Dr. G. Plattner zu Dank verpflichtet.

<sup>19</sup> z. B. Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 224; Friesen 1993, 122; Karwiese 1997, 145; Lehner 2004, 187; Quatember 2007, 103; Steskal 2007, 117.

<sup>20</sup> Börker – Merkelbach 1979, Nr. 427. Fundbericht bei Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 65. Zustimmung und Erweiterung des epigrafischen Materials bei Scherrer 1997, 117–118. s. dazu auch Scherrer 2008, 43–44. Ablehnend: Quatember 2007, 104.

<sup>21</sup> Die eigentliche Errichtung der Hafenthermen erfolgte aber später, wohl erst im Laufe des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.: Keil 1933, 18–19; Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 224; Friesen 1993, 122–123; Scherrer 2008, 13.

<sup>22</sup> z. B. Karwiese 1970, 277–278; Friesen 1993, 117; Scherrer 1997, 109–111; Scherrer 2004, 13; Burrell 2004, 68 hingegen sieht nur ein »revival of an earlier festival«. Lehner 2004, 184–186 datiert die Einrichtung des Festes früher in die Jahre zwischen 81–84.

<sup>23</sup> Friesen 1993, 134–137. 140; Scherrer 2008, 44. Lehner 2004, 187 Anm. 814 sieht keinen direkten Zusammenhang zwischen Bau des Komplexes und Einrichtung des Festes, geht aber grundsätzlich von der Funktion als Austragungsort aus. Ähnliches auch bei Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 225. Darüber hinaus fungierten Komplexe wie das Hafengymnasium aber sicher auch als »multifunktionale Bildungs- und Ausbildungszentren, als Austragungsort



Über die Funktionen und Aufgaben, die direkt mit dem Marmorsaal verknüpft waren – sei es nun während des Festablaufs der Olympia oder im alltäglichen Leben der Stadt – lassen sich aufgrund des nur mangelhaft dokumentierten Baubefundes keine Aussagen treffen. Selbst durch Vergleiche mit ähnlichen Strukturen im Vedius- und Ostgymnasium von Ephesos ergibt sich kein differenzierteres Bild<sup>24</sup>. Johanna Auinger untersucht die beiden Letzteren auf ihre Funktion hin und kann damit die in der älteren Forschung vertretene These überzeugend widerlegen, dass es sich um Orte zur Ausübung des Kaiserkults handle<sup>25</sup>. Diese ›Entweihung‹ kann auch auf den ›Marmorsaal‹ übertragen werden. Stattdessen verbindet sie die Räume beider Gymnasien durch eine Stifterpersönlichkeit – M. Claudius P. Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus<sup>26</sup> –, wobei sie besonders der Statuenausstattung eine hohe Bedeutung beimisst<sup>27</sup>. So konstruiert sie als die hauptsächliche Funktion der Säle, dass Vedius jeweils einen Ort für seine Selbstinszenierung als wichtige lokale Persönlichkeit geschaffen habe<sup>28</sup>. Eine solch enge Bindung an einen Stifter, der dann als verbindendes Glied in einer Argumentationskette dienen könnte, ist bei dem ›Marmorsaal‹ des Hafengymnasiums nicht festzumachen; dafür fehlen schlicht die Belege. Die Nutzung als ›Festsaal‹ zu unterschiedlichen Anlässen kann sicher ohne Weiteres auch auf den ›Marmorsaal‹ übertragen werden<sup>29</sup>.

Aufschlussreicher ist hingegen die mehrfach zu findende Idee einer bewussten Anlehnung der Hafenpalästra an die Palästra in Olympia, wobei es sich aber um keine konkrete Kopie handle, sondern um eine dem Zeitgeschmack gemäße Variante<sup>30</sup>. Die Anordnung der einzelnen Komponenten des Bad-Gymnasium-Komplexes auf einer Achse und die Verbindung mit einer Therme seien als Modernisierung zu deuten<sup>31</sup>. Auch der ›Marmorsaal‹ spräche für Aktualisierung im Sinne der römischen Erbauer des Hafengymnasiums und sei dem vorherrschenden Geschmack und den anderen Anforderungen im Vergleich zu der Trainingsstätte in Olympia geschuldet<sup>32</sup>.

Der gesamte Komplex gibt sich damit als eine Mischung zwischen Altem und Neuem zu erkennen. Seine Errichtung stellt einen Prozess dar, in dem Tradition und Aktualität vereint werden<sup>33</sup>. Innerhalb dieses allgemeinen Rahmens war die Wahrnehmung des ›Knaben‹ als Kopie nach einem Weihgeschenk wohl denkbar, gerade weil das Hafengymnasium als Austragungsort eines religiösen Festes fungieren konnte. Allerdings ist diese sakrale Konnotation im Marmorsaal nicht allzu deutlich vorgeführt, wofür auch die Ablehnung eines hier vollzogenen Kaiserkults spricht<sup>34</sup>. Dass ein retrospektiver Bezug auf ein Werk der griechischen Kunst für den Betrachter ersichtlich war, ist wiederum ebenso vorstellbar, war doch die architektonische Einfassung zum Teil ebenfalls von einem älteren und konkret fassbarem Vorbild geprägt. Allerdings ist fraglich, ob

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unterschiedlicher Veranstaltungen und als Orte der körperlichen Ertüchtigung und bildeten einen wesentlichen Bestandteil kulturellen und geistigen Lebens in der Stadt«: Steskal 2007, 116–117.

<sup>24</sup> Knapper Überblick bei Wohlers-Scharf 1996, 196–197 (Ostgymnasium). 222–224 (Vediusgymnasium).

<sup>25</sup> Auinger 2011, 119–120. Einschränkend: Steskal 2003, 234. Einblick in die Bibliografie zum Diskurs gibt Auinger 2011, 119 Anm. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Einblick in die Bibliografie zu Vedius bei Auinger 2011, 118 Anm. 8 und 9.

<sup>27</sup> Auinger 2011, 120–122.

<sup>28</sup> Auinger 2011, 126–128.

<sup>29</sup> Auinger 2011, 127.

<sup>30</sup> Benndorf 1906, 183–184; Alzinger 1970, 1610; Friesen 1993, 128–132. Baugeschichte des Gymnasiums in Olympia bei Mallwitz 1972, 278–284 und Hellner 2012, 275–276. Schematisierter Grundriss ebenfalls bei Hellner 2012, 276 Abb. 231.

<sup>31</sup> Yegül 1992, 272–273; Steskal 2003, 229.

<sup>32</sup> Alzinger 1970, 1610–1611; Friesen 1993, 128–134. Sowohl in Olympia als auch in Ephesos lässt sich eine Verbindung zwischen Palästra und einer nicht zu dieser Struktur zählenden Portikus beobachten: Durchbrüche in den Rückwänden der den Innenhof umgebenden Räume lassen sich an beiden Orten feststellen. s. dazu Hellner 2012, 276 Abb. 232.

<sup>33</sup> Friesen 1993, 134; Steskal 2007, 115–116. Skeptisch in Bezug auf die Übernahme von Neuem/Römischen (am Beispiel der Bauornamentik): Quatember 2007, 109.

<sup>34</sup> Der im sog. Kaisersaal des Vediusgymnasiums gefundene Altar deutet durchaus auf Opfertätigkeiten, allerdings gibt es für den ›Marmorsaal‹ keine so eindeutigen Funde. Zum Altar: Steskal 2003, 234; Auinger 2011, 119. 127.



dieser Bezug als Verweis auf die hellenistische Kunst verstanden werden konnte. Außerdem wird die Aktualisierung der baulichen Form beim Hafengymnasium eindeutig mit dem ›Marmorsaal‹ verbunden. Dies könnte der Aufnahme eines rückwärtsgewandten Zugs bei dem ›Knaben‹ zweifellos eine geringere Wertigkeit zugewiesen haben. Die Untersuchung des Kontextfeldes ›Architektur‹ zeigt zumindest eine mögliche Ambivalenz in der Antike gegenüber den in der Forschung so deutlich herausgearbeiteten Ergebnissen in Bezug auf die Wiener Replik und den dahinterstehenden Typus.

## KONTEXTFELD ›SKULPTUR‹

Zum skulpturalen Umfeld des ›Knaben‹ im ›Marmorsaal‹ zählen ein idealtypischer Frauenkopf<sup>35</sup>, der Kopf eines bärtigen alten Mannes<sup>36</sup>, Fragmente von zwei identischen Gruppen, die jeweils eine Sphinx beim Reißen eines Jünglings zeigen<sup>37</sup>, zwei ebenfalls identische Gruppen aus Bronze im Statuettenformat, die Herakles beim Kampf gegen einen Kentauren zeigen und mit einem Leuchter versehen sind<sup>38</sup>, und einen reich mit Appliken verzierten bronzenen Kandelaber, der ebenfalls Herakles als Teil seines Bilddekors zeigt<sup>39</sup>. Der Befund lässt leider keine Aussage über die Versammlung dieses Materials im ›Marmorsaal‹ zu und so lässt sich nicht mehr klären, ob die Bildwerke einer oder mehrerer Ausstattungsphasen zuzuweisen sind<sup>40</sup>. Aus der dokumentierten Asche- und Schuttschicht über dem Saal lässt sich aber zumindest eine ungefähre Aufstellungsdauer ermitteln. Die Schicht wird zwar als wild zerwühlt beschrieben, trotzdem scheint es keine Wiedererrichtung der darunter befindlichen Struktur gegeben zu haben<sup>41</sup>. Der Zeitpunkt der Zerstörung von Hafenpalästra und ›Marmorsaal‹ wird um das Jahr 262 n. Chr. datiert<sup>42</sup>. Zu einem nicht näher einzugrenzenden Zeitpunkt zwischen der Errichtung des Hafengymnasiums um 90 n. Chr. und der Zerstörung um 262 n. Chr. waren alle im Saal gefunden Skulpturen und Bildwerke dort aufgestellt und konnten in dieser Zusammenstellung als Teil eines visuellen Umfelds betrachtet werden.

Der idealtypische Frauenkopf wird dem Typus Candia-Ludovisi zugewiesen<sup>43</sup>. Dabei handelt es sich um einen Gruppe von Peplophoren, deren bronzenes Original in die Zeit um 460 v. Chr. gesetzt wird<sup>44</sup>. Renate Tölle-Kastenbein legt eine Deutung des Sujets als Artemis vor und führt

<sup>35</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 829. s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 105 Nr. 132. Abbildungen: Tölle-Kastenbein 1986, Taf. 26.

<sup>36</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 853. s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 116 Nr. 165. Abbildungen: Deubner 1948, Taf. 4, 1; 5, 1.

<sup>37</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. I 1536. s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 110–111 Nr. 150–151. Abbildungen: Eichler 1960, 16–17 Abb. 11–12.

<sup>38</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. VI 3169. s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 108 Nr. 141. Abbildungen: Bol 1970, Taf. 59–64.

<sup>39</sup> Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. VI 3170 (Kapitell); Nr. VI 4053 und 4047 (Lampe). s. dazu: Oberleitner 1978, 107 Nr. 139 (Kapitell). 107–108 Nr. 140 (Lampe). Abbildungen: Eichler 1929, 208 Abb. 143; 209 Abb. 144; 210 Abb. 145; 212 Abb. 146 Taf. 3; Mercklin 1962, Taf. 169 Abb. 1331 (Kapitell); Eichler 1929, 213 Abb. 127; 214 Abb. 148 (Lampe).

<sup>40</sup> Zumeist wird die Fertigung der Skulpturen ohne nähere Ausführungen in die hadrianische Zeit datiert, z. B. Manderscheid 1981, 86 Nr. 159 (Candia-Ludovisi); Manderscheid 1981, 87 Nr. 162 (›Wandernder Lyriker‹). Abweichend finden sich aber auch frühere Datierungen, z. B. Deubner 1948, 23; Voutiras 1980, 198–199 (›Wandernder Lyriker‹).

<sup>41</sup> Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 65 erwähnen nur eine kleine Kapelle, die auf dieser Schicht errichtet worden ist und einige Gebäude, die als er als »mittelalterlich« beschreibt. s. dazu auch: Scherrer 2004, 16–17.

<sup>42</sup> Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 64. 72–73 machen für die Zerstörung des ›Marmorsaaals‹ eine Brandkatastrophe bei einem Goteneinfall im Jahre 263 verantwortlich. Alzinger 1970, 1611 spricht nur noch von einem »Brand von lokaler Bedeutung«, ohne eine Datierung anzugeben. Scherrer 2004, 16 führt die Zerstörung auf ein Erdbeben im Jahre 262 zurück. Steskal 2007, 117 spricht ebenfalls von einer Naturkatastrophe.

<sup>43</sup> Replikenliste bei Tölle-Kastenbein 1986, 15–18. Bibliografie bei Moltesen 2002, 328. 330.

<sup>44</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein 1986 27–28 mit Zuweisung aufgrund des Gewands an eine athenische Werkstatt.

den Typus auf das Kultbild der Artemis Agrotera zurück<sup>45</sup>. Der Kopf aus Ephesos gilt ihr als »klassizistisch anmutend« und hergestellt mit einer »akademischen Akkuratess«, weswegen sie von einem Büstenformat ausgeht<sup>46</sup>. Der Bezug auf ein bekanntes Standbild der griechischen Kunst ist an dem Kopf aus Ephesos für den Betrachter also nur schwerlich festzumachen: selbst wenn man Tölle-Kastenbein in ihrer Identifizierung als Artemis Agrotera folgen mag, scheint sich der Verweis auf Griechisches in einem recht allgemeinen klassizistischen Gepräge zu erschöpfen.

Der Kopf eines bärtigen alten Mannes wird stets über einen Vergleich mit einer Statue im Louvre erläutert<sup>47</sup>. Die Gestaltung von Gesicht und Haar sind durchaus ähnlich genug, dass ein Zusammenhang der beiden Stücke nachvollziehbar ist; konstruiert wird jedenfalls ein Replikenverhältnis<sup>48</sup>. Die Statue im Louvre überliefert nun aber auch einen Körper: der Mann ist in Schrittstellung gezeigt und trägt eine Lyra in der linken Hand. In der Forschung ist vor allem die Frage diskutiert worden, wessen Porträt durch den Typus des sog. Wandernden Lyrikers überliefert wird, ohne dass hier je eine Einigung erreicht wurde<sup>49</sup>. Für das Original wird eine Entstehung um 440 v. Chr. von den meisten Forschern angenommen<sup>50</sup>. Die Einschätzung von Sujet und Zeitstellung des Originals wird dann durch die Eingliederung in das Replikenverhältnis auf den Wiener Kopf übertragen. Fraglich bleibt dabei allerdings, ob eine Aufstellung in Ephesos als Standbild oder als Büste erfolgte<sup>51</sup>. Der Kopf Candia-Ludovisi lässt zumindest die Vermutung zu, dass Büsten im »Marmorsaal« aufgestellt gewesen sind. Ohne das Attribut der Lyra aber ist ein Erkennen als Porträt eines berühmten Dichters schwierig, eine konkrete Benennung entzieht sich selbst mit dem Wissen um die Replikenreihe – zumindest aus heutiger Sicht – einer Klärung. Auch bei diesem Porträt kann also höchstens ein allgemeiner Verweis auf Griechisches ausgemacht werden.

Die Gruppen mit der Sphinx – aufgrund des Fundes identischer Fragmente waren zwei Gruppen im Saal aufgestellt – wurden von Fritz Eichler publiziert und restauriert<sup>52</sup>. Von ihm stammt auch die Identifizierung als Kopien nach einer der Armlehnen vom Thron des Zeus in Olympia<sup>53</sup>. Die ephesischen Gruppen müssen damit als einer der wenigen archäologisch fassbaren Belege für das Meisterwerk des Phidias gelten und bis heute wird Eichlers These in der Forschung kaum widersprochen<sup>54</sup>. Der Zeus wird in der neueren Literatur nach der Fertigstellung der Athena Parthenos und der Skulpturen am Parthenon angesetzt, also in die Jahre um 430 v. Chr.<sup>55</sup>. Die beiden Stücke verweisen also recht deutlich auf ein *opus nobilium*, allerdings in einer sehr speziellen Verkürzung: nicht das gesamte Sitzbild wird kopiert, sondern nur ein Detail wird wiederholt und diese dann auch noch in zweifacher Ausführung desselben aufgestellt. Deswegen wird stets von einer Pendant-Aufstellung im »Marmorsaal« ausgegangen<sup>56</sup>. Die Sphinxgruppen ließen sich

<sup>45</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein 1986, 31–32. Artemis Agrotera und ihr Heiligtum am Ilissos: Paus. 1, 19, 6.

<sup>46</sup> Tölle-Kastenbein 1986, 25. Dadurch ist das ephesische Stück das »Leitstück« ihrer zweiten Gruppe von Kopfrepliken: Tölle-Kastenbein 1986, 17–18 Nr. 50m–q.

<sup>47</sup> Abbildungen: Deubner 1948, Taf. 4, 2; 5, 2; Schefold 1997, 95 mit Abb.

<sup>48</sup> Replikenliste bei Voutiras 1980, 194–199.

<sup>49</sup> Winter 1900, 92–93 (Ion von Chios); Bulle 1939, 146 (Pindar); Deubner 1948, 25 (Simonides); Richter 1965, 69–70 (Alkaios); Gauer 1968, 171–172 (Pindar); Schefold 1997, 94 (Archilochos).

<sup>50</sup> Winter 1900, 83–85; Deubner 1948, 23–24; Richter 1965, 33–34, 70; Alzinger 1970, 1692. Leicht abweichend datieren Lippold 1912, 39–40; Bulle 1939, 145–146; Gauer 1968, 169–170 und Schefold 1997, 94 um 450 v. Chr. Deutlich abweichend bestimmt Voutiras 1980, 200–204 die Datierung in die Zeit von der Mitte des 2. Jhs. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr.

<sup>51</sup> Nach mündlicher Auskunft von Dr. M. Laubenberger handelt es sich definitiv um einen Hermenkopf.

<sup>52</sup> Eichler 1937; Eichler 1960.

<sup>53</sup> Eichler 1937, 103–106; Eichler 1960, 20–22.

<sup>54</sup> z. B. Fink 1967, 58; Hafner 1961, 217; Aurenhammer 1990, 179–180; Cullen Davison 2009, 333. Ausnahme: Harrison 1996, 61–62, bes. 61 Anm. 211 führt die Gruppen auf ägyptische Vorbilder zurück und glaubt an eine genuin römische Schöpfung.

<sup>55</sup> Zur Datierung: Cullen Davison 2009, 322–324.

<sup>56</sup> z. B. Eichler 1937, 90–91, 107; Alzinger 1970, 1690–1691; Aurenhammer 1990, 179.

wohl auch in der Antike recht leicht auf das berühmte Kultbild des Phidias beziehen, vor allem wenn man bedenkt, dass die gesamte Hafenpalästra in ihrer architektonischen Gestalt auf eine der Sportstätten in Olympia bezogen werden kann<sup>57</sup>. Allerdings spricht die Verdopplung von dem gleichen Modernisierungsprozess, der auch bei der Architektur festgestellt werden kann: die Aufstellung als Pendants in einem räumlichen Kontext lässt sich im Römischen häufiger finden<sup>58</sup>.

Die Fragmente der Herakles-Kentauren-Gruppen mit Leuchter kamen mit vielen anderen Fragmenten aus Bronze an der Nordostecke des ›Marmorsaals‹ zutage<sup>59</sup>. Die Aufstellung zweier identischer Kampfgruppen leitet Eichler vor allem aus einem linken Fuß ab, der ebenfalls aus diesem Fundkonglomerat stammt und identisch mit dem des besser erhaltenen Herakles ist<sup>60</sup>. Die Rekonstruktion der Komposition der Gruppen geht ebenfalls auf diesen Forscher zurück: ein flächiger Herakles ist vor einem knorrigen Baum mit einem auf die Raumtiefe verweisenden Kentauren so kombiniert, dass die Gruppenpartner nur durch den Griff des Heros an das linke Vorderbein des Kentauren verbunden sind<sup>61</sup>. Nach Ernst Künzl sei diese doch recht vage Verknüpfung der beiden Protagonisten »eine extreme Stufe der bewegten und nicht als Schaubild verstandenen Zweifigurengruppe« und die Entstehung der Gruppe müsse in die Jahre um 200 v. Chr. datiert werden<sup>62</sup>. Peter Cornelis Bol hingegen datiert um 150 v. Chr., weil er an der Gruppe klassizistische Tendenzen ausmacht, die keinesfalls vor den Altar von Pergamon zu setzen seien<sup>63</sup>. Abweichend von den bisher besprochenen Stücken ist jedenfalls kein retrospektiver Bezug zur Kunst der griechischen Klassik festzustellen. Auch der Bezug zum späteren Hellenismus ist durch die ›Funktionalisierung‹ der Gruppe als dekoratives Beiwerk eines Leuchters wohl zu relativieren und nicht in aller Deutlichkeit vorgeführt<sup>64</sup>. Wiederum kann ein Aktualisierungsprozess festgehalten werden.

Einen ähnlichen Fall bieten die Reste eines großformatigen Kandelabers, die zusammen mit den Fragmenten der Herakles-Kentauren-Gruppen gefunden wurden. Eichler rekonstruiert ein opulentes Kunstwerk<sup>65</sup>: auf einem Ring aus Halbkugeln sitzt ein Doppelkopf mit Herakles und Omphale, jeweils mit vertauschten Attributen. Darauf folgt ein doppelter Blattkelch, auf dem ein stark durchgebogenes ionisches Kapitell ruht, welches mit einem reich verzierten Abakus abgeschlossen ist. An den Seiten des Kapitells befinden sich Löcher zum Anfügen von Ranken, aus deren Enden Halbfiguren entspringen. Sie zeigen nackte Knaben mit den Attributen des Herakles: Keule, Fell und Äpfel. Der gelagerte Herakles ist als Reliefapplik am Mittelstück der Voluten angebracht. Zwei weitere Appliken – kniende Eroten – sind an den Voluten angebracht und können als Diener des Herakles beim Gelage gedeutet werden. Gefunden wurden auch fünf Schnauzen einer ebenfalls bronzenen Lampe, die dann wohl die gesamte Konstruktion bekrönte<sup>66</sup>. Hinzu kommt noch eine mit einem lesbischen Kymation verzierte Fußleiste, die wohl den eigentlichen

<sup>57</sup> Zum Kult des Zeus Olympios in Ephesos: Friesen 1993, 117–121; Burrell 2004, 68–70.

<sup>58</sup> Bartman 1988, 218–225.

<sup>59</sup> Benndorf – Heberdey 1898, 68–69; Eichler 1929, 200–202.

<sup>60</sup> Eichler 1929, 204–205, Nr. 2 c.

<sup>61</sup> Wegen des Griffs sei auch keine andere Figuration der Protagonisten zu erschließen: Eichler 1929, 203–204. Bol 1970, 81–82 weist daraufhin, dass eine ebene Fläche am linken hinteren Knöchel des Kentauren als Teil der antiken Sockelung zu verstehen sei. Die Wiener Rekonstruktion weiche in diesem Punkt vom antiken Zustand ab. Ebenso sei das linke Knie des Herakles in seiner Positionierung zu ändern, allerdings ergäbe sich daraus keine grundlegende Änderung der Komposition. Zur Problematik der Zugehörigkeit des Baumes zur Komposition der Gruppe: Eichler 1929, 205–207 (zustimmend); Künzl 1968, 129 (ablehnend); Bol 1970, 84–85. 87 (zustimmend).

<sup>62</sup> Künzl 1968, 130.

<sup>63</sup> Bol 1970, 86–88. Zustimmend Oberleitner 1978, 108. s. zur unwahrscheinlichen These, dass in Ephesos Original und Kopie der Herakles-Kentauren-Gruppe nebeneinander standen: Bol 1970, 89–90.

<sup>64</sup> Eichler nimmt sogar an, dass die Kompositionen erst in augusteischer Zeit entstanden sind, wofür die Verbindung mit dem Leuchter und die Verdopplung spräche: Eichler 1929, 215 Anm. 46 und 47. s. dazu auch Neugebauer 1934, 176. Zur Problematik des Baumes bzw. Leuchters und seiner Zugehörigkeit zur Komposition: Eichler 1929, 205–207; Künzl 1968, 129; Bol 1970, 84–85. 87.

<sup>65</sup> Eichler 1929, 207–211.

<sup>66</sup> Eichler 1929, 211–214.

Ständer – rekonstruiert als Säulenschaft, mit dem Fuß – rekonstruiert als Tierklauen – verband. Weder haben sich Teile vom Schaft noch vom Fuß erhalten und ihre Rekonstruktion beruht allein auf Vergleichen<sup>67</sup>.

Anders als allen anderen Fundstücken aus dem Marmorsaal werden dem Kandelaber keine retrospektiven Tendenzen zugeschrieben. Einhellig wird das Stück in das frühe Prinzipat gesetzt<sup>68</sup>. Im Gegensatz zu der Kampfgruppe wird hier der Funktion als Leuchter für die Einschätzung des Stücks deutlich mehr Gewicht beigemessen. Der figürliche Dekor wird nicht im Detail untersucht, sondern in seiner Fülle als Ausweis für römisches Kunstschaffen angesehen. Damit stellt der monumentale Kandelaber das ›modernste‹ Stück im ›Marmorsaal‹ dar.

Das Kontextfeld ›Skulptur‹ der Wiener Replik zeigt nun ähnliche Tendenzen wie der architektonische Rahmen: wieder lässt sich eine Mischung von Altem und Neuem aufzeigen. Allerdings ist bei der skulpturalen Ausstattung der retrospektive Bezug der jeweiligen Stücke weniger deutlich inszeniert als dies der Fall ist bei der umgebenden Architektur mit ihrem Verweis auf die Palästra in Olympia, obwohl sich durch die Lokalisierung im ›Marmorsaal‹ bereits auch hier eine Aufweichung festhalten ließ. Im visuellen Ambiente überwiegen also die aktuellen Tendenzen. Besonders die ›Funktionalisierung‹ von Kunst zur Zierde von Gebrauchsgegenständen weist in diese Richtung und auch die Lösung der gefundenen Köpfe von ihren jeweiligen Körpertypen spricht eindeutig für eine geringe Bedeutsamkeit des retrospektiven Bezuges auf griechische Kunst als eine primäre ästhetische Kategorie. Selbst die Kopien nach einem konkreten *opus nobilium* sind in spezieller Weise römisch überformt und tragen zu diesem Eindruck bei. Zudem scheint ein Bezug zur hellenistischen Kunst kaum von Bedeutung gewesen sein, verweisen doch die meisten Stücke auf die griechische Klassik. Deswegen ist es auch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Wahrnehmung des ›Knaben‹ als Exponent einer Reihe von Kunstwerken, die mit einem Motiv in einem Heiligtum beginnt, in Ephesos keine Rolle spielt<sup>69</sup>. Die beobachtete Aufstellungspraxis im ›Marmorsaal‹ ist deutlich von zeitgenössisch-römischen Kriterien beeinflusst<sup>70</sup>. Die sich bereits bei der Betrachtung des Kontextfeldes ›Architektur‹ angekündigte mögliche Ambivalenz in der Antike hinsichtlich eines Bezugs auf die griechische und speziell hellenistische Kunst kann durch das ›Kontextfeld‹ Skulptur verstärkt und bestätigt werden.

Die Untersuchung des ›Knaben mit der Fuchsgans‹ in seiner doppelten Verortung im ›Marmorsaal‹ hat gezeigt, dass wohl nur ein geringer Wert auf das Erfassen des retrospektiven Bezugs der Skulptur gelegt wurde. Der antike Betrachter mag vielleicht assoziativ einen Verweis auf die griechische Kunst festgestellt haben. Dass er diesen dann aber konkret mit einem Weihgeschenk der hellenistischen Zeit zu verbinden wusste, ist in dem speziellen architektonischen und skulpturalen Umfeld nicht zu belegen. Die Wertschätzung dieser besonderen Qualität von Skulptur – Einreihung in eine langlebige künstlerische Traditionslinie – scheint weit weniger bestimmend für die materielle Kultur der Römer gewesen zu sein als bisher angenommen. Wie genau aber der ›Knabe‹ in seiner visuellen Umgebung in Ephesos funktionierte, welche Aufgaben das Bildwerk ›vor Ort‹ erfüllte und welche Diskurse an ihn geknüpft gewesen sein könnten, lässt sich aufgrund der fragmentarischen Überlieferung und dem Ausbleiben neuer

<sup>67</sup> Eichler 1929, 214–215. Auch eine mit Reliefbändern verzierte Scheibe könnte als Abdeckung über den Füßen zu dem Kandelaber gehören. Die Zuweisung ist aber nicht zwingend und ergibt sich vor allem aus dem Fundzusammenhang: Eichler 1929, 215–217. Oberleitner 1978, 107 Nr. 139 lehnt die Zuweisung ab.

<sup>68</sup> Neugebauer 1934, 176; Mercklin 1962, 289–290 Nr. 692; Oberleitner 1978, 107 Nr. 139 datieren augusteisch. Kenner 1970, 136 datiert in die frühe Kaiserzeit.

<sup>69</sup> Überzeugend argumentiert Schlegelmilch 2009, 105–110, bes. 105–107, dass die eigentliche Funktion hellenistischer Kinderbilder stets diejenige des Weihgeschenks gewesen ist.

<sup>70</sup> Dafür spricht auch die Aufnahme hellenistischer Typen von Kinderdarstellungen in das Dekor des römischen Hauses im Laufe des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. und damit ein Verlassen des althergebrachten Kontextes für solche Figuren: Schlegelmilch 2009, 136–139, 143–144. Dieser Rezeptionsprozess kann durchaus für die Übertragung auf andere Umgebungen in römischer Zeit – wie eben ein Gymnasium – verantwortlich sein.



Grabungen am Hafengymnasium nur schwerlich rekonstruieren<sup>71</sup>. So lässt sich nur sagen, dass der ›Knabe mit der Fuchsgans‹ wohl als eine schmuckvolle und passende Ergänzung des an sich schon prächtigen Marmorsaals anzusehen ist.

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<sup>71</sup> Nicht ohne Grund wird bei vielen Untersuchungen der ›Marmorsaal‹ explizit ausgelassen, z. B. Quatember 2007, 104; Auinger 2011, 117 Anm. 1.



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1 ›Knabe mit der Fuchsgans‹, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



### **III CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR: PORTRAITS**





SUHAL SAĞLAN

## TWO REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS FROM WESTERN ASIA MINOR<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

The term Roman Republican portraiture defines an eclectic characteristic involving a number of variables; furthermore it conveys a uniquely Roman character in its change in relation to the periods and regions where Romans ruled. As the limited number of artefacts surviving to this day indicate, Republican portraiture was significantly developed throughout the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., and this period is accepted as the starting point of portraiture which can be said to have a uniquely Roman characteristic. Cultural interactions stemming from the expansionist politics of the Romans can be observed as stylistic characteristics in Roman Republican portraits. Portraits which are found in Asia Minor, very few in quantity, reflect the general characteristics of the Roman Republican period. Although most of these Asia Minor-produced portraits reflect the lingering effects of western Asia Minor Hellenistic tradition, there are some portraits of individuals, which can be termed ›veristic‹. In this paper, a male portrait from Smyrna belonging to the first group and another male portrait from the sacred site of Lagina which belongs to the second group, are evaluated.

### ÖZET

#### Küçük Asya'nın Batısından İki Roma Cumhuriyet Dönemi Portresi

Roma Cumhuriyet Portreleri terimi, Romalıların hüküm sürmüş olduğu coğrafyalarda, bölge ve dönemlere göre değişimi açısından benzersiz bir Romalı karakter yanında, pek çok değişkeni de içinde barındıran, eklektik bir niteliği ortaya koyar. Günümüze ulaşabilen sınırlı sayıda eserlerin gösterdiği üzere, Cumhuriyet portreciliği, MÖ. 1. yüzyıl boyunca büyük bir gelişme göstermiş ve bu dönem, araştırmacılar tarafından, benzersiz bir Romalı nitelik taşıyan portreciliğin çıkış noktası olarak kabul edilmiştir. Romalıların yayılmacı politikalarının beraberinde getirdiği kültür etkileşimleri, Roma Cumhuriyet portrelerinde stil karakteristiği olarak izlenebilir. Anadolu'da bulunmuş olan ve sayıca çok az örnekle temsil edilen Roma Cumhuriyet Dönemi portreleri, bu dönemin genel karakteristiğini yansıtır. Anadolu kökenli Roma Cumhuriyet portrelerin çoğunluğu Batı Anadolu Helenistik geleneğinin etkisini yansıtmakla beraber, halktan kişilere ait, ›veristik‹ olarak nitelendirilen portreler de mevcuttur. Bu makalede ilk gruba ait Smyrna'dan bir erkek portresi, ve ikinci grup içerisinde yer alan Lagina Kutsal Alanı'nda bulunmuş bir diğer erkek portresi değerlendirilmiştir.

After the conquest of the Greek world, and especially in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., realistic portraits referred to as ›Republican Portraits‹ appeared both across the entire Mediterranean and in Anatolia. Currently, the number of Roman Republican portraits found in Anatolia, which were produced in that environment, is around 40. Portraits which I have identified, which are preserved in domestic and foreign museums or in private collections, seem to have been found mostly in western Anatolian cities. This paper presents two portraits found in the ancient city of Smyrna and at the sacred site of Lagina.

<sup>1</sup> Sağlan 2012, 261. – The present article is a part of my unpublished Ph. D. thesis entitled ›Roman Republican Portraits in Anatolia‹ from Selçuk University, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Classical Archaeology Department in 2012. This thesis was supported by Selçuk University, Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit (BAP) with Project number 09103006.

**PORTRAIT FROM SMYRNA (FIGS. 1–4)**

Izmir, Archaeological Museum, inv. 15611. It was donated in 1989 to the Izmir Archaeological Museum collection after having been found during construction excavations in the yard of Bornova Anatolian High School in Izmir. Height: 33 cm. Width: 22 cm. Depth: 25 cm. From top of head to chin: 30 cm. White, fine-grained marble.

The head and the body were combined after having been produced separately. A large piece is missing from the right side of the neck. The nose, part of the lips, the chin, the left ear and the nape are broken and missing. The hair at the centre of the forehead is damaged. There is a thin crack starting from the centre of the forehead, running toward the nape (figs. 1, 2). In addition, there are small missing and eroded parts across the whole surface of the head. The marble surface is here and there covered with a layer of lime, with weather-induced discolorations formed on certain parts. Below the neck is a rectangular peg hole of around  $2 \times 2$  cm size and 1.5 cm depth. This part has been straightened and smoothed.

Sitting on a short and thick neck, the head is slightly oversized and slightly turned leftwards. Because of this turning movement, a horizontal wrinkle line going toward the nape is visible on the left side of the neck (figs. 1, 4). Again for the same reason, the right chin margin is emphasized, and on the left side, the chin looks as if it is merged with the neck.

The area behind the head, at the bottom of the neck, where the himation should be, has been carved diagonally and left rough for placing on the dressed sculpted body. Also, at the sides of the neck, parts belonging to the dress of the figure shown as bulging protrusions (figs. 2–4). Tool marks are distinct at the nape. The top of the head was carved to create a shallow depression. From the even surface of the nape, one can tell that it was combined after being worked separately (fig. 2). The hair at the top and back of the head is coarsely shaped. Because of this, one can tell that the portrait was originally produced to be viewed from the front, perhaps made to be displayed inside a niche or in front of a wall.

Arranged in the form of long locks stacked on one another, hair is combed forwards. The locks of hair have a tapering shape which is more vibrant by being separated with an inner groove. The hair has more volume above the ears and the forehead (figs. 3, 4), where it extends onto the receding forehead. Since this part is damaged, it is unfortunately not possible to understand how the hair is arranged here. The hair locks are combed downwards at the outer corners of the eyes. The lowest row of locks, which extends along the ear line, falls down the temples and in front of the ear. Apparently, the sideburns are not distinctly made. There is slight hair loss in the receding temples, and to conceal that, one hair lock is placed in the opposite direction at outer corners of the eyes as if to cover these exposed parts (figs. 1, 4). The locks at the end of the temples are stylish, and are here separated from the forehead by a drill groove. The locks in those parts of the head that are seen from the side are engraved more delicately and rigorously (fig. 1). Those at the nape are engraved in broader, sparser and thicker fashion (figs. 2–4).

The hair locks above the ears are sickle-shaped, and are placed side by side and on top of one another (fig. 3). They are in touch with the auricle. Rows of sickle-shaped hair locks at the nape are positioned in a simplified and ordered manner, in reverse direction to each other, in a way that prevents them from being confused with one another. This is especially apparent in the case of the two rows of hair locks in the right rear part of the head, which is relatively well preserved. In the left rear part of the head, behind the ear, edges of several thick hair locks have been preserved. Bundles of hair locks at the nape are separated from one another by distinct drill grooves. The hair is kept short at the nape (fig. 2).

The plump face is oval in form (fig. 1). On the broad rectangular forehead, two horizontal and parallel wrinkle lines are indicated. A shorter horizontal wrinkle line is engraved above the left eyebrow. Between the eyebrows, a vertical wrinkle line is emphasized to convey a solemn expression. There are furrows at the nasal root, caused by the frowning eyebrows of the person portrayed. At the nose with its thick and broad structure, a depression is created at the level of the eyes by means of a very slight groove. The almond-shaped eyes, which are set deep under the emphasized eyebrows, are surrounded by sharply contoured eyelids. The upper eyelids are

separated from the eyeball with a thin and deep groove, and the lower eyelids are depicted more softly in more harmony with the eyeball. The outer corners of the thinly depicted upper eyelids are fleshy and are underneath the bulging and hanging eye-sockets. The wide lower eyelids are slightly drooping with under-eye bags indicated below them. Three crow's feet lines are engraved at the outer corner of each eye. One can tell from the preserved right ear that the ears were carved fleshy and large to signify old age (fig. 3).

The cheekbones are distinct. As a sign of old age, cheeks are sunken in spite of the plump face. The cheeks have been compartmentalized with a vertical wrinkle line going from right below the cheekbone toward below the chin. Deep naso-labial lines go from the meaty nasal wings of the broad nose to the sides of the mouth. These thick skin wrinkles that divide the cheek create hanging jowls in the lower cheek region of the face. This is also emphasized by the fleshy and hanging double chin below the chin. Although the chin is broken, one can tell from the preserved parts below the ears that the chin and the neck are fleshy. Due to the turning position of the head, the right chin division is emphasized, and on the left side, the chin and the neck are merged. Viewing the face in profile, one sees a broad nose extending down in a straight line. The nasal wings are wide. The distance between the nose and the upper lip is kept short, emphasizing the groove in this area. The full lips of the closed mouth are separated from one another by a deep drill groove. The upper lip is formed with curled lines in the shape of open seagull wings. Details like the bulging at the sides of the mouth and the downward skin wrinkle, caused by the mouth being tightly closed, are emphasized.

Horizontal and vertical skin wrinkles on the forehead, fleshy under-eye bags, hanging eye-sockets, loosened and hanging fatty skin, sunken cheeks, and fleshy and large ears are portrait characteristics of an elderly person. The characteristic features of the person described in the Smyrna portrait are realistically expressed. In general, the portrait depicts a man with solemn, authoritarian and strong personality. His eyes look directly ahead and into the distance.

Among the Republican portraits discovered in Anatolia, the one that is closest to the Smyrna portrait is the old male portrait found in Acarlar Village near Ephesos<sup>2</sup>. In the Acarlar portrait, the way physiognomic features are rendered, such as the shape of the head, the way the hair is arranged, the loose and hanging skin, the skin wrinkles made distinct with horizontal and vertical lines, the vibrant rendering of the face, and the fact that the bulging and hanging eye-sockets and the upper eyelid are separated from the eyeball with sharp contours, are similar to the Smyrna portrait. Yet, unlike the tired appearance of the Acarlar portrait, the eyes of the individual in the Smyrna portrait are depicted in a more lively, fluent, and ideal manner. Unlike the coarse and rough style in the Acarlar portrait, the Smyrna portrait is engraved with softer lines. The same vibrancy and fluency is felt in the seagull wing shaped lips in the Smyrna portrait, too. The energetic turning of the neck, the large and open eyes, and the richly curled lips are all reflections of the sculptural tradition of the Hellenistic period, although the pathetic expression has been softened.

In the manner in which all the physiognomic characteristics are rendered, the Smyrna portrait resembles the General from Tivoli<sup>3</sup> and Cicero portraits in Rome<sup>4</sup>.

The sculpted portrait found at the Hercules Temple in Tivoli, which is commonly known as the General from Tivoli, is dated to 75–50 B.C. In the General from Tivoli portrait, elements such as the face made vibrant by horizontal and vertical wrinkle lines that are thick, loose and hanging, and also the hanging eye-socket, distinct under-eye bags and slight turning of the head, are similar to the Smyrna portrait. Separated by a deep groove from one another, the full lips of the closed mouth are also shaped in a similar fashion. In the General from Tivoli portrait, the hair is in the

<sup>2</sup> Selçuk Museum, inv. 1. 2. 92: Evren – İçten 2000, 77–79; Özgan 2008, 182; Aurenhammer 2011, 101; Sağlan 2012, 144–147 cat. 20 pls. 27–28.

<sup>3</sup> Rome, Terme Museum, inv. 106513: Felletti Maj 1953, cat. 45.

<sup>4</sup> For a comprehensive evaluation on Cicero portraits, see Megow 2005, 109–124.

form of sickle-shaped locks which are undistinguished from one another. But the fact that they are scattered in different directions produces a more vibrant look. In the Smyrna portrait, however, the locks are more superficial and pressed to the head.

Similar characteristics can be seen in portraits of which many replicas have been unearthed, which have all been confirmed to belong to Cicero. The Cicero Portrait<sup>5</sup> at the Capitoline Museum, Rome, as mentioned above, has been produced in a way that is similar to the Smyrna portrait. Fluent and fleshy eyebrows indicative of contemplation and concentration, soft and loose cheek skin and facial flesh, and also skin wrinkles surrounding the eyebrows and eyes, fleshy and hanging under-eye bags, well-formed and full lips are parallel to the Smyrna portrait. In this portrait, Cicero has the physiognomic appearance of someone aged about 50. Accordingly, the portrait must have been produced in ca. 50 B.C.<sup>6</sup>

Another example that is comparable to the Smyrna portrait is the portrait of an elderly male dated to ca. 50 B.C., which was found on a tomb stele in Rome, Via Statilia, and which is exhibited at the Capitoline Museum, Rome<sup>7</sup>. The way in which characteristic details such as the shape of the head, the arrangement of the short-cut hair, hanging skin, horizontal and vertical skin wrinkles, the lively structure of the face, heavy and hanging under-eye bags, and hanging sides of the mouth are rendered, it reveals similarities with the Smyrna portrait. In the Via Statilia portrait, the hair is expressed in a simpler way with chisel marks, and the wrinkles on the face are engraved as more superficial incised lines.

The loose jowls in the Smyrna head, which seem to merge with the neck, and especially the way the hair is engraved, also are similar to a portrait exhibited at the National Museum of Rome<sup>8</sup>. The hair locks combed toward the centre of the forehead, and especially the fork motif formed by the few sickle-shaped locks combed in the opposite direction on the right temple, are similar in the Rome portrait and the Smyrna portrait.

A similar way of arranging the hair is also found in a portrait exhibited in the J. Paul Getty Museum, which has been identified as a portrait of Caesar<sup>9</sup>. In the Getty portrait, sickle-shaped locks formed in a fashion that is similar to the Smyrna portrait are combed toward the center of the forehead, and freely fall in front of the ears at the temples. In the Getty portrait, the shaping of the hair locks behind the ears is also similar to the Smyrna portrait.

The way the face and hair is engraved, and the eyes and lips are shaped in the Smyrna portrait shows traces of the Western Anatolian Hellenistic sculpting tradition. The engraving style of the lips and eyes of a male portrait exhibited in the Athens Museum<sup>10</sup>, which is claimed to be of Smyranean origin, shows similarities with the Smyrna portrait. But the strong Hellenistic tradition observed in the Athens portrait is felt in the Smyrna portrait as an echo under the serious and realistic style of the Roman Republican period.

<sup>5</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. 589: Giuliani 1986, 230–231 fig. 64; Hoffer 1988, no. 139. 303; Lahusen 1989, 66 fig. 94 a–d; Megow 2005, 109–110 type XIId pls. 59 c–d; 60 a–d. W. R. Megow claimed that the oversized Cicero portrait exhibited at the Capitoline Museum is a replica produced in the Augustan period. For this, see Megow 2005, 123.

<sup>6</sup> Having come to Anatolia in ca. 52 B.C. as proconsul of Cilicia, Cicero stayed here until 49 B.C. For detailed information on activities in Anatolia of Cicero, one of the most renowned personas of the late years of the Roman Republican period, see Gelzer 1939, 978–988.

<sup>7</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum, inv. 2142: Schweitzer 1948, 80–85 no. E 11 fig. 110: The portrait was dated by B. Schweitzer to ca. 70–60 B.C.; Linfert 1976, 151 no. 15 n. 600: A. Linfert claimed that tomb reliefs were produced ca. 50 B.C. at the latest; Goette 1989, 109 no. Ab 16; Kockel 1993, 63–64. 94–95, B1 pls. 10 a; 12 a. b; 14 a. b. H. R. Goette and V. Kockel dated the relief to ca. 50 B.C.

<sup>8</sup> National Museum of Rome, inv. 135941: Hoffer 1988, nos. 181. 332. 333. M. R. Hoffer said that the portrait could have been produced in ca. 60 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 78. AA. 266: Frel – Morgan 1981, 16 no. 5; Hoffer 1989, 335–339 pl. 51, figs. 1. 2. J. Frel stated that this portrait, which is known as ›McLendon Caesar‹, was originally produced while Caesar was still alive (ca. 44 B.C.), and has a replica which was produced at the end of 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>10</sup> Sağlan 2012, 107–111 cat. 16 pl. 21, with bibliography.

In consideration of its similarities with the General from Tivoli and Cicero portraits, the Smyrna portrait can be dated to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.

The portrait was not discovered during a scientific archaeological excavation, but accidentally during construction work, a fact which unfortunately deprives us of the chance to discover any connection to the sculptor or any inscription-bearing pedestal.

The portrait characterizes a lively, authoritarian, self-confident, stubborn and strong personality. All these traits, and the fact that it is oversized, suggest that the portrait owner might have been a prominent regional administrator, or a wealthy Smyrnian who made important contributions to the city of Smyrna.

## PORTRAIT FROM LAGINA (FIGS. 5–8)

Muğla, Archaeological Museum, inv. 3197. Discovered to the east of the northern stoa during excavations of 2009 in the Lagina Sacred Site Excavation<sup>11</sup>. Height: 33 cm. Width: 19 cm. Depth: 23.5 cm. From top of head to chin: 27.5 cm. White, fine-grained marble. The head was meant to be inserted into the body of a statue.

The head is separated at the point where the neck meets the body. The upper part of the nose is broken and missing, starting slightly under the nasal root, in a way which exposes the nostrils. The upper lip, the right edge of the mouth, the chin, right eyebrow, and the right cheekbone are damaged. In addition to these, there are smaller eroded and missing areas in various parts of the face and the head. Damage is more concentrated on the right side of the face. The edges of the ears are worn off. There is a crack at the nape starting from the right side, going through the top of the head, and ending at the left side of the face. Making a fork at the upper rear part of the head, the crack continues in the other direction from the nape to the top of the right ear. At the lower part of the neck, where the head meets the body, one piece is broken and missing to expose the mortise hole of 4.5 cm depth.

Slightly oversized, the head (the *Einsatzkopf*) was meant to be mounted on a sculpted, draped figure. To the left of the neck, the curved edge at the point where the head meets the body preserves a very small part of the dress fabric.

With its emphasized personal characteristics, the portrait belongs to a very old male (fig. 5). The hair was not plastically engraved, and is shown with contours surrounding the face and the forehead, ending at the nape right above the earlobe. Kept short at the nape and above the ears, and exposing the ears, the hair recedes at the temples as one can tell from the contour lines. One can see tool marks on the hair texture which is left without details, only the surface having been smoothed. The nape is bulgy, while the top is pointed (figs. 7. 8). Judging from the fact the rear part is also engraved, one can tell that the sculpture was meant to be viewed from all directions.

While there are horizontal wrinkle lines on the forehead, there are also two vertical wrinkle lines between the eyebrows which give the face a solemn expression (fig. 5). Below the significantly high forehead and the protruding eyebrows, the eyes in their deep eye-sockets are in shadow. There is asymmetry between right and left eye. The right eye is placed deeper compared to the left eye, and the distance between the nasal root and the inner corner of the eye is wider and deeper. The eyelids are heavy. The upper lid of the right eye hangs down more compared to left eye. Accordingly, the right eye is more squinted compared to the left eye. The distance between the eyebrows and the upper eyelid is wide. Under-eye bags are engraved under the hanging lower eyelids. The cheeks, which are carved with a deep wrinkle line starting immediately below the very distinct cheekbone and continuing below the chin, are thin and sunken. Small ears are carved as being close to the head.

Deep naso-labial lines run toward the sides of the mouth starting from the relatively preserved nasal wings of the broken nose. The asymmetry in the positioning of the eyes is also present in the

<sup>11</sup> Tirpan – Gider 2010, 377.



rendering of the deep wrinkle line going from the inner corner of the right eye toward the cheek and downward from the side of the mouth. The same line starts on the left side of the face from below the cheekbone. The thin lips of the tightly-closed mouth form an almost horizontal line. The contour of the thin lips is not emphasized, and this, with the deeply rendered wrinkles, puts more emphasis on old age. The transition from the lower lip to the chin is made with a deep curve. The chin slightly protrudes towards the front.

The head is slightly turned to the right. This movement is emphasized, on the right side of the neck, with a horizontal wrinkle line running toward the nape. Two vertical fork-shaped skin wrinkles, which are thick and hanging, start from under the chin, and droop down from both sides of the Adam's apple.

One sees that signs of old age are shown with emphasis in all details of the Lagina portrait. With the horizontal and vertical wrinkles on the dry and delicate face, the loose and flabby skin, heavy eyelids, thin lips of a tightly-closed mouth, and thinned hair, the Lagina portrait represents a very old man, produced in a manner that could be described as veristic. Next to its physical hardness, it also conveys a stern, solemn and authoritarian expression as a character trait. The vague contours of the thin lips emphasize this effect of old age and solemnity. All these elements bring to mind the typical Roman Republican portrait.

In the Lagina portrait, the asymmetry seen in certain parts of the face, which is due to the slight rightward turning of the head, must be connected with the Hellenistic understanding of art<sup>12</sup>. Yet, after an overall evaluation, one must note that the Lagina portrait has a still and dull facial expression other than this slight turning movement of the neck.

The short-cropped hair is depicted by just pointing out its contours with a chisel, clinging to the head like a helmet, thus emphasizing the unusual structure of the skull. In and around Rome, many portraits were found which have a similar hair style<sup>13</sup>.

The Lagina portrait is different from the portraits in central Rome in that details of hair are omitted except for the short-cropped hair pressed to the head, emphasizing only the contours. This is not to be attributed to the common practice of carefully rendering visible sections while leaving unseen sections unfinished, because the visible sections are also shaped in the same manner. Behind the head, the fat wrinkle between the skull and the nape is also indicated. The back of the neck has also been carefully worked. Apparently, during the shaping of the portrait, the artist may have left the hair as a massive block in order to emphasize the form of the head, deliberately avoiding details such as strands and locks of hair<sup>14</sup>. That the hair texture is left as a massive block sitting on the head suggests at first that there may be an *albogalerus* (*apex*) shaped leather cap on the head, which is characteristic of priests. But the hair line falling on the temples, especially in the part above the forehead, does not support this view (fig. 5).

This manner of shaping the hair resembles a portrait in the National Museum of Rome<sup>15</sup>, which was discovered in Palestrina and dated to ca. 40 B.C., and another portrait exhibited at the Louvre Museum<sup>16</sup>. The hair kept short at the nape, and also the curved part in the transition to the nape, find parallels in the Louvre portrait. Furthermore, among the portraits on tombstones found in and around Rome, there are close parallels in the way the hair texture is superficially shaped<sup>17</sup>. These are solemn and stern portraits devoid of pathetic expression.

<sup>12</sup> The sculptor using asymmetry to force the audience to view the work from a certain angle was a very common practice during the Hellenistic period. For detailed information, see Radt 1991, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Zanker 1983, 256 n. 26.

<sup>14</sup> For detailed research on the attitude of Greek sculptors toward their Roman customers, see Smith 1981, 24–38.

<sup>15</sup> National Museum of Rome, inv. 124471: Giuliano 1985, 93–95 cat. R60 (with figures).

<sup>16</sup> Louvre Museum, inv. Ma3453: Kersauson 1986, 34–35 cat. 12.

<sup>17</sup> Kockel 1993, A8 (pl. 7); A10 (pl. 6); B5 (pl. 12); F1 (pl. 31 a); I1 (pl. 62). Said tombstones are dated to between 50–30 B.C. For more about these tombstones, see Zanker 1976, 592–596.

Among those in Anatolia, two portraits in particular resemble the engraving of hair in the Lagina portrait. One of these is the portrait of an elderly man found in Ephesos<sup>18</sup>, while the other is a portrait currently exhibited in Düzce Konuralp Museum (fig. 9)<sup>19</sup>. In both portraits, the hair is shown by emphasizing the contours of the mass covering the skull. Although stylistically different, the Antakya portrait<sup>20</sup> can also be included in this group because of the presence of the curve at the nape, and since the hair is engraved in a stylized manner.

Certain fundamental elements in the Lagina portrait, such as the determined, stern and solemn expression, given by the way the face is rendered, by the lips tightly pressing on one another, the strained lines, and the bony and sunken delicate facial structure, are characteristics seen in Caesar's Turin-type portraits<sup>21</sup>. Among Republican portraits from Anatolia, the closest stylistically to the Lagina portrait is the portrait found at Aizanoi<sup>22</sup>, whose facial wrinkles are imprecisely rendered as incised lines only, and in its dull expression. This kind of depiction is common as the ›face of the period‹ in portraits produced in the late years of the Roman Republic<sup>23</sup>.

The statue was discovered during the 2009 excavations east of the North Stoa at the sacred site of Lagina located in Caria<sup>24</sup>. Dating back to the Geometric period, the Lagina sacred site to Hecate became popular especially in the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods as a famous cult centre.

According to textual evidence, there was a city named Koranza about 1 km north-west of the Hecate sacred site in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. At that time, Lagina was one of the demoi of Koranza<sup>25</sup>. In the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., after the zoning and expansion of the ancient city of Stratonikeia by Antiochus I, many small settlements in the vicinity were made demoi of Stratonikeia. Like Koranza, Lagina was one of them<sup>26</sup>. Despite this administrative change, Lagina always maintained its prominence. The fact that the sacred site of Hecate was given the status of a demos demonstrates the importance of this religious centre.

Various historical documents suggest that Stratonikeia enjoyed good relations with Rome throughout its history. Especially because of taking Rome's side against the King Mithridates of Pontus, Stratonikeia was rewarded by Rome, and had vast lands in the first half of 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. Having joined forces with the Parthians in 40 B.C., the Roman general Labienus attacked but failed to seize Stratonikeia in the context of his fight against the Romans. At this time he pillaged the Lagina Hecate Temple<sup>27</sup>. Augustus made a large donation in 27 B.C. for repairing the temple which was left in ruins after the pillage. The inscription recording this donation is still to be found at the temenos' propylon<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Ephesos Museum, inv. 1289: İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 120–121 no. 135 pl. 79, 1. 2; Sağlan 2012, 151–154 cat. 22 pls. 30–31.

<sup>19</sup> Sağlan 2012, 58–59 cat. 2 pl. 2.

<sup>20</sup> Antakya, Archaeological Museum, inv. 9002: Poulsen 1938, 355–361; Giuliano 1959, 150. 153; Buschor 1971, no. 198; Hafner 1973, 25–26 pl. 8, R23; Meischner 2003, 326 no. 27 pl. 31, figs. 1–4; Sağlan 2012, 219–222 cat. 37 pl. 53.

<sup>21</sup> Tusculum, Turin, Museo di Antichità, inv. 2098: Borda 1943, 20 cat. 11 pls. 21–24; Toynbee 1957, pl. 2 a. b; Johansen 1987, 27 fig. 15 a. b; Hoffer 1988, 305 no. 141; Stročka 2004, 54 figs. 14–15; Andrae 2006, 151 fig. 106; Junker 2007, 78 fig. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Kütahya, Archaeological Museum, inv. E 84 18: Mosch 1993, 509–546; Sağlan 2012, 94–99 cat. 11 pls. 13–14.

<sup>23</sup> These facial expressions of Caesar also influenced other portraits as *Zeitgesicht* (›the face of the period‹), and defined the depiction fashion of the period. In particular, the solemn, serious expression on the face is the common characteristic of the portraits from this same period. This manner of expression continued from the late Republican period to almost the late Augustan period. For this, see Zanker 1981, 356. Also see Zanker 1982, 307–312.

<sup>24</sup> Tırpan – Gider 2010, 377–379.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen 1995, 273.

<sup>26</sup> Bremen 2004, 222–223.

<sup>27</sup> Junghölter 1989, 131–135.

<sup>28</sup> Rumscheid 1994, 23.

A large entrance called the ›Koranza Gate‹ was discovered in the North Stoa<sup>29</sup>. Opening onto the rear wall of the stoa, this gate connected the ancient city of Koranza and the sacred site. The portrait was also found at this location. Excavations in the North Stoa have revealed that architectural remains of monumental sculpture pedestals, and inscribed and uninscribed architectural blocks belonging to these pedestals were concentrated near the Koranza Gate. Around the Gate, sculpture fragments and pedestals from the Hellenistic and early Roman periods were also found. Clearly, sculpture pedestals from the late Hellenistic and Roman Republican period were reused in the North Stoa, which is known to have been built in the Augustan period. Therefore, obviously, the portrait was moved from its pedestal where it was originally displayed.

Based on this historical and archaeological data, the year 40 B.C., in which the sacred site of Lagina was pillaged by Labienus, is an important reference point for the Lagina portrait. For, as mentioned above, rebuilding activities in the city could start only after Augustus's donation of 27 B.C. Stylistically speaking, the portrait seems unlikely to have been produced in the Augustan period as it does not show traces of Augustan Classicism. Thus, it must have been produced prior to Labienus's destruction of 40 B.C.

Since the Lagina portrait shows numerous similarities with portraits dated to 50–40 B.C., this date range can be suggested as the production date of the Lagina portrait.

Unfortunately, it is not possible based on the available evidence to identify the person portrayed. The fact that it was found at the sacred site of Lagina, however, increases the chances that it was the portrait of a priest.

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<sup>29</sup> Tirpan – Gider 2010, 377–379 fig. 7.

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1 Portrait from Smyrna, front view. Izmir Museum, inv. 15611



2 Back of the portrait from Smyrna

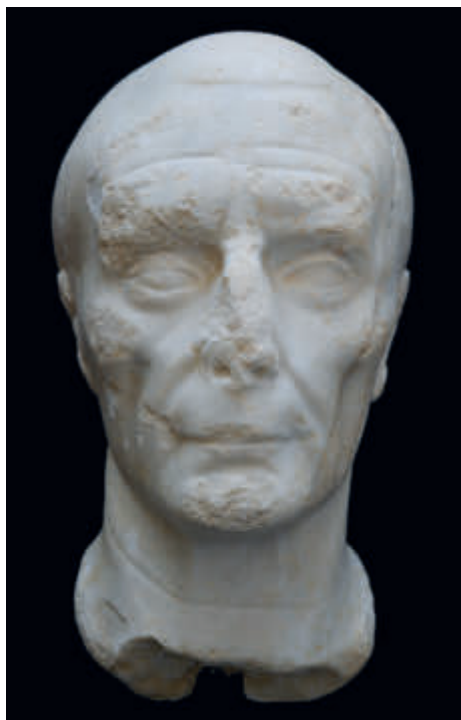


3 Profile view of the portrait from Smyrna



4 Profile view of the portrait from Smyrna





5 Portrait from Lagina, front view. Muğla Museum, inv. 3197



6 Back of the portrait from Lagina



9 Portrait from Prousius ad Hypium (Düzce), front view. Düzce Konuralp Museum



7 Profile view of the portrait from Lagina



8 Profile view of the portrait from Lagina



BARIŞ YENER – EMİN YENER

## A PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF AUGUSTUS FROM ALABANDA IN CARIA

### ABSTRACT

Alabanda, which is one of the most important cities of Caria, is located in Aydın Province, Çine District, at the village of Doğanyurt. In 2003, as a result of the excavations conducted in the orchestra and stage building of the city's theatre, the torso of the portrait sculpture that is the subject of this article was discovered in the western half of the stage building. The following year, the head of the sculpture and its support in the form of a cuirass were brought to light in the same area and all the pieces were restored. The youthfully portrayed emperor reflects the artistic ideology and propaganda of this era. The style of the portrait perfectly fits the Prima Porta Type of Augustus portraits with the arrangement of the locks on the forehead. The nudity of the emperor, with his strong and muscular physique, heroized him by means of a noticeably classicistic influence within an uncommon model after his death.

### ÖZET

#### Alabanda'dan (Karia) Augustus'un Bir Portre Heykeli

Alabanda, Gökbel Dağının kuzeyindeki tepelerin eteklerinde, Marsyas (Çine) çayının batısında kurulmuş önemli bir Karia kentidir. 2003–2004 yıllarında kent tiyatrosunun orkestra ve sahne binasında yapılan kazılarda Augustus'a ait bir portre yontu ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Yontunun saç düzenlemesinde, alın saçının sağ göz hizasında yaratılan çatal motifi, bu motifin solundaki daha hacimli perçemin sola kıvrılarak alna yerleştirilmesi eserin İmparatorun Prima Porta tipinde yapılmış bir portresi olduğunu göstermektedir. Yaptığımız stilistik ve ikonografik değerlendirmeler sonucunda yontunun imparatorun ölümünün ardından Erken Tiberius döneminde, kökleri Geç Klasik Döneme uzanan bir şema dahilinde üretilmiş bir kopyası olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Alabanda is an important Carian city located within the Province of Aydın, 7 km west of the town of Çine, at the foot of the northern hills of the Gökbel Mountain, to the west of the River Marsyas (Çine)<sup>1</sup>. Even though it is suggested that the earliest settlement in this location dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. and was in fact »Waliwanda«, cited in the Hittite texts<sup>2</sup>, the earliest reference to the name Alabanda is in Herodotus where he mentioned Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabanda in 480 B.C.<sup>3</sup>. Following the Treaty of Apameia (188 B.C.) Alabanda lived under the rulership of Rhodes and in 170 B.C. it gained the rights of asylum after sending ambassadors to Rome<sup>4</sup>. Just like all the other cities in the Province of Asia, Alabanda was also drawn into an economic decline in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. due to poor administration policies, and was punished by Q. Labienus in 40 B.C. as a result of its rebellion against the garrison that Labienus himself had left in the city<sup>5</sup>. Together with the period of peace and prosperity that began during the reign of Augustus, developments in Alabanda gained speed and it was awarded the status of *conventus* under imperial Rome<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay 1890, 49; Ethem Bey 1905, 443–459; Tırpan 1989, 171–190; Bean 2000, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Garstang – Gurney 1959, 78–79.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 7, 195 (transl. M. Ökmen, Istanbul 1991).

<sup>4</sup> Bean 2000, 190.

<sup>5</sup> Cass. Dio 48 (transl. C. Earnest, New York 1879).

<sup>6</sup> Plin. nat. 5, 109 (ed. C. Kofoid, Leicester 1847–1848).

After the first excavations of 1905–1906 carried out by Halil Ethem Bey<sup>7</sup>, no further investigation was conducted at the site until 1999. In 1999 the Directorate of the Aydın Museum restarted the excavations at the Temple of Apollo where Ethem Bey had worked before, and also initiated research at the theater building<sup>8</sup>. The theatre seems to have been constructed in the Hellenistic period and continued to be used in the Roman period after certain changes<sup>9</sup>. During research conducted between the years 1999–2001 and 2004–2008, the *ima cavea* was uncovered, though only with a small number of marble seats, while only the rubble was preserved in the *media* and *summa cavea*<sup>10</sup>. In 2003, during the excavations conducted in the orchestra and stage building, the torso<sup>11</sup> that belongs to the portrait sculpture which is the subject of this article was discovered in the western half of the stage building. The following year, the head of the sculpture and the support in the form of a cuirass were brought to light in the same area and all the pieces were restored (figs. 1–3)<sup>12</sup>.

The preserved height of the statue of a male figure depicted in a standing position is 1.24 m and the height of the head is 0.36 m. The whole composition of the sculpture, including the supporting cuirass, is cut out of a single piece of medium grained white marble. The head of the sculpture that was broken at the neck and the supporting armour together with the lower part of the thigh were put back together and restored. There is partial calcification and abrasion on the head, and fractures on the chin and nose. The areas below the right and left biceps, below the right knee, the entire left leg from the hip and groin, the lower skirt part of the supporting armour and the lower part of the chlamys from the waist down are all broken and missing. There are small fractures on the preserved part of the chlamys folds.

The strands of hair of the life-size sculpture that represents a young male overlie one another in the shape of wide hooks, and while the locks fall rather flatly on the back and on the sides of the head, they have more volume on the forehead, creating a pincer and fork shape above the inner corner of the left eye and the end of the right eyebrow. The locks behind both ears are turned towards the face and the sideburns have a slight upward curve. The eyes are pronounced with the full eyelids and their asymmetrical placement beneath the sharp ridged eyebrow bones. As far as can be seen from the preserved parts, the thin and long nose is connected to the eyebrow bone with a sharp transition. The oval face ends with a slightly protruding oval tipped chin beneath the thin lips. The frowning eyebrows on the wide forehead create two small and deep furrows on the root of the nose. Also the shallow nasolabial folds are represented on the face. The twist of the head towards the body's proper left is also shown in the neck muscles. With all these facial features, the male figure's head carries a serious, authoritarian, and strong expression.

The left twist of the head, which is carried to the whole body through the neck muscles, is neutralized by slightly bending the body to the right and slightly lifting the left shoulder in comparison to the right one. The abdominal muscles on the right side have more volume than those on left side due to the bend, thus carrying this position into the muscles. The chlamys that covers the left shoulder falls down the back and probably partially covered the left arm, which is broken from below the biceps, and hung down towards the leg. As far as can be seen from the traces preserved on the left side of the waist, the arm that is wrapped in the chlamys is slightly turned towards the body with the left hand resting on the waist. The material of the chlamys seems light with deep

<sup>7</sup> Throughout the two excavation seasons conducted by Halil Ethem Bey, information was gathered on the surviving buildings of the city, and excavation of the Temple of Apollo Isotimos and the Doric Temple began. For this work see Ethem Bey 1905, 443–459.

<sup>8</sup> Yener 2000, 5–16.

<sup>9</sup> De Bernardi Ferrero 1969, 207–218 figs. 290–306 pls. 32–33 (end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.); Bean 2000, 195; Yener 2001, 7; Sear 2006, 326 fig. 317 (Augustan period).

<sup>10</sup> Yener 2005, 109–110; Yener 2006, 172–173.

<sup>11</sup> Yener 2005, 109–110.

<sup>12</sup> Besides the portrait sculpture that was found in three pieces in the scene building of the theater, many other marble pieces belonging to other sculptures were also uncovered. The large amount of lime piles found during the excavations points to the possibility that this area was used as a lime kiln at a certain period after it lost its function as a theatre. However, the sculpture discussed here has no deformation due to this different function of the area.

folds. The emperor's armour is placed at the right beneath buttocks which are more pronounced on the side of the stationary right leg. This supporting element was carved together with the main figure, starting from the upper part of the right thigh. It can be deduced that the left leg, which is broken and missing from the groin downwards, was slightly open to the side. While the back of the head, back and buttocks are carved in detail, the back of the armour has a rough finish. With all these features described above, the body has a rather young, strong and idealized appearance.

The portrait features of the sculpture such as the separation of the hair on the wide and prominent forehead, the sharp eyebrow bones, the deep and large eyes that look slightly upwards and the small mouth with diagonal shadows on the sides indicate that this figure represented an important person from the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Due to the long period of success of this dynasty and because of the physical similarities of its members, it can often be difficult to identify local productions made under the central portraiture system. However, the hair arrangement, which is apparently very meticulously copied on the Alabanda sculpture, the pincer shape created by the hair that falls onto the forehead on the level of the right eye, and the positioning of a thicker fringe on the left of this motif towards the left on the forehead, indicate without doubt that this statue is in fact a portrayal of Augustus of the Prima Porta type.

Within the centralized portraiture system, the most frequently used model for the emperor, and the one used for the longest period of time, was the Prima Porta type<sup>13</sup>. It is also the most important example of the classicising style that started during the Augustan period. This type, started to be used in the 20's B.C., was produced in all the provinces of the empire with certain differences depending on local activities. Therefore, it would be useful to examine the local differences of the Alabanda example with regard to the main model.

When compared to the main model<sup>14</sup>, the perfectly placed pincer motif in alignment with the right eye/nose and the fringes that fall on the left side of the forehead, and above, the shape of the strands that overlap the pincer motif and the curved sideburns rendered as thick strands of hair all show that the hair design of the Alabanda Augustus was copied flawlessly from the main model. When the facial details are studied, it can be seen that the young and idealized features are tight and smooth as a reflection of the classicistic tradition as on the Prima Porta statue. On the other hand, contrary to the main model, the eyes are placed more frontally and asymmetrically and the lips are rendered in a thinner form. Maybe its most distinctive difference from the Prima Porta original is the rendering of the ears, which are totally joined to the skull, instead of the more familiar protruding ears. And viewing the sculpture in general, it can be said that while the Prima Porta is portrayed as an adult in his mid-thirties, the Alabanda Augustus has a younger appearance. Besides the local activities that affected the rendering of the model produced by a centralized system even in the farthest provinces of the empire for almost 40 years, the sculptors' independent movements according to the fashion of the time gave their work a particular touch of their own resulting in prominent stylistic differences. Therefore, since this sculpture is not a context find, the dating method used for the Alabanda Augustus is limited to stylistic comparison supported by detailed analogical analyses of the whole portrait.

With regard to the known portrait repertoire of the emperor, the application of the hair, with the thick and chunky strands separating on the forehead in a raised manner, which is the identifying feature of the Prima Porta type, is similar to those seen in Centuripe<sup>15</sup>, Merida<sup>16</sup> and Como<sup>17</sup> in the west of the empire and Pergamon<sup>18</sup>, Samos<sup>19</sup>, and Thessaloniki<sup>20</sup> in the east. Both the Centuripe

<sup>13</sup> Hausmann 1981, 513–598; Vierneisel – Zanker 1979, 64–76; Boschung 1993, 38–50.

<sup>14</sup> Boschung 1993, 179–180 no. 171 pls. 1, 5; 69; 70; 82, 1; 148, 1; 213.

<sup>15</sup> Hausmann 1981, 574; Boschung 1993, 188 no. 195 pls. 72; 148, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Vierneisel – Zanker 1979, 53 fig. 5.6; Boschung 1993, 163 no. 130 pls. 74; 165, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Denti 1991, 203 fig. 182; Boschung 1993, 148 no. 88 pl. 103.

<sup>18</sup> Vierneisel – Zanker 1979, 73 fig. 6.8; Boschung 1993, 155 no. 107 pls. 75; 76, 1; 173, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Zanker 1987, 297 fig. 233; Boschung 1993, 173–174 no. 157 pls. 76, 2, 3; 173, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Boschung 1993, 189 no. 197 pls. 117; 173, 3; 217, 1.



and the Merida heads, which seem to be loyal copies of Prima Porta in respect to both the hair style and the facial features, are dated to the Augustan period<sup>21</sup>. Even though the hair arrangement on the forehead shows the same characteristics, the workmanship of the lively strands of hair on these portraits and the facial features that follow the main model show a rather different and earlier style of the Alabanda Augustus. The hair design on the Como portrait, which is considered to be a copy of the Tiberian period, is an exact follower of the Prima Porta type. This portrait has a perfect hair application with the central strands deepening inwards from either side, like on the Alabanda example. The head of the Pergamon Augustus, which is close to Prima Porta regarding both the hair design and the facial features just as the Centuripe and Merida portraits, has a sharp left twist and the mouth is slightly open, thus showing different characteristics that carry Hellenistic traces<sup>22</sup>. D. Boschung proposes that the Pergamon head with its twist to the left, a feature that is also seen on the Alabanda Augustus, actually belongs to a heroic sculpture in Diomedes type<sup>23</sup>. However, while there are close similarities in the hair arrangement on the forehead and the left turn of the head, the strands of hair are rendered more softly and with greater volume in comparison to the Alabanda example. Similar to the Pergamon Augustus, the Samos portrait too seems to be a loyal follower of the Roman centralized tradition in the east; this portrait also displays the central hair strands deepening inwards from either side, a feature seen on the Como and Alabanda examples. However, the hair strands of the Samos portrait, which have sharp curls, are flatter and stiffer. The Thessaloniki portrait, which represents a heroic Augustus together with its body, seems to have facial features which are different from those of the main model; nevertheless, the hair on the forehead rises from the surface. In contrast to the Alabanda portrait, the thick locks of hair have more pointed tips.

The main common feature shared by the portraits included in the above analogical analysis is the perfect rendering of the hair arrangement on the forehead. This feature can also be seen on the Alabanda portrait, with the direction of the thick and chunky strands of hair, their positioning on the forehead, and the schematic hair on the back of the head which becomes more detailed towards the front, all pointing to a flawless style that originates with the main model and is not attested after the Tiberian period.

In the creation of the general hair style, especially on the temples and back of the head, a schematic detail was added with two deep grooves imparting a certain amount of volume to the surface of the long triangular hair strands which are separated from one another with thick relief lines. This design that dominated the majority of the head brings the Alabanda portrait closer to the Herculaneum<sup>24</sup>, Boston MA 06.1873<sup>25</sup> and Tarento<sup>26</sup> portraits of Augustus. On the Herculaneum example, which is a bronze portrait of the emperor of the Alcudia type, this design created with thin leaf-like strands of hair, may provide an explanation for the metallic effect of the Alabanda Augustus. Also the pointed tipped strands of hair that fall down from the back of the head towards the back of the neck, is another feature that can be followed on the Herculaneum portrait and is not seen on any of the marble examples. On the Forbes type Boston portrait, the shape of the hair strands appears as curvy tipped long triangles with only their outlines defined, whereas the Prima Porta type Tarento portrait has hair strands which become more defined on the sides and the top of the head. The gradual detailed rendering of the strands on the temples by using more grooves shows a similarity to the Tarento portrait. However, it can be seen that the lively strands on the sides of the head lose their volume and become plainer on the Tarento portrait.

<sup>21</sup> The general view regarding the dating of the Centuripe portrait is that it should be placed in the Augustan period, however U. Hausmann dates the Merida head to the Claudian period (see Hausmann 1981, 574), while D. Boschung places it in the early phase of the middle Augustan period (see Boschung 1993, 188).

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed discussion on the Hellenistic traces on the portrait, see Erkoç 2013, 227–229.

<sup>23</sup> Boschung 1993, 6 n. 60; 155.

<sup>24</sup> Zanker 1973, 32 no. 20 pl. 27; Boschung 1993, 114 no. 14 pls. 33, 228, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Hausmann 1981, 551 no. 8; 561 pl. 12, fig. 23; Boschung 1993, 124 no. 34 pl. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Deonna 1923, 89 no. 124; Boschung 1993, 153 no. 102 pl. 94.

The gradual thickening towards the front on the Alabanda portrait continues on the forehead and as a result the hair has a general stringy look from the front. The closest example of this rendering, which creates a distinct stylistic difference, is seen on a portrait of Augustus found in Rhodes<sup>27</sup>. The Prima Porta type Rhodes Augustus, on which the central strand of hair is longer carries, shows a similar style to the Alabanda sculpture with respect to the rendering of hair and the facial features. This portrait has been dated to the late Augustan period by comparison to a Gaius Caesar portrait found in Gortyn<sup>28</sup>. The long triangular schematic hair strands on either side of the Gaius Caesar head also gain volume towards the front, and the strand surfaces are grooved with thick lines, thus lending it the same stringy effect seen on the Rhodes and Alabanda portraits. A portrait of Tiberius<sup>29</sup> found together with the Gortyn head, dated to the early Tiberian period, also displays the same hair style characteristics.

It is noteworthy that within the analogical group created according to the general hair style of the Alabanda portrait, the Forbes type Boston portrait, the Prima Porta type Tarento and Rhodes portraits all show younger facial features than the Prima Porta, just like the Alabanda Augustus. D. Boschung suggests that the portraits of the adopted princes Gaius and Lucius Caesar, related to the Prima Porta type and produced after their adoption by the emperor, may have iconographically influenced the later Augustus portraits<sup>30</sup>. This hypothesis regarding the princely portraits that were amply produced in the imperial provinces until the death of Augustus in A.D. 14, does not seem to be farfetched when it is noted that the Augustus portraits produced after his reign were influenced by the portrait models of his successors<sup>31</sup>. In addition, even though the style used to create the hair and especially the gradual transition to more angled strands of hair suggest copies of the Tiberian period, when the facial features are studied, it can be seen that the portrait has not yet been influenced by those of the new emperor, thus bringing the Alabanda portrait into the early phase of the Tiberian period.

In the general composition of the Alabanda Augustus sculpture, the weight on the right leg, the slight bend of the body to the right and the soft elevation of the left shoulder in comparison to the right one, the left twist of the head and the placement of the chlamys on the left shoulder all point to Kresilas' sculpture of Diomedes from the high classical period. However, when the Alabanda portrait is compared to the Cumae Diomedes<sup>32</sup> – the best preserved example among the few copies of this sculpture – the dynamic posture of the body, the slight rise and left twist of the head, the fall of the chlamys over the left shoulder and most importantly the resting of the left hand on the body at the level of the waist/hip are noted as different features to those seen on the Diomedes in question.

Following this iconography, one may cite an altar decorated with a representation of Praxiteles' Dodektheon<sup>33</sup> of the Temple of Artemis in Megara<sup>34</sup>. The figure of Ares depicted on a round shaped altar found in the Sanctuary of Attis in Ostia, shows a similar scheme to that of the Alabanda Augustus, in its posture, the left turn of the head, the chlamys that falls from the left shoulder and twists around the left arm, and the left hand resting on the waist. The Ostia figure, however, lacks the armour support on the side of the weight-bearing right leg. Of course, apart from the Ares of Praxiteles that has been proposed as the closest example to the posture of the Alabanda Augustus, it is possible to suggest other forerunners with many variations such as the

<sup>27</sup> Daux 1967, 768 fig. 2; Boschung 1993, 174 no. 159 pl. 101, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Pollini 1987, 53–55. 99 no. 13 pl. 15.

<sup>29</sup> Hertel 2013, 136 no. 3 pl. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Boschung 1993, 71.

<sup>31</sup> R. R. R. Smith expresses this influence, seen on a few examples, with the words »infecting« or »intruding« which we think are very appropriate (see Smith 1996, 40).

<sup>32</sup> Maderna 1988, 56 pls. 18, 1; 19, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Paus. 1, 40, 2. 3 (transl. W. H. S. Jones, New York 1918).

<sup>34</sup> Corso 2007, 198 fig. 112.

Hermes Andros-Farnese sculpture<sup>35</sup>. However, based on the known examples, the reappearance of this scheme as a prominent model, seen also on the Alabanda Augustus, did not occur until the late Republican period. On a Roman sculpture<sup>36</sup> found in Formia, dated to the late Republic, the idealized body supports a realistic head that is turned to the left, the chlamys falls over the left shoulder and twists around the left arm, the left hand rests on the body at the level of the hip and the right hand rises to the level of the abdomen and probably held a lance. The only difference between this sculpture and the Alabanda Augustus is that near the supporting armour next to the right leg, there is a supporting log. On this model – which can also be found on a tomb stele<sup>37</sup> found on the Via Appia while the heroic figure, in keeping with the iconography on the stele, has supporting armour on the side of his stable right foot, there is no movement in the head in contrast to the Alabanda Augustus. Among the freestanding sculptures, apart from the Formia example, a portrait of Octavian<sup>38</sup> found in Tusculum is also one of the closest examples to the Alabanda Augustus. The Octavian portrait follows the Formia sculpture with the head turned to the left, the chlamys placed on the left shoulder twisting around the left arm, the left hand resting on the body on the level of the hips and the idealized body. It also has supporting armour on the side of the stable right leg like the Alabanda Augustus, and also carries a sword in his left hand that is raised to the level of the groin.

This form that started to be used in Rome in the late Republican period can also be found in Magnesia on the Meander (Magnesia ad Maeandrum) in Asia Minor<sup>39</sup>. A sculpture from here is larger than life-size and is missing the upper part of its body from the abdomen; its left hand rests on the body at the level of the hips and the chlamys twists around the left arm, hanging down to the level of the knees. It is noteworthy that the supporting armour on the side of the stable right leg carries Hellenistic characteristics like the Via Appia and Octavian examples, and it has a gorgoneion in the centre. Even though the skirt part of the Alabanda Augustus is missing, the shape of the armour is in keeping with the Group 1 Hellenistic leather armour, which includes the shoulder straps and tassels according to D. E. E. Kleiner's and F. Kleiner's classification. Although the authors note that the armour included in this group is often decorated with a gorgoneion, it is indeed possible that this image was not depicted on the Alabanda Augustus due to the position of the armour behind the leg<sup>40</sup>. Furthermore, the shoulder straps that link the back and front part of the armour are tied with strings to buttons facing one another, there are thin strips that hang over the arm, and the thick belt is tightened beneath the chest and tied in the front, all of which prove that this is a *linothorax*<sup>41</sup>, also worn by Alexander the Great during the Battle of Issos<sup>42</sup>. The missing *pteryges* part of the armour must have also been in the same shape as the strips hanging over the arm.

Another element that attracts attention on the armour is the long end of the belt: this is tightened beneath the chest, tied at the front and is slipped beneath the belt itself. It then is turned on the abdomen and left to hang from beneath the belt. The most distinctive examples of this practice, reflecting Hellenistic iconography, can be seen on the armour worn by Greek soldiers on the friezes of the Temple of Artemis in Magnesia<sup>43</sup>, on the Ares of Halicarnassus in the Louvre Museum<sup>44</sup>, and on the Delos Mithridates sculpture<sup>45</sup>. Therefore, it is significant that the Via Appia, Tusculum,

<sup>35</sup> Ridgway 1972, 45–48 n. 16.

<sup>36</sup> Conticello 1978, 1 pl. 1; Himmelmann 1989, 118–120 fig. 48; Hallett 2005, 109–110 pl. 56.

<sup>37</sup> Kleiner – Kleiner 1975, 250–265 figs. 1–2 (Augustan period); Hallett 2005, 112 pl. 61 (Late Republic).

<sup>38</sup> Kleiner – Kleiner 1975, 253–254 fig. 3 (Sextus Pompeius); Hallett 2005, 98 pl. 48 (Octavian).

<sup>39</sup> Mendel 1914, 335–336 no. 601.

<sup>40</sup> Kleiner – Kleiner 1975, 261–262.

<sup>41</sup> Cadario 2004, 30–31.

<sup>42</sup> For the depiction on the Alexander Mosaic, see Vienneis – Zanker 1979, 77 fig.1; Cadario 2004, pl. 3, 1; Laube 2006, 178 pl. 72, 4.

<sup>43</sup> Davesne 1982, 106–107 plaque no. 29 figs. 80–82.

<sup>44</sup> Vermeule 1980, 42 fig. 4.

<sup>45</sup> Marcadé 1969, A 4173 pl. 85; Vermeule 1980, 45 fig. 7; Laube 2006, 82 pl. 34, 1. 2.

Magnesia, and lastly the Alabanda Augustus sculptures all preserve Hellenistic features on their armour. This depiction of armour that seems to have been an unchanging element of the model was also used on the portraits of Vespasian and Titus in Misenum that flawlessly reflected this same scheme with the gorgoneion depiction<sup>46</sup>.

While Kleiner and Kleiner do not suggest a date for the main prototype, the authors date the ›Heroic warrior‹ model with the Hellenistic cuirass next to the stable right leg to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>47</sup>. F. Carinci proposes the idea that this model may have been produced from the Ares of Praxiteles during the late Hellenistic period as an east Greek creation, and that the cuirass model came into usage in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>48</sup>. N. Himmelmann agrees with Carinci's opinion and, starting from the Delos examples, he suggests that the main model was of eastern origin and that it entered Italy in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>49</sup>. Consequently, the dominant theory on this scheme is that from a late Classical prototype of eastern origin a new model was produced in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. in Italy.

When we evaluate the Alabanda sculpture based on this theory, the first issue that stands out is that the Hellenistic armour next to the stable right leg is iconographically incompatible with the dynamic scheme of the main figure. This dynamic stance of Augustus can be followed on the Formia sculpture, which is the closest version of the main model depicted without armour, and also on Alexander the Great at Palazzo del Quirinale<sup>50</sup> and on a sculpture (Machaon [?]) from the North Nymphaeum at Perge<sup>51</sup>. Therefore, the Alabanda Augustus supports the theory that the armour-shaped support, earliest examples of which can be seen on the ›General portrait from Tivoli<sup>52</sup> or the Cavenzano Navarch sculpture<sup>53</sup>, both dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., was actually added to this model in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. In this respect, according to the parallels suggested above, the hair style on the forehead that was flawlessly copied from the main model. The facial features were obviously influenced by the princely portraits from the late Augustan period. Furthermore, based on the difference in technique of the hairstyle, which is more similar to that of the Tiberian period, and the fact that it does not seem to be influenced by the portraits of the new emperor, it can be concluded that the Alabanda Augustus is a new example of the ›Heroic Warrior‹ model that should be dated to the early Tiberian period.

It is very difficult to answer the question whether the Alabanda Augustus portrait, documented as a theatre find, actually belonged to the scene building or whether it belonged to a different building within the city. Besides the existence of high quality marble material dating to various periods in the area where the sculpture was found, the large amount of lime piles found together with burnt ashy earth on the ground, point to the possibility that this area was used as a lime kiln at a later period. Even though it is possible that the sculpture was brought from another building, the question arises as to why this large torso was not broken into pieces in order to ease its transportation into the lime-kiln.

Wherever the sculpture originally stood in the city, the close relations of the Alabandeans with Rome that began in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., and the construction of a Temple of the Goddess

<sup>46</sup> Besides the Vespasian and Titus portraits found *in situ* in the collegium of the Augustales, another sculpture with the same scheme and with a missing supporting armour from next to the stable right leg is a Nero/Domitian portrait exhibited in Munich, Glyptothek. For Vespasian-Titus see Hallett 2005, 180–182 pls. 102–103. For the Nero/Domitian portrait see Bergmann – Zanker 1981, 370 no. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Kleiner – Kleiner 1975, 256.

<sup>48</sup> Carinci 1971/1972, 28–29.

<sup>49</sup> Himmelmann 1989, 118.

<sup>50</sup> Ghisellini 1993, 58–63 pls. 18–20.

<sup>51</sup> Bravi 2011, 313 fig. 20, 9.

<sup>52</sup> Vessberg 1941, 209; Hallett 2005, 2–3 pl. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Hallett 2005, 122–123 pl. 72.

Roma<sup>54</sup>, indicate a strong Roman cult that already existed by the time of Augustus. Thanks to an inscription from Old Çine, published by A. Laumonier, it is proven that besides the cult of Roma there was also a cult of Augustus in the city<sup>55</sup>. However, the standards of the image of Augustus in Alabanda can be guessed just by noting his worship as Apollo Eleutherios Sebastos, that is, considered equal to Apollo – the main god of the city<sup>56</sup>. In addition, according to Laumonier, the adjective *eleutherios/liberator* is not one of the common epithets of Apollo – the main god of the religious policies conducted by the emperor<sup>57</sup>. The epithet was given to Augustus after he saved the citizens of Alabanda from Labienus<sup>58</sup>. It is not clear whether the sculpture in question had any relation to this cult; however, it is suggested that according to the stylistic and iconographic evaluation, the Alabanda Augustus was in fact a copy produced as *divi filius Augustus* in keeping with his title *Apollo Eleutherios Sebastos* after the emperor's death, during the early Tiberian period.

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<sup>55</sup> Laumonier 1934, 300–303 no. 3 fig. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Laumonier 1934, 303.

<sup>57</sup> Zanker 1987, 57–61.

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1 Portrait Sculpture of Augustus, Alabanda



2 Frontal view of the head



3 Profile view of the head

FRANK HILDEBRANDT

## THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS IN WESTERN ASIA

## PORTRAITS, STATUES, AND INSCRIPTIONS\*

## ABSTRACT

22 portraits of the Roman emperor Claudius are known from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. All three known portrait types can be detected, while the majority represents the emperor in the main type. The corresponding statues are not preserved; only three naked ideal representations are extant on the reliefs from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias and a fragmentary, reworked statue. Therefore, the well known ancestor- or statue-galleries from other parts of the Imperium Romanum are only indirectly deducible for Asia Minor. 50 inscriptions indicate that statues of the emperor were erected in almost every major city in Asia Minor. The difference between the number of the preserved portraits and the statue bases can be explained by circumstances of preservation, especially for bronze statues. While in the first years of his reign corporations and officials primarily donated, later mostly individuals predominated. Causes are the grant of Roman citizenship, manumissions, or serving as priest in the imperial cult.

## ÖZET

## Batı Asya'da İmparator Claudius-Portreler, Heykeller, Yazıtlar

Roma İmparatoru Claudius'un Küçük Asya'dan ve Ege Adalarından 22 portresi bilinir. Bilinen her üç portre türü de temsil edilse de çoğunluğu imparatoru ana portre tipinde göstermektedir. Bunlara ait heykeller ise korunmamıştır; Sadece Aphrodisias'daki Sebasteion'un kabartmaları üzerinde görülen üç adet idealize çıplak tasvir ve bir adet parçalar halinde korunmuş ve yeniden düzenlenmiş heykel bulunmaktadır. Bu nedenle Roma İmparatorluğu'nun diğer yerlerinden iyi bilinen soy- ya da heykeltalerinden Küçük Asya için ancak dolaylı bir sonuç çıkarılabilir. 50 yazıt bu imparatorun heykellerinin neredeyse Küçük Asya'nın bütün büyük kentlerinde dikiliğini gösterir. Konunmuş portrelerin ve heykel kaidelerinin sayısı arasındaki fark, korunma koşulları, özellikle de bronz heykellerin korunma durumları ile açıklanabilir. Hükümdarlığının ilk yıllarında heykellerin öncelikli olarak kurumlar ve resmi görevliler tarafından bağışlandığı görülürken daha sonra bireysel bağışlar çoğunluktadır. Bağış nedenleri ise Roma vatandaşlığına kabul edilme, kölelikten azat edilme veya İmparatorluk Kültü rahibi olarak hizmettir.

Only a few Roman emperors have received such a disparate assessment in historical and archaeological research as Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus<sup>1</sup>. Born on August 1, 10 B.C. Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus became fourth emperor of the Imperium Romanum in A.D. 41. At the age of 51 years, he was at the beginning of his reign the oldest *princeps* thus far. On October 13, A.D. 54 he was murdered by poisoning.

The aim and subject of this paper is the collection, allocation, and typological distinction of the portraits of Claudius<sup>2</sup>, related statues, and inscriptions known from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. The accompanying catalogue lists 22 images from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands<sup>3</sup>:

\* This paper is part of a more comprehensive study on the portraiture of the emperor Claudius, which should be presented in »Das römische Herrscherbild«. For this opportunity I thank K. Fittschen and T. Hölscher.

<sup>1</sup> Carney 1960, 99–104.

<sup>2</sup> For method and terminology see Hertel 2013, 4–5; K. Fittschen in: Hertel 2013, XI. Critically Fejfer 1998, 45–56.

<sup>3</sup> So far 178 portraits of the emperor Claudius are known: 147 ancient marble and bronze portraits, 13 cameos, 2 small-scale bronze images and an agate head, 3 modern creations and 9 uncertain images.

17 marble portrait heads (1. 5–6. 8–9. 11–22), three representations on reliefs (2–4), a fragment of a cameo (10 fig. 1), and an ideal statue with portrait (7).

In 1886 Johann Jacob Bernoulli presented written sources and portraits of Claudius in his »Römische Ikonographie« for the first time<sup>4</sup>. In 1938 followed a monographic study by Meriwether Stuart entitled »The Portraiture of Claudius. Preliminary Studies«<sup>5</sup>. In addition to 38 portraits listed here, 32 forgeries or incorrectly identified portraits were named. Even if this study does not satisfy the claims of the typological method, which was further refined in the following decades, and even if some portraits were included that are no longer accepted today, Stuart must be credited with having included literary sources and inscriptions and assessing them in his appraisal. Noteworthy is the discussion of the papyrus London 1912, which lists eight or more portrait dedications in the first two years of the reign of Claudius for the city of Alexandria, and thus represents evidence for the multiple installation of emperor portraits in a limited space<sup>6</sup>. In particular, the observation that the portraits were not autonomous individual creations, but copies that can be combined in groups due to close formal similarities and which were probably based on an archetype, enabled a more comprehensive discussion of the portraits of Roman emperors and their relatives. The archetype to which a group of portraits belongs is known in German as the »Bildnistypus« (portrait type). Dieter Salzmann differentiated in 1976, in his study of the coinage of Claudius, four portrait types<sup>7</sup>: his first type can only be found on coins. The others are based on the study of Klaus Fittschen, who, in his »Katalog der antiken Skulpturen in Schloss Erbach«<sup>8</sup> added to the local Claudius portrait a replica list with a differentiation into three types, which has since evolved and solidified. He distinguished the »Kassel type«, the »main type« (also called »type Erbach-Copenhagen«) and the »Turin type«<sup>9</sup>. Fittschen developed and supplemented this collection in 1985<sup>10</sup>.

Hans Jucker referred in 1981 to the issue of reworked ruler portraits, in particular due to the *damnatio memoriae*<sup>11</sup>. He cites five reworked Claudius portraits that previously represented the emperor Caligula. Although this phenomenon is already detectable in the portraits of Augustus and Tiberius, after the reign of Caligula, however, it had far more extensive consequences for his successor. Ann-Kathrein Massner followed the remarks of Jucker in 1982, but focused on the manner in which later rulers alluded to the portraiture of Augustus<sup>12</sup>. In 1986, Hans-Martin von Kaenel published his research on the coinage of Claudius<sup>13</sup>. Studies by Detlev Kreikenbom in 1987<sup>14</sup> and Caterina Maderna in 1988<sup>15</sup> focused on special forms such as colossal portraits and statue types. Noteworthy is the reference to other portraits, which were combined and thus incorporate the idea of statue groups. A reassessment of the reign of Claudius was made possible by a conference in Freiburg in 1991, where different aspects came into the field of view again or for the first time<sup>16</sup>. Here Massner summarized the state of research on portraits of Claudius<sup>17</sup>. Her aim is to determine a typical Claudian style and the simultaneous use of both more realistic and idealized imagery of the emperor. She, however, only referred to portraits originating from Italy. Further-

<sup>4</sup> Bernoulli 1886, 327–355. 368–373.

<sup>5</sup> Stuart 1938.

<sup>6</sup> See the two portraits probably from Smyrna nos. 18–19 and especially the findings from Aphrodisias nos. 2–7.

<sup>7</sup> Salzmann 1976, 252–264.

<sup>8</sup> Fittschen 1977, 55–58 no. 17.

<sup>9</sup> For the definition of the portrait types see Fittschen 1977, 55–56. 57 n. 4; 58 n. 8; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 16–17 no. 16; also Boschung 1993, 70–71 with fig. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 16 no. 15 with note.

<sup>11</sup> Jucker 1981, 236–316 especially 254–281. See also Boschung 1989, 44–47.

<sup>12</sup> Massner 1982, 126–141. 145.

<sup>13</sup> von Kaenel 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Kreikenbom 1992, 86–92. 197–203 nos. III 59–III 70.

<sup>15</sup> Maderna 1988, 157–160 nos. JS2–JS3; 167–170 nos. JT5–JT8; 191–192 nos. JT42–JT43.

<sup>16</sup> Strocka 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Massner 1994, 159–176.

more, mention should be made of the study by Dietrich Boschung in 2002, of ancestor-galleries of the Julio-Claudian imperial family<sup>18</sup>. His purpose is to show »die Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung von Kaiserbildnissen im architektonischen und urbanistischen Kontext«<sup>19</sup>.

If so far mainly portraits, related statues, and coins had formed the subject of interest, the studies of Jakob Munk Højte allowed a more detailed view on the distribution of Roman imperial portraits and local peculiarities. In 2003 he presented a compilation of statue bases with dedications for Claudius<sup>20</sup>: The statue bases were evaluated as sources of geographical distribution, chronology and reasons for erections. Højte expanded the 104 inscriptions listed by Stuart to 156<sup>21</sup>. In 2005, this study was integrated into a larger context that gives an overview of statue bases from Augustus to Commodus<sup>22</sup>.

As the third child of Drusus Maior and Antonia Minor Claudius did not play a significant role in the considerations of Augustus. When Augustus in 4 A.D. rearranged his succession, he adopted Tiberius. This adoption entailed that Tiberius, in turn, also had to adopt his nephew Germanicus who thus became the first heir to the throne, but not his brother Claudius. Augustus and Tiberius – according to Suetonius – judged Claudius harshly<sup>23</sup>: possibly due to complications at birth Claudius had a slight walking disability. In addition, he is said to have sometimes stuttered or drooled. Therefore, he did not correspond to the ideal of a future ruler who should excel in athletics and military affairs to prove his virtues – *virtus, fortitudo, fides*. The later historiography saw in Claudius a weak character who followed the influence of the Praetorian Guard and his wives<sup>24</sup>. However, the sources also portray a different image: Claudius devoted himself intensively to literature, rhetoric, philosophy and history. He wrote a history of the Etruscans, an Etruscan Dictionary and a history of Carthage.

Under Caligula, Claudius received in 37 A.D. his first public office as a *consul suffectus*. The motivation for the transfer of this function remains uncertain: Was Caligula trying to enlist the support of his relative after taking over the reign in order to promote himself to the public as a reconciler, after the trials for high treason of Tiberius? Was Claudius no threat to him? Did he want to use the experience of the older man? Did he in fact care about Claudius<sup>25</sup>?

After the assassination of Caligula, Claudius was acclaimed as the new *princeps* by the Praetorian Guard. Numerous activities in different areas quickly followed: the restructuring of the administration, military interventions in Mauritania, Iudaea and Thracia, the conquest of Britain, improvement of infrastructure, for example the expansion of the port of Ostia, the completion of the Aqua Claudia and the construction of the Anio Novus. Tonio Hölscher points out that the buildings and state monuments under Claudius have two new features<sup>26</sup>: First, much more elaborate monuments with richer relief decoration than before are evident. Second, the emperor appears most frequently in connection with Augustus. This reference to Augustus is evident not only in construction and relief art. The statue galleries listed by Boschung emerged in large numbers during the reign of Claudius. In addition to establishing the civil service and increasing construction activity, the conquest of Britain dominates the image of the emperor. Within a few

<sup>18</sup> Boschung 2002.

<sup>19</sup> Boschung 2002, 1.

<sup>20</sup> Højte 2003, 365–388. See also Menichetti 1983/1984, 182–226 especially 188–192.

<sup>21</sup> In his study Højte 2003, 378 was able to determine for the Roman imperial time a ratio of preserved statue bases to portraits of 2 : 1.

<sup>22</sup> Højte 2005, especially 294–318. 594. 634. 646. See J. Osgood, Rev. of Højte 2005, AJA 110, 4, 2006 <www.ajaonline.org/book-review/466> (27. 10. 2016) with additions to Claudius.

<sup>23</sup> Suet. Claud. 30.

<sup>24</sup> Mockery and derision – as Suetonius, Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and especially in the Apocolocyntosis of Seneca – long dominated the picture of Claudius.

<sup>25</sup> Following Suet. Cal. 22, 1 still during the time of positive evaluation of the reign.

<sup>26</sup> Hölscher 1994, 93.



years, therefore, Claudius had not only successfully fulfilled his duties as *princeps*, but he had also contributed substantially to the establishment of the principate.

Nevertheless, the role of Claudius in the eastern Roman Empire has been largely ignored and remains uninvestigated.

The three portrait types of Claudius (Kassel type, main type/type Erbach-Copenhagen, Turin type) can be sorted into a relative chronology<sup>27</sup>: the earliest images of Claudius on coins reflect the Kassel type<sup>28</sup>. This might have been created before he ascended to the throne in 41 A.D. The main type, however, shows Claudius as slightly older; it therefore appears to have replaced the Kassel type rather quickly. Fittschen suspected that the Turin type, which has a greatly simplified hairstyle, dates to the late Claudian period and is to be connected with the princely portrait of Nero<sup>29</sup>. In contrast, a princely portrait of Claudius is not yet known<sup>30</sup>.

Nearly half of the portraits can be assigned to specific locations, although rarely to a specific context. From Asia Minor and the Aegean islands 17 securely determinable marble portraits (1. 5–9. 11–19. 21. 23) and three reliefs (2–4) are known. The most important site is Aphrodisias. Here three portraits (5–7) and three reliefs (2–4) have been found<sup>31</sup>. Two portraits probably come from Smyrna (18–19). One portrait is known from each of the islands of Chios (9), Rhodes (14), Samos (15), Santorini (16) and Tenos (20).

To the Kassel type belong portraits from Aphrodisias (4. 6), Smyrna (18), Chios (9), Thera (16) and Tenos (20); to the main type belong portraits from Aphrodisias (3. 5), Nicomedia (11), Priene (13 fig. 2), Samos (15), Northwest Anatolia (12) and Istanbul (22); while to the Turin type belong portraits from Aphrodisias (2), Istanbul (10 fig. 1), Selymbria (17) and Smyrna (19). State of preservation and provincial reworking, such as the portrait of Çemberlitas (8), sometimes do not allow reliable identifications. In comparison to the general distribution, the high number of portraits of the Kassel type is unusual<sup>32</sup>.

In general, the state of preservation hardly allows the identification of the statuary types used. Only a fragmentary statue from Aphrodisias (7) is secure. This depicts a standing naked man, with a cloak over his bent left arm and left shoulder. An ideal statue type is also shown on the three reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (2–4). As R. R. R. Smith points out, in this building all three portrait types of Claudius are represented<sup>33</sup>. The draped statue from Selymbria and the reworked portrait (17) as well as the bust and portrait in Istanbul (11) do not belong together. Due to their state of preservation, the majority of the heads cannot be classified as inserted heads or parts of single block statues. Whether the inserted heads of Priene (13 fig. 2) and Smyrna (18) were used for a draped or cuirassed statue is uncertain.

<sup>27</sup> Boschung 1993, 70.

<sup>28</sup> von Kaenel 1986, 262–264.

<sup>29</sup> Fittschen 1977, 57 with n. 10.

<sup>30</sup> For the reign of Augustus and Tiberius only two portrait dedications are known: in the inscription of the so-called Arch of Pavia, a statue of Claudius is mentioned. The inscription of an arch monument in the Circus Flaminius from 19 A.D. mentions Germanicus and his brother Claudius, possibly both were honoured on the monument by statues. See Højte 2003, 370–371. Even during the reign of Caligula the evidence remains sparse. Only two statue bases from Pola and Alexandria Troas are known. The meaning of the inscription from Alexandria Troas (CIL III 381) is not determined without doubt: It is not a rule proclamation, either Claudius is granted a certain role in practicing power, or it served as an obligation for future benefactions; see Højte 2003, 371. Among the prince portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty it is not possible to identify a youthful portrait of Claudius. But perhaps the question should be discarded. Because of his disability Claudius could not challenge the Augustan ideals and played therefore no role in the succession. Did he actually have an individualized youth portrait? If there was one, it might have had some similarities to Tiberius, Drusus Maior, Germanicus or Caligula. Later he referred visually back to Augustus – see also Massner 1982, 126–128 – with perhaps a fundamental change in portraiture.

<sup>31</sup> Another relief (23) possibly shows a representation of Claudius as well, but the head is not preserved.

<sup>32</sup> The distribution of types corresponds to the general image: 74 definable portraits – 20 Kassel type, 37 main type, 16 Turin type (this is not a final evaluation).

<sup>33</sup> Smith 2013, 136.

Five portraits are reworked: The statue from Aphrodisias (7) previously depicted Caligula or Nero<sup>34</sup>. The portraits from Selymbria (17), Çemberlitaş (8), and in Bern (12) are likely to have formerly represented Caligula. The head from Nicomedia (11) is also recarved. With the exception of the reliefs from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (2–4) and the small-scale head from Istanbul (10 fig. 1) 5 of 17 portraits, representing nearly a third, are recarved<sup>35</sup>.

In comparison to the 22 portraits from Asia Minor and the Aegean islands 50 statue bases with inscriptions are known<sup>36</sup>. The majority are Greek inscriptions, while 16 are in Latin. Two bilinguals are known from Ephesos<sup>37</sup> and Sagalassos<sup>38</sup>.

While three-quarters of Latin inscriptions can be quite accurately dated by means of the titles, offices and epithets named – usually falling in the first three years of the reign of Claudius –, only one-third of the Greek inscriptions can be accurately fixed in time. This fact indicates different intentions for the erection of a statue. The Latin inscriptions were official dedications. Statues with Greek inscription, however, were set up for different reasons: nine statue dedications were made posthumously<sup>39</sup>, so these must have been statues of *divus Claudius*<sup>40</sup>. In this connection, statues in the type of the ›Enthroned Jupiter‹, the ›Standing Jupiter‹ as well as naked ideal statues such as on the reliefs from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (2–4) come to mind. Possibly the ideal statue from the Bouleuterion in Aphrodisias (7) belongs in this context. The dedication of a statue of Claudius is not always connected with a special event<sup>41</sup>. According to Højte and Stuart more public dedications can be reported in the first two years of the reign<sup>42</sup>. Motives for the dedications are rarely clear: on Samos Claudius is called νέος κτίστης<sup>43</sup>, which probably can be related directly to financial assistance after the earthquake of 47 A.D. On Kos he is titled as σωτήρ καὶ ἐνεργέτης<sup>44</sup>, a formula existing since the Hellenistic period and used commonly for the emperor, officials and people who have distinguished themselves as benefactors. In general, a close relationship seems to have existed between Claudius and the people of Kos: of 15 statue bases of Roman emperors almost four belong to Claudius<sup>45</sup>. In addition to the dedications *ex testamento* and in an official manner founders, particularly priests – most notably of the imperial cult – can be found<sup>46</sup>. Particularly significant was the grant of Roman citizenship. A large number of donors, whose names refer to the preservation of citizenship under Claudius, consecrated honorary statues<sup>47</sup>. The dedications in Asia Minor usually were due to personal reasons and were not caused by a special event in the life of Claudius<sup>48</sup>.

While reworked portraits of Caligula into those of Claudius are documented, this has not been observed in the case of inscriptions. Since the bases were generally not made out of expensive marble and could be re-used easily, new statue bases were apparently made after the statues which they supported were recarved into Claudius.

Only the broadest overview can be presented regarding statue galleries or groups with Claudius in Asia Minor. In Greece, in the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis a group of Claudius and Nero

<sup>34</sup> Smith 2006, 137.

<sup>35</sup> Højte 2003, 373 with n. 44 refers to the oral testimony of A.-K. Massner that one of eight portraits is reworked.

<sup>36</sup> These are nearly 14 % of the known portraits of Claudius; but one third of all inscriptions. See Højte 2003 *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> SEG 39, 1178.

<sup>38</sup> CIL III 6871.

<sup>39</sup> Højte 2003, 371; SEG 39, 1178.

<sup>40</sup> Indications of standing or seated statues are not mentioned.

<sup>41</sup> In Herculaneum a bronze statue of Claudius was erected *ex testamento* (CIL X 1416).

<sup>42</sup> Stuart 1938, 52–53; Højte 2003, 370. 372: dedication 41/42 A.D.: 9 communities, 1 corporation, 5 individuals / 43 A.D.: 4 corporations, 1 individual.

<sup>43</sup> IGR IV 1711; Højte 2003, 376.

<sup>44</sup> IGR IV 1099; Højte 2003, 376.

<sup>45</sup> Højte 2003, 376 n. 76; IGR IV 1099. 1103; Segre 1993, 237 no. EV 243; 248 no. EV 248.

<sup>46</sup> Højte 2003, 376.

<sup>47</sup> Højte 2003, 377.

<sup>48</sup> Højte 2003, 378.

was set up<sup>49</sup>. An inscription from Aizanoi from A.D. 43 refers to a group of Claudius and Britannicus<sup>50</sup>. Statue bases for *divus Claudius* were probably not solitary dedications, but it should be assumed that there were group-installations, comparable for example to the relief from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (3), showing Claudius and Agrippina Minor, or the relief in Ravenna<sup>51</sup>. If the Turin type can be connected with the adoption of Nero<sup>52</sup>, hypothetically one can imagine combined groups with Nero.

Except for the relief from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, which represents the victory of Claudius over Britannia (2), the military successes of Claudius appear not to have been represented in Asia Minor<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, even on this relief it is noticeable that Britannia corresponds rather to the type of a defeated Amazon, than to the well-known scheme of conquered provinces known from coinage.

In conclusion, the image of the imperial self-representation of Claudius through portraits, statues, and inscriptions remains rather unspecific: from Asia Minor and the islands 22 portraits of the emperor Claudius are known. The three portrait types can be detected, yet the majority represents the emperor in the main type. Due to the state of preservation, the corresponding statues cannot be identified: only four naked ideal statues can be identified in Aphrodisias (2–4. 7). The military successes of Claudius are commemorated only in relief on the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (2). Ancestor-galleries and statue groups are only indirectly deducible.

In addition to the portraits, 50 inscriptions are preserved which prove the existence of honorary statues of the emperor. In almost every major city in Asia Minor imperial statues were erected. The difference between the number of the extant portraits and the statue bases can be explained by the circumstances of preservation, especially for bronze statues. Whereas in the first years of Claudius' reign, corporations and officials primarily donated statues, later individuals predominated. The main causes are the grant of Roman citizenship, manumissions, or serving as priest in the imperial cult.

The degree of acceptance which emperor Claudius enjoyed in Asia Minor cannot yet be clearly determined from the evidence of portraits and inscriptions. It is, however, striking that his military successes only seem to have played a minor role. The coinage also only refers to very general virtues of the ruler.

## CATALOGUE<sup>54</sup>

### 1. Head

Alexandria Troas, north-east area of the forum (found in 2006)

Marble

Lit.: unpublished

Marble. H 165 cm; W 135 cm; Th 43 cm

Lit.: Smith 2013, 145–147 no. C 10 and C-base 12 fig. 90 pls. 61–62. 96 [with lit.].

### 2. Relief depicting Claudius and Britannia (Turin type)

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 80–137

Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, room 3, on the west side

### 3. Relief depicting Claudius clasping hands with Agrippina minor and a *togatus* (main type)

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 80–139

Aphrodisias, Sebasteion, 4 m in front of room 1

Marble. H 160 cm; W 164 cm; Th 43 cm

Lit.: Smith 2013, 134–138 no. C 5 [with lit.].

<sup>49</sup> Goette 1990, 38 pl. 1, 1. 2; Boschung 2002, 111.

<sup>50</sup> IGR IV 559.

<sup>51</sup> Ravenna, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di San Vitale: Maderna 2010, 95–96 127. 313 fig. 139 b.

<sup>52</sup> Fittschen 1977, 57 with n. 10.

<sup>53</sup> A cuirassed statue e.g. has not yet been convincingly demonstrated from Asia Minor.

<sup>54</sup> The entries follow the location in which the statue was found. Literature is restricted to the most recent or main articles.

#### 4. Relief depicting Claudius as ruler of land and sea (Kassel type)

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 79–108  
Aphrodisias, Sebasteion  
Marble. H 160 cm; W 166 cm; Th 43 cm  
Lit.: Smith 2013, 171–173 no. C 29.

#### 5. Fragmentary colossal head (main type)

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 71–67. 72–75  
Aphrodisias, upper fragment stray from the Theatre houses  
Marble. H 47 cm; W 31 cm; Th 31 cm  
Lit.: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 83 no. 31 pl. 131, 1 (Caligula or Claudius); Jucker 1981, 280 n. 112 (Claudius); Boschung 1989, 123 no. \*79 (Claudius); Smith 2006, 257–258 no. 159 pl. 111; Smith 2013, 69 no. S 5 [with lit.].

#### 6. Head (Kassel type)

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 71–329  
Aphrodisias, theatre, southern area of the *cavea*  
Marble. H 31 cm; W 21.5 cm; Th 25 cm  
Lit.: Smith 2006, 257 no. 158 pl. 110 [with lit.]; Smith 2013, 69 no. S 4.

#### 7. Fragments of statue

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 64–413. 64–414a–f  
Aphrodisias, Bouleuterion, east side, in one of the vaulted chambers  
Marble. H 39.5 cm; W 24 cm; Th 26 cm  
reworked  
Lit.: Smith 2006, 137–138 no. 25 pls. 19–20 [with lit.]; Smith 2013, 69 no. S 6.

#### 8. Head

Istanbul, Archeological Museum inv. 5555  
Çemberlitaş  
reworked  
Lit.: unpublished

#### 9. Head (Kassel type)

Chios, Museum  
Chios  
Marble  
Lit.: Archontidou-Argyre – Tsinares 2000, 140 with fig.

#### 10. Fragment of a cameo (Turin type) (fig 1)

London, British Museum inv. 1912,0415.1  
said to be from Constantinople  
Greenish plasma. H 3.5 cm; W 3.5 cm  
Lit.: Walters 1926, no. 3598.

#### 11. Head (main type)

Istanbul, Archeological Museum inv. 87 T  
Nikomedeia

Marble. H 59.5 cm  
reworked

Lit.: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, no. 22, pl. 14, 1–2 (member of the Julio-Claudian dynasty); Fabbrini 1967, 67–68 (Drusus maior); Vermeule 1968, 195. 387 no. 3 (Caligula); K. Fittschen, Rev. of İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, GGA 225, 1973, 56 (Claudius); Boschung 1989, 123 no. \*78 (Claudius).

#### 12. Head (main type)

Bern, Private Collection  
probably from northwest Anatolia  
Marble. H 33.5 cm  
Lit.: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 82 no. 29, pl. 24, 3–4; Fittschen 1977, 56 no. 17 no. 23; Jucker 1981, 280 n. 112; Jucker – Willers 1982, 99 no. 39.

#### 13. Head from a statue (main type) (fig. 2)

London, British Museum inv. 1870,0320.200  
Priene, sanctuary of Athena Polias, found along with other pieces of sculpture on the floor of the cella during excavations 1868/1869  
Marble. H 44.5 cm  
Lit.: İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 64 no. 18, pl. 12, 1–2; Vermeule 1968, 388 no. 11; Fittschen 1977, 57 n. 4 no. m.

#### 14. Head of Claudius (?)

Rhodos, Museum  
Rhodes  
Marble  
Lit.: Fabbrini 1964, 316 fig. 16 (Drusus maior).

#### 15. Head (main type)

Samos, Museum inv. 44  
Samos, Kastro Tigani (Pythagoreion)  
Marble. H 53 cm  
Lit.: Tölle-Kastenbein 1974, 174 fig. 327; Fittschen 1977, 56 no. 17 no. 21; Kreikenbom 1992, 202 no. III 69; Boschung 2002, 141 no. 72.8.

#### 16. Head (Kassel type)

Santorini, Museum  
Thera, Basilica  
Marble  
Lit.: Fittschen 1977, 50–51 n. 22 no. I; Boschung 1987, 215 n. 91.

#### 17. Togatus (Turin type)

Istanbul, Archeological Museum inv. 4648 T  
Selymbria, street crossing from Edirne–Tekirdağ  
Marble. H 250 cm  
reworked  
Lit.: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 288–289 no. 278 pl. 30, 3–4; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 17 no. 16 n. 3.

**18. Head (Kassel type)**

Williamstown (USA)

Smyrna (?), acquired 1912 in Izmir

Marble

Lit.: Fittschen 1977, 50–51 no. 15 n. 22 no. I; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 81 no. 27 pl. 23; Jucker 1981, 268 n. 95; Vermeule 1981, 285 fig. 242; Boschung 1987, 215 n. 95.

**19. Head (Turin type [?])**

Athen, National Archeological Museum inv. 328

Smyrna

Marble. H 28.5 cm

Lit.: Fabbrini 1967, 67 n. 33; Vermeule 1968, 388 no. 9; Jucker 1981, 222 n. 33; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 81 no. 28, pl. 24, 1–2; Fittschen 1977, 57–58 n. 8 no. h (type Turin); Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 17 no. 16 n. 3 (Zanker: not type Turin, 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.).

**20. Fragmentary head (Kassel type)**

Tenos, Museum inv. A 164

Tenos, sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite

Marble. H 22.5 cm

Lit.: Étienne et al. 1986, 287–288. 301 no. 29 pls. 140–141; Rose 1997, 158 no. 94.1; Boschung 2002, 112 no. 38.1.

**21. Head**

Thasos, Museum

Thasos

Marble

Lit.: Vermeule 1968, 387 no. 3.

**22. Head (main type)**

Istanbul, Archeological Museum inv. 4076

unknown

Marble. H 29 cm; W 15.5 cm

Lit.: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 79–80 no. 25 pls. 21, 3–4; 22, 3.

**23. Relief, ruler of the sea – Claudius or Nero (?)**

Geyre, Aphrodisias-Museum inv. 79–95. 79–116. 81–5

Aphrodisias, Sebasteion

Marble. H 159 cm; W 160 cm; Th 45 cm

Lit.: Smith 2013, 163–165 no. C 29.

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1 Claudius (»type Turin«), from Constantinople, London, British Museum inv. 1912,0415.1



2 Claudius (»main type«), Priene, Sanctuary of Athena Polias, London, British Museum inv. 1870,0320.200

DAVID OJEDA

**LUCIUS VERUS: NEW DIONYSOS AND *DOMITOR ORIENTIS*\***

## ABSTRACT

This article re-examines a colossal cuirassed statue from Seleucia Pieria. Goal is to demonstrate that this sculpture belongs to the Sessa Aurunca typology. Probably Lucius Verus' military achievements in the Orient and the intention to represent him as a new Dionysos were the main reasons for the creation of the sculpture.

## ÖZET

**Lucius Verus: Yeni Dionysos ve *Domitor Orientis***

Bu makalede Seleucia Pieria'dan gelen devasa zırhlı heykel yeniden incelenmektedir. Amacım bu heykelin Sessa Aurunca tipolojisine ait olduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Bu heykelin oluşturulmasındaki ana nedenler, olasılıkla Lucius Verus'on Doğu'daki askeri başarıları ve onu yeni bir Dionysos olarak gösterme isteğidir.

The term ›Sessa Aurunca type‹ refers to a group of cuirassed statues, which share the same decoration on their breastplates: a figure of Dionysos between two griffins or panthers<sup>1</sup>. To date only four statues could be included into this definition<sup>2</sup>:

**A. Sessa Aurunca, Museum inv. 297047**

Height: 2.50 m.

Provenance: Sessa Aurunca, theatre.

Lit.: Cascella 2002, 67–70 cat. 2 figs. 31–32; Cadario 2004, 371–372 fig. 54, 2; Rosso 2009, 112; Ojeda 2011, 55–56 cat. 32 fig. 22, 1; Cadario 2012, 110 fig. 2 D; Karanastassis 2012/2013, 349–350 n. 165; Cascella 2014, 85 fig. 21.

**B. Side, Museum inv. 283**

Height: 1.18 m.

Provenance: Side, colonnaded street.

Lit.: İnan 1975, 166–168 cat. 93 pl. 78, 1; Cadario 2004, 373 fig. 48, 1; Laube 2006, 125–126; Ojeda 2011, 56 cat. 33 fig. 22, 2; Karanastassis 2012/2013, 349–350 n. 165; Cascella 2014, 86 n. 89.

**C. Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 1667**

Height: 1.08 m.

Provenance: Thessaloniki.

Lit.: Hekler 1919, 226 fig. 153; Sieveking 1931, 18–20; Vermeule 1959/1960, 56 cat. 195 pl. 17, 48; Felten 1971, 237; Stemmer 1978, 123–124 n. 349; Vermeule 1980, 7 fig. 33; Katake 2002, 284 no. VI fig. 143–145; Cadario

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<sup>1</sup> On the cuirassed statues of the Sessa Aurunca type: Cadario 2004, 371–377; Laube 2006, 124–126; Ojeda 2011, 147–148. 153. 154. 166; Karanastassis 2012/2013, 349–350 n. 165.

<sup>2</sup> On the difficulties of including in this group a statue in Villa Albani, which is decorated with an image of Dionysos/Sabazios as well: Ojeda 2011, 55 n. 151; 84 cat. 77; 148 n. 592. On the statue: Rohden 1890, 4. 7. 20 fig. 3, 1; Bernoulli 1891, 108; Mancini 1911, 51 no. 25; 91 cat. 73; Hekler 1919, 224–226 fig. 151; Mancini 1922, 171–172 no. 21; 190 cat. 79; Wegner 1956, 53. 113; Vermeule 1959/1960, cat. 194, 56; İnan 1975, 167–168; Vermeule 1980, 7; Stemmer 1990, 159–162 cat. 197 pl. 100–103; Gergel 1991, 242–243 fig. 10; Evers 1994, 180 cat. 128; Cascella 2002, 70; Cadario 2004, 372; Laube 2006, 125–126.

2004, 373–377 pl. 48, 2–5; Laube 2006, 124–125 pl. 53, 1–4; Ojeda 2011, 56–57 cat. 34 pl. 23, 1–4; Karanastassis 2012/2013, 349–350 n. 165.

#### D. Epidauros, Museum inv. ME 15

Height: 1.19 m.

Provenance: Epidauros, close to exedra BA of the Tholos.

Lit.: Hekler 1919, 225–226 fig. 152; Sieveking 1931, 18–20; Vermeule 1959/1960, 56–57 cat. 196; Vermeule 1980, 7; Katake 2002, 116–117 cat. 125; 283–286 pls. 140–142; Cadario 2004, 374–377 pl. 48, 6; Laube 2006, 125 pls. 53, 5; 54, 1; Ojeda 2011, cat. 35 fig. 24, 1–3; Karanastassis 2012/2013, 349–350 n. 165.

A fifth sculpture can be joined to this group. The Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antakya contains one colossal<sup>3</sup> cuirassed statue (inv. 11113)<sup>4</sup>, which was found in Seleucia Pieria (figs. 1–4)<sup>5</sup>. Broadly speaking, the statue is well preserved. It stood with its weight on the right leg. The left leg was set to the side and slightly withdrawn. The left arm was lowered and held a sword, whose end can be seen resting on the outside of the left upper arm. The right arm is missing, but it was raised, as will be shown below. Remains of vegetal scrolls are preserved under and behind the left griffin. The *pteryges*<sup>6</sup> are too damaged to permit the identification of their decorations<sup>7</sup>. The statue wears a *paludamentum*, which is fastened at the right side with a circular clasp, draws obliquely across the chest, falls behind the back, is wrapped around the left arm and hangs down below it<sup>8</sup>. There is a support beside the right leg, which originally must have had the shape of a palm trunk<sup>9</sup>. The feet wore *mullei*, as the remains of the shoes and the feline leg preserved between the support and the right leg demonstrate<sup>10</sup>. Finally, the head turns to its left and wears a wreath with a central jewel and ribbons<sup>11</sup>. Its type is not possible to define due to erosion<sup>12</sup>.

The head<sup>13</sup> (figs. 3–4) shows a tall, narrow and bearded face, with well-defined cheekbones and soft naso-labial lines. The beard is formed in a loose centre-parting under the chin. The brow is short and narrow. The almond-shaped eyes have drilled pupils. The broad mouth is thin-lipped and unsmiling. The hair has been only preserved under the frontal side of the wreath. Three groups of locks can be isolated: (I) the fringe of short and curly locks on the central side of the brow; (II) one thick and curly lock on the left side of the brow, which turns to the viewer's right; (III) the locks preserved on the temples. The directions of the latter are difficult to establish. The right ones

<sup>3</sup> Maximum height (without the plinth) 2.95 m. On colossal statues: Ruck 2007, 17–50. Ruck's hypotheses have subsequently been accepted by Balty 2008, 38 n. 7; Fittschen 2010a, 1097–1104. On detailed measurements of the statue from Seleucia Pieria: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98.

<sup>4</sup> On the statue: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98–99 cat. 47 pls. 38, 3; 41; Vermeule 1980, 24. 196 c; Wegner 1980, 38; Wegner 1984, 108; Evers 1994, 289; Çalik 1996, 86–87; Skupińska-Løvset 1999, 70–72; Vermeule 2000, 92; Kreikenbom – Weber 2002, 202; Meischner 2003, 328 cat. 29 pls. 34; 35, 1–3; Fittschen 2010b, 40; Ojeda 2011, 98 n. 297; 154 n. 636.

<sup>5</sup> On the missing fragments and restorations of the statue: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98.

<sup>6</sup> On the term: Hagemann 1919, 36–39. 78.

<sup>7</sup> I only know two descriptions of the *pteryges*. First, Vermeule 1980, 24: »Pending closer examination, the *pteryges* appear to have the facing Ammon and other heads peculiar to the cuirassed statues of Hadrian found in Greece and on Crete.« The same description has been repeated in Vermeule 2000, 93. Second, Meischner 2003, 328: »Die hintere Pterygesreihe des unteren Panzerabschlusses war mit Voluten verziert; die linke vordere Pteryx zeigt Reste einer Palmette.«

<sup>8</sup> Good parallel for the layout of the *paludamentum* in the back of the sculpture: L'Orange 1984, 58–60 pl. 40 b; with the *paludamentum* wrapped around the right arm.

<sup>9</sup> On supports with palm trunk shape: Muthmann 1951, 110–119.

<sup>10</sup> İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98. On *mullei*: Goette 1988, 401–448.

<sup>11</sup> On imperial wreaths: Bergmann 2010.

<sup>12</sup> There is no agreement in the foregoing studies on the type of the wreath. On the option of a wreath of laurel leaves: Wegner 1980, 38; Wegner 1984, 108. On the possibility of a wreath of oak leaves: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 99; Çalik 1996, 86; Meischner 2003, 328.

<sup>13</sup> The head has few losses: only the nose is broken away. Moreover, the right eyebrow is badly damaged and the entire surface of the head is chipped and worn. The left ear was separately worked. Similar procedure in Fittschen – Zanker 1983, 40–41 cat. 45 pl. 58.

seem to be brushed forward towards the face<sup>14</sup>; the left ones backwards towards the back of the head<sup>15</sup>. Behind and on the sides of the head there are no remains of the hair. The physiognomy and the hairstyle allow the portrait to be identified as a faithful copy of Lucius Verus' 4<sup>th</sup> portrait type (*Samtherrschaftstypus*)<sup>16</sup>, as correctly recognized by I. Skupińska-Løvset<sup>17</sup> and K. Fittschen<sup>18</sup>.

The portrait preserves one detail, which has never been considered. Above the right ear there is an enormous area of stone, which projects exaggeratedly over the head profile. It can be identified as the rest of one *puntello*, which helped the fixation of the right arm. Similar *puntelli* survive in a cuirassed statue of Constantine<sup>19</sup>, another one of Septimius Severus<sup>20</sup> and in two portrait statues displayed in the Centrale Montemartini<sup>21</sup>. Therefore it can be assured that the right arm of the sculpture from Seleucia Pieria was raised and held some attribute. A sceptre, a spear or a *signum* are the best options.

The statue is dressed with a classicistic breastplate of mixed *pteryges*<sup>22</sup>, whose centre is decorated by an anthropomorphic figure between two griffins. Six remarks can be made on this figure:

1. To date, it has been identified as a *xoanon*<sup>23</sup> or *palladium*<sup>24</sup>. Its shape, attributes and pose prevent this possibility.
2. It arises – from its knees – from an object, whose shape is hard to fix. The parallel with the two cuirassed statues from Sessa Aurunca and Side allows the identification of this object as a vegetal motif.
3. The figure stretches out the arms and holds the two griffins with them. Both animals touch the figure with their forelegs.
4. The figure is dressed with a pelt, which covers its head and falls behind its body.
5. It is very similar to the figure preserved on the breastplates of the aforementioned cuirassed statues from Sessa Aurunca and Side, which has been correctly identified as a representation of Dionysos/Sabazios by M. Cadario<sup>25</sup>.
6. Therefore, the figure on the breastplate of the cuirassed statue of Seleucia Pieria should be identified as an image of Dionysos/Sabazios as well.

If this hypothesis is correct, the statue of Seleucia Pieria is another cuirassed statue in Sessa Aurunca type. Since Lucius Verus' portrait belongs to the type IV or *Samtherrschaftstypus*, it is possible to date the sculpture after the year 160 A.D.<sup>26</sup>. Probably it was made between 163–166 A.D. In those years Lucius Verus took the titles Armeniacus<sup>27</sup>, Parthicus Maximus<sup>28</sup> and

<sup>14</sup> Best pictures: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 41, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Best pictures: İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, pl. 41, 3.

<sup>16</sup> On Lucius Verus' 4<sup>th</sup> portrait type: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 79–81 cat. 73. On the three previous types: Fittschen 1999, 32–45.

<sup>17</sup> Skupińska-Løvset 1999, 71.

<sup>18</sup> Fittschen 2010b, 40. Other hypotheses about the identification of the statue:

a) İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98–99 cat. 47 pls. 38, 3; 41: Hadrian, without typological proposal. – b) Vermeule 1980, 24. 196 c: Hadrian, without typological proposal. – c) Wegner 1980, 38: Lucius Verus, without typological proposal. – d) Wegner 1984, 108: Lucius Verus, without typological proposal. – e) Evers 1994, 289: rejects the identification of the statue as Hadrian, without proposing alternatives. – f) Vermeule 2000, 92: Hadrian, without typological proposal. – g) Kreikenbom – Weber 2002, 202: Lucius Verus, without typological proposal. – h) Meischner 2003, 328 cat. 29 pls. 34; 35, 1–3: Lucius Verus, without typological proposal.

<sup>19</sup> Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 144–145 cat. 120 pl. 150.

<sup>20</sup> İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 114–116 cat. 64 pl. 57.

<sup>21</sup> Fittschen – Zanker – Cain 2010, 180–183 cat. 178–179 pls. 222–223.

<sup>22</sup> On the types of cuirassed statues: Cadario 2004, 14 fig. 1. On Cadario's classification: Ojeda 2011, 139 n. 551.

<sup>23</sup> İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 98.

<sup>24</sup> Wegner 1980, 38; Vermeule 2000, 93; Meischner 2003, 328.

<sup>25</sup> Cadario 2004, 371–376.

<sup>26</sup> Lucius Verus' 4<sup>th</sup> portrait type was created around 160 A.D.: Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 80; Fittschen 1999, 44.

<sup>27</sup> Birley 1966, 172.

<sup>28</sup> Birley 1966, 189. Most recently: Krumeich 2001, 92.



Medicus<sup>29</sup>, for his victories in the east of the empire<sup>30</sup>. The presence of Dionysos on the breast-plate was quite appropriate to these military achievements of the young emperor: as *domitor Orientis*<sup>31</sup>, he was now the new Dionysos<sup>32</sup>.

Last but not at least: it is generally accepted that the Sessa Aurunca type was used exclusively to represent Hadrian, for the only sculpture of this typology preserved with its head is the supposed statue of Hadrian from Sessa Aurunca. Two arguments allow this hypothesis to be rejected:

- The connection between the portrait of Hadrian and the torso from Sessa Aurunca is uncertain. Both were found separately during the excavations of the theatre and joined afterwards<sup>33</sup>.
- The sculpture from Seleucia Pieria shows the use of the Sessa Aurunca typology in the statues of Lucius Verus. In this case there is no doubt, for head and body were made from the same block of marble.

Therefore it is highly recommended that future studies restart the analysis of this group of cuirassed statues to clarify its unsolved typological problems: when was the model created; how does it look; which emperors used it, and for which functions? To answer these questions, a sixth sculpture which belongs doubtless to the Sessa Aurunca type and which was discovered in the theatre of Perge must be considered as well<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Birley 1966, 195.

<sup>30</sup> Birley 1966, 165–199. On this subject: Bowersock 2001, 73–77.

<sup>31</sup> On this term: Gabelmann 1992, 72.

<sup>32</sup> On Dionysos as symbol of the oriental victories: Gabelmann 1992, 50–73.

<sup>33</sup> I thank S. Cascella for the information provided on the overall picture of the discovery of the statue of Hadrian.

<sup>34</sup> Özgür 2008, 142–143 no. 61; Özgür 2011, 88–91.

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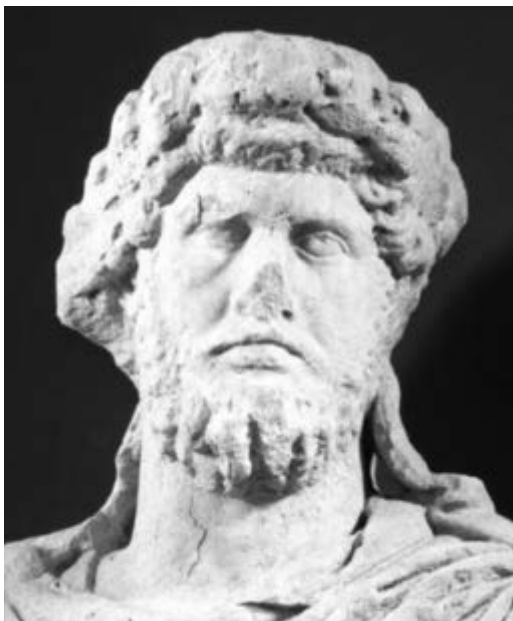
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1 Cuirassed statue of Lucius Verus, Hatay Archaeological Museum inv. III 3



2 Breastplate of the cuirassed statue of Lucius Verus



3 Frontal view of the portrait of Lucius Verus



4 Right profile of the portrait of Lucius Verus





ELİF TÜL TULUNAY

## EINE STATUE DES BALBINUS AUS SOLOI POMPEIOPOLIS IN KILIKIEN

### IDENTIFIKATION UND INTERPRETATION

#### ABSTRACT

##### **A statue of Balbinus from Soloi Pompeiopolis in Cilicia. Identification and interpretation**

The excavations of the colonnaded street of the harbour city of Soloi Pompeiopolis in Cilicia Pedias, located approximately 11 km west of Mersin, brought to light in the years 2000–2003 a total of six statues, and many marble fragments belonging to them and probably to other statues. Amongst them can be named statues of Hygieia, Asclepius, Nemesis, and Dionysos with Pan and a panther, as well as two males. Of these, only Hygieia and one of the two male statues have no heads. In this article the male statue with portrait head, identified by the author as Balbinus, will be discussed, and the supporting evidence for this interpretation will be presented.

#### ÖZET

##### **Kilikia'daki Soloi Pompeiopolis'ten bir Balbinus Heykeli. Tespit ve Yorum**

Kilikia Pedias'ta, Mersin'in yaklaşık 11 km batısında yer alan liman şehri Soloi Pompeiopolis'in Sütunlu Cadde kazılarında, 2000–2003 yıllarında toplam altı heykel ile bu ve başka heykellere ait çok sayıda mermer parçası gün ışığına çıkmıştır. Bunlar arasında Hygieia, Asklepios, Dionysos (Pan ve Panther ile birlikte grup) ve Nemesis heykelleri ile iki erkek heykeli vardır. Bu heykellerden sadece Hygieia ve iki erkek heykelinden birinin başı yoktur. Bu makalede, yazar tarafından İmparator Balbinus olduğu düşünülen portre başlı erkek heykeli incelenecektir ve bu yoruma açıklık getirmek için destekleyici kanıtlar sunulacaktır.

Die Ausgrabungen der Säulenstraße der Hafenstadt Soloi Pompeiopolis in Kilikia Pedias, die etwa 11 km westlich von Mersin liegt, brachten in den Jahren 2000–2003 insgesamt sechs Statuen und viele zu diesen und wohl auch anderen Statuen gehörige Bruchstücke aus Marmor an den Tag. Unter ihnen sind die Statuen der Hygieia, des Asklepios, der Nemesis und des Dionysos mit Pan und Panther sowie zweier Männer zu nennen, von denen nur Hygieia und einer der beiden Männer keine Köpfe mehr tragen (Abb. 1)<sup>1</sup>.

Im Jahre 2000 wurden in der Säulenstraße von Soloi Pompeiopolis nahe beieinander zwei mit Chiton und Himation bekleidete Männerstatuen<sup>2</sup> geborgen, die sich hinsichtlich der Größe und der Proportionen, des Standmotivs, des Stils sowie der U- oder V-förmigen Drapierung zwischen den Brüsten bzw. Brustwarzen einander sehr stark ähneln (Abb. 2. 4). Das Himation ist jeweils

<sup>1</sup> An der Publikation dieser sich heute im Museum von Mersin befindlichen Statuen arbeite ich auf Vorschlag des Ausgräbers Prof. Dr. Remzi Yağcı mit Erlaubnis des Türkischen Ministeriums für Kultur und Tourismus. Hierbei möchte ich mich bei ihm und den zuständigen Mitarbeitern des Ministeriums sowie jedem, der mir bei der Veröffentlichung dieses Artikels geholfen hat, herzlich bedanken. Für die vorläufigen Berichte über die Statuen s. Tulunay 2004, 13; Tulunay 2005a, 23–30; Tulunay 2005b, 21–23; Tulunay 2009, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Die männliche Statue mit Kopf: Mersin Museum, Inv. 00.15.38; mittel-grob kristallinischer weißer Marmor; H 2,07 m (mit Sockel), 1,95 m (ohne Sockel); B 0,65 m; D 0,42 m; Kopf H 0,325 m. Die männliche Statue ohne Kopf: Mersin Museum, Inv. 00.15.37; mittel-grob kristallinischer weißer Marmor; H 1,71 m (mit Sockel), 1,55 m (ohne Sockel); B 0,59 m; D 0,32 m.

über die linke Schulter geworfen und seine bauschig gedrehte obere Kante fällt in Hüfthöhe von hinten nach vorn kommend über den im Ellbogen angewinkelten linken Arm nach außen. Die beiden Statuen haben neben dem linken Standbein ein Bündel von quadratischen Schriftrollen – vielmehr ihre Behälter – als Stütze. Die außer Kopf und rechtem Unterarm<sup>3</sup> fast vollkommen erhaltene Statue hält auch in der linken Hand eine Schriftrolle. In der gleichen Position ergreift die linke Hand der anderen Statue mit Kopf etwa in Taillenhöhe einen Teil des über die linke Schulter geworfenen Himations. An diesen beiden Statuen sind zwischen den Brustwarzen die oben erwähnten U- oder V-förmigen schematisch wirkenden Hängefalten zu beobachten, von deren Mitte aus einige Falten fächerförmig emporsteigen (Abb. 4). Die gesamte Faltenordnung an der Brust ist so irreführend, dass man den Torso von vorn gesehen als weiblich deuten könnte, obwohl die Brust in der Seitenansicht flach ist (Abb. 3). Ähnliche Faltensysteme zwischen den Brüsten beobachtet man, wenn auch nicht sehr oft, bei den Frauenstatuen verschiedener Epochen und Stile. Im Allgemeinen fallen bei den Männerstatuen allerdings diese U-Falten nicht, wie bei unseren Exemplaren, von den Brustwarzen, sondern vom Kragen oder von den Schultern herunter. Meines Erachtens sind beide Statuen in einer lokalen Werkstatt in Soloi Pompeiopolis oder in der Umgebung angefertigt worden, und es sind Repliken desgleichen Typus, jedoch mit geringfügigen Veränderungen. Obwohl die beiden Männerstatuen die gleiche schematische und kuriose Faltenführung zeigen, weist jene ohne Kopf natürlichere Falten sowie sorgfältigere Arbeit auf. Wenn wir die beiden Statuen weiterhin miteinander vergleichen, zeigt die Statue mit dem Kopf an einigen Stellen einen einfacher gebildeten Faltenwurf – als ob er in Eile gefertigt wäre.

Da unsere beiden Männerstatuen überlebensgroß und wohl auf einem öffentlichen Platz, nämlich an der Säulenstraße von Soloi Pompeiopolis, aufgestellt waren, ist es höchstwahrscheinlich, dass sie Porträtzüge wichtiger Personen tragen. Wir entnehmen aus Inschriften an den in die Säulentrommeln eingelassenen Konsolen, dass darauf Statuen von Kaisern und hohen Beamten der Stadt sowie Gottheiten aufgestellt waren<sup>4</sup>.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist m. E. die Statue mit dem Kopf, der Bruch an Bruch auf den Körper passt, nach den erkennbaren Porträtzügen ein höchst interessanter Fund (Abb. 3. 6). Legen wir zunächst die individuellen Züge dieses Kopfes dar: Das mollige, ovale Gesicht ist etwas bestoßen oder beschädigt, und die Nase ist abgebrochen. Die kleinen Augen liegen in tiefen Augenhöhlen, die Augenlider sind deutlich zu erkennen. Die dicken Augenbrauen sind plastisch bearbeitet, die Stirn ist gerunzelt. Die Ohren sind verhältnismäßig groß. Die Haare sowie Backen-, Schnurr- und Kinn- bzw. Doppelkinnbart sind in kurzen, schartigen S-förmigen Wellen wiedergegeben. Der Kopf, mit einem wulstigen Band umwunden, ist leicht zu seiner rechten Seite gedreht und geneigt (Abb. 3. 6. 7 a).

Da unsere Statuen aufgrund der allgemeinen Stilrichtung und besonders der Haarwiedergabe dieses Porträtkopfs in die erste Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. datiert werden können, habe ich die Identität des Dargestellten in diesem Zeitraum gesucht. Die Inschriften halfen kaum, aber schon die Münzbilder (Abb. 5) sowie einige Porträtköpfe<sup>5</sup>, von denen ich besonders jenen aus dem Piräus (Abb. 7 c) als eine Replik unseres Kopfes ansehe, ermunterten mich trotz der für einen Kaiser ungewöhnlichen Bekleidung (Chiton und Himation)<sup>6</sup> zu einer Kaiserbenennung, nämlich Decimus Caelius Calvinus Balbinus.

<sup>3</sup> Im Jahre 2008 habe ich im Ausgrabungsdepot den rechten Oberarm der Statue in zwei Stücken gefunden und Bruch an Bruch anpassen lassen. Die Bruchstücke des Kopfes samt dem Oberkörper der Asklepios-Statue und dem Baumstück mit herum gewundener Schlange daneben wurden ebenfalls von mir in den Museums- und Ausgrabungsdepots entdeckt und zusammengefügt. Da diese Statuen leider immer noch nicht restauriert sind, war ich genötigt, sie mithilfe des Computers zusammenzustellen, s. Abb. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 377–379.

<sup>5</sup> z. B. der Porträtkopf der Zeus-Statue in Piräus und die Köpfe auf dem Sarkophag der Prätextat-Katakomben in Rom: s. Gütschow 1934–1938, 29–78; Jucker 1966, 505 Abb. 5–6; 503 Abb. 1–3; 510 Abb. 10–11. 12–13; 513 Abb. 17 (Antoninianus des Balbinus); Felletti Maj 1958, 143 Kat. 137; Vermeule 1968, 403. 311 Abb. 167.

<sup>6</sup> Für die Balbinus-Statue aus dem Piräus s. Gütschow 1934–1938, 59 Abb. 18; 60 Abb. 19; Niemeyer 1968, 112 Nr. 125 Taf. 46; vgl. Vermeule 1968, 6–7. 40.

Ich muss aber eingestehen, dass sich aus dieser Annahme erhebliche Schwierigkeiten ergeben. Bevor ich im Einzelnen darauf eingehe, werde ich zunächst versuchen, das Leben des Kaisers Balbinus in Hauptzügen darzustellen und unser Porträt als seines zu argumentieren.

Balbinus wurde um 165 oder um 178 n. Chr. geboren und stammte aus einer adligen Familie. Über sein Leben ist wenig überliefert<sup>7</sup>. Sein Vater, Caelius Calvinus, der Patrizier war und den Kollegien der Salier angehörte, war im Jahre 184 n. Chr. Legat in Kappadokien. Nicht klar ist, ob Balbinus durch Geburt oder Adoption Sohn des Caelius Calvinus wurde.

Balbinus soll laut vieler – doch mitunter als nicht sehr zuverlässig angenommener – Quellen Konsul von Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thraciae und Galliae und im Jahre 201/202 n. Chr. Prokonsul von Asia gewesen sein. Er war also ein erfahrener Politiker, der während seiner Laufbahn bereits Statthalter war und das Konsulat innehatte. Er soll auch während seiner Amtsführung in den Provinzen beim Volk sehr beliebt gewesen sein, vor allem wegen seiner Gerechtigkeit und Bescheidenheit.

In Rom sah die Situation aber anders aus. Als der Soldatenkaiser Maximinus Thrax (235–238 n. Chr.) nach der erfolglosen, vom Senat unterstützten Revolution des Gordianus I. und des Gordianus II. von Norden nach Rom marschierte, ernannte der Senat zwei seiner Mitglieder, den 60-jährigen Balbinus sowie Pupienus (Maximus), zu Kaisern. Die beiden Kaiser bestimmten Gordianus III. zum Nachfolger. Die Lage in Rom hatte sich nach der Erhebung Gordianus' III. zum Caesar vorläufig beruhigt; dennoch blieb das Problem mit Maximinus. Es wurde vereinbart, dass Balbinus in Rom verbleiben und Pupienus den aktiven Kampf aufnehmen sollte. Maximinus wurde jedoch, noch bevor er Rom erreichen konnte, von meuternden Soldaten ermordet.

Das Doppelkaisertum erfreute sich in jener Zeit großer Beliebtheit, und wie bisher in der Geschichte war einer der beiden Kaiser immer der Ranghöhere, denn nur einer konnte das Amt des *pontifex maximus* ausüben. Nun standen sich aber zwei ranggleiche Personen gegenüber und das als unteilbar geltende Amt des obersten Priesters wurde an beide vergeben.

Balbinus soll einen freieren und offeneren Charakter besessen haben als sein Mitregent. Er betätigte sich gerne als Literat und Redner und zeigte einen erlesenen Geschmack bei Wein, Speisen und Frauen. Auch seine Vorliebe für elegante Kleider wird bei den antiken Autoren hervorgehoben. Möglicherweise wurde einiges übertrieben, um ihn gegenüber Pupienus in besseres Licht zu rücken. In der Folgezeit kam es zu Machtkämpfen zwischen Balbinus und Pupienus, während die Goten und Perser immer tiefer in das Reich eindrang. Verschiedene Fehlentscheidungen trugen dazu bei, die Unbeliebtheit der beiden Kaiser bei Volk, Senat und Militär – vor allem in Rom – zu steigern. Ende Juli 238 wurde Balbinus gemeinsam mit seinem Mitregenten Pupienus von den Prätorianern ermordet. Die senatorische Regierung des Balbinus und Pupienus hatte also nur 99 Tage gedauert.

Es gibt neben den stadtrömischen auch kleinasiatische Münzprägungen von Balbinus aus Herakleia Pontika und Nikomedeia in Bithynien, Miletos in Ionien, Amisos in Pontos und Tarsos und Aigeai in Kilikien<sup>8</sup>. Die Münzen zeigen auf der Vorderseite Balbinus mit weichen und runden Zügen samt unrasiertem Kinn.

Wie wir wissen, repräsentierten die Kaiserstatuen bei Abwesenheit des Kaisers diesen selbst. Sie waren deshalb in den Augen des Volkes genau so mächtig wie der Kaiser. Die Kaiser sandten deshalb sofort nach ihrer Thronbesteigung ihre Porträtbilder in jede Ecke des Imperiums<sup>9</sup>. Balbinus ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür, denn obwohl er nur 99 Tage an der Macht blieb, waren seine Porträtbilder in Griechenland und Kleinasien verbreitet, wie uns allein die Piräus- und Soloi Pompeiopolis-Statuen verdeutlichen.

<sup>7</sup> Historia Augusta vita Max. et Balb. 1, 2; 2, 7–3, 2; 7, 7; 8, 1–6; 9, 2; 10, 5; 11, 4; 12, 1, 5; 13, 1; 15, 7; 16, 1, 4, 6–7; 17, 1–9. Vgl. Stein 1897, 1258–1265.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. Seaby 1969; Sear 1988, 231–232. Balbinus ist der erste Soldatenkaiser, unter dessen Regentschaft Antoniniane geprägt wurden.

<sup>9</sup> Pekáry 1985, 22–28. 119 Anm. 32; Zanker 1983, 23–24.

Nun kehren wir zu unseren Statuen zurück und nehmen die etwa aus dem gleichen Blickwinkel aufgenommenen gleich großen Bilder des Soloi Pompeiopolis- und des Piräus-Kopfes zur Hand:

Wenn wir, die technischen Möglichkeiten des Computers nutzend, ein zu 90 % transparentes Foto des Soloi Pompeiopolis-Kopfes über ein Foto des Piräus-Kopfes legen, sehen wir, dass die Gesichtskonturen und -züge der Köpfe genau übereinstimmen. Stellt man dann das obere Bild in 10-%-Schritten schärfer, bis es die maximale Schärfe von 100 % erreicht, bemerkt man keine Verschiebungen der Gesichtszüge oder -konturen, denn sie stimmen haargenau überein.

Wenn wir nun den Soloi Pompeiopolis-Kopf zu 50 % über den Piräus-Kopf legen (Abb. 7 b), stellen wir fest, dass die beiden durchaus Repliken desselben Originalbildes sein könnten, da die Gesichtskonturen und -züge sowie die Proportionen genau übereinstimmen.

Ich vermute daher, dass ein Porträtkopf bzw. -typus des Kaisers aus Rom nach Osten gesandt und auf einen Statuenkörper kopiert wurde. Bei der Statue aus dem Piräus handelt es sich nämlich um eine Zeus-Statue, in Soloi Pompeiopolis hingegen um eine mit Chiton und Himation bekleidete Beamtenstatue<sup>10</sup>. Ich habe bereits oben die provinzielle und nicht sehr sorgfältige Bearbeitung unserer Statue erwähnt.

Zuletzt möchte ich noch einen wichtigen Punkt erwähnen. Da die Statue der Hygieia neben einer Kaiserstatue gefunden wurde und ein Pendant des Asklepios ist, scheint es, dass diesen Statuen in Soloi Pompeiopolis ein gemeinsames Bildprogramm zugrunde liegt, wie es in den östlichen Provinzen und Städten, beispielsweise in Side oder Ephesos, in den Kaisersälen oder auf öffentlichen Plätzen üblich war<sup>11</sup>.

Arrianos berichtet<sup>12</sup>, dass Alexander der Große im Jahre 333 v. Chr. in Soloi Asklepios geopfert hatte. Damit ist gesichert, dass der Asklepioskult in Soloi schon in jener frühen Zeit bekannt war. Wie wir nun wissen, wurde Kaiser Severus Alexander (222–235 n. Chr.) unerwarteterweise im Jahre 231 n. Chr. in der ostkilikischen Hafenstadt Aigeai Hauptpriester des Asklepios und wurde mit Schlangenstab und kultischem Kranz – einem Priesterdiadem – dargestellt<sup>13</sup>. Diese Darstellungsweise soll bis Valerianus (253–260 n. Chr.) angedauert haben. So ist m. E. der Wulstkranz, wohl die *corona tortilis*, auf dem Haupt der Balbinus-Statue zu erklären. Balbinus ist nämlich hier als Hauptpriester des Asklepios dargestellt. Wir müssen vielleicht angesichts dieser Darstellung nicht nur von den Priestern des Kaiserkultes, sondern auch Priester-Kaisern oder Kaisern als Priester in angemessenem Gewand (Chiton und Himation) sprechen<sup>14</sup>.

Neben der lokalen Kultbeziehung zu Asklepios kann auch Hygieia dem Kaiser als Salus Augusti oder Salus Imperii beigestanden haben. Die Geduld des Volkes war angesichts der unsicheren Situation voller Zwietracht und nacheinander hingerichteten und gestürzten Kaisern am Ende. Man sehnte sich nach Eintracht und Ruhe im Imperium. Deshalb gewann mit Salus in der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. sowohl die Gesundheit des Kaisers als auch die des Imperiums zunehmende Bedeutung im ganzen Römischen Reich, besonders in den Provinzen<sup>15</sup>. Auch die Göttin Nemesis wurde in derselben Zeit als Beschützerin der Agone und des Kaisers und gleichzeitig als unter dem Schutz des Kaisers stehende Figur des Öfteren dargestellt.

Es gibt noch zwei Indizien, warum ausgerechnet Balbinus in Soloi Pompeiopolis in einem derartigen Bildprogramm<sup>16</sup> und warum er hier überhaupt dargestellt gewesen sein sollte. Ich möchte

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. Fejfer 2008, 196–197 und Zanker 1983, 46–48.

<sup>11</sup> Winkler 1995, 166–167; Niemeyer 1968, 35.

<sup>12</sup> Arr. an. 2, 5, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Ziegler 2003, 206 Anm. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. Krumeich 1997, 109. Eine Porträtbüste im Museum von Kütahya, bekleidet mit Chiton, Himation und einer Büstenkrone (deshalb von İnán und Rosenbaum als Priester des Kaiserkultes gedeutet), trägt sehr ähnliche, doch jüngere Gesichtszüge im Vergleich mit dem Kopf des Balbinus aus Soloi Pompeiopolis, s. İnán – Rosenbaum 1966, 185–186 Taf. 137, 1; 138, 1. 2; Okal 2011, 118–119 Nr. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Winkler 1995, 155–171.

<sup>16</sup> Zu diesem von mir möglich gehaltenen Bildprogramm gehören die Statuen des Balbinus und des Pupienus (?), der Nemesis und der Hygieia, des Asklepios, wobei die zwei Letzteren auch mit Telesphoros eine Gruppe

annehmen, dass die Hygieia-Statue den Porträtkopf der Kaiserin<sup>17</sup> und die zweite männliche Statue den des Pupienus getragen haben könnte<sup>18</sup>.

Laut M. Gütschow zeigen die Gesichtszüge der Kaiserin auf dem Sarkophag in der Prätextat-katakombe syrische Physiognomie<sup>19</sup>. Könnte sie aus diesem Gebiet oder sogar aus dieser Stadt stammen, und wurden die Statuen deshalb in aller Eile hier aufgestellt? Der Vater des Balbinus war auch Legat in Kappadokien, vielleicht hatten Balbinus oder seine Familie eine engere Beziehung zu dieser Stadt? Darüber schweigen allerdings die Quellen.

Auf jeden Fall möchte ich die genannten Skulpturen von der Säulenstraße von Soloi Pompeiopolis in das Jahr 238 n. Chr. datieren, weil sie m. E. zu demselben Bildprogramm gehören. Die stilistischen Abweichungen können von verschiedenen Kopisten und den zeitlichen Unterschieden der jeweiligen Originale oder doch von der Wiederverwendung mancher Statuen (Asklepios, Hygieia und Dionysos) sowie der schnellen Anfertigung der Statuen (besonders der Porträtstatuen und der Statue der Nemesis) für ein solches Bildprogramm rühren. Die Porträtstatuen aber stammen wohl gerade aus der Regierungszeit von Kaiser Balbinus und Pupienus im Jahre 238 (April bis Juli), weil der Porträtkopf Gesichtszüge des Kaisers trägt, nämlich jene des Balbinus.

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bilden (vgl. Ziegler 2003, 210 Anm. 20), vielleicht auch noch Dionysos. Vgl. Ziegler 2003, 214–215 und 215 Anm. 43.

<sup>17</sup> Auf dem Balbinus-Sarkophag ist sie auch als Venus dargestellt, s. Reinsberg 1985, 5. 12–13 Taf. 5, 1; vgl. Jucker 1966, 508 Abb. 9; Vermeule 1968, 65.

<sup>18</sup> Für die Fragmente des Pupienus-Porträts, die neben der Balbinus-Statue im Piräus gefunden wurden, s. Vermeule 1968, 310; Johansen 1990, 53. 58 Anm. 11; Herrmann 2000, 206; Varner 2004, 204.

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1 Skulpturen aus Soloi Pompeiopolis (ein Bildprogramm [?]), zusammengestellt von der Verfasserin



2 Männliche Statuen aus Soloi Pompeiopolis, Museum inv. 00.15.38 und 00.15.37



3 Balbinus-Statue aus Soloi Pompeiopolis, Museum inv. 00.15.38



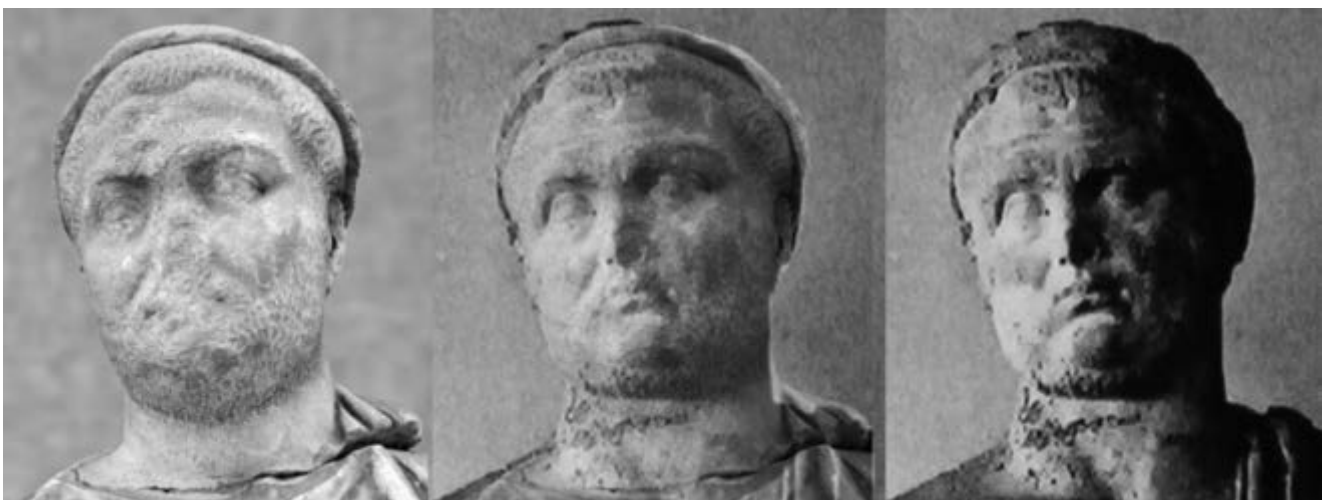
4 Brustpartien der Balbinus- und der männlichen Statue



5 Münzbild des Balbinus (Denar, Rom)



6 Balbinus-Porträt der Soloi Pompeiopolis-Statue



7 a–c Balbinus-Porträts: a) Soloi Pompeiopolis – b) 50 % Soloi und 50 % Piräus – c) Piräus





**IV CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE IN  
ASIA MINOR: SARCOPHAGI, OSSUARIES,  
AND RELIEF ALTARS**



ILARIA ROMEO

## OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND?

## VISIBILITY AND INVISIBILITY OF ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

## ABSTRACT

This paper deals with an apparently paradoxical situation which can sometimes be encountered in the realm of Asiatic (and other) sarcophagi. Extremely elaborate pieces, such as the magnificent example of the ›Beautiful Tomb‹ at Hierapolis, appear in some cases to be displayed in architecturally inaccessible spaces, often by means of a very high podium. This usage contrasts starkly with the more widespread habit of locating sarcophagi in the open, often on top of stepped platforms. Such monuments instead appear to be removed from public as well as private access, and their often complex iconographical programs seem to be lacking viewers altogether.

Aside from obvious religious and economic considerations, the inaccessibility of such lavish sarcophagi must be interpreted considering the issue of their appropriateness to the status of the deceased (*decorum*). It has become clear in recent years that the meaning of an ancient figured monument was not only conveyed by means of its iconographical choices, but also through different strategies which did not always require such a close interpretation of details.

Invisibility need not always signify lack of meaning: in fact, invisibility itself may strengthen the general significance of the monument.

## ÖZET

## Gözden Irak Gönülden Irak? Asya Lahitlerinin Görünürlük ve Görünmezlikleri

Bu makale Asya lahitleri alanında (ve diğerlerinde) bazen karşılaşılan ve çelişkili görünen bir durumunu ele alır. Hierapolis'daki görkemli ›Beautiful Tomb‹ örneğindeki gibi oldukça özenle yapılmış parçalar, bazen mimarisi açısından ulaşılması mümkün olmayan yerlerde sergilenmektedir ve bu genellikle çok yüksek bir podyum yoluyla yapılmaktadır. Bu kullanım şekli, lahitlerin görünen yerlerde genellikle basamaklı bir platform üstünde halka açık yerlerde sergileme geleneği ile kesin bir kontrast oluşturur. Bu tür anıtlar genel ve özel erişime kapatılmış gibi ve üzerlerinde görülen çoğunlukla karmaşık ikonografik programlar ise seyircisiz kalmış gibi görünmektedir.

Bariz dini ve ekonomik değerlendirmeler bir kenara bırakılacak olursa, bu lüks lahitlerin yaklaşmanın olanaksız olmasını, ölen kişinin (*decorum*) statüsüne uygunluğu hususu dikkate alınarak yorumlamak gerekir. Figürlü antik bir anıtın anlamının sadece ikonografik seçimlerin anlamlarıyla değil, aynı zamanda detayları daima bu kadar dar çerçevede yorumlamayı gerektirmeyen farklı stratejilerle de aktarıldığı son yıllarda anlaşılmıştır.

Görülemez olmaları her zaman önemsiz oldukları anlamına gelmez: Aslında görünmezliğin kendisi anıtların genel önemini güçlendirebilir.

The so-called temple-tombs are a well-known phenomenon in ancient Asia Minor<sup>1</sup>, but the relationship between their architecture and the sarcophagi they contained, as well as the potential consequences for visitors to the funerary space have received comparatively little attention.

In considering this relationship, we start with the so-called Beautiful Tomb in Hierapolis of Phrygia<sup>2</sup>. This monumental heroon of the Claudian period accommodated in its elevated cella the

<sup>1</sup> Waywell 1978/1979; Fedak 1990, 161–162; Cormack 1997, 145; Berns 2003; Cormack 2004, esp. 51–61. 112–114; Turnbow 2011, 134–138.

<sup>2</sup> Topography: Ronchetta – Mighetto 2007; D'Andria – Scardozzi – Spanò 2008, 33 fig. 1 (G. Scardozzi).

exceptional sarcophagus of an important individual<sup>3</sup>. The chest has been reconstructed in 1978 in the Hierapolis Archaeological Museum, but a recent reappraisal of its components has allowed an alternative reconstruction of the figural frieze<sup>4</sup>. One of its long sides (fig. 1) features three male figures wearing diadem and chlamys, who can be safely identified with Seleucid kings of the Hellenistic period (fig. 2), on the basis of comparable numismatic evidence<sup>5</sup>. This unparalleled representation must mean that the deceased buried in the chest should have been a descendant of the Asiatic dynasty, to whom the foundation of Hierapolis in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. is credited<sup>6</sup>. This is, however, not an isolated case of dynastic continuity on the part of the elite in Roman Asia Minor: other examples are known from the epigraphic corpus<sup>7</sup>, as well as from monuments such as the grave of Philopappos, heir to the Seleucid dynasty and the ruling family of Commagene, who was buried at Athens in the Trajanic period in a tomb whose Greek inscription still hails him as *basileus*<sup>8</sup>.

The colossal sarcophagus, set on a high podium, was preserved on the second floor of a funerary building completely clad in marble (fig. 3), which is unique among the necropoleis of Hierapolis. The building, studied in detail by D. Panariti<sup>9</sup>, consists of two columned orders. The upper order, which was either distyle *in antis* or prostyle tetrastyle, resembles a temple-like structure, probably in the Corinthian order.

The cella on the upper floor contained the precious sarcophagus. In the absence of objective data, two hypotheses can be suggested regarding its visibility from outside. The first is that it could have been viewed from a distance through a passage between cella and pronaos. The second, based on architectural parallels with other funerary monuments, is that a door closed the access to the cella; in this case, save for special occasions which required its opening, it would have been virtually impossible to view the chest from the outside.

A further difficulty arises if we consider the structure of the lower order. Ionic in style, it featured a distyle *in antis* façade. The pronaos was the only part of the structure that was accessible; in fact, it was furnished with marble benches. The rest of the lower structure consisted of a solid podium in travertine, about 5 m high and lacking any openings. Therefore, access to the cella and to the sarcophagus were entirely denied, except perhaps occasionally to a very limited audience that was able to ascend to the upper floor by means of a steep wooden ladder.

The question that then arises is how to reconcile the great care taken in execution of the exceptional decorative program of the sarcophagus with its limited visibility and accessibility. And, in broader terms, how such a fundamental lack of visibility affected the significance of the monument itself.

In fact, C. Berns has already noted that the isolation of some of these temple-like structures was meant deliberately to preserve a certain distance from the public<sup>10</sup>; this was achieved especially through the employment of a high podium. The role of the audience would then have been that of a limited and passive viewer.

In the case of the ›Beautiful Tomb‹, our limited knowledge of the peribolos does not allow us to exclude the presence of places set aside for funerary cult outside the structure.

<sup>3</sup> Strocka 1978, 900–905; Waelkens 1982, 17; Gliwitzky 2005, 104–105; Pülz 1989, 100–102; Koch 1993, 8, 153; Berns 2003, 215; Köster 2004, 151 n. 1135; D’Andria 2003, 86–87; Koch 2010, 63; Romeo 2010; Romeo 2011; Romeo – Panariti – Ungaro 2014, 205–241.

<sup>4</sup> Hierapolis di Frigia 1957–1987, 94; Ronchetta 1987, 105; D’Andria 2001, 100–101; D’Andria 2003, 87; D’Andria – Scardozzi – Spano 2008, 84 (I. Romeo); Romeo 2011, 199–210; Romeo – Panariti – Ungaro 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Preliminary remarks in Romeo 2010, 152–153. A detailed discussion in Romeo – Panariti – Ungaro 2014, 218–230.

<sup>6</sup> Hellenistic foundation: Kolb 1974; Ritti 1985, 118–225; Kolb 1990; Ritti 2007, 422–423.

<sup>7</sup> Romeo 2010, 144.

<sup>8</sup> Santangelo 1941–1943; Kleiner 1983; Flämig 2007, 123–127 pls. 2–6. On Philopappos’ dynastic ties: Baslez 1992.

<sup>9</sup> Romeo – Panariti – Ungaro 2014, 10–141.

<sup>10</sup> Berns 2003, 29–30.

A further characteristic of the heroon at Hierapolis is the sheer height of the monument, which looms above the precinct wall and was therefore perfectly visible from a distance (fig. 4. 5), even though it was located in a sector of the North Necropolis that was close to the urban centre and, already in the Julian-Claudian period, hosted many other tombs and burials.

Examples of funerary monuments on high podia are relatively common in Roman Asia Minor, and are generally traced back to a Lycian tradition that starts with the Nereid Monument at Xanthos<sup>11</sup>, dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and the heroon of Pericles at Limyra<sup>12</sup>, and continues with the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus<sup>13</sup> and, presumably, the original design of the splendid Hecatomnid royal tomb recently located at Mylasa. It has been noted that no other funerary monuments with columns and high podiums are attested prior to the Nereid Monument. It is therefore possible that this architectural typology derived from the fusion between the Lycian use of the podium, attested already in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., and the Greek tradition of the peristasis<sup>14</sup>.

In the Roman period, lack of access to the cella in monuments with high podia can be attested in some funerary monuments, located prevalently – though not exclusively – in southwest Asia Minor<sup>15</sup>. Among the oldest examples, one might mention the ›Northwest Heroon‹ of Sagalassos<sup>16</sup>, dated to the Augustan period, that combines a temple-like upper storey with an inaccessible podium decorated with a relief frieze.

A notable concentration of such buildings is found in Pisidia, at the sites of Ariassos<sup>17</sup>, Adada<sup>18</sup>, and especially Termessos<sup>19</sup>. Here among the most significant examples is the tomb of Tiberia Claudia Agrippina (fig. 6)<sup>20</sup>. This Ionic prostyle tetrastyle tomb, made of local limestone, featured a pseudoperipteral cella that, above a low parapet, permitted a glance at the sarcophagus inside. The tall, solid podium, which completely blocked access to the cella, was decorated with friezes of weapons and naval motifs, whose complexity has led some to suggest a connection between these decorative themes and the identity of the person buried there. On the façade of the podium runs an inscription that records how Agrippina had built the tomb (heroon) in memory of her husband, Tiberius Claudius Marcellus, and his parents. The tomb has been dated to around the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. and the inscribed sarcophagus was found *in situ*.

To the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. belongs another heroon at Termessos, built by Aurelia Ge for her parents, Hermaios and Oa, and for her brother, Hoplos (fig. 7)<sup>21</sup>. It too was in local stone and featured a sarcophagus underneath a sort of amphiprostyle canopy surmounting a high, inaccessible podium. The podium was again decorated with Pisidian shields and featured an inscription that, beside the names of this prominent local family, included an exhortation not to destroy the tomb or reuse it for further burials, subject to a fine of 15,000 denarii to be paid to the demos and to the sacred treasury<sup>22</sup>.

Even more explicit is the hexameter inscription on the tomb of Apollonios Strabonianos, also at Termessos<sup>23</sup>, which invokes the revenge of Ate, demon of the underworld, against any transgressor. The tomb, dated to A.D. 205, is prostyle tetrastyle with a Syrian arch on the façade. It

<sup>11</sup> In general Fedak 1990, 65–66; Cormack 2004. Xanthos: Coupel – Demargne 1969; Fedak 1990, 66–68.

<sup>12</sup> Borchhardt 1970; Borchhardt 1976; Borchhardt 1993.

<sup>13</sup> Jeppesen 1981–2004.

<sup>14</sup> Fedak 1990, 161–162.

<sup>15</sup> Waywell 1978/1979.

<sup>16</sup> Waelkens 2000; Köse 2005, 114–115; Cormack 2004, 278.

<sup>17</sup> Tombs N8 and ST6: Cormack 2004, 175 figs. 26–29; 178–181 figs. 33–35.

<sup>18</sup> Tomb South 1: Cormack 2004, 161–162 figs. 6–11.

<sup>19</sup> Heberdey – Wilhelm 1900.

<sup>20</sup> Cormack 2004, 307–309 figs. 205–207.

<sup>21</sup> Cormack 2004, 309–310 fig. 208.

<sup>22</sup> Kubinska 1968, 36.

<sup>23</sup> Cormack 2004, 311–312. Inscription: Strubbe 1997, 221 no. 332.



risers above an inaccessible podium, 3 m high, and originally contained at least two sarcophagi, no longer preserved.

By combining the texts of these inscriptions with the architectural typology, one can assume that the primary concern of the builders of these monuments was the inviolability of the tomb itself and of its burials; this element is often underlined in the funerary inscriptions of Roman Asia Minor, though is practically absent in mainland Greece<sup>24</sup>.

A similar concern is expressed in the case of the elaborate tomb of P. Varius Aquila at Assos<sup>25</sup>. Here, the funerary chamber, covered by a pyramidal roof, was furnished with a door and so technically accessible; but the inscription forbade anyone from opening the tomb after Aquila's death, invoking the protection of the underworld deities, Gê, Kore and Pluto<sup>26</sup>. Recently, the dating of this tomb has been put back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>27</sup>.

Finally, in some other cases the visibility of the sarcophagus from a distance was guaranteed even if close observation was not possible. Apart from the case of the ›Beautiful Tomb‹, one can consider here Tombs 2 and 4 at Demircili in Cilicia, dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>28</sup>. Both preserve a tetrastyle upper storey, featuring a cella with an arched opening and a lower storey that opened onto a solid podium. In Tomb 2 (fig. 8), the inaccessible upper storey contained three sarcophagi, one of which featured an impressive lid in the shape of a lion. The central sarcophagus combined a chest, decorated with garlands and personifications, with a lid surmounted by a couple of lions<sup>29</sup>. The inscription records the names of the family members buried here and prohibits the opening and reuse of the sarcophagi.

In all the cases mentioned, the absence of a funerary crypt (hyposorion) and, therefore, of designated spaces for burials, guarantees that the elevated cella was the place intended for burial. The inaccessible cella is defined as an exclusive location and an expression of the social status of the deceased.

This architectural typology is relatively rare and contrasts with the prevalent practice in Asia Minor of exhibiting sarcophagi in the open, often on top of elaborate stepped platforms or, more rarely, in accessible funerary chambers<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, the isolation of the cella in buildings with a high podium made it impossible to perform the traditional ritual activities; presumably, they must have taken place in the vicinity of the structure, in the open and not in the immediate proximity of the sarcophagus.

The choice of such an architectural solution was capable of reconciling two principal demands on the part of those who sponsored the building: on one hand, the inviolability of the burial, on the other its perception as a monument of great civic importance. In this way, we can explain also the choice of a temple-like structure, that could have alluded to the presumed sanctity of the funerary building. Those who profaned the building are often designated in the inscriptions as *hierosyloi*, sacrilegious.

The Asiatic funerary inscriptions<sup>31</sup>, which are probably excerpts from wills<sup>32</sup>, show a great concern for the inviolability of the grave – not so much with regard to possible theft, but rather to the physical integrity of the body. Imprecations are extremely common, more so in the Anatolian tradition than in the Greek, and they display a notable increase in the Roman era in contrast with

<sup>24</sup> Strubbe 1991, 40. See *infra*.

<sup>25</sup> Berns 2003, 53–54, 61–62; Cormack 2004, 190–191 fig. 52.

<sup>26</sup> Strubbe 1997, 6–7 no. 8.

<sup>27</sup> Berns 2003, 57–59.

<sup>28</sup> Cormack 2004, 206–209 figs. 78–82; 211 fig. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Cormack 2004, figs. 81–82.

<sup>30</sup> Turnbow 2011, 123 pl. 351.

<sup>31</sup> Kubinska 1968; Strubbe 1991; Strubbe 1997; Ritti 2004. Asiatic imprecations are the subject of recent contributions by Harter-Uibopuu 2014; Harter-Uibopuu – Wiedergut 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Chaniotis 2004.

the Hellenistic period, especially in Phrygia during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>33</sup>. They are often accompanied by heavy fines, payable to the temple treasury or to the *fiscus*, but these precautions rarely succeeded in preventing the violation and reuse of the grave, which would have involved the pollution of the body of the original occupant.

The physical inaccessibility of the grave was evidently considered to be a further precaution. J. H. M. Strubbe has underlined how the Anatolian conception of death was different from the Greek<sup>34</sup>: the deceased, rather than residing in the afterlife, was physically present and, in a certain sense, ›lived‹ in the tomb. It is possible that such beliefs still persisted, at least in part, into the Roman period<sup>35</sup>.

From this perspective, the sarcophagus assumed a particular significance: three of four inscriptions from Aphrodisias that mention the term *heroon* refer directly to the sarcophagus, and not to the whole tomb complex<sup>36</sup>. The tomb therefore protected the sarcophagus and its inviolability. In a concentric progression of spaces<sup>37</sup> – from the outside, which was public, to the private intimacy of the interior – the sarcophagus represented the most exclusive and restricted core. It also defined a boundary, since it marked out a space that was inaccessible to the living, like a symbolic threshold to the underworld.

How can we reconcile such a conception with the fundamental invisibility of the sarcophagus inside these inaccessible tombs in Asia Minor? In the best possible scenario, its presence could only be perceived from a distance but direct observation of the chest seems normally to have been prevented to the majority of people.

There are other cases in the Roman world where direct observation of the sarcophagus must have been at the least problematic<sup>38</sup>: these are certainly exceptions, but they are not statistically irrelevant. Already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., we have examples of funerary chambers that were permanently sealed after inhumation. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, we find sarcophagi that were hidden inside trench graves, such as the tomb of the Vestal Cossutia at Tivoli<sup>39</sup>. In some cases, it is a question of richly decorated monuments, like the sarcophagus of Dido and Aeneas, which was interred beneath a platform on Via di Grottarossa and designated for an 8-year-old girl of the Antonine age<sup>40</sup>. In other cases, instead, the sarcophagi were deliberately hidden inside a mausoleum or a hypogeum which was otherwise accessible: e.g., underneath the floor or behind internal walls<sup>41</sup>.

With regard to these tombs in the area of Rome, K. Meinecke has wondered why people wanted to hide sarcophagi that were often so richly decorated<sup>42</sup>. Besides fear of pollution and violation, she also considers religious concerns that the rites were not performed appropriately and might therefore allow the ghost of the deceased to return<sup>43</sup>, as well as precautions related to the preservation of the mummified corpse of the deceased.

To explain why such care was devoted to the decoration of the coffin (and, I would add, to the ›reading‹ of its figurative schemes)<sup>44</sup>, K. Meinecke suggests that the sarcophagi themselves were not part of the funerary ritual but were instead exhibited to the public in the house of the deceased

<sup>33</sup> Strubbe 1997, XIV–XV.

<sup>34</sup> Strubbe 1991, 40; Strubbe 1997, XIII–XIV.

<sup>35</sup> LeBris 2001.

<sup>36</sup> Turnbow 2011, 194. Cf. for instance IAph2007, 13. 203.

<sup>37</sup> Platt 2012.

<sup>38</sup> Roman grave contexts: among others von Hesberg 1992; von Hesberg – Zanker 1987; Feraudi Gruenais 2001; Liverani – Spinola – Zander 2010; Boschung 2010.

<sup>39</sup> Mancini 1930; Bordenache Battaglia 1983, 124–138 n. 13; Meinecke 2012, 86 fig. 2.

<sup>40</sup> Bordenache Battaglia 1983, 100–120 n. 12; Bedini 1995, 77; Chioffi 1998, 47–50 n. I, 2–10; Dresken-Weiland 2003, 325–326, A83; Meinecke 2012, 89 fig. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Examples in Meinecke 2012, 92–99.

<sup>42</sup> Meinecke 2012; Meinecke 2014, esp. 71–75. See also Birk 2013, 34–39.

<sup>43</sup> A fear frequently attested in the written sources: Felton 1998; Carroll 2011.

<sup>44</sup> A topic best explored by Koortbojian 1995; Zanker 2000a; Zanker – Ewald 2004.

during the display of the body; in her opinion, they were then transported to the place of burial during the funerary procession<sup>45</sup>. The house, then, rather than the tomb, would have been the privileged place of display of the sarcophagus.

This hypothesis does not seem especially practical: apart from potential problems of transportation, in some cases it would also have been difficult to position the monolithic sarcophagus inside a tomb that had already been built. Above all, this hypothesis is not supported by any literary evidence<sup>46</sup>.

Instead, I would suggest that a more reasonable explanation for the invisibility of the sarcophagus can be advanced by appealing to the theory of *decorum*<sup>47</sup>, which has recently received much interest in the field of ancient art history.

Returning for a moment to the Claudian sarcophagus displayed in the cella of the ›Beautiful Tomb‹<sup>48</sup>, this was certainly a special commission, executed according to a detailed and elaborate iconographic program. The general subject is that of the civic commemoration of the deceased: there appear on it, in fact, personifications of the public virtues and perhaps priestly status of the occupant, his role within the community at Hierapolis, and the Roman citizenship that he probably possessed, his loyalty towards Rome and his descent from one of the most illustrious Asiatic dynasties, the Seleucids. The sarcophagus is thus oriented towards a public praise of the deceased rather than towards a private and intimate celebration of his personality. Nevertheless, I have tried to demonstrate here that the actual visibility of the sarcophagus was generally limited, except from a distance which would not have allowed a viewer to perceive the full implications of its narrative reliefs.

The problem is not at all new and was magisterially raised in 1988 by P. Veyne in a provocative article<sup>49</sup>. Against those who maintained that a work of art transmitted an ideological message by means of a complex semantic system<sup>50</sup>, Veyne proposed as an interpretive tool the concept of *decorum*, or appropriateness – a work of art that cannot be closely observed, and is sometimes entirely invisible, but that may maintain its importance and significance nonetheless. Classic examples of this are the Parthenon frieze<sup>51</sup> and Trajan's column<sup>52</sup>: in both cases, the visibility of the extremely detailed frieze was compromised by its architectural context, while the degree of accuracy that both display is appropriate to the primary recipient of the monument, be it the goddess Athena or Trajan himself. It is the intrinsic perfection and the physical presence of the monuments, not its detailed reading, that performs the function for which they were designed.

Since 1988, the concept of *decorum* as an interpretive tool in reading classical monuments has seen further development and refinement. It is now clear that the language of Roman art is expressed not only through iconography – whose role is certainly not secondary – but also through other communicative tools that do not require a close interpretation of details<sup>53</sup>. Among these are the degree of visibility and the physical presence of the monument. In other words, invisibility does not imply the absence of a meaning: paradoxically, one could maintain that it is the very invisibility of the monument that contributes to its meaning.

Such monuments can be appropriately characterized as *mnemotopoi*<sup>54</sup>: places within a cultural landscape that guard and preserve the memory of a community.

<sup>45</sup> Meinecke 2012, 102.

<sup>46</sup> See now Schrumph 2006.

<sup>47</sup> Perry 2005; Harari 2008.

<sup>48</sup> Supra, n. 3.

<sup>49</sup> Veyne 1988.

<sup>50</sup> Above all Hölscher 1987.

<sup>51</sup> On issues of visibility: Osborne 1987.

<sup>52</sup> On visual strategies: Settis 1988.

<sup>53</sup> Zanker 2000b. Cf. also Veyne 2001.

<sup>54</sup> Nora 1989; Assmann 1997.

The visibility of the monument inside the civic space or in the necropolis is an integral part of the *mise-en-scène* of the heroic body<sup>55</sup>, that itself does not need to be displayed. In fact, the typology of the temple-tombs on a high podium has evident dynastic precedents and in such royal tombs the invisibility of the body of the king, and thus of his sarcophagus, is guaranteed by its inaccessibility.

The recollection of dynastic memory in Roman Asia Minor can also be activated through funerary contexts that, in their inaccessible presence, would inevitably remind the observer of royal parallels. In the vast majority of cases, it was clearly a generic cue, which was intended to illustrate the identity of the deceased by alluding to the world of late Classical and Hellenistic kingship. But in the case of the ›Beautiful Tomb‹, the hypothesized descent from the Seleucids confers greater plausibility to this interpretation. In the early imperial period, when the general tendency was rather towards a greater public accessibility for funerary monuments, this case represents a sharp contrast to the trend, exactly to underline the exceptionality of its occupant. In the same way, the complexity and stylistic quality of the decorative program on the sarcophagus were considered appropriate to the social status of the deceased. Even if the visibility of the iconographic details must have been restricted, the overall significance of the monument – which alluded, also architecturally, to dynastic precedents – was certainly not diminished.

In a well-known passage, P. Nora appropriately illustrates the identitarian function of such monuments: »We buttress our identities upon such bastions, but if what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need to build them. Conversely, if the memories that they enclosed were to be set free they would be useless; if history did not besiege memory, deforming it and transforming it, penetrating it and petrifying it, there would be no lieux de mémoire. Indeed it is this very push and pull that produces lieux de mémoire – moments of history torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, nor yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded.«<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup> Galli 2007/2008.

<sup>56</sup> Nora 1989, 12.

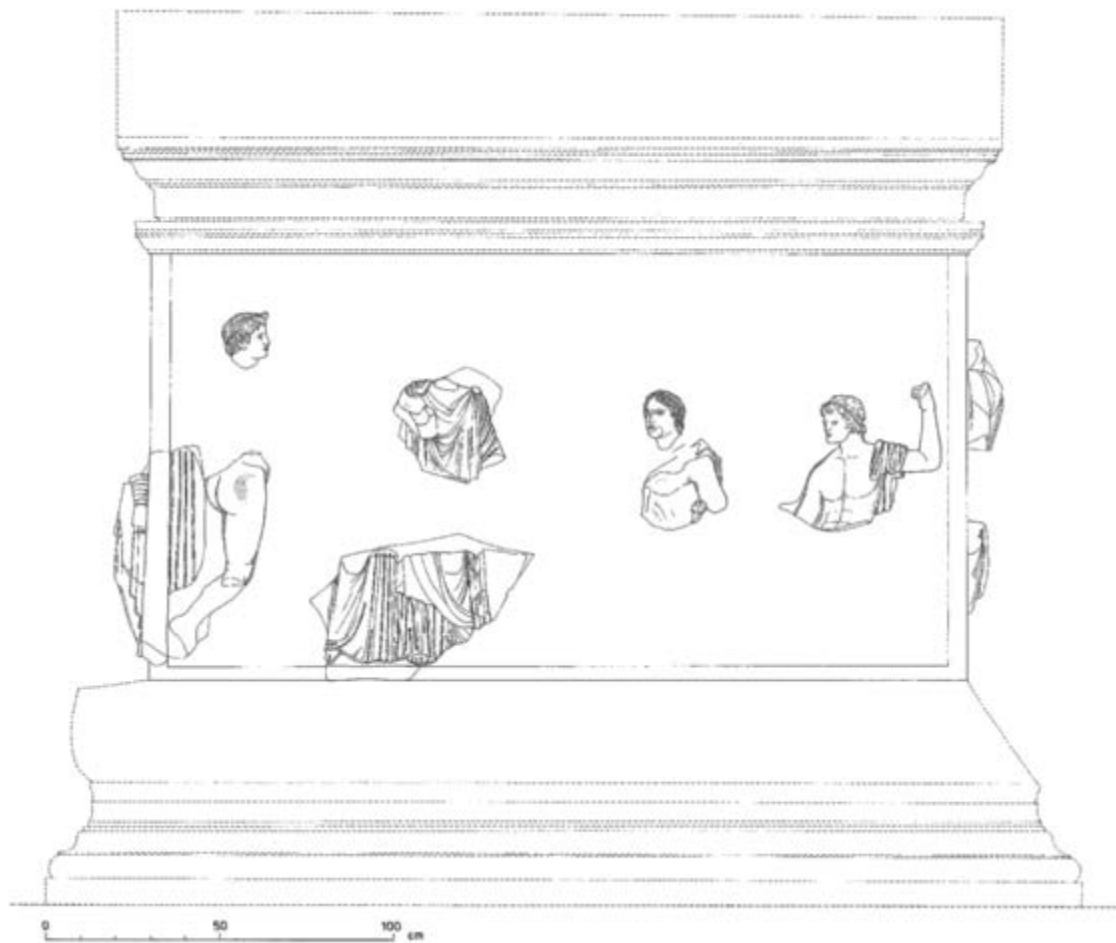
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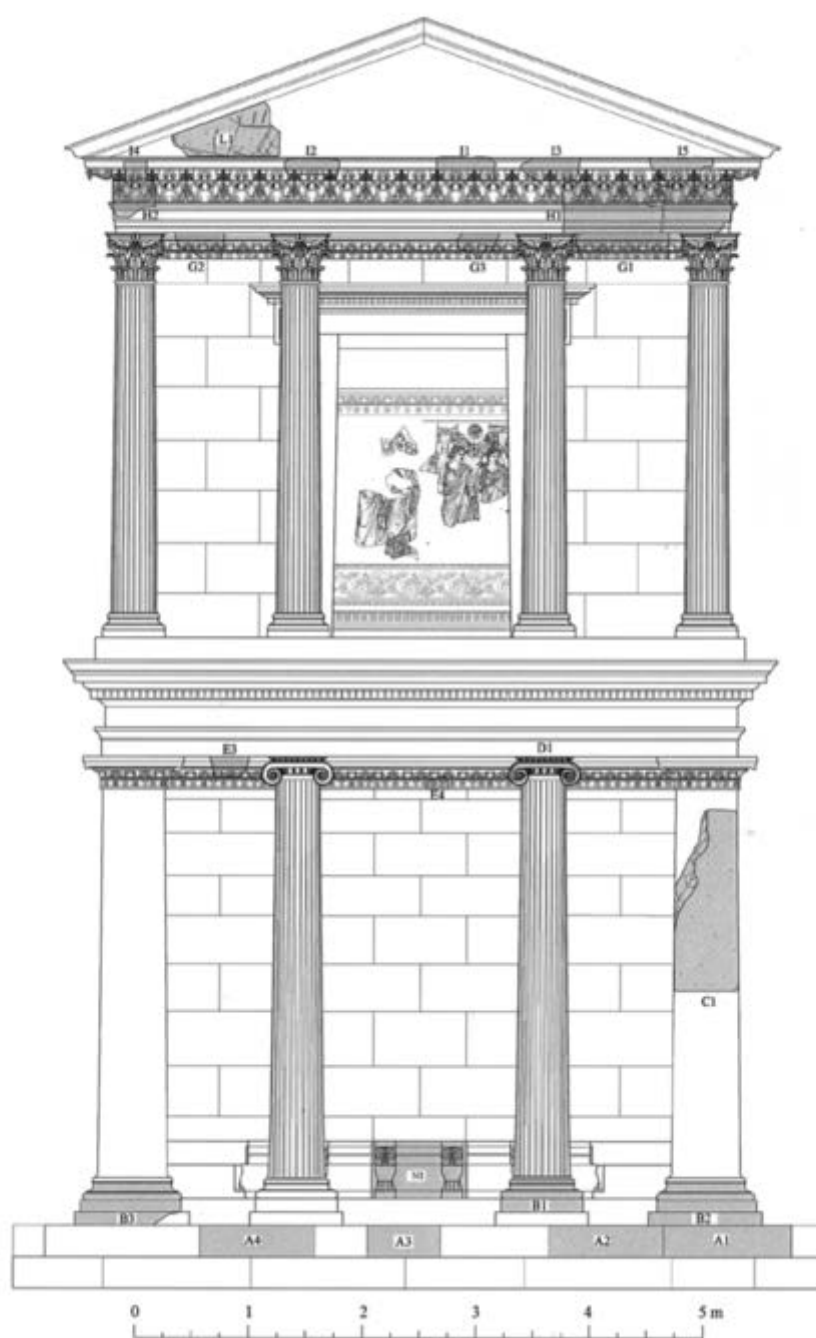
References of figures: Fig. 1: Drawing R. Rachini; fig. 2: Photo M. Döğenci; fig. 3: Reconstruction by D. Panariti; fig. 4: Reconstruction by D. Panariti; figs. 5–7: from Cormack 2004.



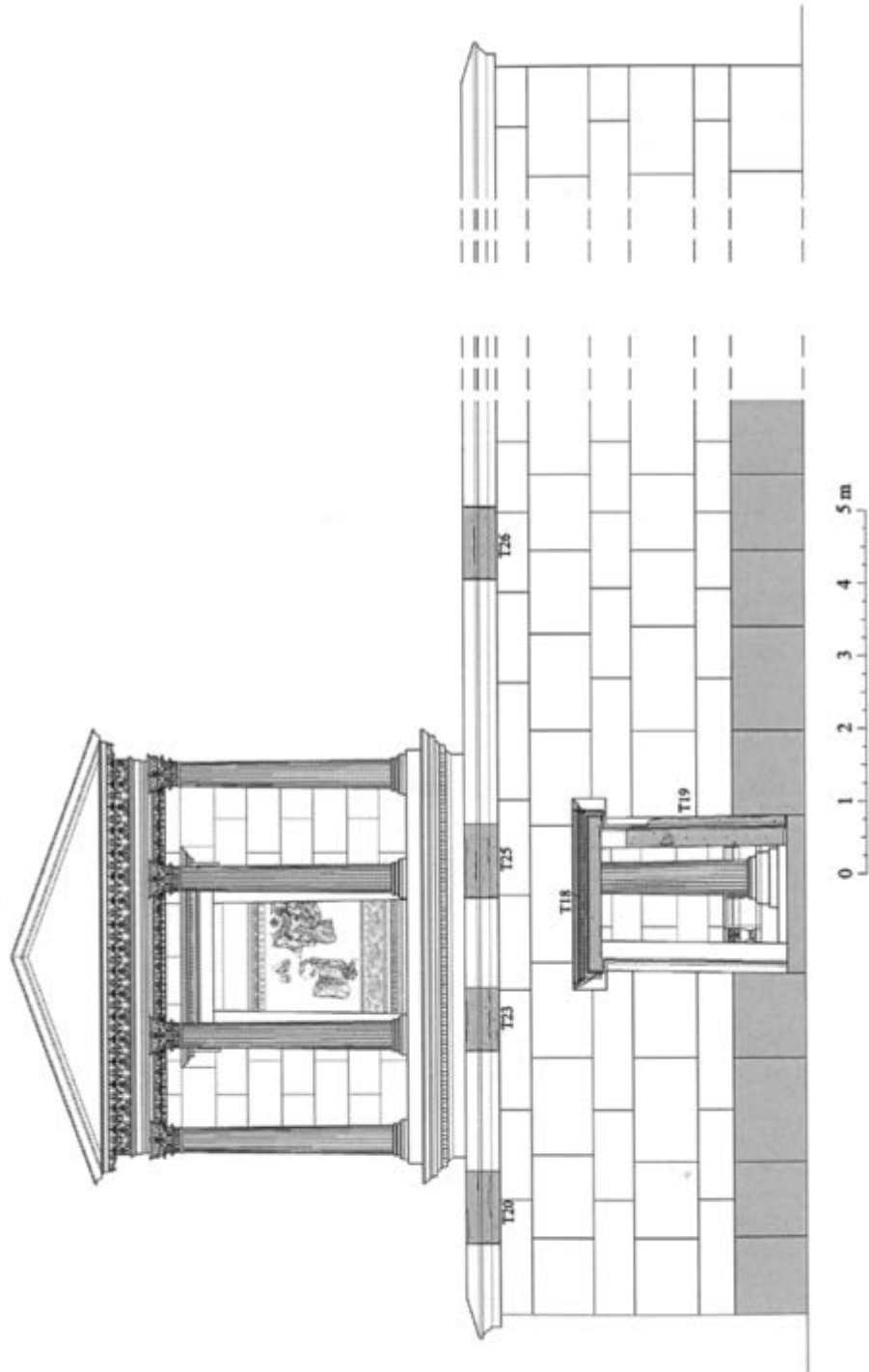
1 Hierapolis, ›Beautiful Tomb‹. Sarcophagus, reconstruction of side B



2 Hierapolis, ›Beautiful Tomb‹. Sarcophagus, Seleucos I.



3 Hierapolis, ›Beautiful Tomb‹. Façade

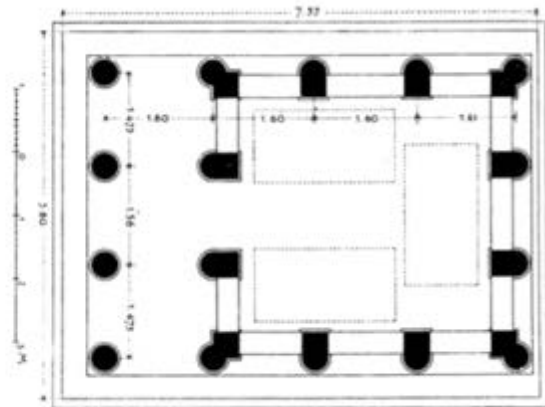


4 Hierapolis, the ›Beautiful Tomb‹ and its precinct





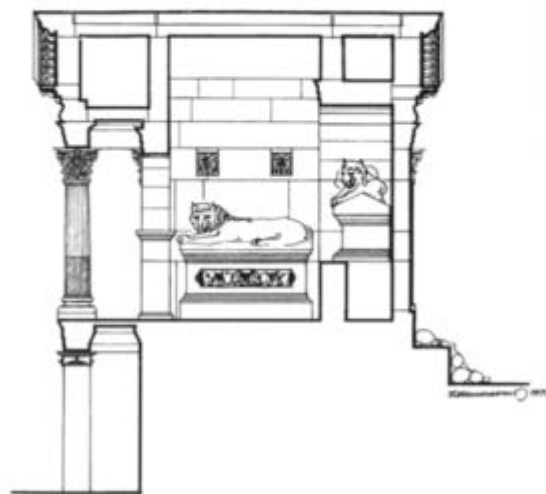
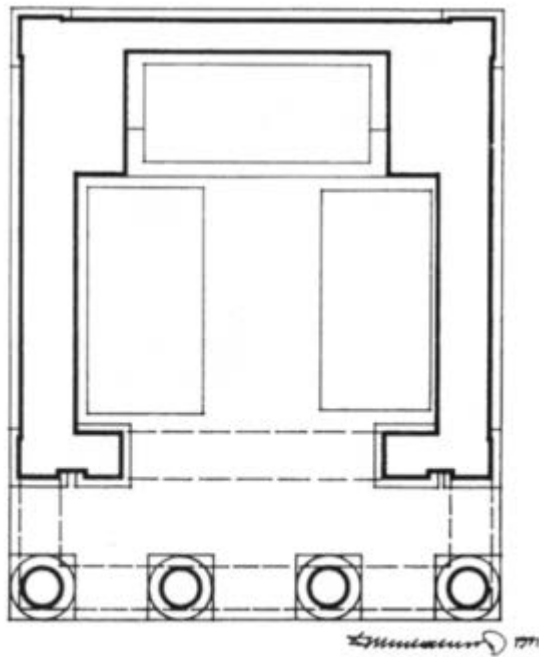
5 Hierapolis, ›Beautiful Tomb‹, 3D-reconstruction



6 Termessos, tomb of Ti. Claudia Agrippina



7 Termessos, tomb built by Aurelia Ge



8 Demircili, Tomb 2. Cella interior



ANNETTA ALEXANDRIDIS

## FUNERARY CONTAINERS FROM ROMAN SARDIS

## ABSTRACT

The paper investigates ossuaries and sarcophagi from Roman Sardis from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. to understand the social, economic and ethnic background of their commissioners and users. The main emphasis is on changing burial customs (i.e. cremation/ossuaries or inhumation/sarcophagi), different degrees of expenditure (choice of material; local production vs. import), forms of display and rank or social standing as attested in inscriptions. To place the results within a ›glocal‹ framework, the emerging pattern is compared to that of other major centres in the wider region, namely Ephesos and Aphrodisias. In the late Hellenistic age and early empire, Sardians stuck to their local tradition of cremation and the austere design of the respective funerary containers. Unlike at Ephesos, immigrants did not stand out by new and ostentatious forms of self-representation but rather blended in with local conservatism. 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. Sardian society embraced Roman Eastern culture more fully. Imported funerary containers show connectivity with other centres of production and urban culture. Unlike at Aphrodisias, the local component is difficult to grasp as the city's elites had joined the cosmopolitan community of the empire.

## ÖZET

## Roma Dönemi Sardes'i Mezar Mahfazaları

Bu makalede MÖ. 2.–3. yy. arasına ait Roma Dönemi Sardes'inden gelen *ossuaria*lar ve lahitler, bunları yaptıranların ve kullanıcılarının sosyal, ekonomik ve etnik kökenlerini anlayabilmek amacıyla incelenmektedir. Çalışmanın ağırlık merkezini gömü geleneklerindeki değişimler (yani Kremasyon/*ossuaria* veya gömü /lahit), gider seviyelerindeki farklılıklar (malzeme seçimi, yerel üretim ya da ihmal vb.), sergileme şekilleri ve yazıtlarda belgelenen rütbe veya sosyal statü oluşturmaktadır. Sonuçları bir ›glokal‹ çerçeveye yerleştirmek amacıyla gelişim modeli, geniş bir bölge içindeki diğer önemli merkezler Ephesos ve Aphrodisias ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Geç Hellenistik Dönem'de ve Erken İmparatorluk Dönemi'nde Sardesliler kendi yerel gelenekleri olan kremasyona ve kendi sade tasarımlı defin mahfazaları modellerine bağlı kalmışlardır. Efes'ten farklı olarak, göçmenler yeni ve görkemli formlarla kediilerini öne çıkarmamışlar, bilakis buradaki yerel tutuculukla kaynaşmışlardır. MS. 2. ye 3. yy.'da ise Sardes halkı Doğu Roma kültürünü tamamen benimsemiştir. İthal mezar mahfazaları, başka üretim merkezleriyle ve şehir kültürü ile olan bağlantıyı gösterir. Aphrodisias'dan farklı olarak, şehrin seçkin vatandaşları imparatorluğun kosmopolit dünyasıyla kaynaştıklarından yerel unsurları ayırt etmek zordur.

Were it not for the lavish funerary container of Claudia Antonia Sabina, the point of origin for Charles Rufus Morey's groundbreaking study on Asiatic sarcophagi from 1924<sup>1</sup>, Sardis would never have figured in *Sarkophagstudien*. Even with recent finds augmenting the corpus, evidence is too poor for identifying eventual new local types or workshops. This should not impede us from looking at funerary containers as part of a local history and the particular local, societal context, in and for which they were created. After all, they not only give insight into artistic production, economy and trade<sup>2</sup>, but also into burial customs. It is essential to inquire about the agents behind these customs and about what might have determined their choices. Funerary containers or burial customs as such are not reflective of the specific ethnic, social or economic status of their users.

<sup>1</sup> Morey 1924.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 477–484; Koch 2011.

Rather, they have to be studied in connection with each other and with the surrounding areas of the dead and the living alike in a spatial and temporal perspective<sup>3</sup>.

It is difficult to do this for Roman Sardis. Almost none of the funerary containers of Roman Sardis come from an undisturbed context or the context of their first display. Many were reused in later Roman and Byzantine times for another tomb or as mere stone material. In addition, several external circumstances from war to changes of the environment through the force of nature or agricultural work are responsible for the entire or partial loss of tombs and their content. The most recent and spectacular discoveries concerning the Roman nekropoleis at Sardis are due to road construction and looting activities<sup>4</sup>. The finds show that the tombs are situated along the old Izmir–Ankara highway, which means that they lie in large part underneath the modern village of Sart Mustafa. In antiquity, they must have bordered a main road leading into the city, perhaps the old Royal Road (fig. 1)<sup>5</sup>. This necropolis sat almost perpendicular to the Pactolus river, along the shores of which numerous other, mostly rock-cut tombs exist. Installed in the Lydian period they were re-used all through Hellenistic and Roman times<sup>6</sup>. Yet, we still lack a comprehensive idea of where all of Sardis' Roman nekropoleis were situated and how far they extended. We also miss a clear picture of monumental funerary architecture of the Roman period, only a few monuments having come to light so far.

The following observations focus on *ostothekai* and sarcophagi at Sardis. Both types of containers are associated with two different funerary customs, inhumation and incineration. Sarcophagi entombed the corpse, whereas the *ostothekai* in most cases, contrary to their terminological classification, did not hold the bones, but the ashes of the deceased after incineration<sup>7</sup>. Generally considered a Roman tradition, cremation was practiced in the Greek East at various times and places. It therefore cannot count as an ethnic marker per se. It remains to be proven on a local level to what extent Roman conquest in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. was responsible for spreading or consolidating this tradition<sup>8</sup>. Inhumation instead enjoyed a long lasting popularity among various peoples of Asia Minor, not only the Greeks. Following the general and much discussed shift in burial practices that can be observed in the entire Roman Empire<sup>9</sup>, inhumation in stone sarcophagi (re)gained importance at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>10</sup>. How does evidence at Sardis fit in here?

Conventional methods of investigation have still not been fully exploited to address this question. My paper aims to fill this gap. It is based on a typological, stylistic and epigraphic study of the material from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. Comparison with evidence from Ephesos and Aphrodisias will point out local specificities against global trends. This should also help to break down generic categories such as ›Greek‹ and ›Roman‹ along local, social and familial lines<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Pearce 2000; Cormack 1997; Cormack 2004.

<sup>4</sup> Greenewalt 2008, 193.

<sup>5</sup> Butler 1922, 135, 170; Hanfmann 1983, 2, 69, 108, 205.

<sup>6</sup> Butler 1922, 157; McLauchlin 1985, 51, 65–66.

<sup>7</sup> Koch 1993, 3, 154–162; Kubińska 1999, esp. 15–52; Thomas – İçten 1999, 550; Thomas – İçten 2007, 335 n. 1; 338. This did not preclude secondary burial.

<sup>8</sup> Spanu 2000, 174. The Ephesian evidence is not representative for the whole region, *pace* Cormack 2004, 109–110. In Rhodes, e.g., where cremation was practiced, Roman conquest had no impact on funerary culture; Fraser 1977, 11.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Morris 1992, 31–34, 42–69; Cormack 1997, 1; Thomas 2005, 286–289 with further literature.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Koch 1993, 1, 9–11. The situation on the ground was more complex, as both forms existed side by side to varying degree; see e.g. Fraser 1977, 53–54; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 480–484; Kubińska 1999, 35–36, 41–43. It remains to be studied how far local traditions translated older indigenous ones. The Lydians practiced inhumation, but the burial containers and tomb types exhibit a great variety; Dusingberre 2003, 128–157; Dusingberre 2013, 141–168; Roosevelt 2009, 135–189.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Whitmarsh 2010.



**OSTOTHEKAI AND OTHER CINERARY URNS**

Over 70 *ostothekai* or cinerary chests are known from Sardis (71 stone caskets and 10 clay urns)<sup>12</sup>. Most of them are made of marble<sup>13</sup>. These all conform to the so-called plain type with a simple, square edged profile on the bottom, followed by a triangular appendix in between the cubic feet (figs. 2–4). The gabled lids sometimes feature akroteria at the corners. The type corresponds to the plain or Hellenistic type of chests known from Ephesos or Rhodes<sup>14</sup>. Unlike in these examples<sup>15</sup>, however, the chest is not the preferred site of inscription. Instead, we occasionally find a lock imitated in relief on one of the long sides, whereas the inscriptions are usually placed on the lids (fig. 3). Form in general and lock in particular suggest that the *ostothekai* imitate wooden chests<sup>16</sup>. Where these marble *ostothekai* were produced has not been established, but one can imagine them being carved at Sardis with marble from the local quarries, such as those situated to the South of the city (Mağara Deresi)<sup>17</sup>.

Almost all *ostothekai* were made between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>18</sup>. Dating relies entirely on the epigraphy. The standard formula starts with the eponymous official (*stephanephoros* or priest of Roma), eventually the month of the year, and then lists name and age of the deceased. Nomenclature gives some indications, but does not always provide secure *termini ad* or *post* for dating the inscriptions. Fine-tuning of chronology is therefore not of concern here<sup>19</sup>.

What do we know about those who would use these funerary containers, namely about their ethnic, social and economic status? An onomastic approach of all the inscriptions reveals some details<sup>20</sup>. Most of the inscriptions are in Greek. Both men and women are recorded, the latter being in the minority. The overwhelming number of the people whose ashes were put to rest in a cinerary urn (of marble or clay) had entirely Greek names<sup>21</sup>. Only 6 out of 71 usable inscriptions

<sup>12</sup> Clay: Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 110, 116, 125–128; Malay 1994, nos. 445–448. Stone: Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 105–110, 112–115, 117–124, 129–133, 143, 170; Robert – Robert 1948, 238–239; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, no. 227; Gibson 1981, no. 2; Asgari – Edgü 1983, no. B 356; Malay 1994, nos. 435, 438–444, 449–452, 469, 470, 483, 496; Herrmann 1996b, 58; Malay – Petzl 2005, no. 8; Malay – Riel 2006, nos. 18–19. Georg Petzl is publishing a reused lid at Indiana University. Sardis: 25 unpublished pieces (three unnumbered). Provenance is not always beyond doubt. Mostly lids are preserved. Lids and chests are counted here separately unless they unmistakably belong together (such as Malay 1994, nos. 451, 452 figs. 169, 170), but double count cannot be excluded. G. Petzl is preparing an updated concordance of all the *ostothekai* from Sardis.

<sup>13</sup> Malay 1994, no. 469, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D., is made of limestone.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Asgari 1977, 336–338 fig. 15; Koch 1993, 156–158. Rhodes: Thomas – İçten 1999, 551; Thomas – İçten 2007, 337. Only a few examples have flat lids, e.g. Malay 1994, no. 450 fig. 168.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Selçuk, Museum inv. 10-3-89; Thomas 2005, 294 fig. 10.1.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Manisa, Museum inv. 4985; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 152 no. 227 fig. 294; Berlin, Antikensammlung SMPK Sk 1123: <<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/107774>> (F. Sinn) (24. 10. 2016). Preserved wooden examples look slightly different: Andrianou 2009, 67–81.

<sup>17</sup> Monna – Pensabene 1977, 176–182; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 4–7. Evidence for the provenance of marble at Sardis is inconclusive. Petrographic and isotopic analysis suggest that marble used for buildings was not sourced in the nearby quarries of Mağara Deresi or Gölmarmara, but rather came from Ephesos; Ramage – Tykot 2002; Ramage – Tykot 2011. Minor quarries in the area may not have been identified so far (personal communication Bradley M. Sekedat; Roosevelt – Luke 2007, 312). Use of local marble for local demand is suggested in Butler 1922, 176; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 5–6.

<sup>18</sup> The earliest inscription mentioning a *stephanephoros* at Sardis dates from the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C.; Buckler – Robinson 1932, 46–47 no. 21; Sherk 1992, 244. One of the latest examples lists a freedman of emperor Claudius as eponymous official; Herrmann 1996b, 57–58 with n. 15.

<sup>19</sup> The cult of Roma was introduced at Sardis after the Pergamene empire, which included the city for several years, fell to Rome in 129 B.C.; Mellor 1975, 71, 184; Sherk 1992, 244 n. 66. In the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C., the imperial cult replaced that of Roma, its priest being called *stephanephoros* again. Both titles were also used side by side. Sometimes the eponymous office is not specified at all; Herrmann 1995, 22–23 with n. 3; Herrmann 1996b, 56–58.

<sup>20</sup> Rizakis 1996b on the difficulties of such interpretations.

<sup>21</sup> With the Lydian language Lydian names disappeared in the Hellenistic period: Robert 1963, 207–322; Hanfmann 1983, 136, 213.

(ca. 8,5 %) mention a person with an entirely Latin name. In three of those cases the lettering is Greek, in three Latin. All six are carved on marble chests, the clay urns exclusively bearing Greek names and lettering. In addition, there are four inscriptions mentioning a person with a Greco-Roman name.

Given the specifics of onomastics in the Roman Greek East, the status of these individuals cannot always be determined<sup>22</sup>. We may deal with freeborn Romans from Italy, *peregrini* who became Roman citizens, or freedpeople whose native region remains unclear. Among Roman citizens from Italy, who passed away at Sardis in the late Hellenistic or early imperial time we find a Publius Bruttius Optatus of the *tribus Sabatina* and a Marcus Arruntius<sup>23</sup>. Both come from Roman *gentes* that gained importance in the late Republic, mostly outside of Italy. The Bruttii are not so well attested<sup>24</sup>, but the Arruntii are known from many other places in Asia Minor including cities close to Sardis such as Thyateira or Ephesos<sup>25</sup>. The two gentlemen were not the only people of their country working at Sardis: fragmentary inscriptions attest the presence of Rhomaioi at Sardis, as well as a group of Italic businessmen involved in the slave trade<sup>26</sup>. Optatus and Arruntius probably belonged to such *negotiatores*. That was also true for a certain M. Vigellius Rufus<sup>27</sup>. Replicating the burial custom of their owner's homeland, the funerary containers of all three nevertheless exhibit different strategies of how these immigrants were to be commemorated. Bruttius Optatus and Arruntius' *ostothekai* are plain, the lettering is in Greek, the inscription is on the lid and the formula corresponds to that customary for Greek inhabitants. In the design of their funerary containers these immigrants completely blended in with their new home's local tradition. Vigellius Rufus instead is commemorated in Latin on the front of his marble urn. As equivalent to the eponymous magistrate at Sardis the inscription names the Roman consuls (of the year 15 B.C.), M. Livius Drusus Libo and C. Calpurnius Piso. Mixing of western Roman and local habits was more obvious in commemorating a certain »D. Laelius P[...]«, whose wife installed the urn. The inscription follows the western Roman formula of a family member erecting a funerary monument for a loved one. However, it is placed on the lid as common for the traditional Sardian *ostothekai* and it is bilingual<sup>28</sup>.

Roman citizens of Greek origin play with different custom in a similar way<sup>29</sup>. A certain Moukios (Mucius), son of Orestes from the otherwise unknown Sardian tribe of the Mermnads<sup>30</sup>, a Marcus Vigellius Asiaticus, son of Demetrios and Sekunda<sup>31</sup>, and Tiberios Klaudios Theophilos Poplas, son of Menodotos, of the tribe Quirina<sup>32</sup> perhaps reveal different degrees of allegiance to Rome in their names. Yet all three men relied on local habit for their final resting place. Their ash urns entirely follow Sardian design with Greek lettering and formula. Instead, C. Octavius

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Daux 1977; Rizakis 1996b, 16–29; Salomies 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 105. 107.

<sup>24</sup> The Bruttii may stem from Southern Italy, but made their way to Rome and the Greek East: Henze 1897, 911–915, esp. no. 10; Wilson 1966, 153. The *tribus Sabatina* originated in southern Etruria: Philipp 1920, 1537–1539.

<sup>25</sup> The family may have had Etruscan origins. A M. Arruntius Aquila is attested as procurator of Paphlagonia in 50 B.C.; Rhoden 1896, 1261–1266, esp. no. 10; Elvers – Eck 1997, 32–34; see also Balland 1981, 143–167; Christol – Drew-Bear 1986, 57–59.

<sup>26</sup> Herrmann 1996a, 184–186; Herrmann 2002. On Italici, merchants and others, in the Greek East Hatzfeld 1919; Wilson 1966, 85–198.

<sup>27</sup> Malay – Petzl 2005, no. 8.

<sup>28</sup> Sardis IN 66.040.

<sup>29</sup> On granting of Roman citizenship to Greek *peregrini* in the Republic and early empire e.g. Holtheide 1983, 19–72; Mancinetti Santamaria 1983; Salomies 1993.

<sup>30</sup> Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 124. It is not beyond doubt that this person was a Roman citizen.

<sup>31</sup> Robert – Robert 1948, 114 no. 46. For the name Asiaticus see Solin 1996, 371; Solin 2003, 652–653; Fraser 2000, 157; Bauzon 2008, 120–121. On the Vigellii: Gundel – Stieglitz 1958, 2130–2131; 2569–2570. On the name Sekunda in Lydia: Solin 2001, 201–202.

<sup>32</sup> Sardis IN 60.026; 60.027; 62.125; 64.020; Herrmann 1996b, 58 n. 15.

Alexander, probably another former peregrine<sup>33</sup> opted for a solution closer to western custom<sup>34</sup>. His marble urn bears nothing but his name written in Latin letters on the front forgoing mention of an eponymous official; the relatively flat lid is empty (fig. 4).

Language and placing of inscription apart, all the urns are strikingly homogenous in their plainness. More intricate details are confined to a lock or palmette-leaves in relief on the chest<sup>35</sup>. The cubic caskets themselves are carved very carefully, the centre of the sides slightly roughed and framed by phasing. Rather than a sign of reduced economic means – marble after all is not a cheap material – this simplicity seems to have been a deliberate choice, desirable also for newcomers. Indeed, as the inscriptions indicate, the urns' owners were of a high social status. Not too many people were granted Roman citizenship in the Greek East of the late Republic and early empire. These men usually belonged to the most important families of their polis; as such they often had personal connections to high Roman magistrates, if not the emperor<sup>36</sup>. This is certainly the case for Tiberios Klaudios Theophilos: according to his funerary inscription he held one of the city's most important priesthoods, that of Zeus Polieus<sup>37</sup>.

The *ostothekai* of Sardians with entirely Greek names so far have not revealed another office holder among the deceased, but that does not mean that they were unattractive for the upper echelon of the city's society. The standard formula of the funerary inscriptions put more emphasis on an ›official‹ framing of the death by indicating the eponymous magistrate rather than the personal merits of the departed. The urns were not visible to the larger public. Eventual functions a deceased had performed would have been mentioned in other, publicly more visible spots or monuments erected by the demos, such as the grave stele for the female *stephanephoros* Menophila<sup>38</sup>. Family connections – though difficult to detect for us now – counted too. One urn, for example, held the ashes of a male relative of one of Sardis' most prominent figures, Socrates Polemaiou Pardalas, who was priest of Roma in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>39</sup>.

These urns, it seems, were used by the higher levels of Sardian society. The scarcity of information the inscriptions reveal about the individual owner was as much a matter of habitus as the casket's visual simplicity. Together, they characterized people of higher rather than lower rank. It is fitting that Roman immigrants who hoped to hold a respectable position at Sardis complied with the choices of the old-established local elite in their self-representation.

There were however more subtle ways to distinguish oneself. Context is important here. Octavius Alexander's urn (fig. 4), e.g., must have stood out among the three others that were found in the same tomb and that are inscribed on the lid according to Sardian tradition<sup>40</sup>. All four urns stood in niches, which hampered the reading of the text on the lid, whereas Alexander's, inscribed on the front, was easily legible.

Evidence is less clear when it comes to material. Marble seems to have been the preferred material for *ostothekai*, but the cheaper clay urns were not necessarily chosen by less affluent people. A rescue excavation by the Manisa museum in 1986 revealed an underground barrel-vaulted tomb

<sup>33</sup> A Sardian high priest of Asia named Alexander is known from coins; Campanile 1994, no. 9. In Rome, the name is attested for freeborn, freedmen and slaves. The social status of its bearer often remains unclear; cf. Solin 1996, 240–242; Solin 2003, 191–200. 1559. On the Octavii: Münzer et al. 1937, 1801–1857, see esp. nos. 11. 17. 20; Elvers et al. 2000, 1098–1102.

<sup>34</sup> Sinn 1987.

<sup>35</sup> E.g. Berlin, Antikensammlung SMPK Sk 1123; Hanfmann 1983, fig. 189.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. Holtheide 1983; Hanfmann 2001.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. n. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 111; Ferrandini Troisi 1999. We do not know how the physical remains of Sardis' most prominent citizens and benefactors were put to rest (cf. Hanfmann 1983, 124 fig. 187).

<sup>39</sup> Sardis IN 68.008; Hanfmann 1983, 125; cf. Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 127. A later member of the family became high priest of Asia; Campanile 1994, no. 26.

<sup>40</sup> Greenewalt et al. 1977, 50–51; Hanfmann 1983, 124–125. The context has been lost in Malay 1994, nos. 450 (= IN 75.002), 451/452 (= IN 75.001), 470 (= IN 75.004), 483 (= IN 75.003). It remains unclear whether and how the owners of the four urns were connected.

with benches along the walls<sup>41</sup>. Several *ostothekai* and earthenware urns stood next to each other on these benches<sup>42</sup>. The inscriptions on the terracotta containers, whether incised or written in ink on the outside, follow the same formula as those on the marble chests. The relations of the deceased to each other remain somewhat elusive. Some of the inscriptions reveal kinship connections, but it is not possible to establish a coherent genealogical tree<sup>43</sup>. And yet, three inscriptions mentioning a Pantainetos suggest family relations between persons named on two clay urns and one marble urn respectively: the ashes of Pantainetos and a daughter of his were contained in a clay urn, those of his wife in a marble chest<sup>44</sup>. Does this reflect different moments in a family's financial potential? This find complicates the idea of rich versus poor burials. The whole tomb in any case, including the vaulting suggests that some expenditure was connected to all the sepulchres.

Despite many uncertainties, the urns reveal something about Sardian society in general under early Roman rule. Comparison with *ostothekai* from Ephesos helps us to understand. According to Christine Thomas, production of burial containers in Ephesos targeted different groups of population. Whereas plain ossuaries of the Hellenistic type were used by Greeks and immigrants alike, another cinerary casket production started in Ephesos. In the early Augustan period, garland-ossuaries of the semi-finished or finished type were preferred by new settlers from Italy<sup>45</sup>. Their more opulent decoration seems to have been catered towards this clientele, which consisted of freeborn Romans – mostly of lesser *gentes* – and even more so freedpeople<sup>46</sup>. It mixed Greek and Roman traditions by applying an old micro-asiatic iconographic motif, the garland, to small funerary containers. Following Ian Hodder, Thomas sees here a society »under stress«<sup>47</sup>. Immigrants felt the pressure to set themselves apart from the autochthonous population. Simultaneously, there was competition between the newcomers. Both factors resulted in more ostentatious self-representation and eventually the introduction of new designs such as the garlands on *ostothekai*<sup>48</sup>.

While such garland-ossuaries (finished or semi-finished) gained some popularity also beyond Ephesos<sup>49</sup>, none of them have so far come to light at Sardis. If we stick to Hodder's model the lack of non-conspicuous burial containers at Sardis would point to a stable society<sup>50</sup>. Not »stressed« by various power struggles people would not have felt the need to assert their own position in showy ways (which did not necessarily reflect *de facto* power or wealth). I think we have to modify the model, for it is unlikely that there was no competition at all. At Sardis, it simply did not play out in self-representation within the tomb or it did so in more subtle ways as indicated above. Moreover, who came from outside and wanted to belong complied with the habit of simplicity performed by the rest of the higher society.

How much this attitude was due to the power of tradition at Sardis only, is difficult to tell, but it also seems that there were less prominent immigrants at Sardis than at the capital of the province of Asia. This is not to deny the presence of Rhomaioi or Italic *negotiatores*<sup>51</sup> or the possibility

<sup>41</sup> Dedeoğlu – Malay 1991. Cinerary urns had also been deposited on benches in various tombs on the Pactolus cliff; Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 110. 116. 125–128. This placement facilitated reading of the inscriptions on the lid.

<sup>42</sup> Dedeoğlu – Malay 1991, nos. 1–9 (= Malay 1994, nos. 440–444. 445–448).

<sup>43</sup> Dedeoğlu – Malay 1991, 113–114 think of a single large family, but the original tomb context may have been disturbed.

<sup>44</sup> Dedeoğlu – Malay 1991, 115–118 nos. 4. 5. 7; Malay 1994, 130 nos. 443. 445. 446.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas – İçten 1999; Thomas – İçten 2007; Büyükkolancı – Engelmann – Thomas 2010; Thomas 2005; see also Asgari 1977, 335–338.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas – İçten 2007, 339–342; cf. above (Bruttius and Arruntius attested at Sardis).

<sup>47</sup> Hodder 1979.

<sup>48</sup> See also Mayer 2012 on specific aesthetic choices of the middle classes.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Samos, Aegina; Koch 1993, 158–159.

<sup>50</sup> We lack sufficient tomb architecture or grave goods to further support this claim.

<sup>51</sup> Herrmann 1996a; Herrmann 2002.



of social success for foreigners in the old Lydian capital – a freedman of Emperor Claudius, for example, held several offices<sup>52</sup> –, but autochthonous Greek names show up much more among deceased and office holders alike<sup>53</sup>. The comparison admittedly relies on asymmetric evidence as the Sardian epigraphic corpus is much poorer than the Ephesian one. Yet as a working hypothesis I see Sardis in a certain opposition to Ephesos and much more in line with Pergamon as described by Helmut Halfmann<sup>54</sup>. The new capital of the province, a vibrant harbour city, offered plenty of career opportunities to immigrants, including those with a socially inferior background such as freedpeople, who consequently made an impact on the public and urbanistic face of their new home. Venerable, but more conservative poleis in the interior, such as Sardis or Pergamon instead, with their great (imperial) history, traditions and pride did not feel an immediate need to embrace new people or to work their way up in the new system set up by the Romans<sup>55</sup>. Of course there were some members of the high elite who took advantage of their personal relationships with the new rulers to promote their hometowns, but not many were interested in achieving Roman citizenship<sup>56</sup>. At Sardis this attitude clearly changed after the devastating earthquake in 17 A.D. and subsequent massive support by Tiberius<sup>57</sup>. Yet even then local customs remained strong; at least as far as burial containers are concerned, immigrants complied with what had been practiced at Sardis for centuries.

## SARCOPHAGI

At Ephesos, the transition from incineration to inhumation and consequently from cinerary urns to sarcophagi, can be attributed to the initiative of affluent immigrants<sup>58</sup>. Evidence at Sardis is too scarce to trace this passage, but the change eventually took place as three more or less complete sarcophagi and numerous fragments attest. They date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. and mostly belong to garland sarcophagi of various quality including *Halbfabrikate*<sup>59</sup>. Many fragments are too small to have their origin determined, but some can clearly be assigned to Ephesian workshops on a typological basis (fig. 7)<sup>60</sup>. Better preserved are sarcophagi of various types from the Dokimeian production, including columnar ones (figs. 5. 6)<sup>61</sup>. So far, I have not been able to identify pieces made from local marble. Although this awaits further study together with more marble sampling, it is clear that many Sardians of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. chose their funerary containers not from local, but other, well-known workshops in Asia Minor<sup>62</sup>. This might point

<sup>52</sup> Herrmann 1996b, 58 n. 15; Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 41. 42.

<sup>53</sup> Marc Anthony himself is listed twice as *autokratoras* (Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 129; Herrmann 1995, 23), but that might result from him being regarded as a Hellenistic ruler.

<sup>54</sup> Halfmann 2001, 11–35.

<sup>55</sup> Holtheide 1983; Halfmann 2001, 11–21.

<sup>56</sup> Or they were not considered worthy of it; cf. Holtheide 1983 on the generally low number of new citizens in the Greek East.

<sup>57</sup> See e.g. Buckler – Robinson 1932, nos. 10. 11. The city lost against Smyrna in competing for a *neokoria*. When it received its first *neokoria* is unclear; Burrell 2004, 100–115.

<sup>58</sup> Asgari 1977, 337–343; Thomas – İtten 1999; Thomas – İtten 2007; Thomas 2005; Büyükkolancı – Engelmann – Thomas 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Asgari 1977; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 484–497; Işık 1992; Koch 1993, 162–168.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Malay 1994, no. 435 fig. 163; Sardis IN 62.032; 62.114. Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, no. 172 fig. 320 could have been made from an Ephesian *Halbfabrikat*. On Ephesian production: e.g. Koch 1999; Heinz 2001; Steskal et al. 2003, 252–268.

<sup>61</sup> Strigilate: Izmir, Museum inv. 833 (Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, no. 280 figs. 448. 449; Waelkens 1982, 40 R 1 pl. 12, 1. 2). Columnar sarcophagus probably depicting labours of Herakles: Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 136–137 no. 184 fig. 333; cf. Wiegartz 1965, 152 pl. 32, 2; Morey 1924, 47–48 fig. 84; Özgan 2003, no. 4 pl. 20, 2. Other columnar sarcophagus fragments: Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, nos. 142. 173. 174. 179–182. 243. 244 figs. 321. 324. 327–331. 422–424; see also below. The so-called Pactolus sarcophagus (Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 134–136 nos. 180–182) consists of several fragments of figures from different sarcophagi probably chopped off for reuse of the chest. Sardis depot: seven inventoried and several uninventoried fragments.

<sup>62</sup> Proconnesian examples have so far not been identified.



to affluent patrons importing marble and craftsmanship to heighten their own prestige. Does the origin of these imported pieces betray something more about their Sardian patrons?

Two columnar sarcophagi from Dokimeion are the best preserved. Both were put on display in tombs along the same West-East road. It is highly likely that this was the most prestigious of the city's necropoleis, at least as it came closer to town. This would have been the road leading to and from other cities in the west and at the coast such as Ephesos; from here one was to expect important visitors. The tombs' placement already indicated their owner's status. The architecture might have added even more prestige<sup>63</sup>.

The most famous of the sarcophagi belonged to a member of the upper echelon of the local and empire wide society: Claudia Antonia Sabina was a woman of consular rank (ὕπατική) as stated by the inscription on the lid (fig. 5)<sup>64</sup>. Although it is not possible to reconstruct her genealogical tree, she seems to have been connected to several high standing individuals in the empire and in Asia<sup>65</sup>.

Two women are shown reclining, an unusual feature<sup>66</sup>. The chest shows male and female figures in an elaborate architecture, an iconography that is usually interpreted as a visual equivalent to the literate culture of the Second Sophistic and simultaneously the honorific furnishing of a city's public architecture<sup>67</sup>. This burial container's material, expenditure, craftsmanship and iconography visualized what its owner would have aspired to or lived for: to be an active part of the world it evoked. And indeed, Sabina contributed to the embellishment of her hometown. An inscription from the Bath Gymnasium records her having co-funded the gilding of the marble court in honour of the emperor Caracalla<sup>68</sup>.

The owners of another Asiatic columnar sarcophagus could not come up with such a fine pedigree (fig. 6)<sup>69</sup>. A certain Kl(audios) Ant(onios) Hermon and probably his wife Aur(elia) Thaleia had their names inscribed on the chest's lower rim<sup>70</sup>. The woman's *nomen gentile* suggests that she became a Roman citizen with the Constitutio Antoniniana in 212 A.D. This gives a *terminus ad* or *post quem* for her burial. From a stylistic point of view, however, the sarcophagus dates to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., i.e. before the Constitutio Antoniniana<sup>71</sup>. It could have been sitting for a while in the workshops or acquired by Hermon and Thaleia during their lifetime and waiting in their tomb<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> Claudia Sabina's tomb is lost today. Its reconstruction (Butler 1922, 135–139, 171–174) remains conjecture. The outward appearance and upper part of Hermon and Thaleia's tomb is unknown; it probably collapsed in antiquity. The sarcophagus was placed in a narrow tomb chamber, underground and invisible from outside: Greenewalt 2008, 197 figs. 1, 7.

<sup>64</sup> Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. 4027; Morey 1924, 6–17 figs. 3–7, 9–14; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, no. 243 fig. 422.

<sup>65</sup> Her husband is unknown *pace* Morey 1924, 15–16. Other family relations, namely Cl. Ant. Lepidus, high-priest of Asia, and Cl. Ant. Tatiane from Aphrodisias, are proposed by PIR II (1936) 1070 (Groag); Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, no. 218; Campanile 1994, no. 58.

<sup>66</sup> Morey 1924, 8–9. 15 interprets them as mother and daughter. There seem to be traces of reworking. The missing head was probably shipped to the United States (Yegül 2010, 81) and might have ended there in a private collection (personal communication Fikret Yegül). If it showed Sabina she would have been represented with a late Antonine hairstyle. The famous lady was still active in Severan times; it is not unusual that portraits of elder people show them with traditional hairdo (e.g. Kockel 1993, 58). The sarcophagus itself can still date from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.; Strocka 1971.

<sup>67</sup> Ögüş Uzun 2010, 82–89; Thomas 2010; Alexandridis 2014. The reconstruction in the Istanbul Museum is wrong. It is also unlikely that the back side was plain, *pace* Morey 1924, 4.

<sup>68</sup> Yegül 1986, 48, 170; Herrmann 1993, 233–235.

<sup>69</sup> S 07.002 was brought to light in a rescue excavation and is severely damaged by looting; Greenewalt 2008, 193–194, 200–202 figs. 7–10. NoEx 84.001 joins the male figure to the right of the front; cf. a sarcophagus from Laodikeia: Şimşek 1997.

<sup>70</sup> Sardis IN 07.004. Thaleia's name would have corresponded with the portrait of the reclining woman on the lid.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Wiegartz 1965, 26–34 pls. 6 b; 29 b; Waelkens 1982, 68–71, 81–83 (»ca. 190–195 CE«).

<sup>72</sup> Hermon seems to have been interred later than his wife. The less deep and less precise lettering of his name suggests that the chiseler had no easy access to the surface as the sarcophagus was already in place.

Studying the sarcophagi from Aphrodisias R. R. R. Smith and Esen Ögüş Uzun have explained their sudden increase in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. with the equally escalating numbers of new Roman citizens due to Caracalla's edict<sup>73</sup>. These people mainly belonged to the middle classes, often craftsmen, who now displayed their civic aspirations in sarcophagi emulating famous models from Dokimeion or with new designs. They entirely resorted to their own proud local production. While the Sardinian Thaleia most probably belonged to this group of new citizens<sup>74</sup>, her partner stemmed from a family that had acquired Roman citizenship in early imperial times, maybe through Antonia the Younger. Even if the inscription lacks more specific details about the couple's rank and independent of the dating of the sarcophagus, therefore, these people cannot be considered new social climbers<sup>75</sup>. That said, it is conceivable for sufficiently affluent members of the ›sub-elite‹ or middle classes to have acquired a sarcophagus of such a fancy ›brand‹.

Can we conversely assert that production of burial containers of less intricate design catered towards the middle strata of society? Evidence at Sardis is too scanty to embark on an answer, although the many fragments of garland sarcophagi made in Ephesian workshops make such a case. Expenses were certainly lower: the sarcophagi were worked from semi-finished pieces or left as such and imported from not too far away. At Ephesos itself, members of the middle classes are attested as owning locally produced sarcophagi, similar to Aphrodisias<sup>76</sup>. The case of the Sardinian Tiberius Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus complicates this picture. Although housed in the lavish architecture of the library at Ephesos, the governor of Asia's body was put to rest in a relatively moderate, half finished garland sarcophagus of local – admittedly high quality – manufacture<sup>77</sup>. What type of sarcophagi the Sardinian middle classes of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>78</sup> might have chosen and whether there was local pride in local or regional production remains an open question.

## CONCLUSION

It was one of the aims of this conference to detect local differences and specificities in the production and use of sculptures. The Sardinian funerary containers so far provide rather incoherent evidence. But in comparison with Ephesos and Aphrodisias they still betray certain local specificities concerning burial customs and their monumentalization. In the late Hellenistic age or late Republic, Sardians stuck to their local traditions of cremation (mediated as they were through Roman presence in the East) and the austere design of the respective funerary containers. Unlike at Ephesos, immigrants did not stand out by new and conspicuous forms of self-representation but rather blended in with local custom. It seems that 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. Sardinian society embraced Roman Eastern culture more fully. Imported funerary containers show connectivity with other centres of production and urban culture. The vernacular component is still difficult to grasp as the city had joined the cosmopolitan community of the empire.

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<sup>73</sup> Necropoleis: Turnbow 2012; sarcophagi: Smith 2008; Smith 2011, 65–68; Smith 2012, 174–182; Ögüş Uzun 2010; Işık 1984; Işık 2007.

<sup>74</sup> Aurelii can also have been granted citizenship under the Antonines, but most received it under Caracalla: Holt-Heide 1983, 104–127; Buraselis 1996, 61–63; Buraselis 2007, 84–120; see also Garnsey 2004, 140–149.

<sup>75</sup> Their wealth might be indicated by some of the grave goods, especially several gold earrings (Greenewalt 2008, fig. 6). The heavy looting does not allow for attributing all of them to this burial, but they date to the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> centuries A.D. (personal communication Gertrud Platz-Horster).

<sup>76</sup> Steskal et al. 2003, 252–268.

<sup>77</sup> Strocka 2009.

<sup>78</sup> Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 159 mentions an Aurelius Epiktetos, dealer in swine, as owner of a tomb.

matters, I have greatly profited from the late Peter Herrmann's notes and from Georg Petzl's generous help. Special thanks to the Sardis team for help with the images, and to Michael D. Morris for critical readership. All errors are my own. Literature published after 2014 could not be considered.

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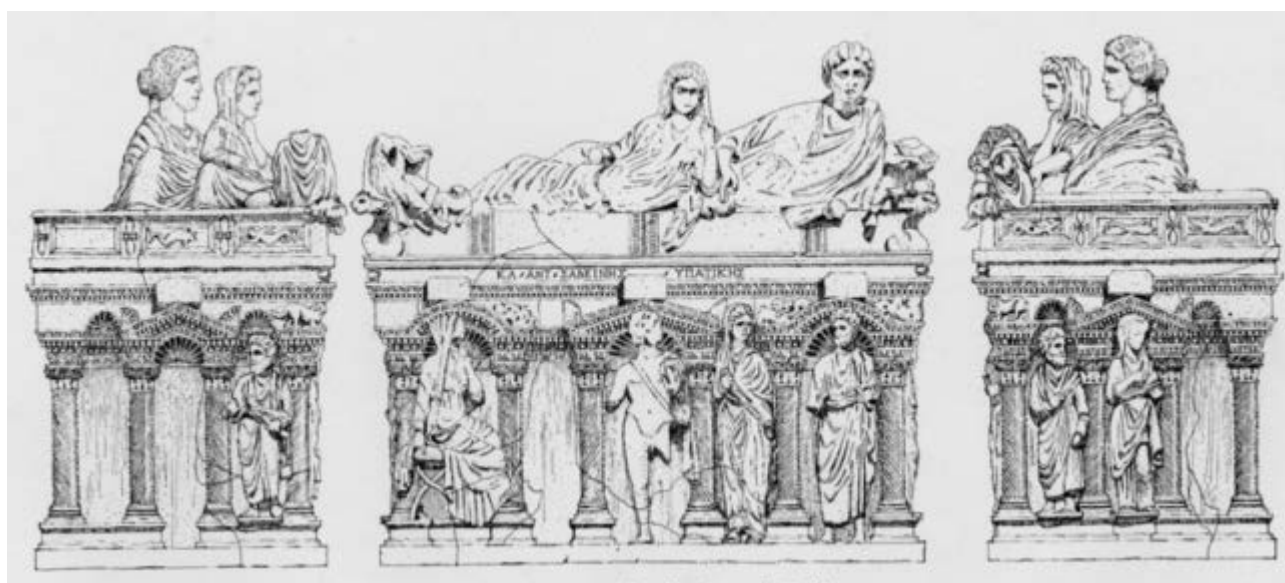
2 Ostotheke of Lysimachos from Sardis (Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 123); Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3308



3 Ostotheke of Sardion from Sardis (Buckler – Robinson 1932, no. 120); Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3309



4 Ostotheke of C. Octavius Alexander from Sardis; Manisa Museum inv. 5002



5 Sarcophagus of Klaudia Antonia Sabeina, reconstruction; Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. 4027



6 Sarcophagus of Klaudios Antonios Hermon and Aurelia Thaleia; Sardis, S 07.002



7 Fragment of garland sarcophagus; Sardis, NoEx 67.003



BEKİR TULUK

## OSTOTHEKEN UND SARKOPHAGE DES EPHESES-TYPS IN DEN MUSEEN VON TİRE UND ÖDEMİŞ

### ABSTRACT

#### *Ostothekai* and Sarcophagi of Ephesian Type in the Museums of Tire and Ödemiş

*Ostothekai* and sarcophagi with garlands from Ephesos are of great importance, with regard to development and workshops, amongst the *ostothekai* and sarcophagi with garlands produced in Asia Minor. For the study of this group, a total of 336 *ostothekai* and 280 sarcophagi were identified and investigated. From Teira and Hypaipa, a total of 17 *ostothekai* and 22 sarcophagi were identified and thereby found their place in the historical sequence of Ephesian productions.

*Ostothekai* and sarcophagi with garlands, which until today have been viewed as products of Ephesos, have until now always been described as works of Ionian type or of the region of Lydia. Without wishing to disregard the influence of these regions on production in Ephesos, it is, however, at the moment not possible to prove Ionian production. With the exception of a few exported works, which were produced exclusively in local workshops, there is absolutely no evidence that such a production existed in Italy, on the Greek mainland and in the east. The examples which are found today in the museums of Tire and Ödemiş support the viewpoint that the production of *ostothekai* of Ephesian type with garlands began in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. while the production of sarcophagi began in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., and ended in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. It can be shown that both the *ostothekai* and the sarcophagi from Ephesos as well as those from the Kaystros valley followed each other, and that they mutually complemented each other with regard to decoration, working, and production.

### ÖZET

#### Tire ve Ödemiş Müzeleri'ndeki Efes Tipi Ostothek ve Lahitler

Küçük Asya'da üretilmiş girlandlı ostothek ve lahitlerin içinde önemli bir gelişim ve atölye birliği gösteren Efes Girlandlı ostothek ve lahitlerini »bir bütün halinde araştırılması« kapsamında 336 adet ostothek, 280 adet sarkophag tespit edilip incelenmiştir. Bu genel araştırma içinde yer alan Teira ve Hypaipa'da toplam 17 adet ostothek 22 adet sarkophag tespit edilmiştir ve Efes üretimin tarihsel sıralaması dâhilinde kendilerine yer bulmuşlardır.

Bu güne kadar Efes üretimi olarak anılan girlandlı ostothek ve lahitler hep İonia Tipi ya da Lidya bölgesi eserleri olarak anlatılmıştır. Ancak Efes üretiminin bu bölgelerin zengin kültüründen etkilendiği gerçeğini göz ardı etmeden, İonia üretimini ispatlamak şimdilik olanaksızdır. Tamamen yerel Ephesos atölyelerinde üretimi gerçekleştirilmiş bu eserlerin ihraç edilmiş birkaç örneği dışında, İtalya'da, kıt'a Yunanistan'da ve doğuda üretiminin yapıldığına dair kanıtlara henüz ulaşamamıştır. Tire ve Ödemiş Müzelerine kazandırılmış bu örnekler, Efes girlandlı ostothek üretiminin MÖ. 1. yy da; girlandlı lahit üretiminin de MS. erken 1. yy da başladığını ve MS. 3. yy sona erdiğini destekler. Gerek Ephesos ve gerekse Kaistros Vadisi ostothek ve lahitlerinin birbirlerinin ardılları olduğu, dekorasyon, işçilik ve üretim gelenekleri olarak birbirlerini tamamlayıcı oldukları görülmektedir.

Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs, die eine wichtige Gruppe unter den in Kleinasien hergestellten unzähligen Ostotheken<sup>1</sup> und Sarkophagen darstellen, wurden bis dato noch nicht in ihrer Gesamtheit hinsichtlich ihrer Anfänge, Entwicklungen und Verbreitungsgebiete untersucht<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Asgari 1965, 75–92 behandelte in ihrer unveröffentlichten Doktorarbeit 31 Ostotheken aus Ephesos und 4 Ostotheken aus Tire (davon zwei nicht verziert, zwei mit Girlanden). Zudem veröffentlichte Asgari 1977, 373, drei weitere Ostotheken aus Ephesos. C. İçten und C. M. Thomas verweisen auf 110 Ostotheken (Thomas – İçten 1995, Anm.1).

<sup>2</sup> Zu girlandenverzierten Sarkophagen: Strocka 1978; Strocka 1996; Işık 1992.



Deshalb habe ich die ephesischen girlandenverzierten Ostotheken und Sarkophage insgesamt zusammengestellt und von den Anfängen bis zum Ende sowie von der Verbreitung dieser Gattung ausgehend einige Erkenntnisse gewonnen<sup>3</sup>. Der Kontext für die girlandenverzierten Ephesos-Ostotheken und -Sarkophage ist selten bekannt<sup>4</sup>. Die behandelten Stücke sind größtenteils Geschenke an Museen oder Ankäufe der Museen, oder aber es handelt sich um für Brunnen benutzte Stücke aus der näheren Region.

Im Museum von Tire befinden sich 6 Ostotheken<sup>5</sup> und 16 Sarkophage<sup>6</sup>, im Museum von Ödemiş werden 11 Ostotheken und 6 Sarkophage aufbewahrt. Das umgekehrt proportionale Verhältnis zwischen Ostotheken und Sarkophagen in diesen Museen kann derzeit nicht erklärt werden.

Eine Ostothek (Kat. 7) wurde in Bornova, Izmir, gefunden und ist gegenwärtig im Museum von Ödemiş ausgestellt. Eine andere Ostothek (Kat. 9) wurde diesem Museum von einer privaten Sammlung übergeben. Die noch heute im Museum in Izmir ausgestellten Objekte Kat. 17 (Abb. 3 a–b) und Kat. S-22 (Abb. 7, Gruppe V) wurden hingegen in Hypaipa gefunden. Die beiden in Ödemiş aufbewahrten Ostotheken haben hinsichtlich ihrer Langseiten eine Besonderheit innerhalb der untersuchten Gruppe: Kat. 9 und Kat. 15 (Abb. 7, Gruppe II) weisen eine Widder-Stier-Widder-Dekoration und im Gegensatz zu den Langseiten der anderen Ostotheken drei Girlanden auf.

Von den Ostotheken, die in Ödemiş und Umgebung gefunden wurden, verfügen nur drei Objekte über ihre originalen Deckel. Keine der Ostotheken in Tire hat einen Deckel<sup>7</sup>.

## OSTOTHEKEN

Nur eine der in Tire gefundenen Ostotheken hat vier bearbeitete Seiten (Kat. 5)<sup>8</sup>, die anderen haben vollständig bearbeitete Vorderseiten. Die Schmalseiten hingegen wurden schlicht mit Blättern verziert<sup>9</sup>. In diesem Fall ist anzunehmen, dass in der frühen Herstellungstechnik alle vier Seiten bearbeitet wurden, ohne Rücksicht auf den zukünftigen Aufstellungsort. Die aus – wie Kieselsteine aussehenden – Blättern bestehende Girlande von Kat. 5 sowie die Manschette sind nahezu identisch mit Studien-Nr. 1149 (Studien-Nr. bezieht sich auf Objekte im Depot des Efes Müzesi, Selçuk ohne Inv. [Etüdlük]). Da der Eckträger der Studien-Nr. 1149 abgebrochen ist, gibt es keine Möglichkeit des Vergleichs, doch ist auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen, dass beide Werke von demselben Meister hergestellt wurden. Die Blätter der Girlande von Kat. 5 sind zur Mitte gerichtet, dort befindet sich auch eine fest geknüpfte Schleife. Die Schleifen am Anfang und in der Mitte der Girlande sind festgezurr; es hängen keine Tänien herab.

Bei den nach dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. hergestellten anderen Ostotheken kann man erkennen, dass aufgrund der Serienproduktion hauptsächlich die Vorderseite bearbeitet wurde, die Schmalseiten hingegen schlicht und schematisch ausgeführt wurden. Die Rückseite wurde unbearbeitet

<sup>3</sup> An dieser Stelle möchte ich Prof. Dr. R. Stupperich für die mir gebotene Möglichkeit danken, meine Doktorarbeit mit dem Titel »Die Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs« zu verfassen, und dafür, dass er mir in allen Belangen seine Hilfe zuteilwerden ließ. Zudem möchte ich Prof. Dr. V. M. Strocka und Prof. Dr. C. Özgan für deren Unterstützung danken. Prof. Dr. C. Thomas danke ich für ihre Unterstützung bezüglich der Ostotheken.

<sup>4</sup> Büyükkolancı – Thomas – Engelmann 2010: Der Kontext der zuletzt in Ephesos gefundenen Stücke wurde allerdings ohne die Angabe ihrer Inhalte veröffentlicht.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas – İçten 1995, Anm. 4, sprechen von 15 vorhandenen Ostotheken in Tire. Von diesen sind jedoch nur 6 girlandenverziert und gehören dem Ephesos-Typ an.

<sup>6</sup> Ein prokonnesischer Sarkophag aus dem Museum in Tire wird hier nicht behandelt.

<sup>7</sup> Da die meisten Ostotheken von Brunnen und ähnlichen Orten stammen, sind die Originaldeckel zumeist nicht mehr vorhanden. Ein Teil der gefundenen Deckel wurde bei der Aufbewahrung verwechselt. Die Deckel der Ostotheken und Sarkophage werden hier nicht besprochen.

<sup>8</sup> Kat. 5. Die Widder in den Ecken sowie die aus stilisierten Blättern bestehenden Girlanden sind auf allen Seiten identisch.

<sup>9</sup> Kat. 2. 4. 6.

belassen. Die Schmalseiten von Kat. 3 und von einer Ostothek im Museum in Aydın<sup>10</sup> verblieben als Halbfabrikat.

An den Ostotheken des Ephesos-Typs wurden als Girlandenschmuck Blattgirlanden, Frucht- und Blattgirlanden sowie Girlanden, die nur aus Früchten bestehen, verwendet: 10 Ostotheken verfügen über Blattgirlanden, 4 über Fruchtgirlanden. Diese Anzahl ist sehr gering im Vergleich zu Girlanden, die aus Blättern und Früchten bestehen (6 % zu 2 %). Der Grund dafür liegt vielleicht darin, dass – im Gegensatz zu Blattgirlanden, die in der Architektur verwendet wurden<sup>11</sup>, – bei Ostotheken wie auch an Altären<sup>12</sup> die Blattgirlande später als die Früchte-Blatt-Girlande verwendet wurde und aufgrund des Fehlens der Früchte, die die Fruchtbarkeit symbolisieren, keine Beachtung fand. Die reinen Fruchtgirlanden könnten dagegen als zu schematisch empfunden worden sein. Man verwendete vermutlich deswegen die Fruchtgirlanden nicht so oft wie die anderen Girlandenarten.

Der Kasten von Kat. 4 ist länger als sonst bei Ostotheken üblich. Die Bearbeitung der Blätter der Schmalseiten ist identisch mit jener der Blätter eines Teils der linken Girlande auf der Vorderseite und sehr ähnlich den Blättern der Schmalseiten von Kat. 6.

Die Maße des Kastens Kat. 17 (Abb. 3 a–b) sind größer als die einer Ostothek und kleiner als die eines Sarkophags<sup>13</sup>. Alle vier Seiten sind bearbeitet, die Vorderseite jedoch wurde mit Medusenköpfen und durch die Bearbeitungsweise der Girlande betont. Die Gestaltung des Kastensockels weist darauf hin, dass das Denkmal auf einem Sockel oder einer Plattform platziert gewesen sein konnte. Der Kasten erscheint klobig, die schmalen Girlanden sowie die glatten und breiten Schleifen, die die Girlanden am Anfang und in der Mitte umwickeln, deuten auf eine frühe Entstehungszeit hin. Die Ausrichtung der Früchte und Blätter der Girlande weist trotz der Schleife in der Mitte immer von links nach rechts. Von den Schleifen, die die Girlanden dort, wo sie mit den Widderköpfen zusammentreffen, wie Manschetten umwickeln, hängen links schmale und rechts zungenförmige Tänien herab. Die Widderköpfe sind schmal und lang, die Augen der Bukephalien horizontal gestaltet. Dies ist Kat. 4 sehr ähnlich, und gemeinsam mit Kat. 4 ist auch, dass die Widderhörner breit und halbkreisförmig gebildet sind. Bei Kat. 17 wurde die Schleife, die den linken Anfang der Girlande wie eine Manschette umwickelt, mit zwei Verengungen ausgestattet<sup>14</sup>. Die Girlanden an den Schmalseiten bestehen aus Blättern, die scharfe Ränder und Spitzen haben. Die Blätter auf der linken Schmalseite sind zur Vorderseite hin, auf der rechten Schmalseite hingegen zur Rückseite ausgerichtet; in der Mitte dieser Girlanden befinden sich keine Schleifen<sup>15</sup>. In den Lünetten der Vorderseite sind friedlich und kindlich erscheinende Gorgoneia platziert, in den Lünetten der anderen Seiten jedoch Scheiben. Die Lünetten der Rückseite wurden wie eine Phiale gearbeitet.

Kat. 7 ist eine Ostothek, deren drei Seiten gut bearbeitet sind. Das kanonische Schema der Vorderseite wird auf den Schmalseiten durch ein wenig schlichtere und oberflächlichere Girlanden ergänzt. Die Rückseite wurde unbearbeitet belassen. In den Lünetten der Vorderseite be-

<sup>10</sup> Aydın, Museum ohne Inv.; Studien-Nr. 09-01.

<sup>11</sup> Die Blattgirlande wurde zum ersten Mal am Demeter-Tempel in Pergamon eingesetzt, als Girlandenträger wurden Bukranien verwendet: Bohtz 1981, Taf. 27; Rumscheid 1994, 287–288. Klaros: Rumscheid 1994, Taf. 56, 6. Unteres Gymnasion in Priene (2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr.): Wiegand – Schrader 1904, 273 Abb. 281; Krischen 1923/1924, 133. 146 Abb. 7, 1 b; Schede u. a. 1964, 81–87 Abb. 95–101; Rumscheid 1994, 46–47; Königs 1998, 209 Abb. 178. Knidos: Bruns-Özgan 1995, 266–268 Abb. 10–11.

<sup>12</sup> Berges 1986, 40. 42–43. 45 und 91–98.

<sup>13</sup> Asgari 1965, 205–206 Kat. 342 »mittlere Kastengruppe«; von Işık 1975, 19 Abb. 13 a–b wurde Kat. 18 als Sarkophag behandelt.

<sup>14</sup> Asgari 1965, Kat. 184; Aziz 1932, 27; Mansel 1949, 11 Anm. 1. Die glatten Manschetten von Kat. 17 werden in Ephesos an einem Sarkophag (Kat. S-18) wiederholt.

<sup>15</sup> Die Form der Blätter ähnelt sehr Efes Müzesi Inv. 455 und 1847. Doch weist Inv. 455 zwischen den Blättern kleine Früchte und in der Mitte eine Tänie auf. Efes Müzesi Inv. 455: Asgari 1965, 86–87 Kat. 122; Efes Müzesi Inv. 1847: Thomas – İçten 1995, 551 Taf. 132, 1–2.

findet sich jeweils ein Kranz, gleich den Kränzen auf den Grabstelen, was die Übernahme der Stelendekoration in der Gattung der Ostotheken zeigt<sup>16</sup>. Auf den Schmalseiten sind zwischen den Füßen Dreiecke angeordnet. Die Tānie geht aus dem kleinen Knoten über den Widderköpfen hervor und hängt über die Girlande, die parallel zum Widderhorn gestaltet wurde.

Die Girlande von Kat. 2, die aus Früchten und Blättern besteht und füllig sowie schlauchförmig ist, wird von Tierköpfen getragen. Die Girlanden auf den Schmalseiten sind oberflächlich bearbeitet. Die Rückseite wurde wie bei den Kat. 4, 7 und 9 unbearbeitet belassen<sup>17</sup>.

Die von Tierköpfen getragenen schmalen Girlandenbögen von Kat. 9 zeigen in der Mitte Rosetten, die aus Blättern und Früchten zusammengesetzt sind. Die Rückseite wurde ohne Dekor belassen. Die Girlanden der Schmalseite sind mit länglichen Blättern auf eine schlichte Weise bearbeitet. Zwischen den großen Füßen befindet sich ein Dreieck.

Die Ostothek Kat. 13, die später hergestellt wurde als Kat. 17, gleicht hinsichtlich der Kastenmaße und des Schemas sehr diesem Werk. Wir begegnen den nahezu gleichen Schleifen und Medusenköpfen in den Lünetten auch bei Kat. 13, doch ist Kat. 13 das Produkt einer Serienproduktion. Die Schmalseiten und die Rückseite wurden als Halbfabrikat belassen. Außerdem zeigen die unbearbeiteten Teile am Anfang der Girlanden sowie die Schleife, die die Girlande in der Mitte umwickelt, dass diese beiden Stücke in derselben Werkstatt hergestellt worden sein könnten.

Die Ostothek Kat. 1 in Tire (Abb. 1) unterscheidet sich im Kasten und in der Dekoration von den anderen. Alle Seiten weisen Girlanden auf, die an den Ecken von Niken getragen werden. Der Kasten, der auf den ersten Blick an einen Altar erinnert, ist am unteren Kastenrand mit einem Profil versehen. Das Innere wurde wie eine Ostothek ausgehöhlt. Dies alles und die Inschrift belegen, dass es sich bei diesem Werk um eine Ostothek handelt<sup>18</sup>. Die Girlanden, die in der Mitte von einer zweibändigen Schleife umwickelt sind, bestehen aus Früchten und Blättern. Der Reliefgrund ist mit Eichenblättern verziert, Tānien sind nicht angegeben, und in den Lünetten befindet sich jeweils eine Blumenrosette. Der Sockel der Ostothek wurde mit einem schlichten Kyma geformt. Der rechte Fuß der schwebenden Niken ist weit vorgestreckt, der linke erhobene Arm hält die Girlande, die rechte Hand trägt einen Kranz. Der Peplos der Niken liegt, wie vom Wind bewegt, dicht am Körper. Über ihren Köpfen befinden sich kleine und fragile Schleifen mit großen Knoten. Trotz der Verwitterung ist die ursprüngliche Politur der Oberfläche zu erkennen.

In der gesamten Gruppe der Ostotheken des ephesischen Typs befinden sich vier Kästen, die als Eckträger der Girlande schwebende Niken aufweisen<sup>19</sup>. Bei den Sarkophagen hingegen ist die Position der Niken weniger bewegt. Eines der ersten frühen Exemplare mit Niken an den Ecken stammt aus Sagalassos, wobei die Niken hier auf Sockeln stehend dargestellt sind<sup>20</sup>. Auch unter den in Dokimeion, Prokonnesos und Aphrodisias hergestellten Sarkophagen und Ostotheken gibt es Exemplare mit Niken an den Ecken. Bei den prokonnesischen Sarkophagen stehen die Niken wie im Exemplar von Sagalassos auf einem Sockel, bei den aphrodisischen Exemplaren ist unter den Füßen der Niken eine Stufe zu erkennen. Die Exemplare aus Dokimeion hingegen zeigen unter den Füßen der Niken einen Globus, eine mythologische Figur oder das Profil des Kastens<sup>21</sup>. Es gibt vier Ephesos-Ostotheken, die an den Ecken Niken aufweisen, alle diese Niken sind schwe-

<sup>16</sup> Unter den Ostotheken befinden sich drei, deren Seiten unbearbeitet belassen wurden und die das Kranzmotiv aufweisen: zwei im Efes Müzesi mit Inv. 4/17/90 und Studien-Nr. 278, die dritte im British Museum, Inv. 640. Als Lünettendekoration an drei Sarkophagen: Kat. S-16 und Studien-Nr. L.57. Das dritte Stück im Museum in Aydın Inv. 98: Stročka 1978, 894. 897; Stročka 1996, 461 Abb. 12; Pfuhl – Möbius 1977, Kat. 131 Taf. 30; Kat. 165 Taf. 34 usw.

<sup>17</sup> Anzahl der Ostotheken mit nicht bearbeiteter Rückseite: 56.

<sup>18</sup> Vergleichbare Exemplare: in Ephesos drei runde und eine eckige Ostothek. Außerdem Berges 1986, 176–177 Kat. 98 Abb. 134 a–c.

<sup>19</sup> Ostotheken mit Niken: drei in Ephesos, jeweils eine im Museum von Tire sowie in Rom.

<sup>20</sup> Köse 1998, 249–261.

<sup>21</sup> Waelkens 1982, 10–11 Taf. 6, 1; 7, 1.

bend dargestellt. Das früheste ephesische Beispiel für einen Sarkophag mit Niken ist der Celsus-Sarkophag, dessen Datierung in trajanische Zeit allgemein anerkannt ist<sup>22</sup>. Hier sind die Niken an den Ecken auf einem kleinen Globus dargestellt.

## SARKOPHAGE

Kat. S-1 (Abb. 4 a) befindet sich in Tire, hat keine Kastenform, sondern wurde als Block bearbeitet. Nur an den Schmalseiten sind Widderköpfe an der Ecke sowie ein kleiner Teil der Girlande zu erkennen. Die Langseite des Blocks könnte zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt abgeschliffen und als Bauteil verwendet worden sein, denn die vorstehenden Elemente (die Nasenpartien) sind flach. Dieses Stück könnte mit anderen Blöcken vereint als ein Kasten benutzt worden sein, wie es die Klammerlöcher an den Oberseiten und deren Ausrichtung nahelegen; Abbildung 4 b soll die Art der Nutzung erklären. Die Oberfläche der Widderhörner ist glatt. Die Art der Bearbeitung ähnelt nicht jener der Sarkophage, sondern vielmehr jener der Ostotheken. Über den Widderköpfen sind Schleifen angebracht, an deren Spitzen Mohnkapseln sitzen<sup>23</sup>.

Kat. S-19 ist ein Fragment (rechte Ecke), die Bearbeitungsweise führt die der Ostotheken fort. Bei Kat. S-20 handelt es sich um ein Fragment der linken Ecke mit kleinen Widderköpfen, schmalen und kleinen Schleifen sowie mit einem Bukephalion. Damit verfügt es über gemeinsame Eigenschaften mit der Gruppe, die in Ödemiş gefunden wurde. Die kleinen Schleifen über den Tierköpfen sowie die an den Enden schmaler werdenden Girlanden ähneln sehr Kat. S-18.

Kat. S-17 (Abb. 6) gehört zu den interessantesten der hier besprochenen Objekte. Auf einer Langseite ist das Schema Widder + Bukephalion + Bukephalion + Widder zu sehen, auf der anderen das Schema Sirene + Eros + Eros + Sirene. Vermutlich stammt dieses vollständig ausgearbeitete Exemplar aus einer Serienproduktion. Da sich die Inschrift auf der Langseite mit den Tierköpfen befindet, sollte man diese als Vorderseite betrachten. Die Sirenen in den Ecken sind stehend abgebildet. Der obere Teil ihrer Körper ist als Frauenkörper, der untere Teil in Form von Vogelfüßen gestaltet; in ihren Händen halten sie Doppelflöten.

Es können unterschiedliche Girlandenträger bei Ostotheken und Sarkophagen auftreten<sup>24</sup>. Die beiden Erosen auf dem Sarkophag Kat. S-17, die die Girlande in der Mitte tragen, sind schwebend zu ihrer Rechten hin bewegt. Diese Bewegung der Erosen ist mit dem Fragment ›Ephesos C‹<sup>25</sup> und dem Celsus-Sarkophag<sup>26</sup> zu vergleichen. Da ›Ephesos C‹ ein Fragment ist, hat sich nur ein Eros erhalten. Kat. S-17 hat hinsichtlich der aufgeblasen wirkenden Form der Girlanden auch Ähnlichkeiten mit der Ödemiş-Gruppe und sollte als Vorläufer des Celsus-Sarkophags und von ›Ephesos C‹ verstanden werden. Der linke Arm der Erosen mit dem Flügel ist erhoben, der rechte

<sup>22</sup> Strocka 1978, 900 mit Anm. 913 Taf. 215 Abb. 34.

<sup>23</sup> Unter den Ostotheken gibt es Exemplare mit Blättern und Früchten, die über die Schleifen über den Widderköpfen in den Ecken herausragen. Sarkophage hingegen weisen vielmehr Früchte über den Stierköpfen auf; über den Widderköpfen befinden sich nur Schleifen.

<sup>24</sup> Girlandenträger: Alabastron auf dem frühesten girlandenverzierten Sarkophag, Burdur Inv. 6927; zuletzt Koch 2010, Anm. 3 und Anm. 23. Dreifüße: Strocka 1978, 893 Anm. 48. Opferschale: Strocka 1978, 893 Anm. 49. Hermes als Girlandenträger: zwei Exemplare aus Ephesos. Poseidon: ein unpubliziertes Sarkophag-Eckfragment in Izmir. Satyr: ein Sarkophag in Iasos: Strocka 1978, 907; Işık 1986, 172. 177; Asgari 1977, 345–346. Unter den Sarkophagen des Ephesos-Typs befindet sich ein Exemplar mit Gorgoneion als Girlandenträger: British Museum Inv. 1282, Smith 1900, Nr. 1282. Es gibt hingegen 11 Ostotheken mit diesem Girlandenträger aus Ephesos. Das Gorgoneion als Girlandenträger muss eine Tradition sein, die von den Ostotheken auf die Sarkophage übergegangen ist. In der Tire- und Ödemiş-Gruppe gibt es dieses Motiv nicht. Hängende Girlanden ohne Träger: unter den bemalten Ostotheken aus Ephesos gibt es drei Exemplare, die ohne Träger an der Wand hängen, dazu ein Sarkophag. Kein Mittelträger bei dem Sarkophag von der Damianosstoa (Thür 1995, 49–54; Mayer 1995, 55–56), außerdem Adana Inv. 7730 ohne Eckträger.

<sup>25</sup> Işık 1992, 136–141.

<sup>26</sup> Die Erosen auf dem Celsus-Sarkophag sind symmetrisch angeordnet: Strocka 1978, 886 Anm. 20; 900 Taf. 215 Abb. 34.

hält die Girlande und ist unter dieser versteckt. Auf der Vorderseite befinden sich in den Lünetten der breiten U-förmigen Girlanden Rosetten, rechts und links sind Medusenköpfe zu sehen. Die Girlanden sind von links nach rechts angeordnet. Bei dem als sicher datiert geltenden Celsus-Sarkophag<sup>27</sup> geht die Ordnung der Girlande bei jedem Girlandenbogen zur Mitte hin. Auf der Seite, auf der sich die Eroten befinden, sind in den Lünetten Medusen, rechts und links hingegen Nikebüsten mit Flügeln in einer Scheibe zu sehen. Alle Seiten des Sarkophags wurden bearbeitet. Die Girlanden der Langseiten von Kat. S-17 wurden an den Enden mit Tänien mehrfach fest umwickelt. In gleicher Weise umwickelt die Tanie in der Mitte des Girlandenbogens diesen mit mindestens zwei Spiralen. Auf allen Seiten befinden sich sowohl hinter den Eckträgern als auch den Trägerfiguren in der Mitte zungenförmige Tänien, die zu Boden hängen und Fransen an ihren Enden aufweisen.

### **SERIENPRODUKTION (HALBFABRIKATE)<sup>28</sup>**

Die ephesischen Halbfabrikate der Ostotheken und Sarkophage verfügen genauso wie die Aphrodisias- und Prokonnesos-Halbfabrikate über charakteristische lokale Eigenschaften<sup>29</sup>. Die halbfertigen Ostotheken und Sarkophage haben eine eigene Typologie<sup>30</sup>. Form und Entwicklung der Girlanden bei Ostotheken-Halbfabrikaten haben eine enge Beziehung zu Sarkophag-Halbfabrikaten, d. h., es sind Parallelen zu den Girlanden dieser Sarkophage festzustellen. In den Museen von Tire und Ödemiş sind 9 Ostotheken der Serienproduktion aufbewahrt, bei denen eine oder mehrere Seiten bearbeitet wurden. Nur bei einem Werk wurden alle vier Seiten halbfertig belassen<sup>31</sup>, 4 Sarkophage haben eine oder mehrere halbfertige Seiten; 13 Sarkophage wurden vollständig als Halbfabrikat hergestellt<sup>32</sup>. Unter Letzteren verfügt nur ein Sarkophag über ein Gehänge am Girlandenbogen auf der Vorderseite<sup>33</sup>.

Hinsichtlich der Frage, wann die Serienproduktion der Ostotheken und Sarkophage begann, gibt es unterschiedliche Auffassungen<sup>34</sup>. N. Asgari behandelte die in Ephesos und Umgebung gefundenen Werke der Serienproduktion und wies eine eigene Schule in Ephesos nach<sup>35</sup>. Das früheste Datum für Halbfabrikat-Ostotheken wird von C. Thomas und C. İċten<sup>36</sup>, für die Sarkophage von V. M. Strocka<sup>37</sup> angegeben. Die typologischen Unterschiede wurden von N. Asgari, G. Koch und F. Işık herausgearbeitet<sup>38</sup>. Doch innerhalb der Gruppe der Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs können kleine Unterschiede in Details im Halbfabrikatschema festgestellt werden, die eine Herstellungschronologie anzeigen: Ist die Girlande ›unruhig‹, ist der Girlandenbo-

<sup>27</sup> Strocka 1978, 900 Taf. 215 Abb. 34.

<sup>28</sup> Zu Halbfabrikat-Girlanden-Sarkophagen, s. Asgari 1977, Anm. 1 und passim; Işık 1992, 121–145; Ward-Perkins 1969, 106–145; Koch 1993, 154–162; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 520–524.

<sup>29</sup> Bezüglich regionaler Unterschiede Asgari 1977, 329–380; Işık 1992, 121–145; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 492, 452.

<sup>30</sup> Thomas – İċten 1995, 552 weisen nach, dass die ephesischen Halbfabrikat-Ostotheken einen zeitlichen Endpunkt angeben und vor den Sarkophagen ab der frühen augusteischen Zeit existieren.

<sup>31</sup> Kat. 8, Ödemiş, Museum Inv. 1257.

<sup>32</sup> 57 der untersuchten Ostotheken sind vollständig als Halbfabrikat bearbeitet. 178 Ostotheken verfügen über mindestens eine bearbeitete oder mehrere als Halbfabrikate bearbeitete Seiten. Die Gesamtzahl der vollständig als Halbfabrikat bearbeiteten Sarkophage beträgt 33. 12 Sarkophage verfügen über mindestens eine bearbeitete oder mehrere halbfertige Seiten. Halbfabrikat-Sarkophag-Fragmente: 63.

<sup>33</sup> Diese girlandenverzerrten Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs haben außer Kat. S-8 kein Gehänge.

<sup>34</sup> Strocka 1996, 473: »in Kleinasien in spätrömisch-frühhadrianischer Zeit und dauert ununterbrochen bis zur Mitte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. an«; Işık 1977, 380–383; Işık 1993, 9–21; Işık 1992, 138. 140–142 Abb. 27 (»Ephesos B«).

<sup>35</sup> Asgari 1977, 343.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas – İċten 1995, 552.

<sup>37</sup> Strocka 1978 und Strocka 1996.

<sup>38</sup> Asgari 1977, 354 Abb. 352; Işık 1992, 123 (Gruppe A-I und Gruppe B-I) Abb. 1–2; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 492. Die Beschreibung fußt auf Asgari 1977, 335–336.



gen U-förmig oder halbkreisförmig, die Girlande gewölbt oder kantig, sind die Girlandenträger klein oder groß? Aus diesen Eigenschaften lässt sich die Entwicklungslinie der Halbfabrikat-Girlande ablesen. Hinsichtlich der Ostotheken kann man sagen, dass die frühen Girlanden nahezu schlauchförmig und schmal sind. Mit der Zeit werden sie flacher und verlieren ihre Wölbung, der Rand der Girlanden erhält ein kantiges Profil. Die Halbfabrikatgruppe hat eine Formentwicklung durchlaufen, die in sich teilweise erklärbar ist<sup>39</sup>. Die Halbfabrikat-Girlanden müssen sich auf jene Weise entwickelt haben wie in Abbildung 7 angegeben.

## ERGEBNIS

Nachdem die in den Museen von Tire und Ödemiş befindliche Gruppe von Ostotheken und Sarkophagen behandelt wurde, sollen nun die generellen Eigenschaften der Ostotheken und Sarkophage, die als ›Ephesos-Typus‹ bezeichnet wurden, zusammengefasst werden.

Man kann die girlandenverzierten Ostotheken und Sarkophage der Ephesos-Gruppe in zwei Hauptgruppen unterteilen:

1. Die nichtplastisch ausgearbeiteten Werke (die Girlande war mit Farbe aufgetragen).
  2. Ostotheken und Sarkophage, bei denen die Girlande hochbossiert gearbeitet wurde. Diese können in vollständig bearbeitete und halbfertige Werke unterteilt werden.
- Alle Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs sind aus Marmor. Im Allgemeinen wurde dieser von den Marmorsteinbrüchen im Kaystros-Tal und in der Umgebung von Belevi gewonnen<sup>40</sup>.
  - Auf der oberen Leiste der Kästen der Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs befindet sich kein Profil. Dies gilt auch für die halbfertigen Produkte<sup>41</sup>.
  - Sowohl Sarkophage als auch Ostotheken verfügen als Girlandenträger wahlweise über:
    - a) Widderköpfe in den Ecken, Bukephalia in der Mitte. Bukranien wurden hier noch nicht festgestellt.
    - b) Bei den Ostotheken Widderköpfe in den Ecken, Gorgoneia in der Mitte.
    - c) Bei beiden Kastentypen Niken an den Ecken, Erosen in der Mitte.
  - Alle vier Seiten der Ostotheken können vollständig bearbeitet sein.
    - a) Es gibt Kästen, deren Vorderseite vollständig bearbeitet ist, während die übrigen drei Seiten halbfertig belassen sind.
    - b) Kästen, deren drei Seiten bearbeitet wurden, während die Rückseite halbfertig ist.
    - c) Kästen, bei denen alle Seiten halbfertig sind, oder solche, bei denen die Rückseite völlig unbearbeitet belassen wurde.
  - Unter dem schlichten und unscheinbaren Sockel der Sarkophage befinden sich keine Füße. Ostotheken hingegen haben generell Füße. Die kleinen und kubischen Füße, die von drei Seiten zu sehen sind, sind Scheinfüße; auf den Schmalseiten können sich zwischen den Füßen Dreiecke befinden. Das heißt, die Ostotheken des Ephesos-Typs haben zwar Füße, liegen aber in jedem Fall auf ihrem ›Körper‹ auf. Es gibt auch wenige Ostotheken, die unter dem Kymaprofil oder einem schlichten Sockelprofil keine Füße haben.
  - Während nahezu alle Sarkophage über einen Falz verfügen, in den der Deckel einrasten soll, ist der Kastenrand einiger Ostotheken unbearbeitet, d. h., es wurde kein Falz für den Deckel vorgesehen.

<sup>39</sup> Man kann keine sichere Datierung der Halbfabrikat-Produktion vornehmen. Kontextfunde der Sarkophage sind nahezu nicht vorhanden. Welcher Nutzungsphase gehören die Inschriften an? Man kann diesbezüglich nur eine vergleichende Stiluntersuchung der bearbeiteten Seiten vornehmen. s. dazu aber Thür 1995, 49–55.

<sup>40</sup> Yavuz – Bruno – Attanasio 2011, 215–239.

<sup>41</sup> Asgari 1977, 335; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 492; Işık 1992, 124 und Anm. 20.

- Ostotheken des Ephesos-Typs haben an ihren Langseiten einen oder zwei, an den Schmalseiten einen Girlandenbogen. Die Sarkophage hingegen haben an den Langseiten drei, an den Schmalseiten einen Girlandenbogen<sup>42</sup>.
- Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs verfügen über keine Anhänger (beispielsweise über Traubengehänge etc.) an den Girlanden<sup>43</sup>.
- Sowohl bei Ostotheken als auch bei Sarkophagen kann die Vorderseite neben der Qualität der Bearbeitungsweise auch durch eine Inschrift betont werden.
- Ostotheken und Sarkophage können mehrmals verwendet worden sein, weswegen eine Datierung anhand der Inschrift zu einem irreführenden Ergebnis kommen kann. Bei manchen Kästen geben die Inschriften nicht dasselbe ›Datum‹ an wie die Girlanden. Die Inschriften könnten generell zur letzten Nutzung gehören. Es gibt sogar Kästen, die noch in christlicher Zeit benutzt wurden.
- Die ephesischen Ostotheken haben bei der Entwicklung der Herstellungstechnik wie auch des Stils der ephesischen Sarkophage eine Vorreiterrolle gespielt<sup>44</sup>.

Vergleicht man die Funde in Teira und Hypaipa miteinander, stellt man fest, dass die Anzahl der Ostotheken und Sarkophage umgekehrt proportional ist. Man sollte diesbezüglich jedoch keine Schlüsse auf die Produktion ziehen. Die Teira- und Hypaipa-Ostotheken und -Sarkophage weisen, ganz gleich ob sie vollständig bearbeitet wurden oder Halbfabrikat-Serienproduktionen sind, die Typologie, Stilkriterien und Bearbeitungstechnik der ephesischen Werke auf und sind Teil der Ephesos-Gruppe. Die erwähnten Ostotheken und Sarkophage stammen aus lokalen Werkstätten; sie wurden an Hügeln, die an beiden Seiten des Kaystros-Tals liegen, in Werkstätten, die sich in Belevi und Pranga befanden, hergestellt<sup>45</sup>. Die Frage, wann das seit hellenistischer Zeit belegte Girlandenschema – bestehend aus einer von Widder- und Stierköpfen getragenen Girlande –, das auf Ostotheken, die als Aschenbehälter oder sekundäre Bestattungsbehälter benutzt wurden, auftritt, zuerst auf marmorne Ostotheken übertragen wurde, wird noch diskutiert. Auf vier Ostotheken, die in Ephesos gefunden wurden, ist ein mit Farbe aufgetragenes Girlandenschema vorhanden<sup>46</sup>; es ist möglich, in ihnen frühe Beispiele vom Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zu sehen. Die frühen hochbossierten, girlandenverzierten Ostotheken haben in ihren Lünetten keinerlei Dekoration. Die frühen Exemplare der Girlanden sind im Allgemeinen schlauchförmig. Seit hellenistischer Zeit wurde das Girlandenschema sicherlich von der Dekoration der Altäre oder der Architektur inspiriert, vorwiegend auf Ostotheken kopiert und somit ein eigenes Ephesos-Modell entwickelt. Vor allem die Girlanden der Rundaltäre aus Knidos, Kos und Rhodos führen diesbezüglich zu Erkenntnissen<sup>47</sup>.

Der Großteil der Inschriften der hier untersuchten Werke weist in das 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Viele der Inschriften nennen eine Grabkammer oder -stätte (Heroon). Doch wissen wir, dass die Inschriften auf vielen Kästen einer zweiten oder dritten Nutzung entstammen können. Beispiels-

<sup>42</sup> Es gibt Ostotheken, deren Langseiten über drei, und Sarkophage, deren Langseiten über zwei Girlandenbögen verfügen. Betrachtet man die Maße und die Girlanden, kann eine ›Zwischengruppe‹ zwischen Ostotheken und Sarkophagen festgestellt werden. Diese Gruppe hat zwar auf der Langseite zwei oder drei Girlandenbögen, die Denkmäler sind jedoch länger als Ostotheken und kleiner als Sarkophage und müssen m. E. als ›Zwischengruppe‹ bewertet werden. Die Fundumstände der girlandenverzierten Ostotheken und Sarkophage bieten keine Ausgangsbasis für sichere Ergebnisse. Die Frage, ob bei einem Fund Asche oder Skeletteile vorhanden waren, kann für viele Werke nicht beantwortet werden. Die Zahl der Werke der ›Zwischengruppe‹ beträgt 15; sie werden an dieser Stelle nicht behandelt.

<sup>43</sup> Ausnahme: Kat. S-8, aber nur an der Vorderseite.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas – İçten 1995, 550.

<sup>45</sup> s. o. Anm. 40 und Asgari 1977, 337.

<sup>46</sup> Nur eine der bemalten Ostotheken wurde publiziert: Asgari 1965, 76 Kat. 100. Die anderen drei Ostotheken sind Neufunde und noch nicht publiziert. Alle bemalten Ostotheken sind aus Marmor.

<sup>47</sup> Berges 1986, 129–130; Berges 1993, 25. 31.

weise rührt die Inschrift in der Lünette von Kat. 5 von einer späteren Nutzung her; der Stil der Girlande und der Widderköpfe zeigt die Mitte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. an.

Auch wenn unser Wissen über die Nekropolen von Ephesos begrenzt ist, kann man sagen, dass seit der spätarchaischen Epoche unverzierte Sarkophage aus lokalem Kalkstein hergestellt wurden<sup>48</sup>. Es ist bekannt, dass die Vorläufer der marmornen Ostotheken und Sarkophage keine Dekoration aufwiesen, aus Holz gefertigt und mit Farbe dekoriert wurden<sup>49</sup>.

Der römische Einfluss, der seit dem 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zunahm, sowie ein geschäftiger Hafen förderten die städtische Entwicklung von Ephesos. Man kann hier, wie von E. Atalay und N. Asgari<sup>50</sup> angesprochen, von der Existenz einer ›Ephesos-Schule‹ sprechen, doch der Ort und der Einflussbereich dieser Schule oder dieser Werkstätten konnte noch nicht sicher festgestellt werden. Jedenfalls begann der Einfluss Roms auf die Ostotheken und Sarkophage in Ephesos ab dem 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Das Widder-Bukephalion-Schema sowie der Aufbau der Girlanden unterscheiden sich von den stadtrömischen Girlanden. Der Giebel der römischen Ostotheken ist auf der Langseite nach vorn gerichtet, und die dargestellten Themen weichen von denen in Ephesos ab<sup>51</sup>. Bei den römischen girlandenverzierten Ostotheken und Sarkophagen wird die Girlande vom Bukranion getragen; es existieren generell thematische und formale Unterschiede<sup>52</sup>.

Es ist schwierig, die ionische Verbreitung der Ephesos-Ostotheken und -Sarkophage nachzuweisen. Beispielsweise wurde bisher weder in Smyrna noch in Milet eine Produktion von Ostotheken und Sarkophagen des Ephesos-Typs festgestellt. Ein Grund dafür ist, dass in vielen ionischen Städten die Nekropolen noch nicht ausgegraben oder publiziert wurden. Deswegen ist es noch zu früh, für die sich in Ephesos, Hypaipa und Teira konzentrierenden Stücke des Ephesos-Typs die Bezeichnung eines allgemeinen ionischen Typs vorzusehen. Das geografische Verbreitungsgebiet der girlandenverzierten Ostotheken ist auf Ephesos, Tralles, Teira, Hypaipa und wenige Stücke in Smyrna begrenzt; als Exporte begegnet man ihnen in Rom<sup>53</sup>, Aigina<sup>54</sup> und Aphrodisias<sup>55</sup>. Außerhalb dieser Gebiete konnte ihre Existenz noch nicht sicher festgestellt werden<sup>56</sup>.

Frühe Werke wie zwei Exemplare in Ephesos zeigen, dass halbfertige girlandenverzierte Ephesos-Ostotheken in Tire und Ödemiş seit dem Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. hergestellt wurden<sup>57</sup>. Bezüglich der halbfertigen girlandenverzierten Sarkophage hingegen deuten Kat. S-2 (Abb. 7 Gruppe II) und Kat. S-3 (Abb. 7, Gruppe III) an, dass die Produktion im 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. begonnen hat. Es gibt zudem Halbfabrikattypen, die den von Asgari, Koch und Işık zusammengestellten Gruppierungen hinzugefügt werden können.

Ich habe fünf verschiedene Gruppen der Halbfabrikate der Ephesos-Produktion festgestellt. Die Halbfabrikat-Ostotheken und -Sarkophage in Tire und Ödemiş verteilen sich wie folgt (vgl. Abb. 7):

Kat. 15 und Kat. S-2 = Gruppe 2;

Kat. 8, 10 (Abb. 2), 11, 12, 13 und 16 sowie Kat. S-3, S-4 = Gruppe 3;

Kat. S-5, S-9, S-11, S-15, S-18, S-21 = Gruppe 4;

Kat. S-6 (Abb. 5), S-7, S-8, S-10, S-13, S-14, S-16 und S-22 = Gruppe 5.

<sup>48</sup> Langmann 1967, 104–105. 122.

<sup>49</sup> Strocka 1978, 884–885.

<sup>50</sup> Atalay 1978–1980, 53–54; Asgari 1977, 338.

<sup>51</sup> Sinn 1987.

<sup>52</sup> Herdejürgen 1996; Ara Pacis: Mlasowsky 2010, 2. 4; Castriota 1995, 29–32. 36 Abb. 40–41. Der Sarkophag Caffarelli: Rodenwaldt 1925; Meischner – Laflı 2008, 155–170.

<sup>53</sup> Asgari 1977, 363. 371.

<sup>54</sup> Aigina, Museum Inv. 700: Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 445 Abb. 504.

<sup>55</sup> Işık 2007, 5 Anm. 24.

<sup>56</sup> Asgari 1977, 342.

<sup>57</sup> Ephesos: Efes Müzesi Selçuk Inv. 806 und 114-83; Studien-Nr. 91 und 94.

Wenn Işıks Gruppe A I nicht mit Kochs Gruppe 2a identisch ist, weist meine Kategorisierung folgende Parallelen auf: Die Gruppe 2a Kochs entspricht meiner Gruppe 4, Kochs Gruppe 2b hingegen meiner Gruppe 5. Işıks Gruppe A I entspricht meiner Gruppe 4 und seine Gruppe B I meiner Gruppe 2<sup>58</sup>.

Zusammenfassend zeigen die vorhandenen Daten, dass im Westen Kleinasiens Sarkophage aus Stein seit spätklassischer Zeit bekannt sind. Die girlandenverzierten Ostotheken des Ephesos-Typs wurden vom 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zum 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. hergestellt. Hinsichtlich der Datierung der Ostotheken sind die Ergebnisse von İçten und Thomas verlässlicher<sup>59</sup>. Der Beginn der girlandenverzierten Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs liegt nicht, wie Işık meint, in der späten trajanisch-hadrianischen Zeit, sondern, betrachtet man die vorliegenden Exemplare, im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (vielleicht sogar im späten 1. Jahrhundert v. Chr.). Die Serienproduktion hingegen beginnt im 1. Jahrhundert und endet im 3. Jahrhundert.

Damit korreliert aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die Tradition sich zugunsten der Körperbestattung und zuungunsten der Brandbestattung ändert, dass die Sarkophagproduktion ab dem 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. zunimmt und die Produktion von Ostotheken nach dem 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. nahezu endet<sup>60</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> s. Zeichnungen für die Halbfabrikat-Gruppe: Işık 1992, Abb. 2; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, 493 Abb. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas – İçten 1995, 551–552.

<sup>60</sup> Asgari 1965, 280 Schema 3, datiert die Ostotheken in das 1. Jh. n. Chr., indem sie von den Inschriften ausgeht. Thomas – İçten 1995, 551–552 hingegen datieren sie früher.

KATALOG<sup>61</sup>

## Ostotheken

## Kat. 1

Museum Tire Inv. 95-20

[Πυ]θοκλῆς oder [Αγα]θοκλῆς Εὐελπίστου τοῦ Αὔλου  
[Ε]ὐελπίστ[ου]»(Py?)thokles oder (Aga?)thokles, Sohn des Euelpistos,  
Enkel des Aulus Euelpistos ...« (H. Taeuber)

65 × 38 × 35 × 5 cm

Viereckige, altarförmige Ostothek. Auf jeder Seite eine  
von Niken an den Ecken getragene Girlande, in den Lün-  
netten Rosetten. Die Ausarbeitung der Girlande erinnert  
sehr an Studien-Nr. 1022<sup>62</sup>.

## Abb. 1

## Kat. 2

Museum Tire Inv. 125<sup>63</sup>

39 × 64 × 45 × 6 cm

Vollständig (ohne Deckel). An der Vorderseite zwei von  
Widder- und Stierköpfen getragene Girlandenbögen.  
Die Schmalseiten sind schematisch, die Rückseite ist  
flach belassen.

## Kat. 3

Museum Tire Inv. 194

39 × 70 × 45 × 6,5 cm

An der Vorderseite zwei von Widderköpfen und Buke-  
phalien getragene Girlandenbögen. Die Schmalseiten  
als Halbfabrikat, die Rückseite flach belassen. Unter  
dem schmalen Kymaprofil der Schmalseiten befindet  
sich ein Dreieck. Identisch mit Studien-Nr. 09-01<sup>64</sup>.

## Kat. 4

Museum Tire Inv. 556<sup>65</sup>

36 × 92 × 58 × 6 cm

Vollständig; der Kastenrand ist beschädigt, die Ober-  
fläche erodiert. Die Girlande der Vorderseite wird vonWidder- und Stierköpfen getragen. An den Schmalsei-  
ten ein aus schematischen Blättern bestehender Girlan-  
denbogen. Flache Rückseite.

## Kat. 5

Museum Tire Inv. 789<sup>66</sup>

34 × 56,5 × 42 × 4 cm

Der quadratische Kasten ist vollständig. Auf allen Sei-  
ten ein Girlandenbogen, aus schematischen Blättern,  
der an den Ecken von Widderköpfen getragen wird. Äh-  
nelt einem Fragment in Ephesos<sup>67</sup>.

## Kat. 6

Museum Tire Inv. 2003-19

44 × 111,5 × 55 × 8 cm

Die Ostothek ist zum Großteil abgebrochen. An der  
Vorderseite zwei Girlandenbögen, von Widder- und  
Stierköpfen getragen. An den Schmalseiten eine Blatt-  
girlande. Dieses Werk ähnelt Kat. 6 und 7 sowie einem  
Ostotheken-Fragment in Manisa<sup>68</sup>.

## Kat. 7

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 705<sup>69</sup>

45 × 104,5 × 50 × 6 cm

Vollständig. Drei Seiten sind vollständig ausgearbeitet.  
Die flach belassene Rückseite weist zwei Kränze in den  
Lünnetten auf. Zwischen den Füßen der Schmalseiten  
sind Dreiecke.

## Kat. 8

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 1257

47,5 × 97 × 46 × 9 cm

Vollständig. Alle Seiten als Halbfabrikate. An den  
Langeiten Scheiben in den Lünnetten. Keine Füße unter  
dem Sockel.

## Abb. 7, Gruppe III

## Kat. 9

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 1355

Κοῖντος Ναῖβιος Κοῖντου υἱὸς Κορνηλία Σατορνεῖος  
»Quintus Naevius, Sohn des Quintus, aus der *tribus*  
Cornelia, Saturninus« (H. Taeuber)

40 × 92 × 44,5 × 6 cm

Vollständig. Drei Girlandenbögen, die an den Ecken der  
Vorderseite von Widderköpfen und in der Mitte von Bu-  
kephalien getragen werden. Die Rückseite ist flach.

<sup>61</sup> Im Katalog werden, soweit vorhanden, die Inventar-  
nummern und Publikationen angegeben. Die  
Maße werden in der Form H × L × T × D in cm  
wiedergegeben. Die nicht publizierten Inschriften  
werden, soweit möglich, hier aufgeführt. Freund-  
licherweise hat sich H. Taeuber (Universität Wien)  
bereit erklärt, die von mir übermittelten, in diesem  
Beitrag zitierten griechischen Texte ohne Autopsie  
durchzusehen und eine vorläufige Lesung und –  
wenn möglich – eine Übersetzung bereitzustellen.  
M. Riel (Universität Belgrad) hat in den letzten  
Jahren die Inschriften in den Museen von Tire und  
Ödemiş aufgenommen, die sie in einer Serie von  
Artikeln publizieren wird; s. Riel 2013, 36; Riel  
2015.

<sup>62</sup> Selçuk ohne Inv.; Studien-Nr. 1022.

<sup>63</sup> IvE 3308.

<sup>64</sup> Aydın, Museum ohne Inv.

<sup>65</sup> IvE 3710.

<sup>66</sup> IvE 3325.

<sup>67</sup> Selçuk ohne Inv.; Studien-Nr. 1149.

<sup>68</sup> Manisa, Museum Inv. 9067.

<sup>69</sup> Asgari 1965, Kat. 184; Aziz 1932, 27; Mansel  
1949, 11 Anm. 1.



**Kat. 10<sup>70</sup>****Abb. 2**

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 1614

Deckel 17,5 × 107 × 60 cm; Kasten 54,5 × 102,5 × 56,5 × 8 cm

Drei Seiten sind vollständig ausgearbeitet. In den Lünetten große, vierblättrige Rosetten. Die Schmalseiten sind schematisch gearbeitet, die Rückseite als Halbfabrikat belassen. Die Rückseite ist identisch mit Kat. S-5.

**Kat. 11****Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 2001/9

36 × 90,5 × 40,5 × 6 cm

Vollständig. Alle Seiten verwittert. An der Vorderseite Girlande mit Widder- und Stierköpfen, in den Lünetten schematische Gorgoneia. Die Rückseite und die Schmalseiten sind als Halbfabrikate belassen.

**Kat. 12****Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 2002/13

52 × 97 × 60 × 8,5 cm

Schlecht erhalten. Die Rückseite ist ein Halbfabrikat, die Schmalseiten sind schematisch bearbeitet.

**Kat. 13****Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 2653

56 × 106 × 53 × 8,5 cm

Vollständig. Nur die Vorderseite ist ausgearbeitet, die linke Schmalseite ist schematisch gearbeitet. Die Rückseite und die rechte Schmalseite sind als Halbfabrikate belassen. Zwei Girlandenbögen an der Vorderseite, von Widder- und Stierköpfen getragen; die Lünetten zeigen Medusenköpfe. Die Rückseite ist identisch mit einem Exemplar in Ephesos<sup>71</sup> und die Vorderseite mit Kat. 17.

**Kat. 14**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

37,5 × 73 × 44 × 7,5 cm

Der größte Teil der Langseiten und die linke Schmalseite wurden abgemeißelt. Links in der Lünette ein teilweise erhaltenen Medusenkopf. An der Rückseite eine halbfertige Girlande und eine Scheibe.

**Kat. 15****Abb. 7, Gruppe II**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

[---] υἱὸς Φαλέρνα Βιτάλ[ης] ν]εότερος καὶ ΡΩΗΦΛΗΙΑ (?) Βιτάλου [θυγάτ]ηρ Τερτία

»N., Sohn des N., aus der *tribus* Falerna, Vitalis, und N., Tochter des Vitalis, Tertia« (H. Taeuber)

37 × 97 × 40,5 × 6 cm

Die von Widderköpfen und in der Mitte von Bukephalien getragenen Girlanden sind breit und flach. Die großen, vierblättrigen Rosetten in der Mitte der Girlanden ähneln sehr der Ephesos-Halbfabrikatgruppe 4. Die Ostothek ähnelt einem Exemplar in Ephesos<sup>72</sup>.

**Kat. 16****Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Museum Ödemiş Inv. 2621

50 × 93 × 52 × 9 cm

Die Oberfläche ist beschädigt. Die Schmalseiten wurden vermutlich bearbeitet. Die Rückseite ist ein Halbfabrikat. Die Vorderseite ähnelt Kat. 11.

**Kat. 17****Abb. 3 a–b**

Archäologisches Museum Izmir Inv. 4739<sup>73</sup>

Deckel 22,5 × 111,5 × 68,5 cm; Kasten 53 × 121,5 × 65 × 7,5 cm

Alle vier Seiten sind vollständig bearbeitet. Die Girlanden an den Schmalseiten bestehen aus Blättern. Die Scheiben in den Lünetten sind nicht ausgearbeitet. Auf der Vorderseite am Deckel und auf den Girlanden jeweils einzeilige Inschrift.

**Sarkophag****Kat. S-1****Abb. 4 a–b. 5**

Museum Tire ohne Inv.

73 × 203 × 12 cm

Die Langseiten sind glatt geschliffen. An den Schmalseiten blieb jeweils ein Widderkopf erhalten. An beiden Enden des Blocks Klammerlöcher.

**Kat. S-2****Abb. 7, Gruppe II**

Museum Tire Inv. 639

78 × 189 × 85,5 × 13 cm

Der Sarkophag ist stark beschädigt, die rechte Schmalseite fehlt. An der Vorderseite drei von Widder- und Stierköpfen getragene Girlandenbögen; in den Lünetten Rosetten. Die Rückseite zeigt eine Halbfabrikat-Girlande in der Form eines dünnen Schlauches.

**Kat. S-3****Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Museum Tire Inv. 2003-24

68,5 × 178,5 × 78 × 9 cm

Vollständig. Der Kasten hat die Form eines »kleinen Sarkophags«. Alle vier Seiten sind Halbfabrikate. Die Eck- und Mittelträger haben die Form von Tierköpfen. Die Girlanden sind schlauchförmig.

<sup>70</sup> Riel 2015, 280 f. Nr. 4 Abb. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Asgari 1977, 339–340 Abb. 20–21; 378 (Kat. Selçuk K); Berges 1986, 127 zu Anm. 422; Knibbe 1972–1975, 65–66 Abb. 5.

<sup>72</sup> Selçuk Inv. 259; Asgari 1965, Kat. 114.

<sup>73</sup> Işık 1975, Kat. 18 Taf. 13; Asgari 1965, 205 Kat. 342.

**Kat. S-4**Museum Tire Inv. 161<sup>74</sup>

60,5 × 162,5 × 66 cm

Vollständig. Alle Seiten sind Halbfabrikate. Gleiche Form wie Kat. S-3 und Kat. S-5.

**Abb. 7, Gruppe III**

Vollständig. Abgesehen von seiner geringen Größe von der Form her nahezu identisch mit Kat. S-310. Am Übergang zum Sockel ist ein dünnes Kyma angegeben.

**Kat. S-5**Museum Tire Inv. 198<sup>75</sup>

58 × 198 × 63 × 11 cm

Der Kasten ist genau in der Mitte gespalten. Die Girlandenträger sind sehr ähnlich mit Kat. S-3 und S-4, doch haben die Girlanden eine tiefe U-Form und ein eckiges Profil.

**Abb. 7, Gruppe IV****Kat. S-10**

Museum Tire Inv. 646

68 × 210 × 95,5 × 14 cm

Vollständig. Der obere Teil des Kastens wurde beinahe 15–20 cm abgeschliffen oder abgenutzt. Gleiches Schema wie Kat. S-7, der Sarkophag des Dionysius Rhetor in Ephesos und Pranga<sup>81</sup>.**Kat. S-6**

Museum Tire Inv. 96-97

76,5 × 154 × 72 cm

Die Vorderseite wurde nachträglich abgemeißelt. Die Schmalseiten sind vollständig, die Rückseite ist ein Halbfabrikat; in den Lünettenzentren der Rückseite befindet sich je eine Scheibe. An den Schmalseiten kleine schwebende Erosfiguren, die den Girlandenbogen tragen. In der Lünette der linken Schmalseite eine Rosette.

**Abb. 5, 7, Gruppe V****Kat. S-11**Museum Tire Inv. 661<sup>82</sup>

102,5 × 232,5 × 101 cm

Vollständig bis auf Deckel. Die Girlanden auf allen Seiten sind Halbfabrikate, in allen Lünetten Scheiben. Die Girlandenträger sind kurz, die Girlanden haben tiefe U-Form.

**Abb. 7, Gruppe IV****Kat. S-7**Museum Tire Inv. 96-68<sup>76</sup>

110 × 238,5 × 118 cm

Vollständig. Alle Seiten sind Halbfabrikate. Die Girlanden sind kreisförmig, flach und zeigen ein eckiges Profil. Dieser Sarkophag ist beinahe identisch mit Pranga<sup>77</sup>, dem Sarkophag des Dionysius Rhetor in Ephesos<sup>78</sup> und Kat. S-10.**Abb. 7, Gruppe V****Kat. S-12**Museum Tire ohne Inv.<sup>83</sup>

49 × 102 × 14 cm

Fragment, vermutlich Teil einer Vorderseite. Die Frucht-Blatt-Girlande in hoher Schlauchform wird von einem dicklichen, schlecht proportionierten Eros getragen. Auf der rechten Seite ein Gorgoneion.

**Kat. S-8**Museum Tire Inv. 642<sup>79</sup>

87,5 × 195 × 89 × 12 cm

Vollständig. Das Girlandenschema ist Kat. S-11 sehr ähnlich, doch auf den Schmalseiten befinden sich unter den Girlandenbögen Gehänge in Form eines herzförmigen Blattes. Letztere fehlen auf der Rückseite (Halbfabrikat).

**Kat. S-13**

Museum Tire ohne Inv.

60 × 91 × 18 cm

Kleines Sarkophagfragment. In der Lünette Inschrift.

- 1 επειανι
- 2 αποτεισει
- 3 οινου κυ
- 4 κατεα πο
- 5 τιον
- 6 ρια
- 7 κισ ει

Zeile 2 ist offenbar der Rest einer Strafbestimmung (H. Taeuber).

**Kat. S-9**Museum Tire Inv. 160<sup>80</sup>

77 × 171 × 74 cm

**Kat. S-14**Museum Tire ohne Inv.<sup>84</sup>

33 × 146 × 18 cm

Halbfabrikat-Sarkophag-Fragment. Die Girlandenträger sind breit, eckig und die Lünetten kreisförmig. Über dem rechten Girlandenträger fünfzeilige Inschrift.

<sup>74</sup> IvE 3324. Asgari 1977, 375 »Tire C«.<sup>75</sup> Asgari 1977, 376 »Tire F«.<sup>76</sup> IvE 3231.<sup>77</sup> Asgari 1977, 336 Abb. 12.<sup>78</sup> Vgl. u. a. Atalay 1972–1980, 53–58; Engelmann 1995, 86–87; Scherrer – Trinkl 2006, 44 und Abb. 56.<sup>79</sup> IvE 3215.<sup>80</sup> Asgari 1977, 336–337 »Tire B«; 378 Abb. 13.<sup>81</sup> s. Kat. S-7.<sup>82</sup> IvE 3216.<sup>83</sup> Riel 2015.<sup>84</sup> IvE 3279.

**Kat. S-15**

Tire, Çeşmealanı

99,5 × 265 × 95,5 × 14 cm

Vollständig. Die Eckträger sind klein, die Girlande ist fein gefertigt. Grobe Bearbeitung der Oberfläche.

**Abb. 7, Gruppe IV**

Rückseite Scheiben. Die Girlanden an den Schmalseiten sind im Vergleich zur Vorderseite schematisch gearbeitet und größer.

**Kat. S-16**

Tire, Çatalçeşme

68 × 240 × 95 × 14 cm

Vollständig. Da das Objekt als Tränke verwendet wurde, sind drei Seiten und der untere Teil nicht zu sehen.

**Kat. S-19**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

48 × 52 × 17 cm

Sarkophagfragment (rechte Ecke). Zu den Blättern auf dem Girlandengrund und dem Widderkopf ist der Stil der Ostotheken zu vergleichen. Die Rosette in der Lünette gleicht jener von Kat. S-16.

**Kat. S-17**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

102 × 270 × 103 × 13 cm

Vollständig. An der Vorderseite tragen an den Ecken Widderköpfe, in der Mitte Stierköpfe die Girlanden. In der linken und rechten Lünette sind Medusenköpfe sowie eine dreizeilige Inschrift zu sehen (Beschädigung durch Wassereinwirkung). In den Lünetten der Schmalseiten befinden sich schildförmige Reliefs. An der Rückseite tragen in den Ecken Sirenen mit Doppelflöten, in der Mitte Erosen drei breite, schlauchartige Girlanden. In der mittleren Lünette ist ein Medusenkopf, in der linken und rechten Lünette befinden sich in einer Scheibe bekleidete, geflügelte Nikebüsten. Die Erosen- und Nikenköpfe sind beschädigt oder abgebrochen. Das Kyma am Sockel ist auf allen Seiten ausgearbeitet. Die Schleifen über den Sirenen- und Erosenköpfen sind fein und schmal.

**Abb. 6****Kat. S-20**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

44 × 63 × 10 cm

Kleines Sarkophagfragment (wohl linke Ecke der Langseite). Die von Widderkopf und Bukephalion getragenen Girlanden zeigen tiefe U-Form. In der linken Lünette eine Rosette, in der rechten ein Medusenhaupt.

**Kat. S-18**

Museum Ödemiş ohne Inv.

75 × 189 × 72 × 10 cm

Vollständig (ohne Deckel). Drei Seiten sind ausgearbeitet, die Rückseite ist ein Halbfabrikat. An der Vorderseite sind drei von Widderköpfen und Bukephalien getragene Girlandenbögen. In der linken und rechten Lünette je ein asymmetrisches Gorgoneion und in der Mitte eine Rosette; in den Lünetten der Schmalseiten und der

**Kat. S-21**

Hypaipa, Moscheebrunnen

53 × 191 × 75 × 16 cm

Noch heute im Dorf Günlüce, das sich über der antiken Stadt Hypaipa befindet, als Brunnentränke verwendet (nur eine Langseite und eine Schmalseite sichtbar). Es handelt sich um einen Halbfabrikat-Sarkophag.

**Abb. 7, Gruppe IV****Kat. S-22**Archäologisches Museum Izmir Inv. 20<sup>85</sup>

Deckel 44 × 268 × 118,5 cm; Kasten 110 × 251 × 110 × 16 cm

Kasten und Deckel sind vollständig. An der Vorderseite wird die Girlande an den Ecken von auf Globen stehenden Niken und in der Mitte von Erosen getragen. Oben befindet sich ein Profil. Die Erosen sind asymmetrisch angeordnet. In der linken und rechten Lünette sind Gorgoneia, in der Mitte ein schlafender Eros. Die Rückseite ist ein Halbfabrikat.

<sup>85</sup> Brusin 1941, 39; Koch – Sichtermann 1982, Abb. 512; Asgari 1977, 341–342 Abb. 23.

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Abbildungsnachweis: Alle Zeichnungen und Fotos © B. Tuluk.





1 Kat. 1



2 Kat. 10, Vorderseite



a

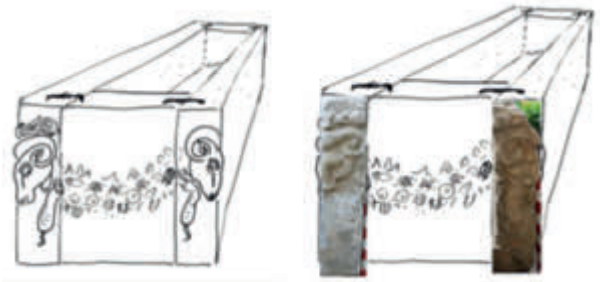


b

3 a–b Kat. 17, Vorder- und Rückseite



4 a Kat. S-1, linke und rechte Schmalseite



4 b Kat. S-1, Rekonstruktion



5 Kat. S-6, Schmalseiten

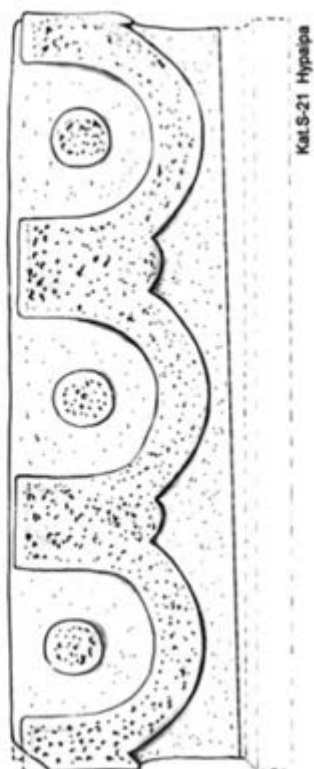
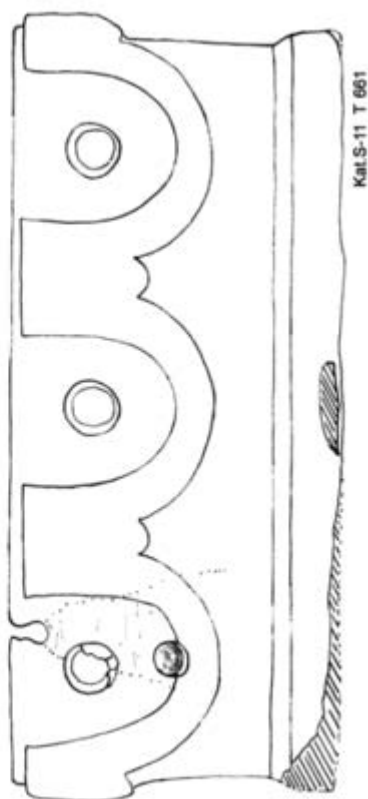
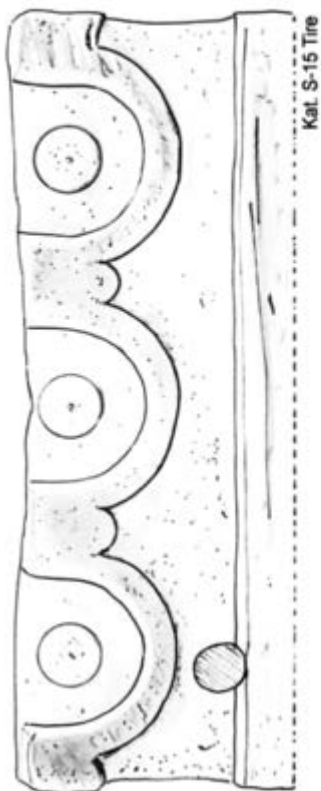
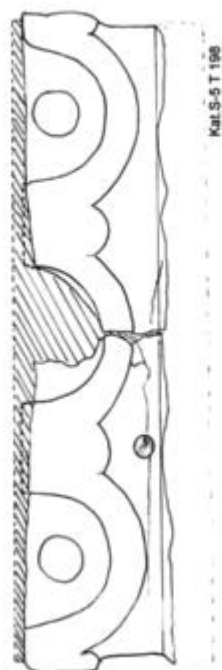


6 Kat. S-17, Rückseite und rechte Schmalseite



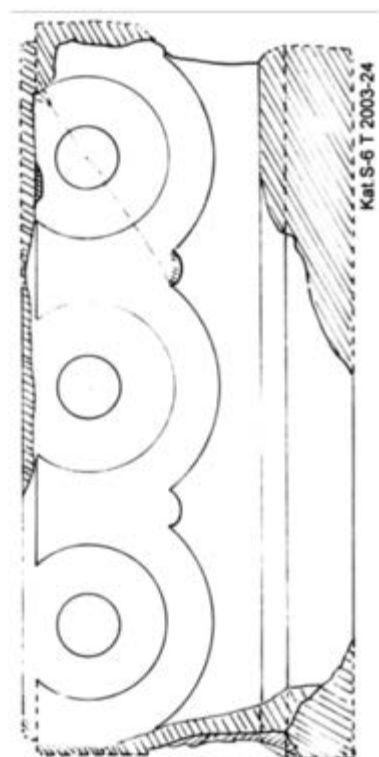
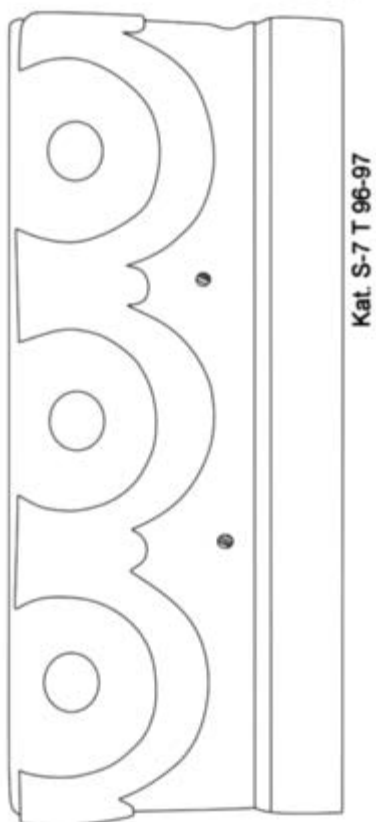


Gruppe IV: (Kat. S-5, S-9, S-11, S-15, S-18, S-21)





Gruppe V: (Kat. S-6, S-7, S-8, S-10, S-13, S-14, S-16, S-22)



IOANNIS KOURTZELLIS – THALIA KYRIAKOPOULOU

## RELIEF ALTARS FROM THE ISLAND OF LESBOS

### A PRELIMINARY REPORT\*

#### ABSTRACT

This paper presents typological, iconographic and chronological issues pertaining to relief altars of the Roman period from the island of Lesbos. It compares them to similar groups of reliefs (e.g. ›Thracian rider‹, ›funerary banquets‹, ›relief offering tables‹) from Lesbos itself as well as to other parallels from Mainland Greece and Asia Minor; with this latter region, Lesbos has always maintained close cultural links and relations, dating back to Pre-historic times.

During the Roman period, an era of great socio-economic growth and prosperity for the island of Lesbos, its inhabitants produced and consumed an interesting group of marble altars, distinguished for their morphological and decorative variation. The majority of them come from the city of Mytilene while a more limited number originate from other cities of the island. Most of these objects are products of surface collection and only a few were found during rescue excavations, conducted by the local Ephorate of Antiquities, in recent years.

The aim of this paper is to examine them briefly, discuss their particular character, and shed some light on their symbolism on a social and ideological level.

#### ÖZET

#### Lesbos Adası'ndaki Kabartmalı Sunaklar: Ön bir Rapor

Bu makalede Lesbos adasındaki Roma Dönemi'nde ait kabartmalı sunaklarla ilgili tipolojik, ikonografik ve kronolojik hususlar sunulmaktadır. Bunlar, yine Lesbos'dan gelen benzer kabartma grupları (Trakyalı Binici, cenaze ziyafetleri, kabartmalı adak levhaları) ve ayrıca Yunan anakarasındaki ve Küçük Asya'daki diğer paralelleri ile karşılaştırmaktadır. Özellikle sonuncu bölge ile Lesbos, Prehistorik döneme kadar geri giden kültürel bağlantısını ve ilişkisini her zaman sürdürmüştür.

Lesbos adası için sosyal ve ekonomik açıdan büyük bir gelişme ve refah dönemi olan Roma Dönemi'nde ada halkı morfolojik ve dekoratif varyasyonları ile tanınan ilgi çekici bir grup mermer sunak üretmiş ve kullanmıştır. Bu sunakların büyük bir çoğunluğu Mytilene kentinden gelirken daha sınırlı sayıdaki örnek ise adanın diğer kentlerinden gelmektedir. Bu objelerin çoğunluğu yüzeyden toplanan buluntulardan oluşur. Sadece bir kaç son yıllarda yerel antik eserleri koruma birimi tarafından yapılan kurtarma kazılarında bulunmuştur.

Bu makalenin amacı sunakları kısaca incelemek, kendilerine özgü niteliklerini ele almak ve sosyal ve ideolojik bağlamdaki sembolik anlamlarına biraz ışık tutmaktır.

Altars with relief decoration from the island of Lesbos in Greece are an important set of archaeological material which has been largely overlooked up to the present day. Greek and foreign researchers alike produced a corpus of relevant bibliography focusing on different kinds of altars and especially their inscriptions<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> CIG II 3, Addenda 1028 no. 2197b. c–h; Conze 1865, 11–12; 14 pl. 4, 5; Pottier – Hauvette-Besnault 1880, 428 no. 8; Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1884, 40; Bechtel 1884, 90 no. 221; 100–101 nos. 261–267; Fabricius 1884, 88

The island of Lesbos exhibits a large variety of votive, funerary and honorific altars which could be further categorized, according to their shape, into rectangular, cylindrical and pillar-shaped groups. Some of them are executed in relief, others are inscribed while a third group combines both relief decoration with inscription.

Additionally, the ›altar theme‹ and its chthonic symbols are often represented on reliefs found on Lesbos, e.g., in the motif of the ›Thracian rider‹ and in the ›funerary banquets‹<sup>2</sup>. From all the above categories, the focal point of this study is the funerary relief altars with garlands<sup>3</sup>, because of the variety of their decorative motifs, and their association with other categories of funerary monuments. In this way, we attempt to ascertain whether they represent original creations of a local workshop or imports from regional, renowned workshops of Asia Minor and insular Greece<sup>4</sup>.

The research revealed an important number of altars, about 60. The majority of them come from the ancient territory of Mytilene<sup>5</sup>, and specifically from the city of Mytilene, in particular, but, their exact provenance or the excavation contexts are not known<sup>6</sup>. Only for some of them the relevant excavation information is documented. The altars are today housed in the two Archaeological Museums of Mytilene and in the medieval Castle of the city. Other important examples come from the ancient territory of Eresos<sup>7</sup> and they are exhibited in the Archaeological Collection of the town. Altars are also found in numerous churches of the country-side of Lesbos either as spolia or as bases of the Holy Table<sup>8</sup>.

no. 3; Lolling 1886, 266 no. 5; 273–274 no. 18; 275 no. 24; Cichorius 1889, 253 no. 23; IG<sup>2</sup>XII, nos. 115. 122. 124. 141. 151. 152. 155. 286–292; Papageorgiu 1900, 3 pls. 1. 8–9, pl. II; Kretschmer 1902, 138–147; Papageorgiu 1913, 221–222 no. 1; Evangelidis 1920/1921, 106–108 nos. 4–5; Evangelidis 1927/1928, 19–21 nos. 3–5 figs. 11–13; Paraskevaidis 1932, 15–16 nos. 5–8; IG XII Suppl., 25. 30–32. 36. 39. 46. 49. 51–53. 57. 83. 524; Kallipolitis 1950, 206–211; Kallipolitis 1959, 41–54; Charitonidis 1960, 236; Charitonidis 1963, 266 pl. 307 a–b; 269; Charitonidis 1965, 491–492; Charitonidis 1968, 24 no. 25 fig. 7 pl. 7 e; 26–28 nos. 30–34 pls. 9 e; 10 b–c; 11 b. d; 31–33 nos. 36–37 pls. 11 a; 12 a–b; 13 a; 33–34 no. 41 pl. 14 a; 37 no. 45 pl. 16 b; 39–40 nos. 50–53 pls. 15 c–d; 16 a. c; 45–46 no. 63 fig. 18 pl. 19 d; Petrakos 1967, 461; Chatzi 1971, 448 pls. 447–448 c–d; Chatzi 1972, 579 pl. 530 a; Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 348–349 no. 1470 pl. 213; 509–510 no. 2109 pl. 304; 535–536 no. 2232 pl. 317; 536 nos. 2233–2234 pls. 317–318; Ridgway 2000, 203–204; Acheilara 2000, 932–933; Acheilara 2001, 206.

<sup>2</sup> Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979; Acheilara 2001, 205–210; Mitropoulou 1976, 17–18 no. 2; 35 no. 23; 39–40 no. 30 c; 72. 102–103 no. 36; 136.

<sup>3</sup> Nováková 2009, 115. For the definition of the term ›altar‹ see Coulton 2005, 127–157.

<sup>4</sup> For the altar's subject see the following studies: Altmann 1905; Yavis 1949; Couilloud 1974, 219–223 pls. 85–89; Fraser 1977; Berges 1986; Boschung 1987; Kleiner 1987; Berges 1996; Adam-Veleni 2002; Poupaki 2011; Tsouli 2012.

<sup>5</sup> The ancient territories of Lesbos were Mytilene, Pyrrhaia, Methymnaea, Eresia and Antissaea. Attempts for the designation of their boundaries, which frequently changed throughout the year because of socio-political conditions, have been made in the following studies: Mason 1979; Green 1982; Mason 1993; Schaus – Spencer 1994; Labarre 1996; Spencer 1996. Nevertheless the most authoritative and well documented study remains that of Kontis 1978.

<sup>6</sup> Many altars were exhibited in Museo Gymnasii, some came from random findings and private donations and some were found in houses and during the construction of private or public works. Their data are given in n. 1. Particularly interesting is the article of Anastasios I. Zakas »Αρχαιολογικά« for the altar with inv. 161 in the newspaper Παλιγγενεσία, no. issue 3656, 22. 07. 1885:2. Only the altar with inv. 44256 is adequately documented in its excavation context. In the case of the altar with inv. 7112 and for the *epithemata* with inv. 7110. 7111 which come from the excavation of the funerary monument in Ilias Papazoglou property, at Agiou Therapontos Street, in the city of Mytilene we possess only photographic and drawing records, kept in the archive of the Archaeological Ephorate of Lesbos.

<sup>7</sup> Short references on the altar in the Eresos Collection (EC) inv. 182 in Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 348–349. 1470 pl. 213; Ridgway 2000, 203–204. From the territory of Methymna comes only the altar in the Museum of Mytilene (MM) inv. 134 (Chatzi 1971, 448 pl. 448 c) and one *epithema* carved in trachyte, almost half of which is preserved. From Antissa, which in 167 B.C. was destroyed by the Romans and then appended to the territory of Methymna (Pistorius 1913; Kontis 1978, 196–197; Mason 1995, 399–410), comes only the *epithema* with inv. 5136 (Chatzi 1971, 448 pl. 448 d). To the present day, we have not come across any sample from the ancient city of Pyrrha.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of altars used as spolia see IG<sup>2</sup> XII, 72–73 nos. 287–292; Domouzis 2007, 28. 35. 85. 88. 99. 126; 147–149. 155. 163–164; 325–326, with photographic records and simple references; Axiotis 1992, Vol. A, 22. 82. 108. 126. 129. Vol. B, 108–109. 677. 680 pls. 2; 9; 17; 22–23 c; 141 b; Charitonidis 1965, 491–492.

For the majority of the altars, the well-known grey-blue marble was used, ranging from a darker to a lighter hue. White marble was also used for a few altars, which may be of local origin or imported<sup>9</sup>. The specific altars are cylindrical, with an average height of 0.30 to 0.68 m and with diameter 0.30 to 0.40 m; and rectangular, in two forms: one short, with an average height of 0.35 m, and one taller, almost square, with 0.45 m height (fig. 1)<sup>10</sup>. The structure of the altars is tripartite with a base, shaft and a crown. The crowning of the cylindrical and rectangular altars consists of successive plain and bevel mouldings (fig. 2).

A characteristic feature observed in a sufficient number of altars is the decorative convex or flat upper surface. In rectangular altars, the corners are decorated with acroteria<sup>11</sup>. Acroteria are also applied on some cylindrical altars, which comprise, however, part of the pictorial program of the crowning. Unique is the example of an altar with its narrow sides decorated with a framed pediment in relief<sup>12</sup>.

The most common decorative theme of the upper surface is the ›sacred prosthesis‹<sup>13</sup>, namely a central libation bowl (*patera*), either navel or petal-shaped. The bowl is surrounded by two snakes, positioned in diametrically opposite order, an element which has already been recognized by E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius as a detail characterizing Lesbos' altar workshops<sup>14</sup>. Especially for cylindrical altars and only in the case of one rectangular, the theme of the *patera* and of the snakes is enriched by seeds, flowers, fruits, cakes (*popana*) and the like. All these are chthonic symbols and imply the altars' funerary character.

Their bases exhibit great variety as far as their structure is concerned. The majority of them consists of a plinth and a concave moulding<sup>15</sup>. Other kinds of bases are constituted by a *torus* and *scotia* or just by a *torus*.

On the shaft of the cylindrical altars three basic morphological characteristics are observed: a) narrowing slightly upwards, b) presence of a plain astragal forming the smooth transition towards the crown and the base, and c) the existence of an engraved or a shallow relief band at the top and bottom of the shaft. The band also appears in some examples of rectangular altars<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> The ancient quarries of Lesbos are located at the south-east part of the island, where the calcite crystals are prevalent. The most important quarries of the island are the quarry of Moria (Kako Lagadi area), of Thermi and of Karini. In the Tarti area three quarries have been identified: the first two at the east side of the homonymous bay, and the third one near Tsaf area where the church of Agia Paraskevi is located. Equally important is the quarry at the area Mageiras, about 4 km east of the city of Plomari (Varti-Mataranga – Matarangas 2005, 9–17; Thomaidou 2009, 63–167). The marble of Lesbos has a characteristic grey-blue hue. Nevertheless, petrographic analysis is needed for the attribution of altars to a specific quarry. Beyond doubt is the attribution of altars to the quarry of Moria (see also n. 29).

<sup>10</sup> Examples of altars' dimensions from various cities of insular Greece and Asia Minor are given in Yavis 1949, 142–143 (for the cylindrical) and 144–145 (for the rectangular).

<sup>11</sup> In Yavis 1949, 166–167; Coulton 2005, 132–133.

<sup>12</sup> Inv. MM 403. Yavis 1949, 177–183 fig. 45. For a recent study of the framed pediment's theme in altars see Adam-Veleni 2002, 59 and Tsouli 2012, 159–163 with thorough bibliography.

<sup>13</sup> In the few examples of altars without ›sacred prosthesis‹, the convex or flat upper surface is either unadorned or has a deep cavity or groove in order to serve the attachment of an additional cult object.

<sup>14</sup> Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 525. Other examples of altars and funerary monuments with representations of snakes, besides steles, ›funerary banquets‹ and ›Thracian rider‹ reliefs, see Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, nos. 2225–2226. 2228 pl. 317. A special mention should be made of one rectangular altar housed in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, Crete, with two relief snakes decorating the shaft of the altar and drinking from a bowl placed on top (Wide 1909, 221–222 pl. 1). For a relief votive plaque-altar with phialai and snakes from Sardis see Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 127 no. 158 fig. 305. For the significance of the serpents on Pompeian house-shrines see Boyce 1942, 13–22. For the symbolism of snakes on funerary steles and ›funerary banquets‹ see Mitropoulou 1976, 88–139. Finally, for a detailed study of the subject of the snakes in ancient Greek art since the archaic period see Salapata 2006, 550–560, with all the recent bibliography.

<sup>15</sup> For an exact parallel of a base see Coulton 2005, 131 fig. 5 a on a votive altar from Keretapa-Diakaisareia (?).

<sup>16</sup> The closest parallels for altars with bands are found on an altar from Myra, Lycia (Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 520 no. 2170 pl. 311), on an altar from Aphrodisias (?) (Berges 1986, 183–184 K111 fig. 145 a–c) and on an altar from Side (Berges 1986, 178–179 K101 fig. 137 a–b). The same band is also found with additional decorative

The shaft constitutes the background of the principal decoration, where the motifs are arranged at the top and bottom of a snake-shaped garland, plain or covered with laurel or olive tree leaves. In some cases the garland is bundled with a taenia<sup>17</sup>.

According to their decorative motifs, the altars of Lesbos could be divided into two groups. Within the first group the central motif concerns animal heads: mostly rams<sup>18</sup> and horses' heads<sup>19</sup>, as well as a few bucrania<sup>20</sup>, that alternate with almost sculptural bowls, navel-form or decorated with a rosette<sup>21</sup>. The heads always support the garland.

In the second more elaborate group, busts, mostly male, female and one of a child<sup>22</sup>, comprise the main decorative motif, always supporting the peaks of the garlands<sup>23</sup>. The male busts represent several iconographic types and age groups, as their hairstyle and their attire illustrate. The young and mature male figures dressed in himation or in chiton and chlamys are possibly identified as officials or horsemen, considering their decorative motifs such as defensive and aggressive weapons (e.g. cuirasses, helmets, shields, spears)<sup>24</sup> and horses' busts in section (fig. 3).

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themes in relief on Koan, Rhodian and Cnidian altars, which are described in detail by Berges 1986. On the altars of Lesbos the additional decorative band themes most probably were painted.

<sup>17</sup> For the garland motif on funerary monuments see Brecoulaki 2006, 226–227. For their dating see Berges 1996, 67–71. For their symbolism see Davies 1978, 304–305. For the typology of garlands on Rhodian altars see Frazer 1977, 27–28. For the lavish decorated garlands on Koan and Rhodian altars see Berges 1996, 50. 59–60. The garland is a very popular theme not only in funerary architecture (grave steles, altars and sarcophagi), but also in the architecture of public buildings (Webb 1996, with examples).

<sup>18</sup> For the depiction of rams' heads, which is not very usual in funerary reliefs and especially on altars, see the altar of Troilos' brother from Antalya district (Horsley 2007, 146 no. 233 pl. 204); see especially ostothekes, e.g. from Ephesos in the Tire Museum (Koch 2010, 67–68 fig. 78); in the Ephesos Museum (Lafli – Bru 2013, 297 no. 9 fig. 9); and one of unknown provenance in the Burdur Archaeological Museum (Horsley 2007, 149 no. 238 pls. 211–214); a pedestal from the Tomb of Publius Varius (Clarke – Bacon – Koldewey 1902–1921, 235). On the frieze of Megalesion in Pergamon a ram's head with a bull's head support a garland (Webb 1996, 56–57).

<sup>19</sup> For the widespread iconographical connection between horse and hero, see Mitropoulou 1976, 14–23; 67–68; Akamatis 2001, 252–253, with the relevant bibliography; Dimitrova 2002, 222. Although it resembles a horse, in all probability, the heavily eroded animal head on the altar with inv. MM 240 depicts a deer (Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 509–510 no. 2909 pl. 304; Ridgway 2000, 225 no. 37), a unique case for the island of Lesbos. For relief heads of deers, which support the peaks of the garlands on the frieze of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia ad Maeandrum, see Webb 1996, 90 fig. 52.

<sup>20</sup> Unlike the other workshops (Rhodian and Koan) where bucrania comprise the main theme, on the Lesbos altars, they appear only in a few examples in a secondary position. For bucrania on Rhodian altars see Fraser 1977, 27–28. For bucrania at Koan altars see Berges 1996, 49. 59; Poupaki 2011, 143–146. 189–209. 215–216 with recent bibliography; Tsouli 2012, 199–218. For a general introduction to the bucrania subject in public and funerary architecture see Webb 1996, 29–30 with examples from various cities and sanctuaries.

<sup>21</sup> Similar phialai depicted on the animal-garland frieze of the propylon to the sanctuary of Athena in Pergamon are believed to explicitly emulate metal prototypes (Webb 1996, 61).

<sup>22</sup> Cormack 1997 believes that the funerary monuments of Asia Minor »suggest the adoption of the exterior forms of Romanization«. In particular, funerary reliefs with busts of the deceased, which appeared during the Augustan era in Asia Minor, reflect the direct iconographic influence of the freedmen's reliefs, popular in the Roman West. »Romanization« was widespread in Mytilene, considering the strong links of the city with the emperors as well as the firmly established imperial cult revealed by inscriptions (see also n. 41).

<sup>23</sup> On the other altars or sarcophagi the garland is supported by non-human figures, either animal or god's heads or by entire standing figures, such as Erotes, Nikai, etc. The human protomes are usually placed above the loops of the garlands. For examples see Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 505 no. 2099 pls. 301; 520 no. 2170 pl. 311; Herdejürgen 1996, cat. 64 pl. 46, 3; cat. 84 pl. 64, 1–3; Adam-Veleni 2002, 190–191 no. 165 pl. 99; Milner 2004, 56 figs. 18–19; 66 fig. 46; Horsley 2007, 149 no. 238 pls. 211–214. For busts supporting the garland as on Mytilenean examples see the altar from Gölcük (Yazir) in the Burdur Archaeological Museum (Horsley 2007, 208–210 no. 311 pls. 312–313). The altar from Gölcük, however, has different typological characteristics from the Mytilenean ones.

<sup>24</sup> The Macedonian influence in the depiction of weapons is indicated by the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles or by the funerary urn with garland, bucranium and armament in the Kilikis Museum, Greece (Hatzopoulos 2001, 52–53 pls. 1–2). The motif is common on Pisidian and Pamphylian ostothekes, usually in combination with the »closed door« motif (Fleischer 1978, 43 pls. 13, 8; 14, 10; 16, 14; Horsley 2007, 146–147 no. 234 pls. 205–206 with comments and relevant bibliography; 167–168 no. 256 pls. 242–243; Koch 2010, 69 fig. 70, 8). Weapons in relief are also



The female busts are usually supplemented with objects of worship, alabastra and fusiform unguentaria, essential in commemorating and making offerings to the dead<sup>25</sup>.

On one possibly unique example from Eresos, however, the entire figure of a warrior, instead of his bust, is depicted standing in a frontal position and offering a libation<sup>26</sup>.

The example of the representation of an architectural element, that of a closed door, is unique, and constitutes what could be the most sophisticatedly decorated altar of the Archaeological Museum of Mytilene<sup>27</sup>.

Additionally, we could say that the main and supplementary ornaments, delineated freely and without a frame, are placed symmetrically and create an especially effective visual result. The details are rendered by the sculptors with deftness, a miniaturist and naturalistic tendency and with thorough knowledge of the represented subject, such as the plants, and the human and animal anatomy represented by their details. In many examples, the relief is high. Especially the bowls and the animals' busts provide the sensation of a salient creation.

As part of this study, the altars from the island of Lesbos have been compared to other well known and published examples from Macedonia, insular Greece (e.g. Kos, Rhodes, Samos, Delos) and some Asia Minor cities (i.e. Sardis, Pergamon, etc.). Based on typo-morphological characteristics, we are inclined to suggest that the altars of Lesbos are products of a local formerly unknown workshop, which, although creatively combining elements assigned to other workshops, nonetheless produced original works of high quality.

The particular iconographic characteristics of the altars from Lesbos may be summarized into the following: convex crownings with relief, chthonic elements and, occasionally, acroteria; decoration on the altar's shaft with human busts always supporting the garland and weapons; richly-carved garlands, schematized and without fruits; and finally, a preference for the representation of rams' and horses' heads instead of bucrania, as well as the carving of the inscription always above the garland (fig. 4).

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observed on sarcophagi (Herdejürgen 1996, cat. 109 pl. 86, 3; cat. 120 pl. 86, 5; Koch 2010, 63–64 fig. 49); on rock cut tombs from the territory of Oinoanda (Milner 2004, 58–59 figs. 24, 25, 28); on a West Roman cinerary urn from Anagni, Rome, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Lightfoot 2003, 8). For weapons and thropies on *cippi* from Este, Italy, see Keppi 2003, 34–36 figs. 2, 2, 4. For the combination of weapons and horses' protomes and for their heroic symbolism in ›funerary banquets‹ see Mitropoulou 1976, 68–69. For public buildings decorated with armour in relief see Webb 1996, 57–59.

<sup>25</sup> Alabastra also support the garland on a sarcophagus from Boubon, which probably dates earlier than the Mytilenean example. On the Boubon sarcophagus alabastra are combined with amphoriskoi and with the ›closed door‹ motif (Strocka 1996, 457–458 figs. 3–4; Horsley 2007, 171–172, 261 pls. 248–249). On an altar from Seki a vase also supports the garland (Milner 2004, 66 fig. 47). For vases, mostly oinochoai, depicted on sarcophagi see Herdejürgen 1996, cat. 12 pl. 7, 2; cat. 107 pl. 92, 5; cat. 174 pl. 109, 4; pl. 110, 3–4. For grave stelae with depiction of various kinds of vases, see Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, pls. 319–322.

<sup>26</sup> Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 348–349 no. 1470 pl. 213; Ridgway 2000, 203–204. Almost similar parallels in grave stelai and reliefs in: Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 349–350 no. 1473, 1476 pl. 213. A standing male figure, dressed in himation without border, supporting the garland is also found in the altar no. 498 from the island of Delos (Couilloud 1974, 222 pl. 87).

<sup>27</sup> Inv. MM 401. Navel phialai, snakes, pomegranate, and grapes are depicted on the convex crowning. Along with the door, garland, flowers, bucrania, rosette and phialai are represented on the shaft. Above the door there is an inscribed funerary imprecation (Evangelidis 1927/1928, 19–21 no. 3 fig. 11; IG XII Suppl. no. 83; Strubbe 1991, 39, 51 n. 57. Διονυσιφάνης is the only known occurrence of this name in any inscription of Lesbos (Fraser – Matthews 1987, 139). In Mytilene there are a few more funerary monuments with imprecations threatening the possible violator of the grave with the imposing of a fine, payable either to the city or to the gods (IG <sup>2</sup>XII 405–407; Charitonidis 1968, 72–73 no. 110 pl. 29 c). Mytilenean curses seem to have been inspired by the Asia Minor examples (Strubbe 1991, 38–47). For the closed door motif, as well as the ones used in combination with it and the various symbolic meanings on altars, sarcophagi and ash-urns see Davies 1978, 122–130; Haarløv 1977, 13–56. For door stelai in Asia Minor see Roosevelt 2006, 65–91 and examples in Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979. For the relation of the imprecations to the door theme on funerary monuments see Strubbe 1991, 40. See also here n. 24 for weapons and n. 25 for vases.

The attribution of another category of funerary reliefs, referred to in the scholarship as *epithemata* or ›ash-chest lids‹<sup>28</sup>, to a local workshop of Lesbos may also be considered secure. As part of this research, 20 different examples of lids were investigated across Lesbos, carved in the local marble of the Moria quarry<sup>29</sup> as well as in trachyte, a volcanic rock abundantly found on the island<sup>30</sup>. The lids consist of a square plinth and a slightly bent or hemispheric crowning with acroteria at their corners. The main decorative motif is the relief bowl placed in the centre and surrounded by snakes and *popana* (fig. 5).

These chests could have been placed on grave monuments and burial enclosures, such as the heroon, identified in 1980 near the south-west gate of the ancient city. Unfortunately, the relevant excavation reports are missing<sup>31</sup>.

A rectangular altar with the inscription Ἡρωΐδα as well as two *epithemata*, one with the inscription [Ἀρ]ιστάνδρῳ, are part of the aforementioned funerary monument. The first name is also inscribed on the *epithema* IG<sup>2</sup> XII 287 and the second on the altar IG<sup>2</sup> XII 286, accompanied by the adjectives εὐεργέταν and ἥρωϊ, respectively. The dedication of the latter *epithema* and altar was made to the aforementioned deceased by the δᾶμος, approximately in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. All objects share the same technical features and the presence of the same names of the deceased, which renders their association quite possible, pointing, thus, to their common origin from the same funerary monument, an important heroon of the city<sup>32</sup>.

One more cylindrical altar recently found inside the South Necropolis of Mytilene further clarifies the heroic character of the altars. Fallen inside a rectangular funerary monument, it was found along a pile of misplaced bones, giving the impression of a rapid, collective burial<sup>33</sup>. The ceramic and glass unguentaria found in the same context date the monument from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

This chronology is compatible with the sculptural form of the veiled female head depicted on the shaft of the altar, and known as ›Mourning Woman‹<sup>34</sup>. The soft formation of her oval

<sup>28</sup> Evangelidis 1927/1928, 19–21 nos. 3–5 figs. 11–13; Charitonidis 1963, 269; Chatzi 1971, 448–449 pl. 448 d; Pfuhl – Möbius 1979, 535–536 no. 2234 pl. 318. For close parallels Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, 535 nos. 2229–2231 pl. 318 (from Pergamon); 536 no. 2235 pl. 318 (in Tyros Museum). According to Evangelidis, they were placed on a cubic stone, and together they formed a kind of altar. On the contrary, Coulton 2005, 133 interprets them as ash-chest lids.

<sup>29</sup> The attribution of most marble *epithemata* to the quarry of Moria is certain because they contain in their core characteristic fossil remains of Megalodons 6 to 12 cm and Crinoidia (Lazzarini – Pensabene – Turi 1999, 125–129; Millar – Williams 1993, 211–224). For the quarry's petrographic analysis by Ian Whitbread, see Williams – Whitbread 1984, 69–70).

<sup>30</sup> The trachyte *epithemata* come mainly from north-west Lesbos, namely the ancient territories of Methymna, Antissa and Eresos. It is worth mentioning that the geological character of these territories is mainly volcanic with trachytes and andesites. Especially, the territory of Methymna is characterized by a total absence of marble. This is visible also in the architecture and the sculptural production of the ancient city. The majority of the works have been executed in volcanic rock, while a few marble works we possess are believed to have been made with imported marble: Kontis 1978, 13–18 nos. 37–53. For an up-to-date geological study of the island, see Thomaidou 2009, 38–167.

<sup>31</sup> The monument's dimensions are based on the excavation drawings. Detailed description in Kourtzellis – Kyriakopoulou (forthcoming). In the same area as the heroon is believed to be located the Asklepion, under the modern church of Agios Tharapon (Papageorgiou 1900, 23). For hero's grave monuments *intra muros* see Nováková 2010, 213. 220 and close to Sanctuaries of Asklepios see Themelis 2000, 96–102.

<sup>32</sup> On the majority of altars and *epithemata* of the Archaeological Museum of Mytilene the name of the dead is in the dative case, indicative of the worship of the Demos and not as a typical address. For similar syntax on grave stelai with representation of altars see Petrova 2005, 591–598. For the connection between altars and the heroes' worship see Nováková 2010, 113–211 with bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> According to the categories of common burials, mentioned in Logotheti 2013 the funerary monument of the South Necropolis probably attributed honours to war victims. However, this interpretation is still under examination: Kourtzellis – Kyriakopoulou (forthcoming).

<sup>34</sup> The iconographic type of the female bust on the Mytilenean altar is a variation of the ›Large‹ and ›Small Herculeum Woman‹. However, the Mytilenean bust differs from them because the himation is not drawn by the hand in front of the chest. It forms a kind of roll below the neck as it hangs down behind and over the left shoulder.

face with its fleshy cheeks and fine characteristics, the head's slight leaning to the left, the hair-style, the almond-shaped eyes with heavy, drooping eyelids, as well as the fleshy, closed lips strongly imply classicizing influence, possibly of the late 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. and the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. (fig. 6).

The comparison between the rest of the altars and their relation to the one with the female bust leads us to suggest a date ranging from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Nevertheless, the life-cycle of the workshop seems to have lasted long. It began its production at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.: this is implied by the decoration of an altar with floral motifs, stylistically similar to that found on the baluster side of the pseudo-dipteral temple of Messa<sup>35</sup>. Examples from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. also exist, such as the standing warrior who offers a libation, which has been dated by Pfuhr – Möbius<sup>36</sup>. Also, the altar of Antipatros<sup>37</sup> could be dated almost to the same period, according to its inscription.

Positive chronological evidence for the workshop's life is provided by two votive altars with garlands and rosettes, dedicated to Pompey<sup>38</sup> and Augustus<sup>39</sup>, whose close relation to Lesbos is very significant.

Based on all the above evidence, therefore, one may safely argue that the activity of the Lesbian altars' workshop is dated, at least, from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.

The iconographic tradition of the altars is continued down to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. through a special category of cult objects from Lesbos: the ›relief offering tables‹ where the chthonic offerings are represented in exactly the same way as on the crowning of the altars. Therefore it appears that the specific theme had deep roots in the island's society and was particularly known and loved (fig. 7)<sup>40</sup>. In contrast to other workshops in the West and in Asia Minor which in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. continued the altars' decorative themes on sarcophagi, in Lesbos there are only a few examples of sarcophagi reflecting the specific iconographic tradition, probably not locally made<sup>41</sup>.

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A portion of it is drawn over the head from behind so as to form a veil. A statue in the British Museum from the Duke of Sutherland's collection at Trentham represents the original of this Praxitelean type (Gardner 1908, 142–147). For counterparts in funerary sculpture and in reliefs see Walker 1990, 16–17 no. 4 pl. 2; Lagogianni-Georgakakos 1998, no. 9 pl. 3; no. 15 pl. 4; no. 33 pls. 15–16; no. 71 pl. 34; no. 71. 73 pl. 34; no. 76 pls. 35–36; no. 94 pl. 41; no. 107 pl. 45, etc.; Allamani-Souri 2012, 367 fig. 12; Leventi 2012, 260 fig. 9. A close similarity is also recognized with the female portraits on a sarcophagus from Demircili (Koch 2008, 635–657, figs. 6–12).

<sup>35</sup> Altar with inv. MM 30583. For the baluster side of the Ionic capital of the Late Classical Temple of Messa see Koldewey 1890, pls. 25, 2. 7. 10. 11; Acheilara 2004, 26–35, fig. on p. 31; Kourtzellis 2012, 340–345 figs. 113–117.

<sup>36</sup> See also here n. 26.

<sup>37</sup> Petrakos 1967, 461.

<sup>38</sup> For the specific inscription see Charitonidis 1968, 33–34 no. 41; for all the other inscriptions which were dedicated by the city of Mytilene to Pompey see Charitonidis 1968, no. 42 n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> IG<sup>2</sup> XII, Suppl. 155. For altars and the other inscribed offerings to Augustus see Benjamin – Raubitschek 1959. The city of Mytilene has produced the largest number of Julio-Claudian altars or dedications of any site in the Greek imperial world. The name of the emperor in dative case indicates the existence of a local imperial cult to his person (Vermeule 1968, 204–206). For the cult of Augustus and the other emperors in Lesbos see furthermore Shields 1917, 86–90. The inscription on the specific altar does not respect the relief decoration of the shaft but intersects the taenia, so we can presume that the inscription was carved secondarily (Nováková 2009, 116).

<sup>40</sup> Kallipolitis 1959, 41–54 where an exhaustive study of six ›relief offering tables‹ comments on the relation of offering tables to the tradition of offering real offers to the deceased. According to Kallipolitis the ›relief offering tables‹ were collected by workers of the local Archaeological Service and were stored in the Castle of Mytilene. Their exact find spot is not known. Rescue excavations of the Ephorale in Mytilene have revealed two more in dumps (*apothetes*) of religious/cult character. Three more have been detected in 2012–2013; two in the Castle of Mytilene and one which has been incorporated in a wall of the inner courtyard of the Pithari Monastery. The last one is the only example from the ancient territory of Eresos.

<sup>41</sup> Davies 2011, 50–51.

The Lesbian altars' workshop was developed during an era in which the island flourished in all areas of social and economic life. The prosperity from the age of Pompey was then owed to the financial autonomy offered by the emperors to the island under the general framework of the positive development in relations between Rome and the East. For this reason Lesbos played an important role in commercial activity in the Aegean Sea and on the nearby coast of Asia Minor opposite, with which it was closely linked since the prehistoric period.

The historian Theophanes decisively contributed to the favourable position of Rome with regard to Mytilene. The orator and follower of the Second Sophistic school, Lesbonax (1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.), the orator Potamon, son of Lesbonax, and the poet Crinagoras are only a few of the personalities who illuminate the island's history. Founding the Potamoneion Monument, Mytileneans honoured Potamon for his benefactions to the state and for his mediation to Caesar.

The cities of Lesbos offered divine honours to the emperors and to their families, as indicated by decrees, votive inscriptions and statues<sup>42</sup>. The splendour of the Roman city continues to be revealed by excavations today. The bridges of the Euripus natural sea strait, the public buildings with rich and elaborately represented vegetal decoration in their architectural members<sup>43</sup>, the villas with mosaic floors of exceptional skill, and the architectural elements of the theatre support the ancient writers<sup>44</sup>, who placed Mytilene among the most beautiful cities of the Roman world.

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References of figures: Figs. 1–7: © Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos/Photographic Archive.



1 A representative example of a marble cylindrical altar with a garland and horse's head on the shaft. Inv. MM 7113 from the city of Mytilene



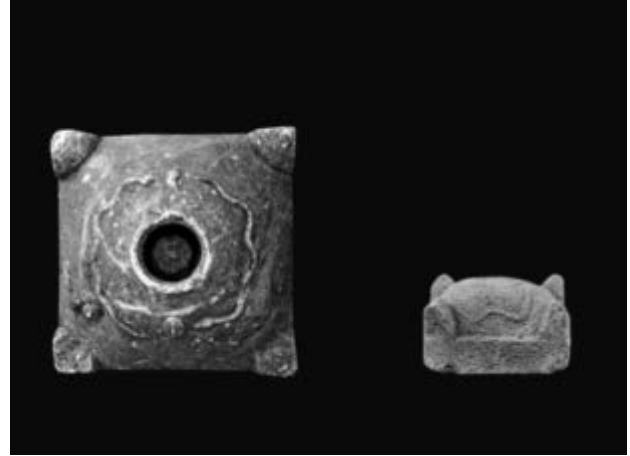
2 A representative example of a marble rectangular altar with garland, phiale and rams' heads. Inv. MM 398 from the city of Mytilene



3 Marble cylindrical altar, with bust of a mature male figure. Inv. MM 240 from the city of Mytilene



4 Marble cylindrical altar with representation of armour (shield and helmet) on the shaft. To the right, its top part, carved with of chthonic elements in relief. Inv. MM 30590



5 Epithemata or ›ash-chest lids‹ from the island of Lesbos. Left: Marble, Inv. MM 402, from the city of Mytilene. Right: Trachyte, inv. CE 190 from the ancient city of Eresos



6 Marble cylindrical altar. View and detail of the veiled female head (›Mourning Woman‹) depicted on the shaft of the altar. Inv. MM 44256, from the South Necropolis of Mytilene



7 Two examples of marble ›relief offering tables‹ from the city of Mytilene. Inv. MM 1130 and MM γ39



**V CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE  
IN ASIA MINOR: RELIEFS**



ERGÜN LAFLI – EVA CHRISTOF

## A NICHE WITH NYMPHS FROM KULU IN GALATIA

## ABSTRACT

The aim of this brief article is to present a new archaeological find from the year of 2010, a small scaled, unexpectedly unearthed marble relief, showing three nymphs in a niche. The relief was found near a village called Fevziye in Kulu, in the district of Konya, in Roman Galatia. From the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. reliefs and statues of nymphs, holding a shell-shaped water basin in front of them became popular in Asia Minor as well as elsewhere in the Imperium Romanum. In this paper further examples of nymph reliefs are discussed and a date for the relief niche from Kulu is suggested.

## ÖZET

**Antik Galatia Bölgesi'ndeki Kulu'dan Bir Nymph Kabartması**

Bu kısa makalenin amacı 2010 yılında Konya İli, Kulu İlçesi, Fevziye Köyü yakınlarında bir tarlada tesadüfen ele geçen, bugün Kulu Hükümet Konağı bahçesinde yer alan, ön yüzünde üç nymph (su perisi) tasviri yer alan mermer bir kabartmanın tanıtılmasıdır. İ.S. erken 2. yy.'dan itibaren ellerinde istiridye biçimli su teknesi taşıyan üçlü nymph kabartma ve heykelleri Anadolu'da ve diğer Roma İmparatorluğu'na bağlı merkezlerde sık görülmeye başlanmışlardır. Bu tasvirlerin büyük bir çoğunluğu bir kaplıca ya da doğal su kaynağı ile bağlantılıdır. Bu yazıda şu ana değin bilinen Roma Dönemi nymph tasvirleri ele alınacak ve Kulu kabartmasının diğer örnekler arasındaki yeri ile kronolojisi tartışılmıştır.

The aim of this article is to discuss a new archaeological find from the year of 2010, a small-scaled, unexpectedly unearthed relief showing three female figures in a niche. The relief was found in a field, close to the village of Fevziye, formerly known as Çingirli which today belongs to the township of Kulu (fig. 1) in the district of Konya. With the approval of the appropriate authorities, the relief has been transferred from the location of its discovery to the town hall of Kulu, where it is now kept in its back garden. The niche (fig. 2) measures 91 cm high, 60 cm wide, and 32 cm deep. The material is a slightly reddish limestone, and should therefore be of local provenance. The state of preservation is quite good apart from the faces, which have somewhat eroded, and some missing parts at the bottom right edge. Above a small, undecorated lower zone, where the surface was treated by a rough tool, more intricate engravings can be seen: two undecorated rectangular pilasters frame the picture, with a height of 49 cm, the depth of the engraving is 14 cm. The top of the niche is vaulted and its inner part is decorated with regular, thin, tongue-shaped elements, which start from the architrave above the main part of the relief, creating an optical extension and giving the impression of depth. In the central rectangular section three standing female figures (fig. 3) are seen from frontal view. They are very similar to each other and all wear the same hairstyle. Although their heads have been eroded, the cork screw curls falling on to their shoulders remain. The outer two female figures in particular are similar to each other, as their torsos are naked and their drapery starts at their hips. Their supporting legs and their free legs are arranged in such a way that they emphasise the middle of this central section of the relief and frame the middle figure. Each holds a shell-shaped basin with both hands in front of their bodies. The idealising head on the right side of the relief is the best preserved. The figure has long, middle-parted hair which forms a decorative middle loop, a style known since the late 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. from heads of the goddess Aphrodite. The central figure is differentiated from the

others, being fully dressed. The sleeves of her garment almost reach her elbows, and the high belt supports an additional mass of drapery, which is shorter in the middle and slightly longer on the sides. Two small weights are fixed to the garment. The combination of the standing leg and the free leg corresponds to that of the figure on the left. The rendering of the folds shows a tendency towards a very rigid and motionless style and structure. The folds are realised through sharp edges and simple grooves.

Instead of holding a shell-shaped basin, the woman in the centre of the relief holds two large enigmatic round objects in the form of ›rolls‹ in front of her body with both hands. We lack exact parallels for such ›rolls‹. It is tempting to interpret them as columns, dedicated by the person who assumed the financial costs for the construction of the surrounding architecture in which the relief was embedded, and thus intended to memorialize the donation of the architecture as well as dedicating this relief to the nymphs. Offering architectural elements for a building is a literally and epigraphically well-documented phenomenon in ancient society<sup>1</sup>, but so far there is no visual reference for this practice. Parts of single columns do appear in the visual arts, for instance in a fresco from Pompeii: here a female painter, sitting on a fragment of a horizontally lying shaft of a column, has finished a painting by copying a herm of Pan in front of her<sup>2</sup>. The type of the half-naked nymph, carrying a shell-shaped basin in front of her body, was very popular during the Roman imperial period. The earliest examples can be traced back to the frescoes in Pompeii, where two nymphs hold a basin in front of their bodies. The first depictions of mythical women with a naked torso and a basin from which water runs out can also be found in the frescoes of Pompeii. In Pompeii these images do not exist as statues, but only as painted figures on frescoes. The shell represents the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, a myth which also appears on a fresco in Pompeii<sup>3</sup>. The shell, too, is a symbol for female beauty.

In Roman Asia Minor the Naiads (Ναϊάδες) were a type of nymph who presided over fountains, wells, springs, streams, brooks and other bodies of fresh water. Naiads were associated with fresh water, as the Oceanids were with saltwater and the Nereids specifically with the Mediterranean. They were often the object of local cults and the water nymph associated with particular springs was known throughout Roman Asia Minor. From the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. statues of nymphs holding a shell-shaped water basin in front of them become popular in Asia Minor, as well as elsewhere in the Imperium Romanum. The statue of a nymph from Tralleis, without a known context for its discovery and now in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, carries a basin which however is not shell-shaped. In 1995, R. Özgan proposed a dating of this statue in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., a period in which the painted nymphs on the frescoes from Pompeii are also connected with undecorated basins which are not shell-shaped.

A statue of a nymph (fig. 4) was excavated in the nymphaeum in Allianoi, former Paşa Ilıcısı, at the İlya Çay<sup>4</sup>. The statue was found *in situ*, in the central niche of the fountain house. The sculpture has a hole in its body through which water flowed. In Hadrianic times, Aelius Aristides, who also frequented the famous ›medical centre‹ of the Asklepieion at Pergamon, visited the hot waters of Allianoi to find a remedy for his diseases<sup>5</sup>. Several similar representations are known (fig. 5, a statue from Gortyn): another similar sculpture of a nymph was found in 1963 in the

<sup>1</sup> See Rumscheid 1999, 49–52 (donating columns for gymnasia and baths in Asia Minor during the Roman imperial period).

<sup>2</sup> Fresco from Pompeii (VI 1, 10, Room 19), Naples, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 9018. Dimensions: H 45.5 cm, L 45.3 cm, date A.D. 50–79: PPM IV 1993, 75 fig. 46; Nava 2007, 147 with figs. (M. Lista).

<sup>3</sup> Schmidt 1997, 219 no. 309\* pl. 158; date: reign of Vespasian: Pompeii II, 3, 3, Casa della Venere in Conchiglia.

<sup>4</sup> This statue, now in the Museum of Bergama, 1.60 m high, was found in 1998 at the Allianoi rescue excavation at a distance of 18 km northeast of Pergamon, an area now flooded in order to function as a water reservoir: Yaraş 2004a; Yaraş 2004b.

<sup>5</sup> Müller 2004, 215–225, esp. 216–218 with text of Aristeid. 3, 1–7 (translated into German and in n. 9 with the original Greek text), where Ail. Aristeides describes his disease and the cures he underwent at Allianoi.

basin of the Nymphaeum Traiani in Ephesos<sup>6</sup>, now on display in the Efes Müzesi. Originally it decorated the facade of this water fountain, together with other mythological sculptures and statues of divinities, located in a heavily frequented location along the Curetes Street. Furthermore, a nymph statue of this type was set up in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. in a niche of the *frigidarium* of the South Baths of Timgad, North Africa<sup>7</sup>.

All these examples of sculptures in the round have a close relationship to either bathing contexts, fountain houses or places in which water is the central element<sup>8</sup>. Although we cannot allocate the relief to any known ancient building, its narrative content and the many examples of similar contexts make it clear that it once belonged to a nymphaeum, bath, water spring or anything similar. Therefore, a similar original environment should have also existed for the relief from Fevziye. As far as we know at present, no parts of such a building remain, nor have traces of a thermal building or a nymphaeum been documented in the surrounding area of Fevziye<sup>9</sup>. The relief niche of Fevziye can even be understood as a testimonial for the existence of such a structure in the vicinity, which might be located in future. The small scale format of the relief would be appropriate for a votive relief. If the relief was indeed dedicated by an individual or individuals, any dedication which might have identified them is lacking. Frequently, however, votive reliefs do not bear the names of their dedicators. The special form of the niche is very similar to niches of the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. rock cut sanctuary of Pan and the nymphs in Palestine, near Banis, in the rocks above the source of the river Jordan<sup>10</sup>, a site which was designed for the display of free-standing sculpture dedicated to the gods. Another possibility is that the relief from Fevziye was part of an architectural refurbishment. One thinks of its insertion into a wall above a water pipe, above a water basin or simply inserted in a wall as a decorative element providing a general hint to the function of the building.

## OVERVIEW OF THE ICONOGRAPHY AND VENERATION OF NYMPHS IN ASIA MINOR

The veneration of nymphs in Asia Minor has a long history: a relief from central Lycia, from the region of Tepedibi<sup>11</sup>, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., shows, although the surface is worn, three standing, fully dressed nymphs. Found *in situ*, it is small, measuring only 0.23 × 0.23 m and is square in format. This relief is cut into a sheer rock wall some distance above a not easily accessible water-source, a rock cut water basin, almost certainly an ›open air‹ cultic place. Another marble votive relief<sup>12</sup> is said to have been found in Bodrum, Eskiçeşme Quarter, southwest of the Mausoleum's terrace. It depicts the river god, Acheloos, Hermes as guide of the nymphs and

<sup>6</sup> Inv. 768: H 126 cm; W 33 cm; Th 30 cm, date: 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.; Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 97; Auinger – Rathmayr 2007, 250–251; Quatember 2011, 70–71 pl. 119, 3 cat. 6; pl. 123 (find spot in the water basin).

<sup>7</sup> Halm-Tisserant – Siebert 1997, 893 no. 14a\*; Manderscheid 1981, 122 pl. 477. It is dated to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D.: Manderscheid 1981, 17.

<sup>8</sup> For an example for the association of local springs and nymph reliefs see fig. 6. In the Archaeological Museum of Sofia there are several nymph reliefs from numerous Roman find spots in Bulgaria: Oppermann 2010/2011, 272 fig. 9. A relief from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. A.D. has recently been discovered during the excavations in Hissar, Roman Diocletianopolis, now a modern Bulgarian spa resort once visited by Diocletian, because of the mineral baths. The inscribed marble relief (ca. 50 × 50 cm) with the depictions of three nymphs was found in one of the rooms of the Roman thermal bath complex. According to its inscription the relief was dedicated by a Roman aristocrat as a gesture of gratitude for his being cured.

<sup>9</sup> Pataci – Laflı 2013 with references to the archaeology in this area and some new epigraphic findings.

<sup>10</sup> Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, 284–286 (with figs.) no. 20/16/01; esp. for the niche Merkelbach – Stauber 2002, 286 (with fig.).

<sup>11</sup> Hüllden 2006, 219 fig. 8 (rock cut basin and relief); 220 fig. 9 (relief); 224 (date: ›earlier than Hellenistic, belonging to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC‹); Hüllden 2006, 220: a trilingual inscription in the Letoon shows that the equivalent for the Greek word *nymphai* was *Eliyāna* in the Lycian language.

<sup>12</sup> Bean – Cook 1955, 99 and pl. 12 (c); Larson 2001, 207 with n. 300; Pedersen 2013, 62 fig. 18; the inscription reads: ὁ ὑποργὸς θεῶν Ἀναξί Νύμφας Ναΐαδας / Ἀχελώϊος Ἑρμῆς Περικλυμένη Ναΐουσα Πανόπη / Ἀπελλῆς



three nymphs, whose names Periklymene, Naioussa and Panope, are mentioned in the inscription. The way the nymphs are presented, as clothed dancing women, will have a strong impact on the way nymphs will be depicted in the future<sup>13</sup>. The same formula, e.g., was adopted in a series of late Hellenistic and early imperial votive reliefs from Pythia Therma<sup>14</sup>, in Bithynia, southwest of Yalova. The votive steles show three clothed dancing nymphs in the lower register and Heracles, as the guide of the nymphs in the upper part. Ailios Aristeides tells us that Heracles had given the names to the spring in this place, and was worshipped here together with the nymphs. Another hot spring connected with nymphs must have been in Prousa ad Olympon<sup>15</sup>, known from an anonymous epigram, which makes a fountain tell about its healing function: »I yield to the nymphs of Prousa and hail to the Pythiades [= the nymphs of Pythia Therma] my superiors. But let all naiads after Pythia and Prousa give way to my nymphs ...«. A well-known late Hellenistic relief still *in situ* in front of the deep fountain at Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4 at Ephesos<sup>16</sup> shows the nymphs fully dressed, taking one another by the hand and moving slowly. Again the nymphs have to be understood as guardians, protectors of the fountain, and guarantors of good quality water. The sculpted garlands above their heads add a sense of sacred sphere to the scene<sup>17</sup>.

In the Hellenistic period, nymphs are assimilated to the goddess Aphrodite taking a bath for the first time and therefore naked. This can be seen on a votive relief from Mykale, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. and dedicated to Pan, representing two bathing nymphs<sup>18</sup>, as well as on a fragmentary votive relief of a bathing nymph in front of a herm of Priapus from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. – 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., found in Tralleis<sup>19</sup>, now in Berlin. The depiction of trees, with particular reference to the tree on the left-hand side from which a votive pinax hangs, indicates that the scene is located outdoors.

A variety of typical schemes for nymphs' depictions has been established. During Roman imperial times female nymphs with hydriae or amphorae, as well as male personifications of springs and rivers were often shown in order to convey the excellent quality of water of a place: e.g. personifications were very often depicted on mythological reliefs in Hierapolis which is still an attractive place for visitors today due to its hot springs<sup>20</sup>. A fragmentary votive relief from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., dedicated by a certain Valentilla from Thermae Theseos in Lydia, shows two nymphs, with naked torso but covered hips and legs, whose heads are missing, pouring water out of jugs. The distich at the bottom of the scene comments on the »splendour of the water«<sup>21</sup>. Many epigrams tell us that nymphs are the delightful patrons of water sources, hot springs and

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Ἀπολλωνίου Μύνδιος – »The servant of the Gods (is dedicating this relief) to the Lord of the Gods, to the Naiad nymphs / Acheloos, Hermes, to Periklymene, Naioussa and Panope / Apelles, son of Apollonius, of Myndus«.

<sup>13</sup> A relief of a nymph at Lampsacus, early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. B.C. (Siebert 1990, 318 no. 349 pl. 228), is also presented in the same manner, which will become a well-known formula for the representation of nymphs.

<sup>14</sup> 1. Corsten 1987, no. 138: θεῶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Νύμφαις; 2. Corsten 1987, no. 139: under the upper relief: [Ἄλ]εξάνδρου Ἀλεξάνδρου, under the lower relief: [θεῶ Ἡρακλεῖ] καὶ Νύμφαις; 3. Corsten 1987, no. 140: Ἀστὴρ Μενεσθέος / Βυζάντιος Ἡρακλεῖ / καὶ Νύμφαις εὐχῆν.

<sup>15</sup> Prousa ad Olympon, epigram: Larson 2001, 191–192.

<sup>16</sup> Thür 2002, 267. 269 (with a nymph relief was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.); and Uytterhoeven 2013, 143 fig. 2.

<sup>17</sup> For the way the nymphs are depicted and especially for the garlands cf. a relief in the Museum of Astrus in Greece, from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.: Schörner 2003, 564 cat. R 54 pl. 29 (with garlands suspended from boukrania and phialai in the intersections); for garlands as preferred decoration scheme on Hellenistic altars cf. Berges 1986. The painted Pompeian household shrines often show garlands above the figures, cf. the evidence in Fröhlich 1991.

<sup>18</sup> Larson 2001, 201–202 with fig. 4, 13; Kreilinger 2007, 93. 310 fig. 273: Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung inv. SK 1685, votive relief for Pan; similar to Attic votive reliefs of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>19</sup> Özgan 1995, 41–43 pl. 8, 1; Kreilinger 2007, 93. 310 fig. 274 (1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.); Grassinger 2008, fig. on p. 273. Found in Tralleis, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung accession no. SK 1554, marble; measurements: H 36 cm, W 29 cm; inscription: [ΠΑΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΜΦΑΣ ΥΓΙΑ ΣΘΕΝ[ΕΛΟΥ / ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ]Ν ΚΑΤ'ΟΝΙΠΟΝ, cf. Robert 1970, 408.

<sup>20</sup> D'Andria 2011, 157 figs. 10. 12, Nymphaeum of the Tritons, slab NT 12, personification of a spring.

<sup>21</sup> SEG 31, 1658; Petzl 1996, 11 pl. 2; Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 451 no. 04/15/02; Busch 1999, 280–282.

baths. An inscribed herm shaft in Pergamon for a certain Attalos, whose head is missing, states that the owner of the herm erected it »close to the nymphs, in order to enjoy the baths forever«<sup>22</sup>. Nymphs cannot be separated from baths. During the Late Antique period the reference to nymphs in epigrams in the context of baths and healing springs is still very popular and diffused. Late Antique people continued to feel that baths and hot springs are protected by nymphs, and if the baths are abandoned, this would mean that the beautiful and charming nymphs must also leave the baths. Greek epigrams, dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. on grounds of their inscribed characters, from Thermai Phazimontion, today's Boyalı near Havza in Pontus<sup>23</sup>, and epigrams from the Baths of Macarios in Miletos, dated to A.D. 339<sup>24</sup>, speak of renovations of older baths, which caused the nymphs to return to those establishments.

## DATING OF THE RELIEF FROM KULU

The relief from Kulu can be dated by its stylistic features to the very end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. – beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. The same rendering of the body, namely, the rigid form of the upper part of the body, and not only the same hairstyle but also the workmanship of the hair, including the drill channels in the cork screw locks, can be observed on Aphrodite/Venus Anadyomene<sup>25</sup> on a relief from the pediment of the Nymphaeum (F2) in Perge, which is dated, according to the inscription, to the Severan period after A.D. 198. The folds of the women's drapery show extremely hard lines and rough edges, which also suggests that it belongs to the late 2<sup>nd</sup>, if not the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. The relief from Fevziye shares its language of forms with a common style in the Mediterranean, seen e.g. on a votive relief for Apollo and the nymphs dedicated at the hot springs on the eastern part of the island of Ischia, gulf of Naples<sup>26</sup>; the name of the site is Nitrodi/Nitroli, of which nowadays the toponym and a modern bathing establishment with healing water remain. In 1759 farmers near Barano discovered a series of marble votive offerings depicting nymphs. Twelve white marble reliefs dedicated to the Nymphs of Nitrodi have an average height of 40 cm and an average length of 60 cm, and date from the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>23</sup> Busch 1999, 194–199 with further literature.

<sup>24</sup> Busch 1999, 154–169.

<sup>25</sup> Schmidt 1997, 225 no. 359\* pl. 163; Mansel 1975, 69 fig. 27.

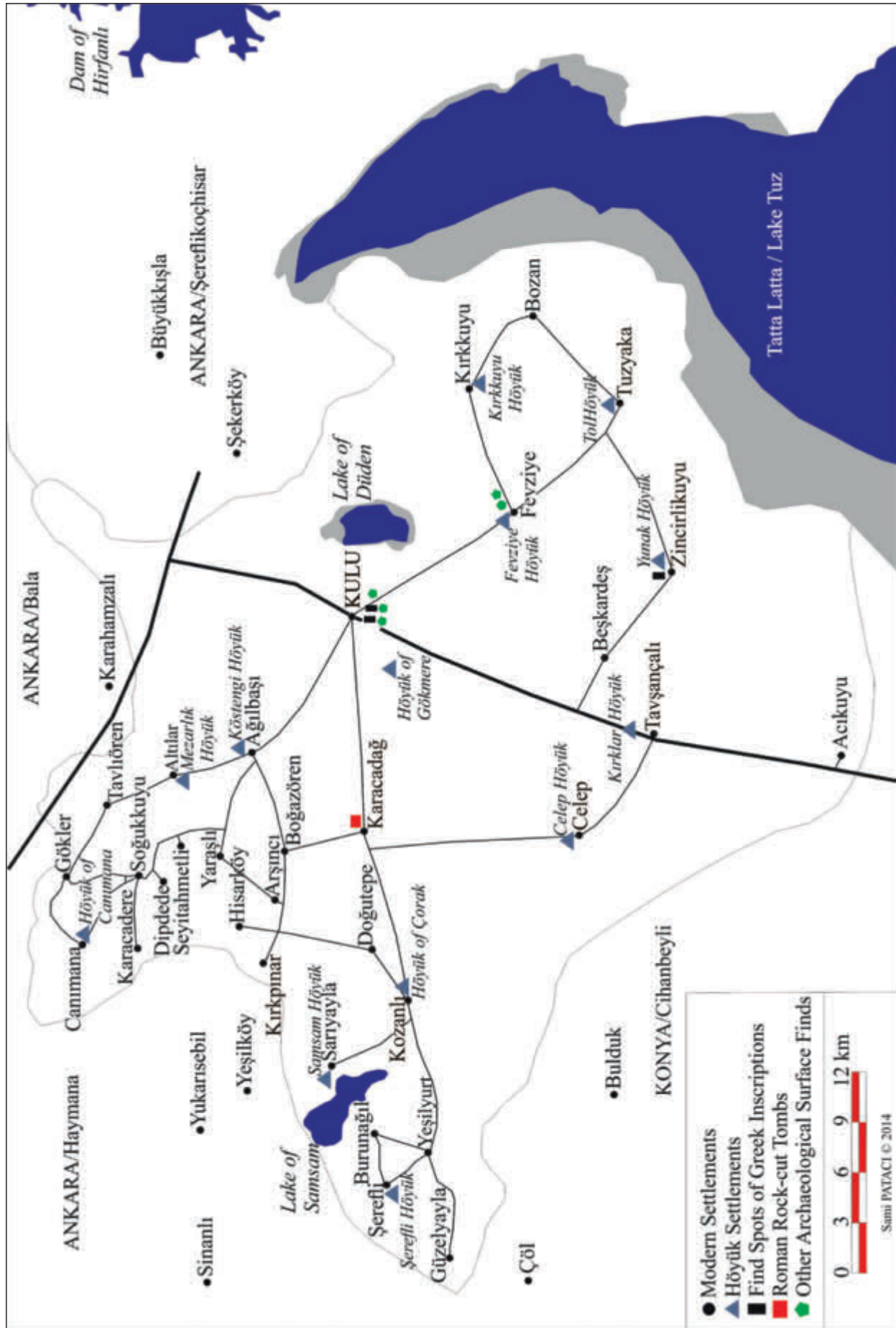
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2 Niche with nymphs from Fevziye near Kulu



3 Detail of the niche



4 The statue of a nymph from Alliano; Museum of Bergama

5 The statue of a nymph from Gortyn, Crete (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.); Archaeological Museum of Heraklion



6 A nymph stele from the Sanctuary at Burdapa, Ognyanova-Pazardzhik Region in Bulgaria; Archaeological Museum of Sofia

**VI THE LONG LIVES OF ROMAN MONUMENTS  
AND SCULPTURES, AND LATE ANTIQUE STATUES**



R. R. R. SMITH

## THE LONG LIVES OF ROMAN STATUES: PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN LATE ANTIQUE APHRODISIAS

### ABSTRACT

The paper describes the long lives of several well-documented and recently-studied Aphrodisian statue monuments. Some are recently excavated finds. Aphrodisias had a prosperous Late Antiquity in which its old buildings were carefully maintained and reconfigured. This classical-looking Late Antique cityscape is superbly preserved, and its striking remains are essentially those of a successful provincial capital of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

The old monuments and statues of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D. – representing the city's favoured gods, heroes, and benefactors – had varied life-stories in the new world of Late Antiquity. Some remained unchanged where they had been first set up. Others were moved to new settings and functions, often undergoing extensive conservation and repair in the process. And others were ›cannibalized‹ or ›spoliated‹ to make statue monuments for new honorands. Mostly the monuments of the city's long past were recuperated in some form. Relatively few were deliberately defaced or destroyed: the statues were important sites of local memory.

Newly-carved statues were also made, especially in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, for contemporary honorands – for emperors, governors, and the most prominent local notables. They were much fewer in number than the earlier statue honours, but they were carved to the same high specifications and were embedded in the same contexts of display. The new statues of the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries were seen together with and as part of the same symbolic practice as the old statues of the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries. They are usually sharply distinguished for us by changed costume, hair-style, and technique, but they worked within the same statue language and the same honorific system as the earlier marble figures.

### ÖZET

#### Roma Heykellerinin Uzun Ömrü: Geç Antik Dönem Aphrodisias'ındaki Kamusal Anıtlar

Bu makale, çok iyi belgelenmiş ve son dönemlerde incelemesi yapılmış Aphrodisias'ın bir çok heykel anıtının uzun süren yaşamları anlatılmaktadır. Bunlardan bazıları yakın zamanlarda yapılan kazılarda bulunmuştur. Aphrodisias, eski yapılarının titizlikle muhafaza edildikleri ve yeniden yapılandırıldığı zengin bir Geç Antik Dönemi'ne sahiptir. Bu Klasik Dönem görünümlü Geç Antik Dönem şehir manzarası mükemmel bir şekilde korunmuştur ve burada söze çarpan kalıntılar özellikle MS. 5. yy.'ın başarılı bir Eyalet Başkenti'ne ait olanlardır.

MS. 1. ve 2. yy.'ın eski anıtları ve heykellerinin – şehrin önde gelen tanrıları, kahramanları ve hayırseverlerini temsil eden – Geç Antik Dönemi'n yeni dünyasında farklılık gösteren bir hayat hikayeleri vardır. Bazıları yerleştirildikleri ilk yerlerinde değişmeden kalmışlardır. Diğerleri yeni bir konum ve yeni bir işlev almışlar ve bu süreçte sıklıkla yoğun konservasyon ve onarım çalışmalarından geçmişlerdir. Bir diğer grup ise parçalanmış ya da yeni onurlandırılacak şahısların heykel anıtlarını yapmak için devşirme olarak kullanılmışlardır. Kentin uzun geçmişine ait anıtlar çoğunlukla bir şekilde tekrar geri kazanılmıştır. Nispeten az bir kısmı ise kasten tanınmaz hale getirilmiş veya tamamen tahrip edilmişlerdir: Heykeller yerel bellekte önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Özellikle MS. geç 4. yüzyıl ve 5. yüzyılda olmak üzere imparatorlar, valiler, önemli yerel önde gelenler gibi dönemin yeni onurlandırılacak kişileri için yeni işlenmiş heykeller de yapılmıştır. Bunların sayısı eski onurlandırma heykelerine göre çok daha az olsa da, bunlar da aynı teknik özelliklerle titizle yapılmış ve aynı sergileme kontekstleri içine yerleştirilmişlerdir. MS. 4.–5. yüzyılın yeni heykelleri, MS. 1.–2. yüzyılın heykelleri ile beraber görülebiliyorlardı ve ortak bir sembolik geleneğin parçasıydılar. Genellikle yeni heykeller farklı kıyafetleri, saç modelleri ve kullanılmış olan teknikle kesin bir şekilde ayrılabilirler ancak eski mermer figürlerin ile aynı heykel diline ve aynı onurlandırma sistemine sahip bir şekilde yapılmışlardır.



## INTRODUCTION

The Roman period saw a huge output of sculptured monuments and images – statues, busts, stelai, sarcophagi – each an expensive symbol marking a network of interests. Very large quantities survive that represent massive investment in carved marbles of no practical function<sup>1</sup>. This was a wide arena of economic and symbolic activity, and is of major importance to any understanding of Asia and the Mediterranean under Rome. Carved marble was the language of religious majesty, of eternal memory, and of political honour and dignity. Our conference aimed – where possible, where the evidence allows it – to approach the monuments from the different perspectives of (1) local contexts, whether archaeological, topographical, or mental, and (2) the lives of monuments and sculptural complexes through time, from installation to decommissioning and destruction.

The received story of Roman sculpture is a linear narrative from late Hellenistic to Late Antique, in which a grand procession of old styles is replaced, slowly or quickly, by new styles. Like stratigraphic archaeologists, we are trained to see older, lower layers succeeded by, and sealed from newer, upper layers. But the lives of ancient monuments were not led in this way. Styles of course changed, and as far as the story of changing styles works, it has (more or less) been studied and agreed. Some now even agree that different object categories, as well as subject categories, followed their own specific formal rules and trajectories. Images of gods, benefactors, and Dionysian creatures, for example, were shaped by very different visual norms, as were the characteristics of sarcophagi, statuettes, and grave stelai. But even within their own subject or object category, little of the material is truly obedient to the traditional model of old forms succeeded by new forms. Continuity is often more obvious. The essential difficulty is that the whole model of progressive linear or incremental change is a weak and blunt tool that misrepresents the ancient situation drastically. New monuments and new styles came, but the old ones were not discarded. They remained in slowly evolving contexts of accumulation and gradual reconfiguration – often over many hundreds of years. The statuary of an old city such as Miletos and its sacred way to Didyma was an organic growing body of monuments from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>2</sup>.

The long lives of statues can be studied through local archaeological contexts at excavated sites in western Asia that have statues, inscribed bases, and documented urban spaces and buildings – for example, at Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Laodikeia, Miletos, Pergamon, Sagalassos, Sardis, and Stratonikeia<sup>3</sup>. Of these sites, Aphrodisias and Ephesos have undoubtedly the best concentrations of evidence from the imperial period into Late Antiquity<sup>4</sup>. Anthropologists have long talked of the biographies of movable objects<sup>5</sup>. Roman antiquity has a set of highly charged objects and contexts in which powerful public and religious monuments had long lives of interaction and changing meaning. We have not development of style but massive accumulations and pregnant congregations of varied monuments and figures. One of my main points is that statues and monuments were meant to be seen together in settings that acquired the status of potent fields for symbolic action – such as the Embolos in Ephesos or the Bouleuterion in Aphrodisias<sup>6</sup>. We access their lives through archaeology, epigraphy, and the surviving monuments. Viewed in this perspective, stylistic novelties, while important, take much less of our attention. When the statue monuments are viewed all together, synchronically, they can be seen to work more within a single, broad mode of classical visual expression than to strive for or to achieve meaningful

<sup>1</sup> On the scale and economics of this phenomenon, see Russell 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Bol – Ahle 2011.

<sup>3</sup> See recently Jacobs 2013, 395–445, and Smith – Ward-Perkins 2016.

<sup>4</sup> For Ephesos: Auinger 2009; Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Appadurai 1986.

<sup>6</sup> Embolos, Ephesos: Auinger 2009. Bouleuterion, Aphrodisias: Smith et al. 2006, 60–65.

artistic difference. It is becoming clear that where we have good contexts and documentation, our abstract stylistic chronologies turn out to be defective.

In what follows, I try to describe some different and varied aspects of this phenomenon, using recently studied and documented statue monuments from a range of contexts in Aphrodisias (fig. 1). I begin with an introductory sketch of a monument still under study, the so-called Agora Gate, where we can see three monuments with long lives that converged here in unexpected ways.

### THREE INTERSECTING LIVES

Three objects or sets of objects from the ›Agora Gate‹ of different dates have been published in three different monographs. They are: (1) an extensive set of mythological parapet reliefs of ca. A.D. 200<sup>7</sup>, (2) an inscribed base honouring a provincial governor, Titus Oppius Aelianus Asklepiodotos, of ca. A.D. 300<sup>8</sup>, and (3) a seated statue of a bare-chested intellectual-looking figure of ca. A.D. 100 (fig. 2)<sup>9</sup>. These monuments are of course interesting on their own, and have been well studied independently, but other points of view are also available. Seen from an archaeological and historical perspective, it is interesting and significant that all three were found together, in close proximity, and were now demonstrably part of a single complex of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

The ›Agora Gate‹ was a colossal two-storeyed aedicular facade building of the Antonine period that closed the east end of the ›South Agora‹. Current work suggests this public square, with its 170 m pool, was not an agora at all but a tree-lined city park on the model of some of the porticus in the city of Rome<sup>10</sup>. The building was restored in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as recorded in inscriptions on it, by a local grandee called Ampelios and by a provincial governor called Dulcitius<sup>11</sup>. This restoration included many statues earlier in date than the Antonine structure – they had clearly been brought here from other contexts<sup>12</sup>. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, or more likely in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a large, thick-walled basin was added in front of the building. It was much too tall and massive to have been a usable fountain basin and probably functioned instead as a header tank for the long pool. It also incorporated and displayed our three disparate items in a striking new collocation. It is clear from the documented find contexts and recent work on the basin that the mythological parapet reliefs were re-used to decorate the top of the basin wall, separated by small Eros piers, while the handsome old base honouring Asklepiodotos was positioned in the centre of the basin wall, probably with its inscription plastered over and re-written. The base carried the seated ›intellectual‹ statue found fallen close by in front of it (fig. 2). The statue has a cutting for a neck tenon that shows it was re-used with a different head for a new, Late Antique honorand.

From this context we may draw the simple preliminary conclusion that carved marbles made in the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries had long unpredictable lives in complicated, evolving configurations through the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### ACCUMULATION

The traditional narrative of ancient art requires old monuments to be thought away as new ones arrive. The story has been driven by a modern concern with both production and novelty. In this perspective, Late Antiquity has much novelty but also severe decline in output. In another perspective, both aspects are exaggerated and in some senses illusory. Novelty was tempered by a huge inventory of old statues still ›in action‹, as it were, in the public sphere – whether reborn for a new life in a re-used configuration or in their original function. And decline in output, while

<sup>7</sup> Linant de Bellefonds 2009.

<sup>8</sup> ALA 7; LSA 195.

<sup>9</sup> Smith et al. 2006, no. 52.

<sup>10</sup> Preliminary report: Smith – Ögüş 2013, 311–312. See now Smith et al. 2016, chaps. 5–7.

<sup>11</sup> ALA 38–40.

<sup>12</sup> Smith et al. 2006, nos. 53–58.

real, was not experienced as statistics might suggest, again because of the undiminished totals that remained in play<sup>13</sup>. Statues accumulated: new statues were added faster than old ones were removed. At Aphrodisias, some quantification is possible, as well as some topographic sense of how new monuments were placed among old ones (fig. 1). There are strong accumulations or congregations of statuary at what had become privileged sites of public honour: the Tetrastoon in front of the Theatre, the stoa in front of the Bouleuterion, and the west stoa of the South Agora immediately adjoining the Hadrianic Baths<sup>14</sup>.

At Aphrodisias, there are approximately 220 surviving items of public honorific statuary and some 305 inscribed bases from the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, and in Late Antiquity a total of some 60 statuary items and 40 bases<sup>15</sup>. In one sense, this is a sharp decline. In another sense, however, it was merely restraint in the rate of increase. And in terms of contemporary experience, since the earlier statues were still there, it was a clear aggregate increase: 60 statuary items and 40 bases were added in Late Antiquity – they did not replace the earlier monuments. The important consequences are that the earlier and later monuments were seen together. They were part of the same statue practice and the same culture of monuments and carved marble. Both the qualitative and quantitative aspects are significant. ›Decline‹ is not the best description of this pattern of accumulation, and any apparent changes of visual language are better seen in the context of new honorands with different clothes, hairstyles, and priorities.

## CONSERVATION

Some statues remained safe and well-conserved at Aphrodisias precisely where they had originally been set up and where they led long unchanged lives for several centuries. In the complicated dynamic statue life of the Bouleuterion and the stoa in front of it facing onto the North Agora (fig. 3), it seems exceptional rather than something we should expect, that two statues remained unmoved from erection to collapse. The two great statue monuments for a local grandee L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes and his niece Claudia Antonia Tatiana, from a family at the pinnacle of the provincial aristocracy, stood symmetrically flanking the west and east doors into the Bouleuterion (fig. 4)<sup>16</sup>. They were among the highest-quality statues in the city, set on elaborate moulded bases, reaching a total height of some 4.50 m. They were set up in ca. A.D. 200 and remained standing as potent local ›historical‹ markers through Late Antiquity, for about half a millennium. They fell over in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, after this part of the city centre had been abandoned. The statues were found fallen immediately in front of their *in-situ* bases (fig. 3), not at the floor level of the stoa but on a considerable layer of accumulated earth. The stoa roof which sheltered these dramatic marble figures had clearly been removed and the building abandoned before the statues fell.

In later antiquity, this highly prestigious locale, at the nerve centre of local political life, saw only two more statue honours. They were statues of provincial governors set up here in the decades around A.D. 400 (fig. 3): one is an elegant and high-quality new chlamydatus statue of Oikoumenios, the other a re-used himation statue (very like that of Dometeinos, only smaller) of Alexandros<sup>17</sup>. The statues of Dometeinos and Tatiana then were maintained in their original positions as functioning honours from 200 to 600. During this period, they would have taken on some of the colouring of historical memorials, but unlike such memorials, often erected long posthumously, these figures had extra power as verifiable lifetime honours that went back to the

<sup>13</sup> For this perspective: Smith 2007, 204.

<sup>14</sup> Tetrastoon: Smith 2001. Stoa in front of Bouleuterion: Smith 2002. Hadrianic Baths: Smith 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Numbers are available in Smith et al. 2006 and LSA s. v. Aphrodisias. For a representation of these numbers, see fig. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Smith et al. 2006, nos. 48 and 96.

<sup>17</sup> Oikoumenios: Smith 2002; LSA 150 and 151. Alexandros: Smith 1999, 165–167 fig. 5; Smith et al. 2006, no. 49; LSA 152 and 153.

great days of the Antonine empire. They retained their semantic and stylistic effect beside the statues of the two Late Antique governors. The himation statue re-used for the monument of Alexandros shows that this style and costume remained effective and current. Beside the choice of the new *chlamydatus* for Oikoumenios, the himation now took on an aspect of longstanding tradition. It was not a revival (there had never been a time without himation statues), nor an economic expedient (Oikoumenios' statue shows a different choice was within local technical and financial means). The himation worn by Alexandros was rather a deliberate and effective choice, which could be referred precisely to the statue of Dometeinos still standing proudly in the same colonnade.

## RESTORATION

Other statues received more far-reaching restoration. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century, much urban building was concerned with maintenance and restoration of existing structures. Statues too were often repaired, restored, and re-set up with more or less their original function. The best, most extreme examples of this practice at Aphrodisias are two naked statues of professional boxers from the Theatre<sup>18</sup>. They were found broken in many pieces, with their bases, one on each side of the stage. Their display position (on the *analemma* terminals, on the stage, or on the old raised *logeion*) is not clear. Their modern study and restoration showed that the two statues had already been badly broken and repaired extensively in antiquity, and that they were mounted for their re-display on new but re-used bases.

The inscribed bases record the honorands' identities as Candidianus and Piseas (fig. 5), two local Aphrodisian boxers each with a great international victory career behind him. The statues were made probably in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and repaired and remounted in the 4<sup>th</sup>. We should probably assume that the statues were originally displayed in the Theatre and that they retained their original identities and meanings after their restoration. Piseas and Candidianus were then two titanic local champions, whose monuments, like those of Dometeinos and Tatiana, were important monuments of local memory, history, and pride. Their old statues were carefully repaired, and their honours renewed. Athletic contests continued through the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but these are among the latest attestations of the new or refreshed deployment of naked honorific statues in Late Antiquity.

## MOVING STATUES

It is becoming clear that great old monuments of the classical past were also moved and set up in new Late Antique contexts. The Hadrianic Baths seem to have been a favourite locale where both honorific portrait statues and statues of gods and heroes of the highest-quality might be re-deployed in this period (fig. 1)<sup>19</sup>. It seems on various grounds that such statues and groups were originally set up elsewhere and had been decommissioned, moved, repaired, and set up in new configurations. Some may have come from complexes converted to new uses, while others seem to have fallen or been badly damaged to the extent that they needed to be dismantled.

Three ›classical‹ monuments of the early imperial period redeployed in the Tetrastyle Court joined to the north side of the Hadrianic Baths in Late Antiquity are good examples of this phenomenon: a colossal statue of a divinity and two heroic groups, one of the Pasquino type, the other the well-known and well-preserved group of Achilles and the Amazon queen Penthesilea<sup>20</sup>. They underwent careful repair and re-mounting on new low bases (re-used architectural elements) built into the parapet walls of the tetrastyle pool. While the two heroic groups would originally have formed a pair, the colossal naked male god seems to have come from another context.

<sup>18</sup> Van Voorhis 2008; Smith et al. 2006, nos. 39–40; LSA 531 and 532 (Piseas), 545 and 547 (Candidianus).

<sup>19</sup> Smith 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Smith 2007, 215–218. 223 A 13–15 figs. 21–26; Gensheimer – Welch 2013.

The most remarkable story of a ›moving‹ statue monument at Aphrodisias is the early imperial group of a heavily repaired blue-grey marble horse and white marble rider found with parts of its new Late Antique base in the Basilica (fig. 6). It is a subject of recent and current research<sup>21</sup>. Part of an inscribed base from a mythological horse monument was long known in the north city wall. It records a group set up by the people in the early Roman period: »The demos [set up] the Troilos [and the ho]rse and the Achilles«<sup>22</sup>. It was, we may deduce, from a monument that had been decommissioned (for whatever reason) and whose base ended up as building material for the city wall built by the governor, Flavius Constantius, in the A.D. 350s or 360s<sup>23</sup>. The new Late Antique base for the horse monument in the Basilica is L-shaped and included a missing third figure standing beside the horse and small rider (fig. 6). The group is most easily reconstructed as a version of a known Hellenistic composition of Achilles on foot pulling the boy Troilos from his galloping horse.

The inscribed block in the north city wall and the group in the Basilica were probably connected. The city can hardly have had two such monuments, and the group in the Basilica surely stood originally on a base that included the inscribed block that was later incorporated into the north wall. The heavy damage and repairs to the horse's mane and legs shows that it was probably decommissioned after it had collapsed. We know that the Basilica was refurbished in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century by the same governor that built the city walls<sup>24</sup>, and it would be economical to suppose these operations happened at the same time. The three-figure group was surely a well-known public monument – collapsed, recovered, repaired, and moved with a new base to a new setting in the restored Basilica, all part of a programme of urban renewal undertaken by the governor at some point in the middle decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The old base, on which it was recorded that the group was originally a dedication of the demos, was sent to the wall, and the monument now became probably a dedication of Flavius Constantius. Both dedicator and context of display had changed.

The process of restoring and re-dedicating decommissioned statues that lies behind the life-story of the Troilos and horse monument was big business in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is a process we know well from another direction – from the group of 4<sup>th</sup>-century Latin inscriptions from central and south Italy that praise governors for taking statues out of »dirty and hidden places« and setting them up anew as ornaments of the city<sup>25</sup>. In the perspective of these honorific texts, the Troilos and horse monument was surely from such a place – that is, its immediate origin was most likely from a storehouse or workshop. Aphrodisias has preserved precisely such a storage yard at the Sculptor's Workshop excavated behind the Bouleuterion. It allows us to visualise the kind of place that the elevated writers of this group of Latin inscriptions had in mind. It also, we will see, has a surprising, direct, and recently discovered connection to the Troilos and horse monument.

## MAKING, STORING, RECYCLING

The sculptor's yard behind the Bouleuterion was a place for storing, repairing, and re-selling salvaged old statues, as well as for making new honorific statues<sup>26</sup>. An unusual virtuoso Late Antique togatus holding an inkpot, made around A.D. 400, was found in the workshop (fig. 7)<sup>27</sup>. It is fully carved and polished except that its portrait head is lacking its last sitting and finishing. For whatever reason, this statue honour was never put into action in the city, and it remained unclaimed in the workshop till the facility's final collapse. The figure wears a distinctive new

<sup>21</sup> Preliminary discussion: Smith 2012, 8–17. See now full publication: Smith – Hallett 2015.

<sup>22</sup> MAMA 8.415, with Robert 1965, 126–127.

<sup>23</sup> Wall: ALA 19 and 23.

<sup>24</sup> SEG 40, 949: mosaic inscription from west aisle.

<sup>25</sup> *Loci sordentes, loci abditii*: Witschel 2007. For example, ILS 5478: *signa translata ex abditis locis ad celebritatem thermanum Severianarum* (Campania, 370/380).

<sup>26</sup> Rockwell 1991; van Voorhis 1999.

<sup>27</sup> İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, no. 195.



toga costume introduced only in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. Other statues found here were clearly from time-expired and decommissioned monuments, salvaged or bought by the workshop from the city on the second-hand market<sup>28</sup>. Others were pieces that had been dismantled because they were damaged or defaced<sup>29</sup>.

Who was doing this work? Unusually at Aphrodisias, some agency on the part of the makers, as opposed to the office-holding customers, can be restored to these clearly lucrative processes of storing, repairing, and recycling. One fortuitous discovery, long known, is the base inscribed with the dedication of one Flavius Andronikos found in the sculptor's yard at the back of the Bouleuterion<sup>30</sup>. This is one of a small group of dedications made by this man and his better-known collaborator Flavius Zenon at Aphrodisias in the early to middle 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>31</sup>. The same two men, with a third, Flavius Chryseros, are also known from a large and notorious group of ›signatures‹ from the Esquiline in Rome<sup>32</sup>. This is not the place to address the thorny question of the nature of the business in which these highly-placed figures were engaged. It is enough to say that Flavius Zenon was a *comes* and *archiereus*, and that both he and Andronikos were *perfectissimi*. By any measure, they were hardly ordinary sculptors. My own view is that they were a new kind of sculpture impresario of precisely the kind required by both the Aphrodisias sculptor's yard and by the Latin inscriptions describing recycling from ›dirty and hidden places‹ (= sculptor's yards and storehouses)<sup>33</sup>. They positioned themselves between the stock of old statues and the needs of new buyers. They acquired, stored, repaired, and re-sold old decommissioned classical statues.

There is some suggestive new evidence to add here. An important part of this recycling process may be seen in a newly discovered inscription on the Troilos base (inv. 09-66). When the inscribed base was removed in 2009 from the tower into which it was built in the north wall, its short front face (formerly concealed in the wall) was found to carry a secondary inscription, informal but in large letters formed of punched dots. It reads A[N]DRONIK(vac). It was surely intended as a genitive of possession, ›of, or belonging to, Andronikos‹, and the person is most easily and most economically taken as the Flavius Andronikos known in the sculptor's yard and on the Esquiline in Rome. This large rough inscription was probably placed on the base after the statue's collapse in order to signal that Andronikos has bought the ensemble from the city as a decommissioned public monument. After the dismantling of the monument, we may deduce that the base was sold on for the city-wall project, while the Troilos statuery group was taken to the workshop or perhaps directly to its new context. The horse was repaired with new front legs and mane and equipped with a (rather rough) new base, and sold for new dedication by the governor in the Basilica.

The horse and Troilos group, its two bases, the two inscriptions on one of them, and the archaeology and epigraphy of the sculptor's yard behind the Bouleuterion illuminate different parts of a long complicated process of dismantling, reclaiming, storing, repairing, moving, re-mounting, and re-dedicating of old statues.

## SPOILIATION AND SPOLIA STATUES

The statues of Dometeinos, Piseas, and Troilos (figs. 4–6) retained their original identities and meanings. Much more common probably was the recycling of old statues for new subjects, especially portrait statues. Indeed for much of the fourth century, it seems to have been the city's normal *modus operandi* (both at Aphrodisias and elsewhere) to make new honorific statues from recycled himation and toga figures.

<sup>28</sup> E.g., the ›East Bouleuterion‹ group discussed in Hallett 1998.

<sup>29</sup> E.g., the large Satyr with baby Dionysos: Rockwell, 1991, 130 fig. 4; Smith 1998, 255–258 figs. 5. 6. 9. 10–11.

<sup>30</sup> ALA 13.

<sup>31</sup> ALA 11–12.

<sup>32</sup> IGUR IV, 1592–1611. See also Moltesen 2000, 114–117. 123–124; and recently, Vorster 2012/2013, 396–400.

<sup>33</sup> Smith 2007, 214–215; see also Russell 2013, 340–344.

The seated statue mounted on the basin in front of the ›Agora Gate‹ (n. 9, fig. 2) and the Alexandros statue from the stoa in front of the Bouleuterion (n. 17) are examples of different kinds of recycled himation figure. Two statues from the Tetrastoon, recycled on ›cannibalised‹ composite bases to honour Julian and Valens, are examples of recycled old 2<sup>nd</sup>-century toga figures (fig. 8). The inscription on Julian's monument was later changed again to honour Theodosius (I or II)<sup>34</sup>. New portrait heads were added to these recycled old statues, which themselves remained essentially untouched.

To modern archaeological eyes, these statues are to be categorised first and foremost as re-used, as *spolia* – as something obviously second-hand, old-fashioned, and motivated by shortage of resources and skill. But this is not necessarily how they would first have struck an ancient viewer. Earlier himation and toga statues still dominated the landscape of city honours. They remained effective and meaningful in contemporary Late Antique terms too. As in the stoa in front of the Bouleuterion, recycled statues stood in the Tetrastoon with equal status alongside newly carved statues. Re-use was not simply a matter of economy, but of different choices. Indeed, in the 4<sup>th</sup> century it seems that re-used statues in fact represented the expected choice, the traditional norm, while newly carved statues in new costume designs were the exception that signalled something different.

### NEWLY CARVED STATUES

Against the pervasive practice of re-use, the carving of completely new statues from new marble blocks stands out as unusual. It seems that the recycling of old honours was the norm for much of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and that only from the Theodosian period, from the late 4<sup>th</sup> into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, did it become important to represent honorands in statues wearing the new east-Roman power costumes – the *chlamys* and the new senatorial toga (figs. 7 and 9)<sup>35</sup>. It was simply not possible to make statues in these powerfully differentiated costumes out of old statues: new statues had to be carved, and in the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries they constitute a distinctive and narrow strand of production.

The well-preserved Theodosian group set up by the praetorian prefect Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus in 388–392 in the west stoa of the South Agora at the entrance gate into the Hadrianic Baths provides the best and earliest dated examples of a new toga design. Parts of three statues and four tall round bases survive, and their context can be reconstructed with some precision (figs. 9, 10)<sup>36</sup>. The statues, made of extremely fine-grained marble, brought from the important quarry at neighbouring Göktepe<sup>37</sup>, display a virtuoso drapery handling and high-specification polished surface. They show that for those who wanted and could afford such things, statues to rival the best of the Antonine age could still be produced. They were, however, now rare, special, and expensive. The unfinished togatus mentioned above (n. 27, fig. 7) wears precisely the same unusual costume design as the Theodosian figures and is of precisely the same manufacture and virtuoso technique. It shows that they too were the work of carvers from the workshop behind the Bouleuterion.

The Theodosian statues stood in the same position through the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, but the name of their dedicator Tatianus was erased from their bases after his fall from power in 392. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when Tatianus' memory was rehabilitated, the inscriptions were not restored on

<sup>34</sup> Smith 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Smith 1999; Gehn 2012; Smith – Ward-Perkins 2016, chap. 1.

<sup>36</sup> İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, no. 66; Smith 1999, pl. 1, 1; ALA 25–27; Smith 2007, 228–229 A 37–38. B 31–33 figs. 30–31; LSA 163–167. There are more elements to add to this group and more to say about its context and configuration. Fig. 10 is a preliminary reconstruction.

<sup>37</sup> Attanasio et al. 2008, 225.

these statues, but he did receive a memorial honour set up by a descendant (his grandson [?]) attested by a large inscribed base found in the forecourt of the Hadrianic Baths<sup>38</sup>.

The chlamys costume also required newly-carved statues, and the best known examples were for a long time the ›younger‹ and ›older‹ chlamydati found in 1904 near parts of the Theodosian group<sup>39</sup>. They were found in the northern wing of the same west stoa of the South Agora and seem to have stood here with ›moved‹ or re-used portrait statues of the high empire. In the same way, the newly carved chlamydatus statue of the governor Oikoumenios stood in the same stoa with the revered monuments of Dometeinos and Tatiana and near an old himation statue re-purposed for the governor Alexandros (n. 17). Old and new statues displayed side by side in this way wore different costumes that carried different meanings, but their commonalities of material, quality, scale, and formal language were as important as these differences. They were all part of a single continuing set of honorific statue practices. For special purposes, for special honorands, and for those prepared to pay a lot, high-grade new statues as good as the old ones were still available from a few great master-carvers. In Aphrodisias, we even have their well-placed production centre, the workshop behind the Bouleuterion.

### LONG LIVES, NEW FINDS

Recent excavation of a major city avenue, the ›Tetrapylon Street‹, has brought to light three statues with long interesting lives. The street runs from the Tetrapylon (entrance to the sanctuary of Aphrodite) to the Sebasteion (Sanctuary of the Emperors). The excavation has revealed a well-preserved collapse onto the street after a major conflagration in the early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Late Antique columns, column bases, and capitals from the upper storey of the street portico were found in their fall-positions on the street, together with mixed deposits of tile, burned wood, broken glass, and mosaic fragments<sup>40</sup>.

The first of the three statues was found in 2011, lying out of context on the street (fig. 11)<sup>41</sup>. It is a good example of a long-lived himation statue. It is an over life-size figure of sensitive, high-quality work of the early imperial period, fully finished on the back as well as the front. The head is missing: it was carved separately and fitted into a shallow socket at the neck – attached by a pin set in a large square dowel hole at the bottom of the socket. The character of both the socket and the dowel hole are typical for statues re-used in Late Antiquity. That is, the original head seems to have been replaced in the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. with a portrait of a new subject. The original portrait had probably been carved in one piece with the body: it was removed and the new joint-line and socket were cut at the level of the tunic's neckline.

The statue joins the growing body of documented early imperial himation statues that were recycled for new subjects in Late Antiquity – such as Alexandros the governor at Aphrodisias (n. 17), and Damocharis and Alexandros the doctor at Ephesos<sup>42</sup>. We see in these statues, first and foremost, repair and re-use, and we project this onto Late Antiquity: viewers must have seen, we think, that these were old re-used figures. As noted above, this is probably a false, modern perspective. The himation figure as a statue form had never disappeared from the cityscape so that its deployment or re-deployment could be seen as something ›old‹ and recycled. We detect and prioritise recycling, but the ancient viewer saw instead high-quality statues in forceful, traditional costumes.

An inscribed base for an important local benefactor called Myon Eusebes of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. was found in 2013 near a large niched masonry structure that stands next to the street<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> ALA 37; LSA 193.

<sup>39</sup> İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, nos. 242, 243; Smith 1999, 176–178, pl. 1, 3–4; LSA 169 and 170.

<sup>40</sup> On the street excavation in 2008–2013, see recent reports: Smith 2013; Smith et al. 2016, chaps. 2–4.

<sup>41</sup> Smith – Ögüş-Uzun 2012, 97 fig. 7.

<sup>42</sup> LSA 728 and 736.

<sup>43</sup> Smith 2013, 4 figs. 32–34.

The base fits in the single central niche of this monument, and the himation statue may once have belonged on it. The whole ensemble is the subject of current research in the field.

Two further statues were discovered in the street excavation in 2012 (figs. 12–14). They are of high-quality and of different periods and styles, one (A) of ca. A.D. 400, the other (B) of ca. A.D. 450, both re-used as building material in a post-antique context<sup>44</sup>. The earlier figure represented a local notable; the other figure was an imperial office-holder, probably a governor.

The statues were found immediately north of the Sebasteion propylon, built into a kind of platform that projected from the wall bordering the west side of the street (fig. 12). This constructed platform was found immediately above and bedded onto the destruction layer of the street. The statues were employed in its foundations. The two over life-size statues, both headless, were placed at right angles to each other to form the north-east corner of the platform. One statue (B) was on its back, face up, the other (A) was face down. Worked stones were packed beneath both statues, and courses of brick were carefully laid on top of them. Preliminary study of the pottery associated with the deposition of the statues suggests they were perhaps built into the platform in the immediately ›post-antique‹, early Medieval period.

The heads of both statues are missing and had been made in one piece with the figures. They probably broke off before the re-use of the statues in the platform, and they would anyway have been removed before the statues were recycled as building material. Both statues are made of local Aphrodisias marble from the nearby city quarries, and both were parts of high-specification public monuments. Statue A, the earlier of the two, wears the normative civilian costume of chiton and himation, the dress of the well-turned-out citizen notable (fig. 13). The dress, posture, and style of the figure were modelled closely on those of the now-200-year-old statue of Dometeios (fig. 4). The figure's body and head were turned in a dynamic, ›rhetorical‹ posture, with the right arm in a tight ›sling‹ of his cloak, but with the fingers of the right hand (now broken off) making the gesture of address/speaking. The scroll in its left hand has the individual rolled turns of the papyrus engraved carefully on its visible upper end. This is a precise and unusual detail. The subject was probably a member of the local elite represented in the posture of an engaged public speaker – he is animated and committed, but also disciplined and self-controlled.

The other statue (B) is a large figure of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., wearing the elaborate and strapped *calcei* and toga-costume of a Late Antique senator (fig. 14). It has a stolid four-square posture, a thick, barrel chest, and an unusually fat belly. It was very rare for ancient portrait statues to portray aspects of the subject's individual body form, but this is clearly what was intended here. Although his hands are broken off, close local parallels and the clear evidence of their struts and attachment points show that he carried a *mappa* in his right hand and sceptre in his left, and so was certainly a high-ranking office-holder from the central imperial administration in Constantinople, most likely a provincial governor. Aphrodisias in this period was the metropolis or capital of the province of Caria, and many of the statues erected in this period honoured governors. The statue represented then probably a governor well known for his pronounced corpulence. Although highly unusual among surviving ancient statues, the corpulent individualised body portrait is easily interpreted. He is a weighty, authoritative, honest figure, and probably (to judge by his stance) advanced in years. The subject's heavy stomach is his, and it is good.

The context of these two statues is striking testimony to a necessary change of attitudes that took place in the immediate post-antique period. Statues such as these, which had earlier proliferated in the ancient city, began to change in local perception from treasured public monuments to useful, heavy-duty building material. Some statues remained standing, perhaps admired and respected, into the seventh century, but for those that had already collapsed there was no useful future except as raw material for construction.

The sometimes fast-changing lives of ancient statues may be illustrated finally by another recent find. The southwest corner of the North Agora adjoins the Tetrastyle Court which in Late

<sup>44</sup> Smith – Ögüş 2013, 312–313 figs. 8–11.

Antiquity became part of the baths. The Baths and the Tetrastyle Court lie at a higher level than the North Agora and were entered by three sets of stairs from the Agora. Excavations here in 2011 to clarify this connection brought to light a Late Antique portrait head from near the end of Aphrodisian portrait production (fig. 15)<sup>45</sup>. It contains indications of its changing life, even within its relatively short period of public display, from its manufacture, in say 500, to the collapse of the kind of urban life in which statues mattered, in say 600.

The Constantinopolitan hairstyle, full and thick on sides and back, balding on top with flat strands combed forward, the technique of the eyes (iris and pupil treated as a kind of raised disc), and the light beard pecked into the smooth cheeks in ›cuneiform‹ chisel marks together indicate clearly a date near the end of local statue-making, in the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century. Two points are of interest in this context. Firstly, the nose was broken at some point, and then carefully repaired by cutting out its lower part and adding a new lower nose fixed in place with mortar of which there are remains on the prepared join surface. Even within the last century of antiquity, the portrait clearly had an eventful life. Secondly, the head preserves the clearest remains of a common and distinctive technique of attaching heads to statues at the end of antiquity. The head was not broken off at the lower neck: the neck tenon is finished (fig. 15 b). When discovered, the neck still had in it a long, thick iron dowel (diameter: 1.00 cm, and length 12.00 cm). Half of the dowel was embedded in the neck, and half protruded for attachment to the statue (fig. 15 b).

This is the best-attested example of a quick and secure method of head-attachment, probably for a period in which heads were frequently changed. Instead of a long bust-like tenon inserted into a carefully-worked cavity in the statue, usually extending (as on the himation statue found in 2011, fig. 11) to the neckline of the statue's tunic, this method preferred a shallow, slightly concave cut in the shoulders of the statue onto which the rounded end of the neck was attached. The obviously precarious nature of such a method was compensated for by the size and length of the dowel. The dowel hole in the statue was also typically made much too large for the iron dowel, which allowed for a much greater tolerance and flexibility in positioning the head in the desired position on the shoulders. This was a technique widely used in this period at Aphrodisias and elsewhere<sup>46</sup>. It was a technique that facilitated the swift change of heads on bodies.

## CONCLUSION

Even within the period of Late Antiquity, then, statues continued to have long and varied lives – they might be repaired, re-used for new honours, taken down for building material, or left standing into the seventh century or later. Older statues remained in the public sphere as still ›active‹, as part of the same culture of monuments and with the same form and style of social and symbolic expression. They had longer biographical trajectories behind them but remained current and very much of the present. Their varied later lives are not at all predictable. We have seen at Aphrodisias a wide range of well-documented statue lives in which older monuments might be conserved, repaired, moved, remounted, re-inscribed, but still with their original meaning, or in which they might be recycled and re-purposed sometimes with extensive adjustments and re-carving, sometimes virtually without change, with only the inscription re-written. Against a deep background of continued deployment or redeployment of old monuments, the newly carved statues that we consider typical of Late Antique statue practice stand out as striking, special, and unusual.

<sup>45</sup> Smith – Ögüş-Uzun 2012, 85–86 figs. 8 (context) and 9 (head).

<sup>46</sup> At Aphrodisias, for example, seated himation statue, LSA 172. The following heads at Aphrodisias with short neck tenons were attached by this method: LSA 173 and 530. Another Aphrodisian head of similarly late date, ca. A.D. 500, now in Boston (LSA 177) had a similarly long dowel on discovery. Elsewhere: e.g., the togatus of Stephanos from Ephesos: LSA 698.

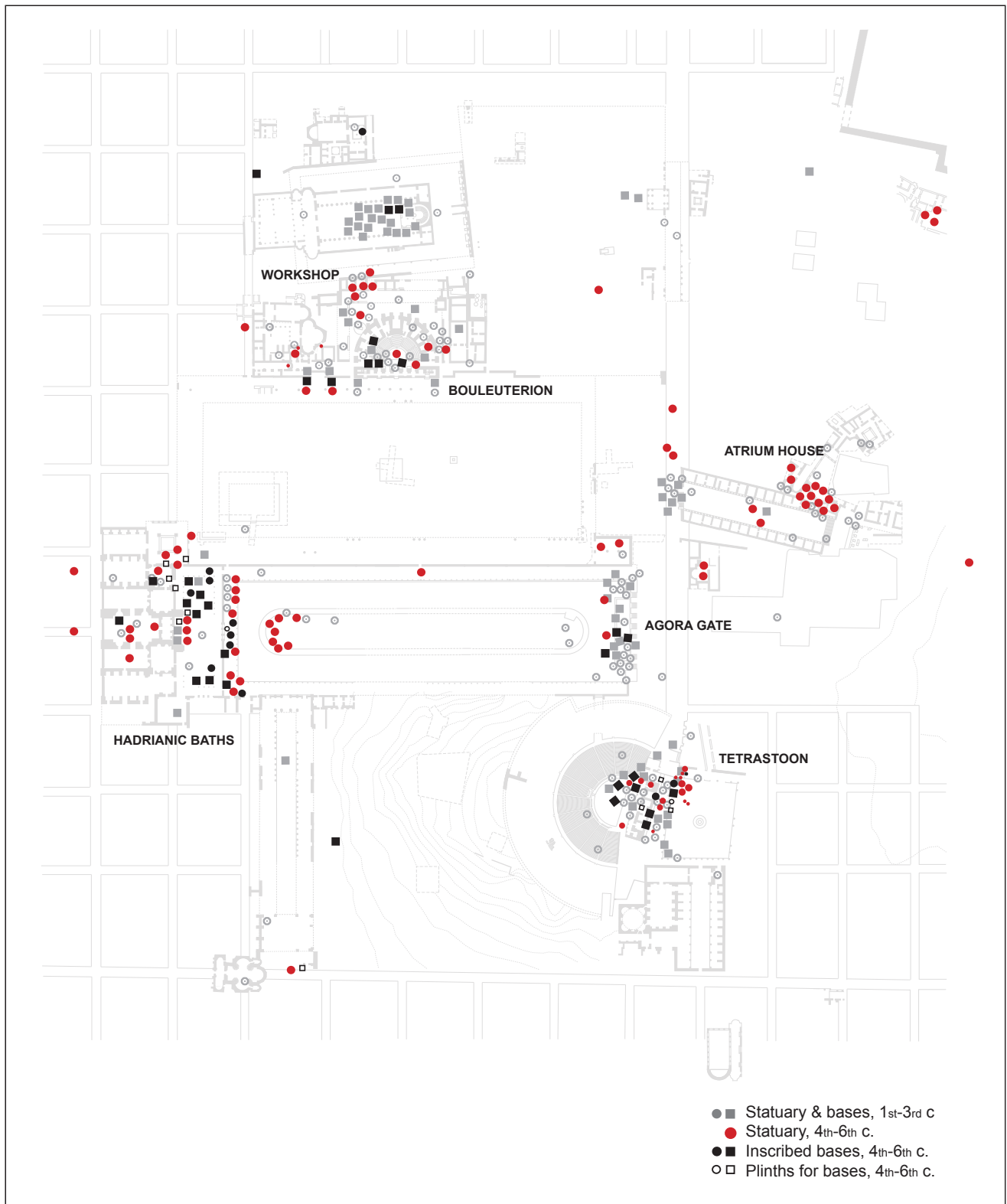


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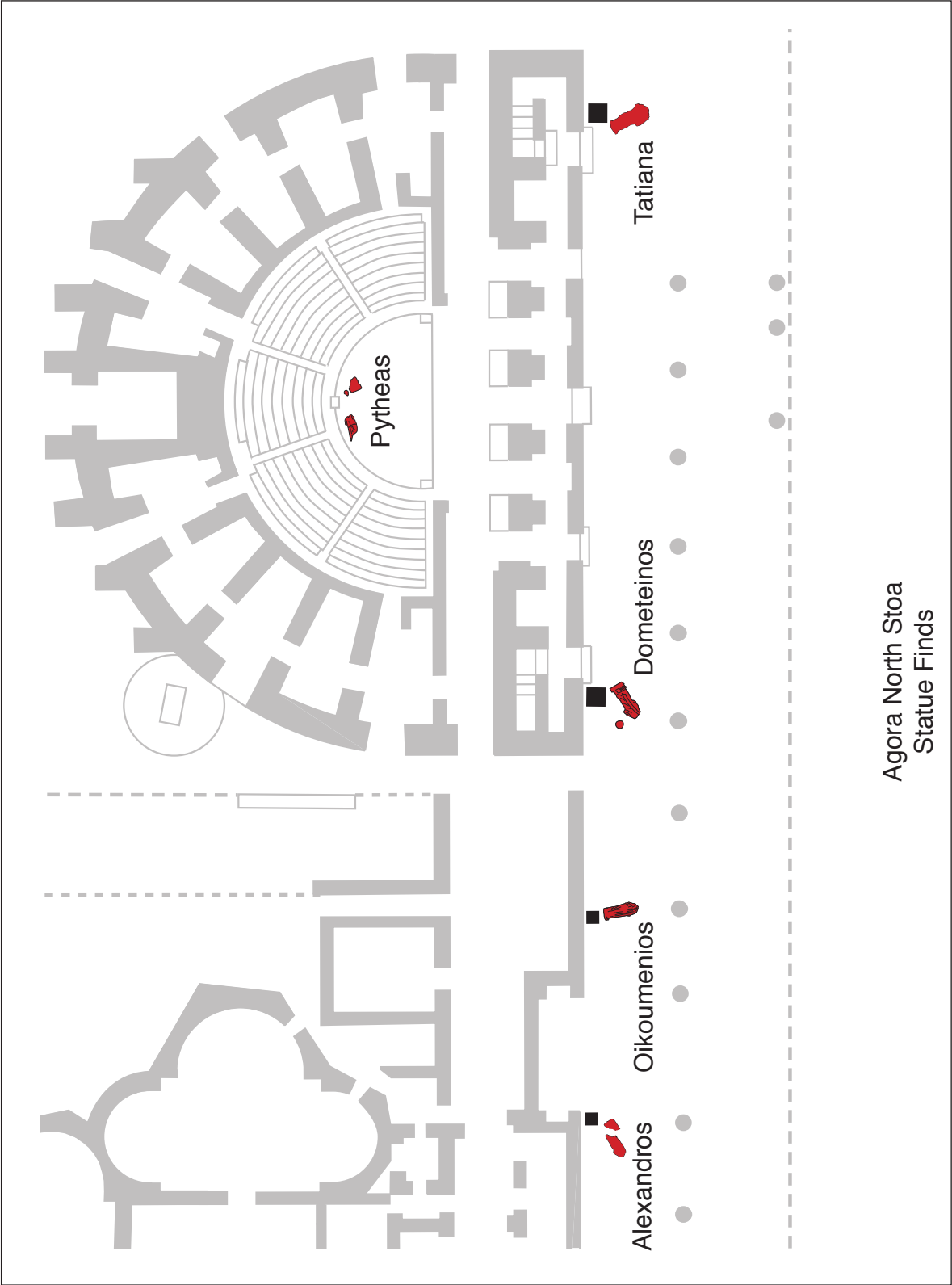
References for figures: All are from Aphrodisias Excavations. Figs. 1. 3: Drawings H. Mark; figs. 2. 5: Photos R. Wilkins; fig. 4: Photomontage J. Lenaghan; fig. 6: Photo G. Petruccioli; figs. 7. 9: Photos M. A. Döğenci; fig. 8: Drawing K. Gorkay; fig. 10: Drawing H. Mark and A. Öztürk; figs. 11. 13. 14. 15 a–b: Photos I. Cartwright.



- 1 Aphrodisias, city centre with statues and bases, showing Late Antique statues (red) and bases (black) against dense background of imperial-period statues and bases (grey)



2 Statue of figure wearing himation without chiton, seated on animal-legged stool. 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., with dowel cutting for changed Late Antique head; found in front of ›Agora Gate‹ basin, at its centre



3 Plan of stoa in front of Bouleuterion, with four statues found fallen in front of *in-situ* bases





- 4 Statue monuments of L. Antonius Dometeinos Diogenes and his niece Claudia Antonia Tatiana, ca. A.D. 200; from stoa in front of Bouleuterion (see fig. 3)



5 Statue monument, heavily repaired, of boxer Piseas, ca. A.D. 300; from Theatre



6 Statue group of Troilos and horse (1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.) and upper plinth of Late Antique replacement base (4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.); from Civil Basilica



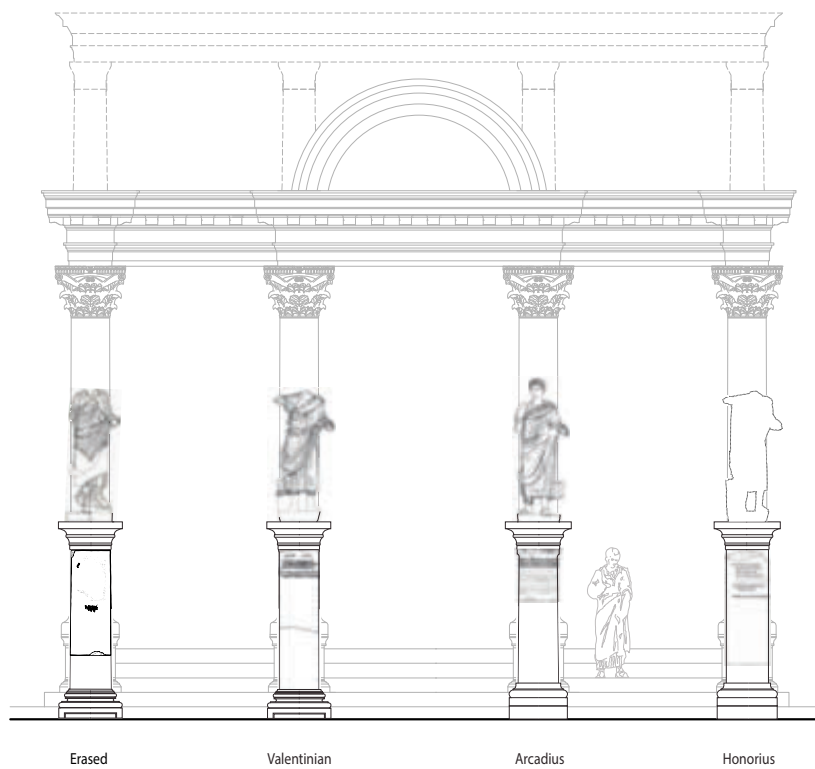
7 Togate portrait statue, with unfinished head, of office-holder with inkpot in left hand, ca. A.D. 400; from Sculptor's Workshop



8 Statue monument for Julian and later Theodosius (I or II), made of re-carved Julio-Claudian head, re-used 2<sup>nd</sup>-century togatus, and three re-used architectural elements for base; from west side of Tetrastoon in front of Theatre



9 Headless statue of Theodosian emperor, A.D. 388–392; from west stoa of South Agora



**APHRODISIAS**  
HADRIANIC BATHS - PALAESTRA  
RECONSTRUCTED PROPYLON

0 1 2 3m  
1:100

- 10 Reconstruction of Theodosian statue group, A.D. 388–392, at entrance gate from west stoa of South Agora into Hadrianic Baths



11 Himation statue of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., found in 2011 on Tetracylon Street, with shallow, probably Late Antique neck-cutting

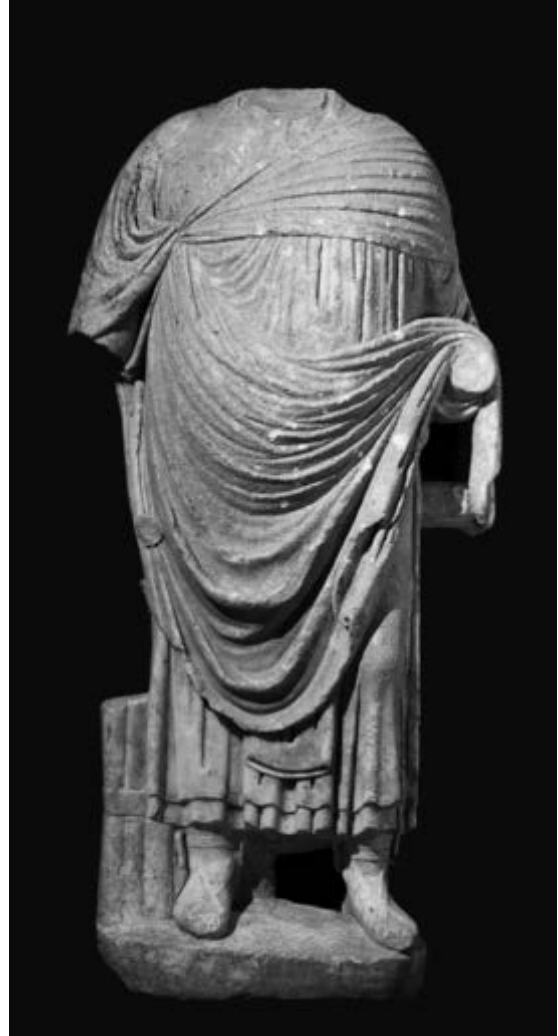


12 Two statues (A, B) re-used as lower foundations for Medieval platform on west side of Tetracylon Street, excavated in 2012; himation statue (A) on right, togatus (B) on left

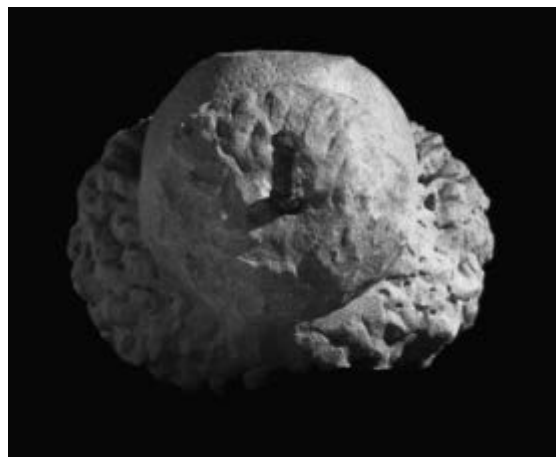




13 Himation statue, ca. A.D. 200; from Tetrapylon Street (see fig. 12 for find context)



14 Togatus with fat stomach, ca. A.D. 450; from Tetrapylon Street (see fig. 12 for find context)



15 b Roughly carved underside of neck with long thick iron dowel

15 a Male portrait head, ca. A.D. 500, with Constantinopolitan hairstyle, stubble beard, and carefully repaired nose; found in 2011 at southwest corner of North Agora, at staircase up to Tetrastyle Court of Hadrianic Baths

CHRISTOPHER H. HALLETT – URSULA QUATEMBER

## THREE BOULEUTERIA FROM ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE APHRODISIAS<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Enough of the Bouleuterion at Aphrodisias is preserved for a detailed reconstruction to be made, and inscriptions tell us something of the building's history. It was constructed ca. 200 A.D., by Attalos the son of Dometeinos – a member of a leading Aphrodisian family – and was subsequently refurbished by Antonius Priscus, Roman Governor of Caria, ca. 390 A.D. In the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century a local grandee, Flavius Ampellius, converted the orchestra into a palaestra. A large number of statues come from the building and can probably be associated with Priscus' refurbishment.

All of the statues brought into the building by the governor Antonius Priscus show signs of having been badly broken and painstakingly repaired; at least two were newly inscribed and given a new function. Priscus' heavily repaired sculptures and Ampellius' radical conversion of the building to a new purpose are both testimony to the complex and dynamic relationship between the Late Antique Aphrodisian elite and the monuments of their High Imperial past.

### ÖZET

#### Roma ve Geç Antik Dönem Aphrodisias'ı Üç Bouleuterionu

Aphrodisias'daki Bouleuterion'dan ayrıntılı bir rekonstrüksiyon yapmaya yetecek kadar kalıntı korunmuştur ve yazıtlar bize yapının tarihi hakkında bazı bilgiler verirler. Yapı, yaklaşık MS. 200'de Dometeinos'un oğlu tarafından (Aphrodisias'ın önde gelen bir ailesine üyesi) yaptırılmış ve daha sonra Karia'nın Romalı Valisi Antinius Priscus tarafından yaklaşık MS. 390'da onarılmıştır. 5. Yüzyılın ortalarında ise bölge için önemli bir isim olan Flavius Ampellius tarafından orkestrayı »palaestra«ya dönüştürmüştür. Yapıdan çok sayıda heykel ele geçmiştir ve bunlar büyük olasılıkla Priscus'un onarım çalışmalarıyla bağlantılı olmalıdır.

Vali Antonius Priscus tarafından yapıya getirilen bütün heykellerin çok kötü şekilde kırılmış oldukları ve daha sonra titizlikle onarıldıklarına dair işaretler görülür. Heykellerin en az iki tanesine yeniden yazıt yazılmış ve bununla birlikte yeni bir işlev içerisinde kullanılmışlardır. Priscus'un yoğun onarımdan geçmiş heykelleri ve Ampellius'un yapıyı yeni bir işlev için radikal bir şekilde değiştirmesi Geç Antik Dönem Aphrodisias'ının elit tabakası ile yüksek İmparatorluk dönemi geçmişlerine ait anıtlar arasındaki karmaşık ve dinamik ilişkiyi gösteren iki belgedir.

The Bouleuterion or council house of Aphrodisias (figs. 1–2) is located in the heart of the Roman city, and centered on the north side of the North Agora. During its excavation in the early 1960s attention focused on the discovery of a large amount of sculpture inside the building and in its immediate vicinity<sup>2</sup>. Preliminary publications concentrated on the statuary and the inscriptions associated with the building, while the architecture has up to now received much less attention<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> We would like to thank the Director of the Aphrodisias Excavations, R. R. R. Smith, for his support of the project. Our friend and colleague Lionel Bier (1942–2004) prepared an elaborate graphic documentation, but could not complete his manuscript on the architecture of the building. We are also grateful to Ulrike Outschar, Julia Lenaghan and Andrew K. Y. Leung for providing additional help for the preparation of the paper. The present authors together with Andrew K. Y. Leung are currently preparing a monograph on the Bouleuterion in the Aphrodisias series.

<sup>2</sup> Excavation reports: Erım 1962, 16–17 figs. 2–4, 8–15; Erım 1964, 87–89; Erım 1965, 137–139; Erım 1966, 61.

<sup>3</sup> Hallett 1998; Smith 2006, 60–65, 162–176 cat. 44–48, 213–219 cat. 94–96; on the architecture see Bier 2008, 144–168. On the inscriptions see Reynolds 2008; IAPH 2007, 2.1–2.20; 2.101–2.113; Roueché 1989, 26–27 cat. 13; 52 cat. 28; 75–80 cat. 43; 93 cat. 56; 245–247 cat. 218; 250 cat. 228; see also Ala 2004, 13, 28, 43, 56, 228.

The present article attempts to redress the balance somewhat and emphasizes instead the long life of the structure – seeking to show how over time the building underwent a series of important changes, in its sculptural ornament, its architecture, and finally even in its function.

## I ARCHITECTURE AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

### The council house in its original building phase

The Bouleuterion essentially consists of two parts: an auditorium resting on a semicircular substructure, and a shallow stage building about 46 m wide on its south side. While most of the lower *cavea* still remains *in situ*, the seating of the upper *cavea* is gone. The shallow stage building combines a *scaenae frons* and its back wall with a narrow corridor behind. Access was granted to the building from the North Agora through seven doorways in the south wall, and from there through five doors onto the stage. The *parodoi* on both sides provided an additional entranceway. The middle *diazoma* as well as the seating of the upper *cavea* could be reached through a complex system of staircases in the substructure.

Certain features clearly indicate that the whole structure was erected in a single building phase: originally the *parodoi* were vaulted and the seating of the upper *cavea* extended above them. Access to this area was given by additional staircases from the back stage corridor. The trussed roof was supported by eight piers in the north, at the very back of the monument, which find their counterparts in the stage building. All these features show that both elements of the structure were dependent on each other and therefore must have been part of the original plan. Two inscriptions on the pedestals at the ends of the *analemma* walls indicate that the building was commissioned by a certain Attalos, in his own name and in the name of his brother Diogenes, some time during the late Antonine or Severan era<sup>4</sup>.

In this first phase the main area for the display of statues was the *scaenae frons*. The pedestals of the lower level of this two-storey aedicular façade still remain *in situ*. Most of its architecture is very fragmentary, but a few diagnostic pieces survive and allow us to reconstruct the original design<sup>5</sup>. Essentially, like other aedicular façades throughout the empire it provided space for the display of sculpture.

A statue base with a dedication for Aphrodite was found in the area of the *cavea*<sup>6</sup>, while a colossal statue of the goddess was excavated in the debris to the north of the building, behind the destroyed seating of the upper *cavea* and its substructures<sup>7</sup>. Statue and base are compatible in scale and seem to belong together. When combined they would have reached an impressive height of well over three meters. Thus we should perhaps imagine a towering figure of the city's patron goddess displayed in an imposing shrine in the middle of the upper *cavea*.

### A second phase?

A second phase in the life of the building is suggested on the basis of two long-known fragmentary inscriptions. A large statue base for a portrait of Septimius Severus was laid on its back and reused as a support. A new dedication was carved on what had been the bottom face of the block (fig. 3 a): Ἀντ(ώνιος) Πρίσκος ὁ [λαμ] πρ(ότατος) ἡγ[εμὼν ?ν. ἐν] τῇ μητρο[πόλει ?ν.] ἀνέθηκε[ν ... ? ...]. C. Roueché translated the inscription as »Antonius Priscus, the Roman governor, set [?this] up (in) the metropolis«<sup>8</sup>. Antonius Priscus was governor of the Roman province of Caria,

<sup>4</sup> Bier 2008, esp. 156–157; Reynolds 2008, 169–171.

<sup>5</sup> For a preliminary reconstruction by L. Bier see Ratté – Smith 2004, 162 fig. 15; Smith 2006, 60–65 fig. 18; Bier 2008, 153–154 fig. 13.

<sup>6</sup> IApH 2007, 2.109; Reynolds 2008, 171–172 cat. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Brody 2007, 8–11 cat. 1 pl. 1–4.

<sup>8</sup> Roueché 1989, 52–53 cat. 28; ala 2004, 28; IApH 2007, 2.110ii; Reynolds 2008, 177–178 cat. 9.

and his time in office can be quite closely dated to the years A.D. 388–392<sup>9</sup>. The object set on this base was now placed directly on top of the earlier inscription and fastened with clamps. In 2008, a second, more fragmentary inscription was recognized as a duplicate of the first by J. Reynolds (fig. 3 b)<sup>10</sup>. With two of these bases identified, a new possible reading of the texts becomes likely: »Antonius Priscus, the Roman governor, set up *this building* [understood] to the Metropolis«. On this reading, these are inscriptions in which Antonius Priscus claims the Bouleuterion as his own. It is not possible, however, to connect any specific alterations to the building directly with Priscus or the years around the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. A possible connection to the sculpture displayed in the *scaenae frons* will be discussed below.

### The conversion of the building into a palaestra

The third and final phase of the building is announced in a long dedicatory inscription that runs along the top of the stage<sup>11</sup>. In it the structure is referred to in a rather unexpected way: ἐπὶ εὐτυχίᾳ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ἀφροδισιαί[ων] μητροπό[λεω]ς καὶ [το]ῦτο τὸ ἔργον τῆς παλίστρας ἐγέν[ετο] ἐπὶ Φλαβίου Ἀμπελίου το[ῦ] ἐλλογιμ[ωτάτου] σχ[ολαστικοῦ] καὶ π[ατρ]ός, ἰνδ[ικτιῶνι] ἰ' εὐτυχ[εστάτῃ], translated by C. Roueché as: »For the good fortune of the splendid metropolis of the Aphrodisians, this work of the palaestra also took place [?under Flavius Ampelius] the most eloquent scholasticus and pater, in the tenth indiction. With good fortune«. The text thus indicates that »the work of the palaestra« took place under the supervision of a man whose name is lost; but according to C. Roueché the formula »the most eloquent scholasticus and pater« is specific enough for us to be able to identify a certain Flavius Ampelius, who can be dated to the latter part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., as the individual honoured in this inscription<sup>12</sup>.

In addition to giving us a date, the inscription also provides us with a name for the refurbished structure, now called a palaestra. C. Roueché argued that in this context the word likely meant »place for competitions or competitive displays«; or – even more generally – just »place of education«<sup>13</sup>. In the light of our new research on the building's architecture, however, it seems that the structure was deliberately converted into a venue for competitive wrestling.

In the first place, the Late Antique sporting graffiti that are found on the building's seats encourage such a hypothesis: at least four times reference was made to the blue circus factions. According to J. Reynolds this should be seen in the context of an empire-wide development in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., when circus factions organized theatrical events and other entertainment<sup>14</sup>. That Ampelius' conversion of the building into a palaestra should be taken quite literally, however, is actually suggested by some major changes made to the architecture at this time. During the excavation an *opus sectile* floor was found still *in situ* in the orchestra (fig. 1). Its geometrical pattern terminates in a white frame, about 1.5 m away from the edge of the orchestra as preserved from the last building phase. The area in between was filled up with coarse packing. This *opus sectile* belongs to the first, Antonine-Severan phase of the building, when the orchestra was considerably smaller, and seating extended all the way down to the edge of the floor. During a subsequent building phase the lower rows of seats were taken out, and partly replaced with a wider walkway<sup>15</sup>. This newly enlarged orchestra would have provided ample space for wrestling contests; and the removal of the lower rows of seats meant that those in the front rows were now at a safe distance from the athletes. Finally, it also seems that during the last phase of its use the structure

<sup>9</sup> Roueché 1989, 52 cat. 28; see also ala 2004, 25–28 and the list of governors published in the same online edition under <<http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/narrative/fasgov.html#Priscus2>> (01. 03. 2014).

<sup>10</sup> I Aph 2007, 2.108; Reynolds 2008, 178 cat. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Roueché 1989, 75–76 cat. 43; ala 2004, 43; I Aph 2007, 2.19; Reynolds 2008, 176–177 cat. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Roueché 1989, 75–80; ala 2004, 43. IV.21–IV.23.

<sup>13</sup> Roueché 1989, esp. 79.

<sup>14</sup> Reynolds 2008, 173–175 cat. 4C.

<sup>15</sup> See already Bier 2008, 146–149.

was bereft of its roof: several systems of postholes in the extant seating of the lower *cavea* have already been interpreted as a supporting structure for *vela* or awnings by L. Bier<sup>16</sup>. Such features only make sense if the roof was by this time indeed missing. Moreover, the transformation of the orchestra into a space open to the sky would also make the term *palaestra* a natural one to use for the converted building.

The conversion of the building into a *palaestra* implies not only that the Bouleuterion itself was defunct; but also that the boule, or city council, must have lost its function, which led to the abandonment of its meeting place. And indeed, the city councils in the East lost executive control during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. The boule was replaced by committees of high-ranking notables under the direction of bishops, whose residences also served as meeting places<sup>17</sup>.

In conclusion, according to the architecture and epigraphic evidence, three main phases in the use of the building can be determined. The building was commissioned by the brothers Attalos and Diogenes in the Late Antonine or Severan era, and used continuously throughout Late Antiquity; in the 4<sup>th</sup> century there was some sort of alteration to the building by the governor Antonius Priscus, grandly announced in two identical inscriptions. The final stage in the ›life‹ of the structure is represented by the conversion into a *palaestra* by Flavius Ampelius in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century, when the Bouleuterion was no longer being used as a meeting place for the council.

## II SCULPTURE

### The sculpture associated with the building

Two bronze statues, representing the original builder of the Bouleuterion, Attalos, and his brother, Diogenes, once stood on the ends of the *analemma* walls. Today only their inscribed bases remain<sup>18</sup>. But two over-lifesize marble statues of the builders' father, L. Antonius Claudius Dometeinos Diogenes, and their cousin, Claudia Antonia Tatiane, that were set up beside the two main entrances into the building from the North Agora, are both preserved – along with their tall inscribed bases<sup>19</sup>. All of these belong, broadly speaking, to the original Antonine-Severan building phase; as does the colossal statue of Aphrodite that probably stood in a shrine in the upper *cavea*<sup>20</sup>. Beyond these five, there are another six portrait statues found in the building – either on the stage or in the sunken orchestra: the so-called Scaena Group (fig. 4 – which gives the statues' individual findspots)<sup>21</sup>. In addition, found fallen on the stage were two statues of divinities (not shown in fig. 4): an over-lifesize seated Apollo and a three-quarter lifesize Artemis. So the ›Scaena Group‹ should actually consist of eight statues in all.

All of these sculptures unearthed inside the building are of broadly Antonine date; but paradoxically they probably do not belong to the Antonine-Severan phase of the Bouleuterion. Instead, they all seem to have been brought into the building by the Roman governor Antonius Priscus in his refurbishment of the Bouleuterion towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. There are a number of clear indications that this is so; here for reasons of space we are able to present just a few.

<sup>16</sup> Bier 2008, 166.

<sup>17</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 104–124; Lavan 2003, 318–321; Lavan 2007, 122–124.

<sup>18</sup> Bier 2008, esp. 156–157; Reynolds 2008, 169–171.

<sup>19</sup> Smith 2006, 69–71; Dometeinos: Smith 2006, 170–176 cat. 48 figs. 19, 24 pls. 40–42; Tatiana: Smith 2006, 216–219 cat. 96 fig. 19 pls. 76–77. On the inscribed bases see also IAph 2007, 2.17 (Dometeinos); 2.13a (Tatiane); Reynolds 2008, 184–186 cat. 18–19.

<sup>20</sup> Brody 2007, 8–11 cat. 1 pls. 1–4.

<sup>21</sup> Smith 2006, 60–65 esp. fig. 17.



## Two portrait statues re-used as personifications

The two largest figures in the group – two Antonine portrait statues – were given new inscriptions, to re-designate them as personifications. A large portrait statue of the Antonine period that once represented a youthful priest (fig. 5) has had an inscription added on its unmolded plinth. The inscription reads ἡ Βουλὴ τὸν Δῆμ[ον], »The Boule (set up this image of) the Demos« (fig. 3 c)<sup>22</sup>. A large female portrait statue of similar scale and date was set on a low base of which several fragments survive (fig. 3 d)<sup>23</sup>. Enough of the inscription is preserved to be certain of the text: it reads [ὁ Δῆμ]μ[ος vac. ] τὴν Βουλ[ήν], »The Demos (set up this image of) the Boule«. The re-purposing of two Antonine portrait statues to serve as personifications is not something we would expect in the High Imperial period; nor is the fact that apparently Demos was set up *without a base* (hence the inscription added directly on the plinth). In addition, Boule has only a very shallow base, calculated to more or less match the height of Demos' plinth. In fact, the letter-forms of the two inscriptions are certainly Late Antique, and agree quite well with the Priscus bases (fig. 3 a–b)<sup>24</sup>.

## Major repairs to all the statues belonging to the »Scaena Group«

Demos and Boule, then, were set up by Priscus. They are not matching statues, and they are slightly different in scale; but they have both been heavily repaired, presumably in order to be reused in the Bouleuterion. Let us consider the repairs visible on Demos (fig. 5). Large dowel holes show where the figure's wrist and hand were reattached. The original hand survives, and was reattached to the body at the hip using a newly carved replacement strut. The plinth of this statue also shows a major repair. The right side originally broke off, and was reattached by an iron clamp<sup>25</sup>.

In fact all the statues of the »Scaena Group« show major repairs of this sort. And some of the repairs may be seen to be of distinctively Late Antique workmanship. For reasons of space just one very striking example will be considered here. There are two seated marble statues in the group, of slightly different scale; the smaller of the two is illustrated here (fig. 6)<sup>26</sup>. For this figure a new left hand was carved and added using an iron pin inserted into the top of the left thigh. Furthermore, the whole front of the plinth was broken off, taking a large part of the right sandaled foot with it. This problem was solved by carving a new piece for the right foot, and adding it by means of a large flattish dowel; this meant that now the right foot projected off the front of the plinth, which had to be cut back to remove the damaged sections. Even more serious damage had been sustained on the proper right side of the figure. The portrait is actually seated on a folding animal-legged stool. The proper left side of the seat preserves its original form<sup>27</sup>. When one moves around to look at the right side, however, one perceives that the whole side of the stool has sheared away (as seen in fig. 6). Rather than replace it with an added piece of marble, the animal-legs of the folding stool were carved directly on to the new sloping side of the block. This, we suggest, is a Late Antique solution. No one in the Antonine or Severan period would have thought this an acceptable way of repairing the statue. All the elaborate repairs to the Scaena Group actually go along with the carving of the new inscriptions for the personifications of Demos and Boule.

The statues belonging to the »Scaena Group«, then, most probably came into the building with the refurbishment of the Bouleuterion by the Roman governor, Antonius Priscus. It is this renewal

<sup>22</sup> Smith 2006, 162–164 cat. 44 fig. 23 pl. 34. For the inscription: IPh 2007, 2.111; Reynolds 2008, 183 cat. 15.

<sup>23</sup> For the female portrait statue, see Smith 2006, 213–214 cat. 94 pl. 73; for the inscription see also IPh 2007, 2.101; Reynolds 2008, 183–184 cat. 16.

<sup>24</sup> Height of letters 5 cm: it was partly the consistency and distinctiveness of the lettering that enabled J. Reynolds to identify the second Priscus base as a duplicate of the first. Cf. also the comment in Reynolds 2008, 178 cat. 10.

<sup>25</sup> For a fuller description of all the repairs made to this statue, see Smith 2006, esp. 163 pl. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Lifesize statue: Smith 2006, 167–169 cat. 46 pls. 37–38. Over lifesize statue: Smith 2006, 169–170 cat. 39 pl. 39. For a fuller description of the repairs to this smaller, lifesize statue, see Smith 2006, 167.

<sup>27</sup> Smith 2006, pl. 37.

of the sculptural adornment of the building that he is announcing in the two inscriptions in which he claimed the Bouleuterion for his own.

### The two bases inscribed for Antonius Priscus

What, then, went on top of Antonius Priscus' two bases? None of the eight statues from the ›Scaena Group‹ could fit on top of these bases. What sort of monument might have required a tall statue base to be laid on its back in order to support it? Here too we have a suggestion.

In the excavation of the building two marble seats were found; they are almost identical in form and show cuttings for the addition of over-lifesize bronze seated statues (fig. 7). In fact, the type of seat is similar to the seat of the larger seated statue from the ›Scaena Group‹<sup>28</sup>. The cuttings suggest that the bronze figures they once supported were of rather similar design too. These are not seats of Antonine date, but instead show 4<sup>th</sup> century workmanship – as the carving of the moldings clearly shows. On Priscus' two bases, then, we propose two bronze statues were installed, each of them seated on a separately carved marble seat.

There remains one more statue found on the stage, not mentioned so far, and from its style and its carving clearly not part of the ›Scaena Group‹. It was found together with its tall inscribed base, which has been badly shattered<sup>29</sup>; the inscription identifies the portrait as that of a certain Pytheas<sup>30</sup> – a prominent Aphrodisian grandee of the late 5<sup>th</sup> century, well-known from inscriptions elsewhere on the site<sup>31</sup>. It remains unclear, however, from this badly damaged inscription precisely what he is said to have built, or precisely why he is being celebrated in the Bouleuterion. From Pytheas' date this statue should probably be associated with Flavius Ampelius' conversion of the building into a palaestra in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

### III CONCLUSION

On this reading of the evidence we can thus speak of three Bouleuteria in ancient Aphrodisias. (1) The Bouleuterion of Attalos and Diogenes, of the late Antonine or Severan period (ca. A.D. 200); (2) the newly refurbished Bouleuterion of the Roman governor Antonius Priscus (ca. A.D. 390); and (3) the (now decommissioned) Bouleuterion – or palaestra – of Flavius Ampelius (A.D. 460–500). Evidently the building was in use for about three hundred years; and, as one might suspect, its architecture as well as its sculptural decoration underwent a number of changes over the course of its lifetime.

### A new proposal for the arrangement of statues in the *scaenae frons* of the Bouleuterion

One of the most interesting questions arising from this recognition of these three phases of the building concerns the various statues that were displayed in the stage building. How were they arranged? Can we tell where they likely stood within the *scaenae frons*? This is quite uncertain. But working from the surviving statues themselves, and their findspots, the arrangement in the reconstruction drawing in figure 8 represents our current working hypothesis. The drawing shows the very last phase of the building, when the *scaenae frons* was still standing, but the roof had been taken down: in other words it shows ›The Palaestra of Flavius Ampelius‹. It is essentially the remains of this arrangement that survived to be found in the excavation of the building in the early 1960s.

<sup>28</sup> See Smith 2006, 169–170 cat. 39 pl. 39.

<sup>29</sup> Roueché 1989, 93 cat. 56; ala 2004, 56; IAPH 2007, 2.20; Reynolds 2008, 178–179 cat. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Smith 1999, 167–168 fig. 8 pl. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Roueché 1989, 93–96 cat. 55–58; ala 2004, 55–58. 250 (origin unknown).

The four over-lifesize standing statues can be restored to the lower level, Demos and Boule at the far ends, flanking two fine portraits of a priest and a priestess – perhaps a husband and wife. The upper level then was occupied by four seated statues: the two seated bronzes in the center, set up on the new marble seats, mounted on the inscribed bases of Antonius Priscus; flanked by the two heavily repaired marble seated portraits. The two statues of divinities, the over lifesize seated Apollo and a three-quarter lifesize Artemis, we have tentatively associated with the possible niches in the *scaenae frons*. The placement of Pytheas is unknown; but if we are right in believing that the *scaenae frons* had a large central niche, it is possible that he was set here – in pride of place – on his tall base. This reconstruction of the sculptural display in the Bouleuterion may, to a large extent, be conjecture. But it presents, in our view, the most probable arrangement of the reused statues, and at the same time provides a powerful visualization of the last phase of this important building. Most importantly it enables us to confront a kind of Late Antique aesthetic arrangement that can easily be distinguished from, and contrasted with, High Imperial norms of public sculptural display.

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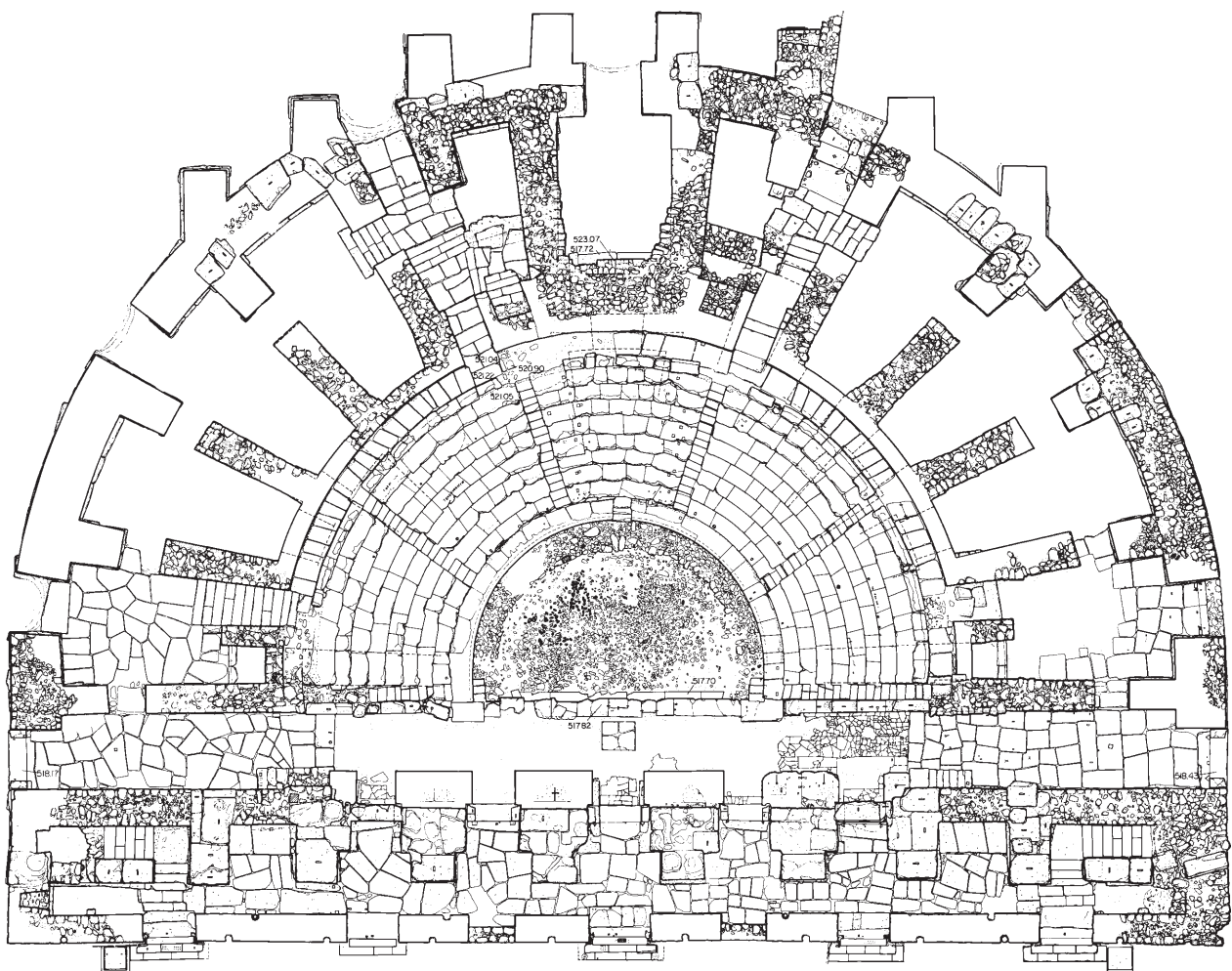
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References of figures: Fig. 1: © Aphrodisias Archive; fig. 2: L. Bier; fig. 3: U. Outschar – A. K. Y. Leung; fig. 4: after Smith 2006, fig. 17; figs. 5, 6: C. H. Hallett; fig. 7: A. K. Y. Leung; fig. 8: L. Bier – U. Quatember.





1 The Aphrodisian Bouleuterion after the excavation in the 1960s, with the *opus sectile* floor in the orchestra still *in situ*



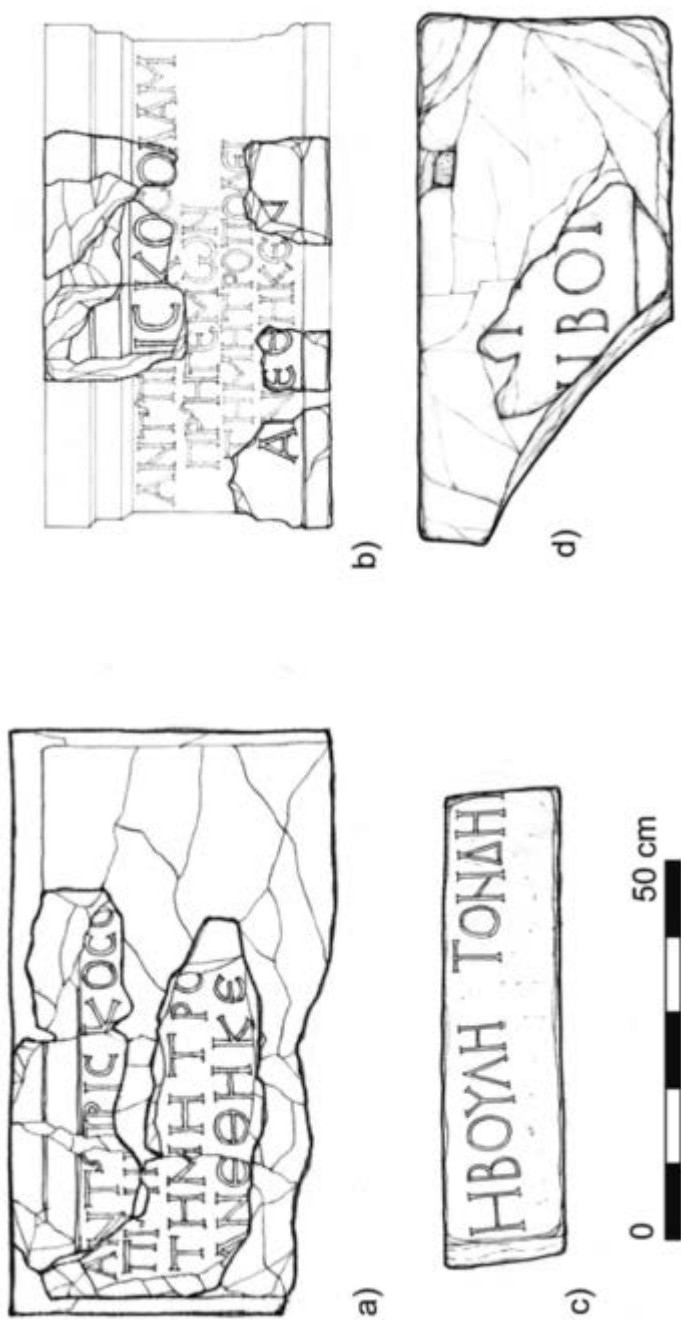
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|  | TILE, BRICK            |
|  | TOPS OF WALLS RESTORED |

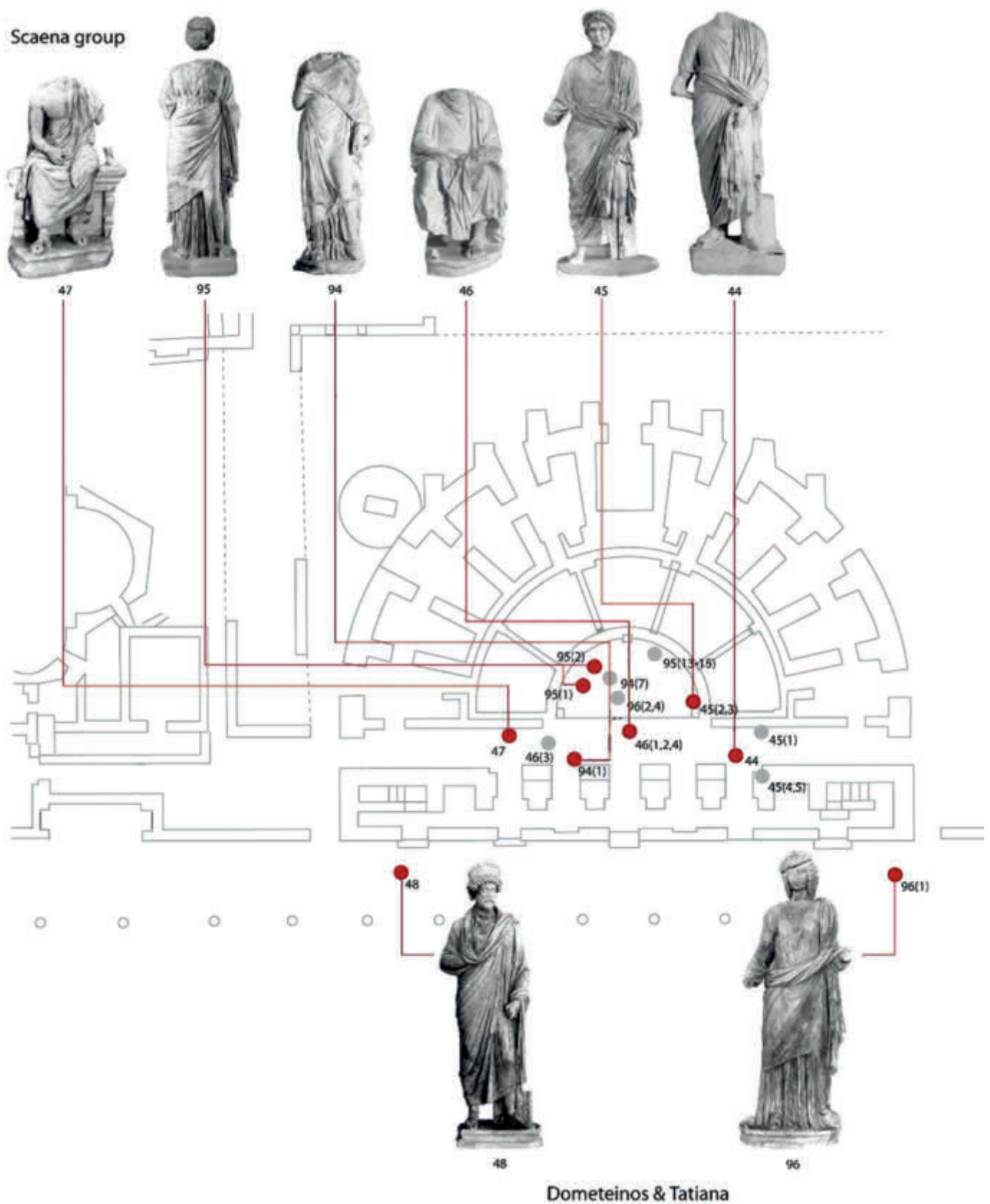
0 5m  
DRAWN 1:50  
SURVEYED AND DRAWN, L.BIER, 2000  
REV. L.B., 2002

## 2 Plan of the Bouleuterion



3 a First inscription of Antonius Priscus  
3 b Second inscription of Antonius Priscus  
3 c Inscription on the plinth of the over-lifesize statue of the Demos  
3 d Inscription on the base of the over-lifesize statue of the Boule (additional small fragments survive but are not shown)





4 Findspot plan of the ›Scaena Group‹, after Smith 2006, fig. 17 with alterations. Numbers in brackets refer to the findspots of different fragments



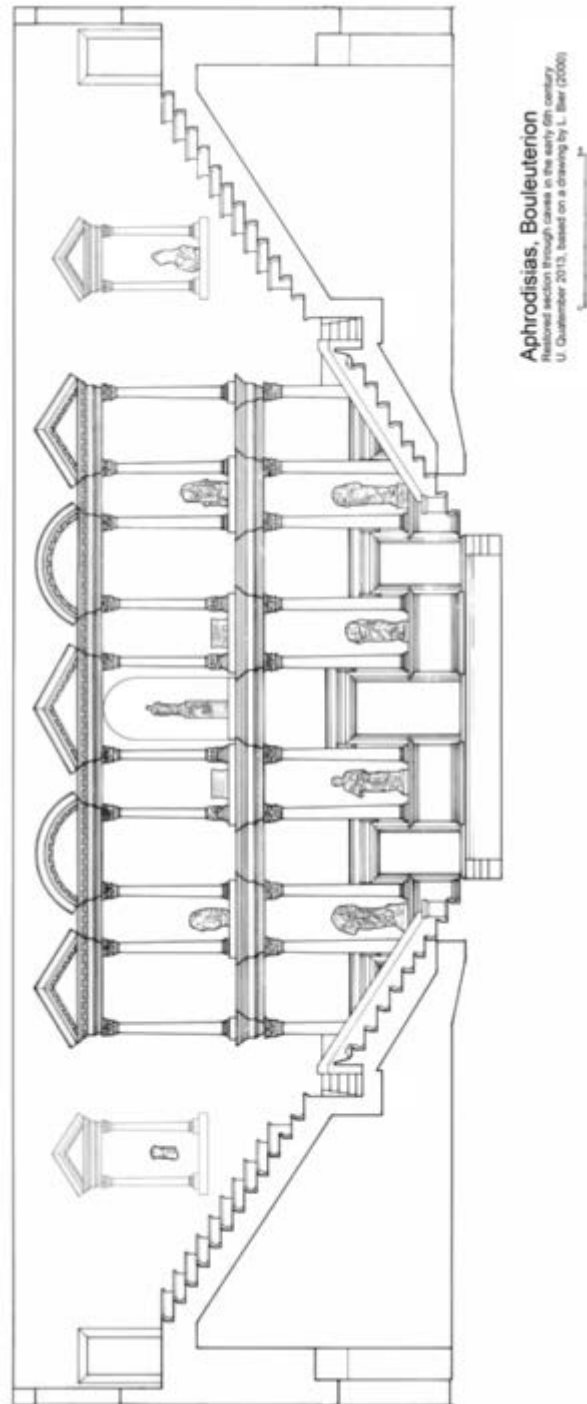
5 The statue of Demos with a detail showing some of the cuttings for repairs



6 Smaller seated statue, showing left side of seat sheared away; the seat legs were re-carved on the smoothed yet sloping break-surface



7 Marble seat with cuttings for the addition of a bronze seated statue



8 Restored section through *cavea* in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century with proposed arrangement of statues

BUKET AKÇAY-GÜVEN

## A REWORKED GROUP OF EMPEROR STATUES FROM THE THEATRE OF PERGE

### ABSTRACT

This paper examines three imperial portrait statues with reworked heads, found in the early 1990's in the theatre at Perge. The theatre was used after its construction in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. until the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries, with a number of modifications, renovations and restorations at various times. These portrait statues, which came from the first storey of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre, were examined in particular from a technical point of view, and the alterations carried out on their heads were focused upon. An attempt was made to identify the initial and later portraits, and the relations of the statues with the physical and socio-cultural context were analysed. It was proven that the originals of the two cuirassed statues were portrait statues of Trajan belonging to different types. Although the identity of the original sitter of the third statue, which was naked, could not be concluded with certainty, it is most likely that it depicted an emperor of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In conclusion, it was proposed that after the reworking processes, the two cuirassed statues represented two of the tetrarchs, while the naked statue depicted a deified emperor from the former generation. With the sudden requirement for four new emperor statues which arose with the tetrarchy, portrait statues from the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., which had originally belonged to various contexts and which had probably been stored, were taken out of storage and reworked into the portraits of the currently reigning emperors and deified emperors of the former generation.

### ÖZET

#### Perge Tiyatrosu'ndan Yeniden İşlenmiş Bir Grup İmparator Heykeli

Bu çalışmada 1990'lı yılların başlarında Perge tiyatrosunda bulunmuş, başları yeniden işlenmiş olan üç imparator portre heykeli ele alınmıştır. MS. 3. yüzyıldaki inşasından sonra çeşitli dönemlerde değişiklikler, yenilemeler, tamiratlarla 7.–8. yüzyıllara kadar kullanılmış olan tiyatronun sahne binasının birinci katına ait olan portre heykeller, özellikle teknik açıdan incelenmiş, başlarında yapılan değişiklikler üzerinde durulmuştur. Birincil ve ikincil portrelerin identifikasyonu yapılmaya çalışılmış, heykellerin fiziksel ve sosyokültürel kontekstle ilişkileri sorgulanmıştır. İki zırhlı heykelin orijinalinin Traianus'un farklı tiplerdeki portre heykelleri olduğu ortaya çıkmışken, üçüncü ve çıplak heykelin orijinalinin identifikasyonu kesin olarak yapılamamış olmakla birlikte Iulius-Claudiuslar hanedanından bir imparatoru betimlediği ortaya konmuştur. İkincil işlemenin sonucunda ise, zırhlı olanların tetrarkhlardan ikisini, çıplak olanın ise bir önceki jenerasyondan tanrılaştırılmış bir imparatoru betimlediği sonucuna varılmıştır. Tetrarkhlar döneminde birden ortaya çıkan dört yeni imparator heykeli ihtiyacının sonucunda, muhtemelen depoya kaldırılmış olan, orijinalinde farklı kontekstlere ait, MS. 1. yüzyıl imparator heykelleri, depodan çıkarılarak yeniden işlenmiş ve hüküm sürmekte olan yeni imparatorlar ile tanrılaştırılmış imparatorların portrelerine dönüştürülmüştür.

Beginning with the discovery of the Cancelleria reliefs in Rome in the late 1930s, in which the emperor Domitian's portraits were recarved into the portraits of the emperors Nerva and Vespasian, portraits reworked in antiquity, and especially reworked imperial ones, have captured the attention of scholars<sup>1</sup>. The most widely known reason for recarving emperor portraits, along with the intentional damage performed on the portraits, is the condemnation of memory, but this motive was valid mainly for the portraits of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Not coincidentally, the destruction and recarving of imperial portraits reached its apogee in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, ca. A.D. 235–285, when the empire was in a period of military, social, political, and economic

<sup>1</sup> Prusac 2011, 1.



unrest<sup>2</sup>. These transforming processes were carried out in nearly all parts of the empire. However no uniformity between the resulting secondary portraits occurred. Workshops developed their own styles in recarving, while parallel with stylistic variations, local differences in the sculptural techniques and styles of reworking appeared as well.

Recarved portraits can be identified by physical indications on their appearance, which may be either technical and/or stylistic. At first sight, something unnatural or unusual attracts the attention, which sometimes misleads the viewer into thinking that the object may be a fake. This is especially the case when the recarved portrait is without context, or without certain provenance, e.g. in a museum removed from its place of discovery or on the art market. Generally the proportions are unnatural, as a result of inevitable technical difficulties. The major difficulty is the limitation of the volume of marble available for recarving a portrait.

This paper is a case study of three emperor statues with recarved heads (figs. 1–3) found in the theatre of Perge (Pamphylia) in 1992<sup>3</sup> and aims to interpret them within their context in order to reveal the first and second individual portrayed, and to understand the alteration by focusing on the workmanship<sup>4</sup>.

According to relatively recent studies on the theatre at Perge<sup>5</sup>, the three-storeyed aedicular façade of the theatre to which these emperor statues belong was built in two main phases, fairly close together chronologically: the first dates to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., the latter dates to A.D. 220–240<sup>6</sup>. It is epigraphically proven that some renovations and constructions were carried out during the reign of the emperor Tacitus (275–276 A.D.) for the Olympic games as well<sup>7</sup>. The façade was partially restored between 450–525 A.D. and the theatre continued in use until the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>8</sup>. Unfortunately there is no epigraphic data from the theatre after the reign of Tacitus<sup>9</sup>. The heterogeneous sculptural assemblage is also the product of several phases. In the first construction phase, nine colossal statues of gods were installed in the niches of the second storey. It is likely that two probable statues of the mythological founders of the city were placed in the two niches of the first storey also in the same phase<sup>10</sup>. Until this study, the addition of these emperor statues in the statuary program of the *scaenae frons* was ascribed to the later changes in the reign of Tacitus<sup>11</sup>. The find spots of the colossal portrait statue of Alexander the Great<sup>12</sup>, and four cuirassed<sup>13</sup> and two naked statues, all of which are larger

<sup>2</sup> Varner 2004, 4.

<sup>3</sup> These statues were not published in the yearly excavation reports in KST. Five years after of their discovery, they were briefly mentioned in KST under the title »the preliminary report of the publication studies«; see İnan 1997, 72.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Haluk Abbasoğlu, the director of the Perge Excavations, for giving me permission to study the portraits found in Perge in my doctoral dissertation and Prof. Dr. İnci Delemen, my supervisor, for her support and guidance both in this specific study and all levels of my study.

<sup>5</sup> Öztürk 1999; İnan et al. 2000.

<sup>6</sup> Öztürk 1999, 183–184.

<sup>7</sup> Şahin 2000, 204.

<sup>8</sup> İnan et al. 2000, 321.

<sup>9</sup> Some dedication inscriptions were found on the several blocks of the *scaenae frons*, written in red paint. They were generally ascribed to the time of Tacitus, by comparison with similar expressions in a poem firmly dated to the time of Tacitus. See Şahin 2000, 204. Since this dating method is not very exact, it can be suggested that these inscriptions could be related to the refurbishment of the *scaenae frons* with the tetrarch statues a quarter century later, while their superficial finish fits very well with the nature of the reworked statues.

<sup>10</sup> Öztürk 1999, 181.

<sup>11</sup> Öztürk 1999, 186–187; İnan 1997, 72.

<sup>12</sup> The most recent study of the colossal statue of Alexander was presented by İnci Delemen with the title »Alexander the Great at Perge in Pamphylia« in »Discovering Alexander's World«, International Conference, Naoussa 14–18 October 2012.

<sup>13</sup> In a relatively recent publication of an inscription, it was suggested that the marble of these statues was imported from a Numidian quarry; see Şahin 2012. Zoroğlu took this suggestion one step further and ascribed the statues to a Numidian workshop; see Zoroğlu 2014, 106–119. According to Şahin, the inscription is on the underside of the



than life-size and assumed to be emperor statues, locate them to the first storey. Leaving aside the portrait of Alexander due to its different format and date, only three of the other portrait statues were found together with their heads – although broken – which were recarved. On the basis of the available data, it is reasonable to assume that the others also had reworked portrait heads. These portraits were not fully published<sup>14</sup>.

The first statue Antalya 7.23.93 (fig. 1) is a cuirassed statue of an emperor above life-size, carved from fine-grained white marble, height 217 cm (without plinth). A part of the back of the head, some parts of the nose, various fingers, most of the sword held in the left hand, the feet and the plinth are missing. There are also minor breaks on the drapery.

The figure stands with its weight on his right leg. The right arm slightly extends forward and to the side, while the left arm bends from the elbow forward and holds a *parazonium* in the left hand. The emperor wears a military cuirass over a knee-length tunic. His *paludamentum* on the left shoulder falls down the left side and is wrapped around the left arm. He wears laced boots. On the breastplate, under the gorgoneion, two griffins flanking a candelabrum stepping on a wide acanthus calyx are depicted. Below the cuirass instead of lappets, there are two rows of leather straps; the central strap on the upper row is decorated with a triskeles, while that on the lower row has a floral motif. The tall statue support is in the form of a date tree, with its trunk, leaves and fruits.

At first sight, the small size of the head in comparison to the body attracts attention (fig. 4 a–c). In addition, the diversity between the texture of the rough appearance of the head and the smooth surface and the delicate workmanship of the body stands out. The original hair left at the back of the head, which shows Trajanic comma-shaped locks, also betrays stylistic and technical discrepancies between the hairstyle and the face (fig. 4 b–c).

The back of the head was cut away, possibly in order to change the angle of the head in a method which provided more volume to the upper facial features. This operation is common in Late Antique portraits, especially those from Asia Minor<sup>15</sup>.

Long, comma shaped locks exist on the top and rear part of the head, while rough locks which bear chisel marks appear on the front part, framing the forehead. The hair resembles a tightly fitted cap at the front. The volume on the front part must have been achieved by scraping off some area from the surface of the forehead. Short straight locks were brushed toward the face and parted on the left temple. It is evident that the parting and the direction of the strands follow the hairstyle of the first portrait. The locks behind the right ear were chiselled, those behind the left ear were left intact. Rasp marks probably belonging to the same rough recycling on the right side of the neck are also visible.

»Ears, more than any other facial feature, are diagnostic elements that can indicate a recarved portrait«<sup>16</sup>. Here the rims of the right ear, the helix and a part of the ear lobe have been scraped

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plinth – which currently cannot be seen – of one of the cuirassed statues which lacks the head; Antalya 13.23.93. The inscription, which is about a conveyance note, was read as *[I]mp(eratoris) Domiti[ani] Caesaris Aug(usti) Germ(anici), loco CLXI, per Primum lib(ertum)*. By comparison with two »similar« inscriptions from Rome and Smitthus, Şahin drew the conclusion that the Primus who was mentioned in all the three inscriptions was the same person, who was responsible for a marble quarry in Numidia. Although controversial, this inscription could be recognised as a clue for the origin of the marble, but the suggestion of a workshop in Numidia seems speculative without stylistic comparison with Numidian sculpture and despite stylistic similarities with the works of the Docimian workshop. Şahin, in addition to this, denied the reworking on the heads of the emperor statues which are the subject of this paper, and suggested different datings for the theatre, and for the statues.

<sup>14</sup> J. İnan only reported that alterations were made on the heads of »Trajan« and »Hadrian« and because of the stylistic diversity of the bodies of the emperor statues pointing to the chronological differences, it was likely that they were spolia. See İnan 1997, 72. In addition to that, each emperor statue was placed in the tabernacles of the first storey sequentially according to their find spots in the study of A. Öztürk by N. Atik. See Öztürk 1999, 186 Beil. 8. Although it has repeatedly been reported that N. Atik planned to publish the sculptures, such research has not yet appeared. See Öztürk 1999, 186 n. 385; Öztürk 2009, 93 n. 360.

<sup>15</sup> Prusac 2011, 84.

<sup>16</sup> Prusac 2011, 86.

off; the left ear's rim has been cut away in a line, which is the continuation of the contour of the jawbone. The inner parts of the ears were also reworked.

The basic position of eyes, ears, and nose is the same as in the original portrait. The deep position of the eyes, and also the thinness of the sides of the nasal bridge show that the orbital area was totally recarved and the eyes were reshaped. The shape of the eyes with accentuated lachrymal channels and broad, flat upper eyelids which are not very well formed, are not similar to the almond-shaped eyes of Trajanic portraiture. The eyes of the secondary portrait are more deeply set in the head, and are enlarged. Very big irises and bean shaped pupils made with two drill holes, partially under the upper eye lids, direct the new glance upwards. The thin, sharp ridged eyebrows seem to have been left intact. The upper parts of the cheeks seem to retain their original plasticity and the malar bones are still pronounced. In the lower section of the face, the original well-formed thin lips, and the line between the lips are mostly preserved but the prominent contours are erased. While the beard was added on the cheeks and under the chin, the sculptor not only made punctuation strokes with a chisel, he also scraped off a small part from the surface with each movement of the flat chisel. In this way, the volume of the lower part of the face has been diminished.

The first portrait beyond any doubt depicted the emperor Trajan. The schema of the cuirass decoration<sup>17</sup> and the statuary type<sup>18</sup> also support this interpretation. The individual features of Trajan, which are common on all of his portrait types in various media<sup>19</sup>, such as his slightly frowning, out and upward pulled eyebrows, strong hooked nose, flat mouth and nasolabial folds all indicate that ruler. Although signs of ageing, including furrows on the forehead and strong nasolabial lines are typical on Trajan's portraits, here it looks as if all the furrows in the form of deep lines have been deepened and accentuated in the second portrait, giving the portrait a frowning expression.

Because the distinctive features of Trajan's portrait types are based on the arrangement of the locks on the forehead, and in this portrait this part was reworked, it is difficult to determine which official type the first portrait was following. Even so, the trace of the parting on the right temple suggests that it is closest to the second portrait type of Trajan which is also known as the *Bürgerkronentypus*<sup>20</sup>.

With the aid of the context, it is possible to say that the secondary portrait should depict one of the tetrarchy emperors. In general, short cut hair resembling a tightly fitted cap, and the short beard are characteristics of the soldier emperors which are continued in the tetrarchic portraits as well. At the same time a geometric and abstract style, presenting the emperor as an individual without a distinctive physiognomy but as a symbol of collective imperial rule has been achieved<sup>21</sup>. The tetrarchs wore the same hairstyle, and their physiognomies were depicted extremely similar and indistinguishable from each other, in accordance with the political message of the co-emperors. For this reason the identification of the plastic portraits of the tetrarchs is always problematic. Nevertheless, a portrait head worked for insertion into a full-length statue, commonly accepted as Galerius, in Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek<sup>22</sup>, can be compared with the secondary portrait with its solid and cubic face, the contrast between the voluminous hair and the chiseled beard on the cheeks and the chin, the sharply arched eyebrows, and the voluminous hairstyle on the forehead, that diverges from the norm. Besides the hairstyle, other similarities are the ›X pattern‹ on the center of the face generated by the prominent eyebrow muscles and the nasolabial folds, the rendering of individual hairs on the ridges of the brows, the plastic workmanship in the eyes, the upward and far away gaze achieved by the position of the irises and pupils partially under the

<sup>17</sup> For similar breastplate decoration on statues of Trajan in Copenhagen and Leiden, see Gross 1940, pl. 3 a–b.

<sup>18</sup> For the same statuary type see Trajan in Fogg Museum, see Hanfmann et. al. 1957, figs. 1–4.

<sup>19</sup> Gross 1940, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Gross 1940, 75–84 pls. 10 a–b; 11 b; 13 a; Jucker 1984, 38.

<sup>21</sup> Kleiner 1992, 400.

<sup>22</sup> Kleiner 1992, 405 fig. 372; Breckenridge 1968, 242 fig. 128. Prusac takes this portrait as a reworked portrait. See Prusac 2011, pl. 95 figs. 95 a–b cat. 378.

upper eyelids, the rendering of the moustache and beard, and the deep horizontal furrows on the forehead. Some of these features are naturally seen on the undoubted tondo portrait of Galerius on the arch of Thessaloniki<sup>23</sup> as well: the solid cubic face, voluminous hair, X pattern, and deep furrows, although this head is clean shaven.

The artist who worked on the second portrait made alterations as long as the former form of the portrait and the aged marble allowed. He also made good use of similarities in physiognomy and of appearance between the two emperors. The physiognomic similarities between Trajan and Galerius are so strong in the form of the faces, the foreheads, and the arrangement of the locks over the forehead<sup>24</sup> that the problematic portrait head in Kanellopoulos Museum has long been disputed as either depicting Galerius<sup>25</sup> or Trajan<sup>26</sup>. Under these circumstances the secondary portrait would most logically be Galerius. The lack of a *corona civica* suggests that he was depicted as Caesar, during the reign of Diocletian. Even though we cannot make a definite identification, the similarities are pronounced and striking. It is possible to say, however, that the second portrait depicts an emperor of the first tetrarchy, dating between 293–305 A.D.

The second statue Antalya 11.23.93 (fig. 2) is again a cuirassed statue of an emperor above life-size, carved from fine-grained white marble, height 230.5 cm. The lower left part of the face, some parts of the nose, the right hand with the object it held, the right foot, and some areas of the left foot are missing.

The figure stands with his weight on his right leg. The right arm is raised while the left arm is at its side, bending from the elbow forward. The emperor probably held a staff or spear on which his weight rests. This time a *corona civica* made up of oak leaves crowns the head. He wears a Hellenistic type cuirass with two rows of rectangular leather straps, instead of lappets, over a knee-length tunic. A *paludamentum* is draped on the left shoulder, falls down the left side and is wrapped around the left arm. He also wears laced boots. On the breastplate appears a version of Arimaspi fighting two griffins, below a gorgoneion, an iconographic type associated with the posthumous celebration of the Parthian wars of the deified Trajan<sup>27</sup>.

What attracts attention at first sight in this statue is the smallness and lightness of the face in comparison to the wreath. The locks of hair below the wreath are reconfigured (fig. 5 a–c). The execution of the hair locks behind the ears is very obvious. This time the secondary sculptor made use of the forms of the eyes: instead of totally recarving them, he deepened the inner surface of the eyes, emphasized the lachrymal channel by drill holes, and added irises by incision and pupils with drill holes. Rasp marks retained on the left cheek point to later work also on this area of the face. The moustache and beard were done in the same technique as the former statue. The horizontal furrows seem to have been added during the secondary carving as well.

The first portrait here is without any doubt also a likeness of Trajan. The traces of the first hairstyle, with a parting in the middle, conform to the third official portrait type, the ›Paris 1250 – Mariemont type‹. As a characteristic of this type, the considerably voluminous hair provides a reasonable explanation for the execution of locks behind the ears. Furthermore, the physiognomic features are already compatible with Trajan's. The overall appearance of the portrait after recarving is very similar with the previous statue, in accordance with the concept of portraiture in the tetrarchic period. This portrait should therefore also depict one of the tetrarchs of the same period. This time the *corona civica* suggests that this tetrarch might be one of the two Augusti, either Diocletian or Maximian.

<sup>23</sup> L'Orange 1984, pl. 21 a.

<sup>24</sup> Dontas 1975, 523.

<sup>25</sup> Dontas 1975, 523.

<sup>26</sup> Riccardi 2000, 105–112. On this portrait Massner and Fittschen prefer the idea of a rather private portrait of Trajanic date. See Massner 1988, 245–246; Fittschen 2010, 233. I would like to thank Martin Kovacs for sharing the latest arguments on the Kanellopoulos head.

<sup>27</sup> Gergel 1987, 27.

The third statue with a reworked head Antalya 8.23.93 (fig. 3) is a heroic nude statue, above life-size, of fine grained white marble, height 233.5 cm. Some parts of the nose, the right hand, various fingers, and part of the statue support are missing. There are also breaks and missing areas on the cloak.

The naked figure stands with its weight on the right leg with a bunch of the cloak on the left shoulder. The left hand rests on the left hip. The cloak falls down to the left side and is wrapped around the left forearm. The right arm is slightly extended to the side. The figure was probably holding a spear in its right hand. A *corona civica* of oak leaves crowns the head. Next to the figure, a statue support in the form of Victory stepping on a pair of greaves and holding a trophaion is preserved.

At first glance, again the small size of the face in comparison to the crown and to the rest of the body attracts attention (fig. 6 a–c). Here the borders of the altered hair are established by the *corona civica*. Behind the wreath, the original, whirling, long, sickle shaped locks and also the same type strands behind the ears were kept intact, while in front of the wreath the original surface was scraped off with a chisel and new rough strands were added. However, the traces of the original arrangement of the locks framing the forehead, their parting and direction are still visible. What is striking here are the drill holes on the forehead which remain from the first portrait's coiffure and which could not be concealed by the second sculptor.

In particular the side areas of the forehead were reworked, the volume on the temples being reduced. In contrast to the previous two portraits, on this one the ears were left untouched. The orbital area, however, was reshaped together with the eyebrows and the sides of the root of the nose. Thus a frowning expression with highly arched eyebrows was achieved. The newly formed eyes with broad eyelids are somewhat asymmetric, with one drill hole emphasizing the lachrymal channel and with pupils made with two drill holes. The upper cheeks seem to have been left intact as they still have their original volume, while the lower part of the face was reconfigured by the addition of a beard and moustache in a technique similar to that applied on the previous statue, resulting in a diminution of the volume of the lower part of the face. The chin was also made smaller, thus shortening the profile.

Here the identification of the first portrait is not as clear as the previous two. While the sickle-shaped strands and the whirling pattern on the back of the head belong to the Julio-Claudian tradition, the *corona civica* points to an emperor. Mainly on the basis of the hairstyle, taking into account especially the arrangement on the forehead and also on the nape, the emperors Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius are the possibilities for the identification of the original portrait. When compared with the main portrait type of Claudius in the Louvre Museum<sup>28</sup>, the similar drill holes within the arrangement of the locks on the forehead can be easily seen. In addition, the aging features of the emperor, with horizontal furrows on the forehead, saggy pockets under the eyes, nasolabial folds, lips with slightly upturned edges, a prominent chin and large ears are apparent in both heads. The problematic points, however, in this identification are the lack of a broad cranium, typical for portraits of Claudius, as well as the form of the hair locks behind the ears, which does not exactly match with any of the extant portraits of Claudius. This last point can be ignored, as other imperial portraits from Perge show clear divergences from the official types in their hairstyles, and in some cases they do not conform to any official type<sup>29</sup>. The cranium issue can also be explained by the technical consequences of reworking.

The second portrait should once again be a portrait of one of the tetrarchs. The close-cropped cap of hair and the short beard are very similar, both in style and technique, to the previous

<sup>28</sup> Fittschen 1977, 57 no. 4 replica no. o.

<sup>29</sup> For Hadrian see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 68–69 no. 29; Zanker 1983, 15–16; Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 44 no. 46 replica no. 6; Evers 1994, 84–85; Riccardi 2000, 114–115; for Sabina see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 72–73 no. 36; for Faustina the Younger see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 78 no. 47, for Antinoos see Delemen 2010, 185. Also see Delemen 2009, 175–176.



two statues. The general appearance of the portraits in these three statues is indeed so similar, in accordance with the ideology of tetrarchy, that it is almost impossible to identify individual emperors. The context here provides a hint about which emperor these might represent. Another statue belonging to the same statuary type was found amongst the statues from the first storey of the *scaenae frons*: it has the same stance and is approximately the same size, but is missing its head (Antalya 14.23.93). The ribbons on his shoulder indicate that this figure also wore a *corona civica*. These two statues are located symmetrically at the two sides of the Porta Regia. Viewing the statuary program of the *scaenae frons* in general, the identities and the message conveyed by these reworked emperor statues might be better understood. Four emperors were depicted in military cuirass as imperator, while two emperors were depicted in heroic nudity. The concurrent four cuirassed emperors might represent the currently reigning emperors, while the naked emperors with *corona civica* might portray dead and deified emperors. In this context, these *divi* emperors most likely are Carus and Numerian<sup>30</sup>. Although Carus and Numerian were not tetrarchs, their portraits were created by recarving earlier works, probably at the same time, and expressing the same ideology as well. From this perspective, the resemblance of the portraits is understandable.

Close examination of the stylistic and technical features of the secondary works of the three statues indicate that they were reworked together at a certain time period, by a particular workshop which is hard to identify precisely as local or itinerant. When it is considered, however, that the recarving here was carried out mainly for economic reasons and due to urgent need, and furthermore that the itinerant sculptors generally accompanied the sculpture from the quarry or workshop to finish the final details, when there was no new material the question must be posed why the city or patron would pay the expenses of itinerant artists? It seems more likely that a local workshop was responsible for the recarving of these emperor statues. The final appearance of the reworked portraits can be compared with four other portraits of tetrarchs<sup>31</sup>, two of which come from Asia Minor, while the other two are of unknown origin. Although the overall appearance is similar to the Perge examples, the technical details of the heads from Asia Minor do not indicate a common origin. The analysis of the two other heads and the investigation of their origins will be the subject of a later study.

If we return to the originals of these portrait statues and their contexts before their recycling, the lack of uniformity between the styles and dates of the primary works of these emperor statues suggests that they did not originally form a group. Furthermore, since they are earlier in date than the building, their primary display location before reworking could not have been the theatre. Possibly they originally belonged to at least two or three distinct buildings/contexts, and most likely they were stored for future use, as they were almost two hundred years old at the time of reuse. The two portrait statues of Trajan deriving from different statuary types and based on separate portrait types show that they were probably made a few years apart from each other, and were perhaps originally displayed in two different buildings. The first location for one of them might be the Triple-Arched Gate<sup>32</sup>, based on the evidence of an inscribed plinth found to the north of the arch which records a dedication by Plancia Magna to Divus Traianus<sup>33</sup>. Although the title *divus* might suggest a heroic naked statue, this was not a strict rule which was always followed. The

<sup>30</sup> On the death of Carus and Numerian, and Diocletian's position see Bird 1976.

<sup>31</sup> For the »Diocletian« head from Nicomedia see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, pl. 39 figs. 3–4; head of a tetrarch from Afyon, in the Bursa Museum see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, pl. 39 figs. 1–2; »the head of a man, perhaps an emperor« in the Shelby White Leon Levy Collection see Anderson 1990, 224 no. 165; for »the re-cut portrait of emperor wearing corona civica« in Sotheby's Antiquities New York see Lenaghan (n. d.). I thank R. R. R. Smith for making me aware of the Oxford database project »Last Statues of Antiquity«.

<sup>32</sup> For the statues found in the arch see Bulgurlu 1999, 188–196. The statuary program of the arch was presented by Delemen in her paper »Revisiting the Sculptural Program(s) of the Triple-Arched Gate in Perge« in this conference, but the manuscript is not included in the present volume.

<sup>33</sup> Şahin 1999, 129 no. 93 pl. 26.



lack of harmony in style, however, with the other statues from the arch<sup>34</sup> makes this possibility less likely. The original settings for these statues therefore remain unclear until further investigations can be undertaken, which might shed light upon the issue concerning the original contexts of the portraits.

At Perge, as in many other cities, with the creation of the tetrarchy a sudden need for four emperor statues resulted in these statues being taken out of storage and being recarved into the reigning emperors. This was already a period in which fewer cuirassed statues were produced because older ones were reused all over the empire<sup>35</sup>. The mutilation of the genitals of the naked statues suggests that they were probably maintained until Late Antiquity.

In the theatre of Perge city dwellers, the rural population, and visitors to festivals, especially those honoring Artemis Pergaia, and agonistic events gathered together. From the reign of Tacitus on, these spectators also gathered for the Olympic games as well, and possibly also for gladiatorial contests and naval games<sup>36</sup>. During such days, statues on the *scaenae frons* would have been seen by a large audience, seated for hours<sup>37</sup>. The theatre was therefore the perfect place to display these imperial images of the new rulers, where their appearance, their power, and the political and ideological messages they expressed could be seen and understood by the greatest number of people with maximum public visibility<sup>38</sup>. These statues would have served to express Perge's loyalty to the new emperors as well as expressing the city's gratitude for a possible imperial donation<sup>39</sup>. The striking existence of at least six emperors together with a Hellenistic ruler also invites the question of their possible role in the imperial cult, considering the very thin line between an honorific statue and one providing evidence of the imperial cult. Could these reworked emperor statues have played such a role<sup>40</sup>? The existence of the imperial cult in Perge is attested since the rule of Vespasian<sup>41</sup>. Perge was granted with the title *neokoros* six times, the last time during the reign of Tacitus<sup>42</sup>. It is therefore reasonable to assume the continuation of the imperial cult in the tetrarchic period as well. Until it can be supported by additional data, however, this question should remain open for the present.

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<sup>34</sup> Bulgurlu 1999; for Hadrian see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 68–69 no. 29; for Sabina see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 72–73 no. 36; for Faustina the Younger see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 78 no. 47; for ›Lucilla‹ see İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 81 no. 53.

<sup>35</sup> Vermeule 1960, 6.

<sup>36</sup> İnan 1997, 73; İnan et. al. 2000, 321; Şahin 2000, 205.

<sup>37</sup> Boatwright 2000, 66.

<sup>38</sup> Collins-Clinton 2000, 126.

<sup>39</sup> In an inscription for which the *terminus post quem* is the reign of Valerian, a dedicator named Cornelianus donated an Olympic game from the imperial fund. See Şahin 2000, 205–206.

<sup>40</sup> For a similar question in Cosa, see Collins-Clinton 2000.

<sup>41</sup> Burrell 2004, 175.

<sup>42</sup> Burrell 2004, 175–180.

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1 Reworked cuirassed statue of Trajan from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 7.23.93



2 Reworked cuirassed statue of Trajan from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 11.23.93



3 Reworked heroic naked statue of a Julio-Claudian emperor from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 8.23.93





a



b



c

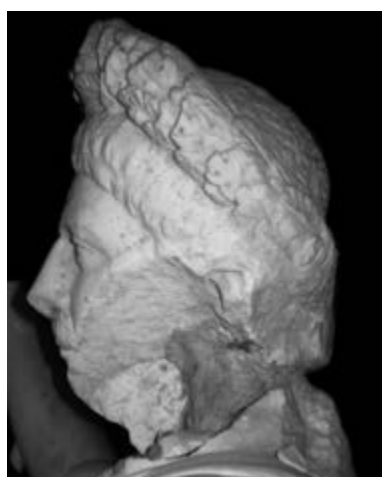
4 a–c Head details of the reworked cuirassed statue of Trajan from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 7.23.93



a



b



c

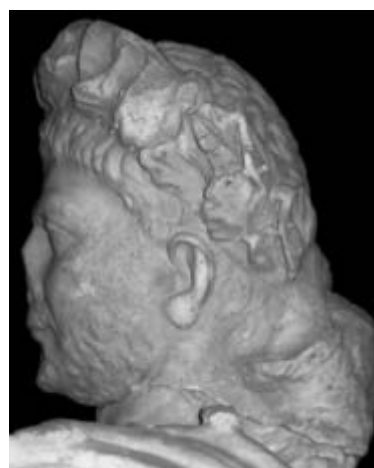
5 a–c Head details of the reworked cuirassed statue of Trajan from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 11.23.93



a



b



c

6 a–c Head details of the reworked heroic naked statue of a Julio-Claudian emperor from Perge, Antalya Museum inv. 8.23.93



CHRISTINA VIDEBECH

**CARPE SPOLIA****THE REUSE OF PUBLIC SCULPTURE IN THE  
LATE ROMAN COLLECTION****ABSTRACT**

In the late western Roman Empire it was not unusual to reuse public sculpture in private collections. Funerary sculpture and votive offerings in particular could be removed from their previous contexts and used as pieces in private sculpture collections. This paper presents a survey of the evidence of similar reuse in private collections from Asia Minor, dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. The discussion will focus on a method to recognize such reuse and the problems regarding such a study. Furthermore, what such reuse of public sculpture in a private context reveals about society, and the role of the private collector, in the eastern Roman Empire during the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries is also addressed. Whether or not the reused public sculpture served for the transfer of memory will be contemplated.

**ÖZET****Carpe Spolia. Geç Roma Dönemi Koleksiyonlarında Kamusal Heykellerin Tekrar Kullanımı**

Geç Dönem Batı Roma İmparatorluğu'nda kamusal heykellerin özel koleksiyonlarda tekrar kullanılması alışılmadık bir durum değildi. Mezar heykelleri ve adak hediyeleri asıl ait oldukları kontekslerden alınıp özel heykel koleksiyonunun bir parçası olarak kullanılabiliyorlardı. Bu makale MS. 3.–6. yüzyıllara tarihlenen Küçük Asya'daki özel koleksiyonlarda görülen benzer tekrar kullanımlar ile ilgili bulgular hakkında bir araştırma sunmaktadır. Tartışma, böyle bir yeniden kullanımın nasıl ayırt edebileceğine ilişkin bir yöntem ve böyle bir araştırmaya ilişkin sorunlar üzerine yoğunlaşacaktır. Ayrıca kamusal bir heykelin özel bir konteks içerisinde tekrar kullanımının toplum hakkında neyi ortaya çıkardığı ve 3.–6. yüzyıllarda Roma İmparatorluğu'nun doğusunda özel koleksiyoncuların rolü de ayrıca ele alınacaktır. Tekrar kullanılan kamusal heykellerin bellek aktarımına hizmet edip etmediği üzerinde de durulacaktır.

**INTRODUCTION**

It has long been a generally accepted fact that almost no new sculptures were produced in the Late Roman period; a ›fact‹ that has been used as an argument for a general decline in Late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>. However, both the decline in Late Antiquity as well as the complete termination of production of sculpture has been thoroughly argued against by an expanding group of researchers, supported by both new finds and dating<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the role of sculpture and portraiture in Roman society did not diminish in spite of the waning in production of sculpture for public spaces after the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>3</sup>. Until the late 5<sup>th</sup> cen-

<sup>1</sup> Bowden – Lavan 2003, 405; Liebeschuetz 1992, 3–4, 8–9; Liebeschuetz 2007, 11–20.

<sup>2</sup> Bergmann 1999, 11; Borg 2007, 46–47; Bowden – Lavan 2003, 7–8; Brown 1971; Cameron 2002, 166; Gazda 1981; Gehn 2013, 77; Hannestad 1994; Hannestad 2007, 273–305; Kristensen 2013, 29; Lepelley 1992, 54; Liebeschuetz 2006, XVII, 643; Meischner 2003, 314; Moltesen 1990; Poulter 2007, 2, 23; Smith 1985; Smith 1990; Smith 1991; Smith 1999a; Smith 1999b; Smith 2007; Smith – Ertuğ 2009; Stewart 2007, 27–28; Stirling 2005; Stirling 2007, 307–321; Stirling 2008, 89–161; Witschel 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 1; Gazda 1981, 167; Hannestad 2007, 273; Lavan 2011, 439–440; Smith 2012, 57.

ture A.D. sculpture still played an important role as decoration and status symbols in the Late Roman city<sup>4</sup>. Statues were reused<sup>5</sup>, copied<sup>6</sup>, inherited<sup>7</sup>, restored<sup>8</sup> and finally set up in both traditional and less traditional contexts<sup>9</sup>. Here they operated not only as decoration, but as an important media of communication<sup>10</sup>.

The current contribution presents a survey of evidence concerning the reuse of public sculpture in the private Roman collections from both *villae* and *domus* in Asia Minor during the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. The discussion will focus on how to recognize such reuse and what these tendencies tell us about the society of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., and of the role of the private collector in the eastern Roman Empire. It should be emphasized that this paper is only a publication of my preliminary finds concerning this subject. Further and more thorough studies will be necessary both to progress with this subject and to obtain more solid conclusions.

My attention was drawn to this subject during my research of Late Roman collections in private houses. During this investigation some tendencies within the collections, regardless of location, became clear: it seemed that the subjects of sculpture in the dwellings were surprisingly homogeneous. This could be interpreted as evidence of the fact that personal taste was subordinate to the trends of society and that choices of private sculpture followed a strict, almost canonical theme<sup>11</sup>. Additionally the collections seemed to have been a vital element in the collector's self-promotion, and supported the creation and clarification of his identity<sup>12</sup>. The collections appeared to connect the elite classes as learned Romans, with a common frame of reference in the form of Roman and Greek culture and the phenomenon of *paideia* and *romanitas*<sup>13</sup>. This ensured that they understood each other and felt cohesion regardless of where in the empire they came from<sup>14</sup> and which religion they practiced<sup>15</sup>. In addition to this the collections also seem to have been a medium that transmitted traditions, memories and values from one period to the next<sup>16</sup>. Furthermore, the results of the investigation demonstrated there was no fundamental difference between Late Antiquity and the previous period, as some scholars have previously believed: sculptures from throughout the ancient period were set up in private houses. Like their public counterparts they were recycled, copied, inherited, restored and set up in both traditional and less traditional

<sup>4</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 7–11; Fejfer 2008, 51–63; Kristensen 2013, 29; Lavan 2011, 440; Mango 1963, 55; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2012, 137; Stewart 2003, 118–156.

<sup>5</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 9; Gehn 2013, 47. 62; Hannestad 2007, 291; Kristensen 2013, 23. 30; Mango 1963, 55; Noethlichs 2013, 13; Smith 2012, 63; Stewart 2007, 29; Stirling 2007, 310.

<sup>6</sup> Brinkerhoff 1970, 32; Hannestad 2007, 285; Meischner 2003, 314.

<sup>7</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 2; Stirling 2007, 308.

<sup>8</sup> Kinney 1997, 118; Roueché 2011, 94.

<sup>9</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 5; Kristensen 2013, 34; Prusac 2011, 17; Smith 2012, 57; Stirling 2012, 67.

<sup>10</sup> Fejfer 2008, 51–63; Kristensen 2013, 29; Stewart 2003, 118–156; Swift 2009, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Videbech 2015, 453. 466.

<sup>12</sup> Crawford 2007, 22; Rutledge 2012, 15–17.

<sup>13</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 3–5; Bounia 2004, 13. 129–130. 132. 191. 201–264; Bowes 2010, 16; Brandt 2009, 162; Crawford 2007, 13; Elsner 1998, 13. 27–28. 45; Gardner 2004, 44; Hales 2003, 3. 43. 172; Miles 2008, 186; Muth 1998, 23; Nasrallah 2010, 221; Perkins 2009, 18; Rutledge 2012, 16. 19. 64; Stirling 2005, 12. 145. 149; Swift 2009, 9; Thébert 1993, 225–229; Videbech 2015, 454. 466.

<sup>14</sup> Bounia 2004, 129; Esch 2011, 22; Elsner 1998, 13; Rutledge 2012, 85.

<sup>15</sup> This may have been due to the fact that Christian, Jewish and pagan education in the Roman Empire until the 6<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. was composed by the same patterns as ever, namely the old ideal of *paideia*. For more information see Bauer – Witschel 2007, 4–5; Brandt 2009, 162; Elsner 1998, 13. 28; Nasrallah 2010, 221; Stirling 2005, 12. 145. Furthermore previous research indicates that Christians only distanced themselves from the pagan sculptures that were worshipped and not from pagan sculptures in general. After a Christian cleansing, an exorcism, the sculptures could be used safely. For more information see Bassett 2004, 100; Bauer – Witschel 2007, 4–6; Belting 2011, 38; Brandt 2009, 162; Coates-Stephens 2007, 180; Elsner 1998, 13. 28–109; Hannestad 2007, 274; Hansen 2003, 261; Kristensen 2012, 32. 36; Latour 2005, 29. 80–81; Machado 2013, 49; Nasrallah 2010, 221; Rothaus 2000, 107. 110–111; Smith 2012, 57; Stirling 2005, 12–13. 145. 166–167; Videbech 2015, 454.

<sup>16</sup> Bounia 2004, 130; Christie 2006, 208; Gehn 2013, 63; Kristensen 2013, 23; Masters 2009, 155–156; Rutledge 2012, 87; Videbech 2015, 459.

contexts<sup>17</sup>. Last, but not least, it became apparent that several of the collections included sculpture that with a certain degree of accuracy could be identified as being public sculpture reused in the private sphere<sup>18</sup>.

When one examines collections, one must distinguish between consciously assembled collections and deposits of ancient sculpture in abandoned buildings, salvaged with the intention of burning them to lime<sup>19</sup>. In several of the dwellings studied here it can be determined to which of the two aforementioned groups they belong. In this study, an attempt has been made to examine the dwellings where the preponderance of research regards them as conscious collections and not just deposits from different locations. A Late Roman collection will be defined as one consisting of a minimum of five different sculptures. There also needs to be evidence that the collections were not discarded before the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. The sculptures could be recycled from earlier times. The basis for the definition of a collection lies in S. M. Pearce's theory, although all the criteria set by Pearce do not have to be met, since her theory is mainly built on later collections and therefore cannot be expected to fit completely the material treated here<sup>20</sup>. Instead, the term »collection« will be used in a broader sense.

### THE PROBLEM OF SPOLIATION AND REUSE

The word *spolia* has often been used as a broad term for Late Antique and medieval reuse of ancient sculpture, architectural parts etc. It would therefore be tempting to use this term in this context also. However, the use of the word *spolia* in connection with this kind of research is not unproblematic, since it is a very value-laden word, often in a negative sense<sup>21</sup>. This is partly because the word has its origin in the phenomenon of war spoils and therefore insinuates that the reuse was a violent act, maybe even an assault on earlier monuments<sup>22</sup>. *Spolia* could for example be acquired by pillaging the temples of defeated enemies. To do so was believed to be risky at best and could have fatal consequences<sup>23</sup>. Although pillaging still took place and had taken place since ancient Greece<sup>24</sup>, not all reuse had a violent origin. Accordingly it is very important to distinguish between disruptive reuse (*spolia*) and the kind of reuse which was not disruptive and perhaps even preserved materials that would otherwise have been lost<sup>25</sup>. Objects in the last category of reuse could, for instance, have been acquired through the extensive art market we know existed in ancient Rome<sup>26</sup>. Finally, the word *spolia* has been used in so many different connections that it has become imprecise<sup>27</sup>. As a consequence it would be more accurate to use the word »reuse«, which is far more neutrally charged<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, even though this article relies heavily on previous scholarship on *spolia*, the term »reuse« will be used henceforth.

<sup>17</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 2. 5. 9; Brinkerhoff 1970, 32; Hannestad 2007, 285. 291; Meischner 2003, 314; Prusac 2011, 17; Rouché 2011, 94; Stewart 2007, 29; Stirling 2007, 308. 310; Stirling 2012, 67; Videbech 2015, 451.

<sup>18</sup> Christie 2006, 208; Videbech 2015, 455–459.

<sup>19</sup> Coates-Stephens 2007, 178.

<sup>20</sup> Coates-Stephens 2007, 178; Pearce 1995.

<sup>21</sup> Esch 2011, 13. 19; Greenhalgh 2011, 79; Kinney 2011, 4.

<sup>22</sup> Hansen 2003, 14; Kinney 1997, 119–120; Kinney 2001, 138; Kinney 2011, 4; Rutledge 2012, 125.

<sup>23</sup> Miles 2008, 4–5. 18. 20. 29. 31. 79. 160; Rutledge 2012, 51.

<sup>24</sup> Bassett 2004, 101; Miles 2008, 30.

<sup>25</sup> Kinney 2011, 5; Liverani 2011, 44–45.

<sup>26</sup> Kinney 1997, 121; Kristensen 2013, 32; Underwood 2015, 266.

<sup>27</sup> Greenhalgh 2011, 79.

<sup>28</sup> Greenhalgh 2011, 79; Kinney 2011, 4; Noethlichs 2013, 11.

## THE REUSE OF PUBLIC MONUMENTS IN THE PRIVATE HOUSE

Even though the reuse of public monuments was especially popular during the reign of Constantine<sup>29</sup>, the phenomenon had a long history in the Roman past and was by no means only a Christian phenomenon or confined to the Late Antique period<sup>30</sup>. Reuse could be very diverse and vary from incorporation of older architectural elements in new buildings (both visible and non-visible) to the reuse of complete buildings for various purposes<sup>31</sup>. Regarding reuse in the private sphere, written sources clearly state that both sculptures and architectural elements were removed from the public sphere and reused in private dwellings by both wealthy and ordinary Romans alike<sup>32</sup>. The archaeological record shows the same tendencies<sup>33</sup>. However, at least officially there was a general disapproval of the reuse of public sculptures in private collections<sup>34</sup> and as far back as the Republic, laws and edicts were passed against this practice<sup>35</sup>. Several edicts and laws are also known from Late Antiquity concerning the preservation of old monuments and sculpture<sup>36</sup>. Even though these laws applied solely to specific locations and situations, they do give an indication of the general attitude towards reuse<sup>37</sup>. Their principal purpose seems to have been to protect public buildings and space from private intrusion<sup>38</sup>, although pagan temples were not always included in this protection<sup>39</sup>. Reuse was only authorized on very rare occasions, for example when explicit permission was given by the emperor<sup>40</sup>.

Ancient authors likewise condemned the reuse of public monuments or sculpture in private residences<sup>41</sup>: this practice was labelled as terrible and amoral, and as a sign of the weak character of the owner. The most famous of such condemnations is the trial against one of the first well documented collectors, Gaius Verres (ca. 120–43 B.C.)<sup>42</sup>. However, he was not the only Roman to use public sculptures in his private collection<sup>43</sup>. Also the emperors Caligula, Tiberius and Nero used public sculpture in their private houses, according to the literary sources, and were harshly judged for it<sup>44</sup>. Hence at least according to the written sources there seems to be a general denouncement of the reuse of public sculpture in private residences. The archaeological material, however, makes it apparent that sometimes both laws and general opinion were ignored<sup>45</sup>. The collections included in this survey are a very clear indication of this.

<sup>29</sup> Brenk 1987, 103; Jacks 2008, 11; Kinney 1997, 127.

<sup>30</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 68; Crawford 2007, 10; Hansen 2003, 7; Jacks 2008, 10–11; Kinney 1997, 124, 129.

<sup>31</sup> Esch 2011, 14–15; Ladstätter – Pülz 2007, 416.

<sup>32</sup> Bounia 2004, 204–205; Christie 2006, 208; Edwards 2004, 45; Rutledge 2012, 37, 40, 127; Stewart 2003, 223.

<sup>33</sup> Noethlichs 2013, 15.

<sup>34</sup> Bounia 2004, 190, 201, 272; Liverani 2011, 35; Miles 2008, 160.

<sup>35</sup> Brenk 1987, 103; Edwards 2004, 55; Kinney 1997, 121; Kinney 2011, 5; Miles 2008, 11, 54, 90; Noethlichs 2013, 16; Rutledge 2012, 32, 125–126, 136.

<sup>36</sup> Bassett 2004, 111; Cod. Theod. 10, 16, 15; 16, 1, 1; 16, 10, 15–18; Hansen 2003, 23; Lippolis 2007, 197, 220.

<sup>37</sup> Lippolis 2007, 198.

<sup>38</sup> Lippolis 2007, 198.

<sup>39</sup> Lippolis 2007, 198.

<sup>40</sup> Lippolis 2007, 219.

<sup>41</sup> Edwards 2004, 55; Miles 2008, 90; Rutledge 2012, 32.

<sup>42</sup> Bounia 2004, 272–274; Edwards 2004, 49; Miles 2008, 3–4, 10, 154; Rutledge 2012, 45, 48–50; Stewart 2003, 223.

<sup>43</sup> Bounia 2004, 273; Miles 2008, 157–158.

<sup>44</sup> Bounia 2004, 272–274; Edwards 2004, 49; Miles 2008, 3–4, 154, 252–253; Rutledge 2012, 45, 50–52, 73; Stewart 2003, 223.

<sup>45</sup> Kristensen 2013, 31–32; Lippolis 2007, 200, 206–207.

## HOW TO IDENTIFY THE REUSE OF PUBLIC SCULPTURE IN THE ROMAN HOUSE?

Even though it is clear, as demonstrated above, that public sculpture could be reused in a private context, unfortunately, in most cases such reuse is difficult to prove using the archaeological material. However, we can interpret certain tomb sculptures, found in a private context and with a different purpose, as reused public material<sup>46</sup>. This kind of reuse can for instance be seen in the House of Proclus in Athens: here a base from a classical Greek tomb was used as an altar or statue base<sup>47</sup>, while two votive reliefs were found built into the wall<sup>48</sup>.

Another way to identify reused public sculpture is through epigraphy: in some cases one can actually identify sculptures which were recycled from a public location, as they have inscriptions, for example of dedications. In contrast, sculptures set up in private dwellings usually did not have such inscriptions<sup>49</sup>. However, this kind of identification is not completely unproblematic: public inscriptions could have been removed in connection with the new function of the sculpture, not to mention the fact that some private sculptures actually did receive inscriptions in Late Antiquity<sup>50</sup>. The fact is that unless there are clearly evident public inscriptions on sculptures found in the private context it can be very difficult to decide whether a sculpture was recycled from a public facility or not. In this study there are some examples of public sculpture identified on the basis of inscriptions: a Hygieia and an Asclepius from the Villa at Mediana and two votive reliefs built into the wall of the House of Proclus.

The size of a sculpture can also be an indication of its public origin. In this case a sculpture which is larger than life-size and found in a private dwelling may have been intended for public use, but it must be stressed that this is not a certain method of identifying reuse.

Finally the type of sculpture or the motif can be an indication of an earlier public use. This includes sculpture types which are found in Late Antique houses even though they are not normally expected to be found in a private context. These types are for example Juno, Jupiter, Minerva, and Asclepius. Especially statues of Asclepius, a god not very often found in private houses before Late Antiquity, is one of the most significant motifs represented in the collections treated in this paper. It might be reasonable to assume that motifs such as these, if it cannot be proven that they were produced in the Late Antique period, could have been recycled from public or semi-public facilities, but without inscriptions to support this type of recycling it is merely a likely indication. A similar case is a statuette of Roma found in the Panayia Domus in Corinth. The statuette is of a type which has not been found, either before or since, in a private context<sup>51</sup>, but is in a style reminiscent of that of Roma from the gable of Temple E, in the forum of Corinth<sup>52</sup>. Another example is a relief depicting a magistrate with a *mappa* from the Villa at Chiragan<sup>53</sup>.

To identify former public sculpture from their type is admittedly problematic, but the method still needs consideration, even though one must be extremely cautious in applying it. To add further confusion, it can be reasonably demonstrated that some motifs recur in the public and the private sphere<sup>54</sup>, and that public sculptures could be copied in small-scale statuettes to be used in the private dwelling<sup>55</sup>. Because of this, it can be difficult to separate public and private in Roman art on the basis of motif choices alone<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Wiseman 1973, 40–41.

<sup>47</sup> Stirling 2005, 201.

<sup>48</sup> Karivieri 1994, 119–120; Stirling 2005, 201.

<sup>49</sup> Stewart 2003, 258.

<sup>50</sup> Gehn 2012, 16–17.

<sup>51</sup> Stirling 2008, 89.

<sup>52</sup> Stirling 2008, 156.

<sup>53</sup> Bergmann 1999, 32.

<sup>54</sup> Rutledge 2012, 186; Stewart 2003, 249, 251.

<sup>55</sup> Bartmann 1994, 76.

<sup>56</sup> Stewart 2003, 223.



## THE REUSED PUBLIC SCULPTURE OF THIS STUDY

The material treated here comes from 25 Late Roman collections, consisting of a total of 498 sculptures<sup>57</sup>. The collections were chosen based on the number of sculptures, their location, and their dating (between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> c. A.D.)<sup>58</sup>. Most of these collections are known from archaeological sources, whereas two collections are only known from written sources. Twelve of the collections are located in Asia Minor and, as mentioned earlier, they will be the main focus of this survey. An overview of the sculpture is to be found in table 1.

From the aforementioned criteria 133 sculptures out of the 498 are likely candidates for reuse of public sculpture (tab. 2). This does not mean that they are all in fact reused sculpture from public facilities. It means that these are especially interesting for this particular study.

If we remove all sculpture from dwellings which are not from Asia Minor, we end up with 21 likely candidates, divided between nine houses and villas (tab. 3). Again it is important to remember that the sculptures might not all be reused.

Out of these, four can be identified as former tomb sculpture or votive reliefs: three late Hellenistic grave reliefs from Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, and a late Hellenistic grave- or votive relief from Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos. Furthermore some of the sculptures are known to have been former public sculpture from literary sources. All of these come from the Lausos Collection. They are the Zeus from Olympia, Aphrodite of Knidos, two statues of Lysippos, Athena from the Rhodes shrine on Lindos, and Hera from Samos.

One of the 22 sculptures is larger than life-size. This is a portrait of Marcus Aurelius from Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6, Ephesos, which belonged to the decoration program of the Residential Unit 6<sup>59</sup>. However, it should be noted that this portrait is a bust, which makes the identification as a former public sculpture problematic.

None can be identified as possibly former public sculpture on the basis of epigraphy.

Sculpture types which one would expect to find in a public context are a plinth of a statuette of Jupiter (the Collection of Lausos, Turkey), a statuette of Asclepius (Pisidian Cremna, Turkey), a statuette of Hygieia (House of Menander, Antioch, Turkey), a statue of Asclepius (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus), a statue of Hygieia (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus), two statuettes of Ascle-

<sup>57</sup> Building Chi/The House of Proclus (Greece, Athens) see Hannestad 1994; Karivieri 1994; Stirling 2005. The Villa at Chiragan (France, Martres-Tolosane) see Bergmann 1999; Bergmann 2007; Cazes 1999; Cazes – Balty 2005; Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. The Villa of the Gladiator (Cyprus, Kourion) see Daszewski 1994; Fejfer 2006; Stirling 2005. The Villa at Montmaurin (France, Haute-Garonne) see Fouet 1969; Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. The Villa at Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (France, Aquitaine) see Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. The Silahtarğa Find (Turkey, Silahtarğa) see Chaisemartin – Örgen 1984; Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. The Panayia Domus (Greece, Corinth) see Stirling 2008. The Domus Menander (Turkey, Antioch) see Hannestad 1994; Stillwell 1938; Stirling 2005. The Villa of Theseus (Cyprus, Nea Paphos) see Daszewski 1994; Fejfer 2006; Stirling 2005. The Palace of Stobi (Macedonia, Gradsko) see Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005; Wiseman 1973. The Villa of Mediana (Serbia, Niš) see Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. The Villa of Woodchester (Great Britain, near Stroud) see Clarke 1982; Stirling 2005. Villa el Ruedo (Spain, near Cordoba) see Stirling 2005. Villa Valdetorres de Jarama (Spain, near Madrid) see Stirling 2005. The Villa at Desenzano (Italy, close to Milan) see Stirling 2005. Domus Fortuna Annonaria (Italy, Ostia) see Hannestad 1994; Stirling 2005. Domus 25H (Turkey, Antioch) see Brinkerhoff 1970; Hannestad 1994; Stillwell 1938; Stirling 2005. The collection from Pisidian Cremna (Turkey, near Bucak) see Hannestad 1994. The collection of Marina (Turkey, Istanbul) see Bassett 2004, 118; Mango et al. 1992, 89. The Collection of Lausos (Turkey, Istanbul) see Bassett 2000, 99; Bassett 2004, 98–100. 105–106. 114–115; Ellis 1991, 128; Mango et al. 1992. Terrace House 1 (Turkey, Ephesos) see Aurenhammer 1995, 535. 537. 539–540. 542; Lang 1995; Lang-Auinger 1996, 92–118. 186–202. 204–206; Ellis 1997, 40; Aurenhammer 2003, 157–181; Terrace House 2 (Turkey, Ephesos) see Parrish 1995, 507; Ellis 1997, 40; Rathmayr 2005; Rathmayr 2006; Ladstätter – Pülz 2007, 418; Poulter 2007, 23–24; Rathmayr 2009; Christof 2010; Rathmayr 2014. The collection at Sidi Bishr (Egypt, Alexandria) see Hannestad 1994, 123.

<sup>58</sup> To arrive at a broad perspective of Late Antique statue collections, it was decided to select villas and houses from as large a part of the Roman Empire as possible. The time period of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. has been chosen since it is believed by many scholars, including this one, to be a time of important change in the Roman Empire. For more information on this discussion see Humphries 2007, 22.

<sup>59</sup> Rathmayr 2009, 321; Rathmayr 2014, 368. 370. 372. 390. 402–403 S 36 pl. 153.

pius (Villa of Theseus, Cyprus), a statuette of Hygieia (Terrace House 1, Ephesos), a possibly late Hellenistic statuette of Asclepius (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos) and a plinth of a statue of Zeus with an eagle (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6, Ephesos).

One problem that needs to be addressed in this context is the size of the sculpture in question, especially the statuettes. Of the 21 sculptures listed above, seven are statuettes. Their small size is definitely problematic in relation to a possible identification as former public sculpture. This is just one of the reasons why it is very difficult to identify former public sculpture on the basis of motif, especially when we know that public sculpture could be replicated in the size of statuettes, as mentioned earlier<sup>60</sup>. As a consequence it is therefore safe to conclude that the type or motif of a sculpture can only be an indication of former public use and not a proof.

### WHY THE REUSE OF PUBLIC SCULPTURE IN THE PRIVATE HOUSE

Even if one does not accept all the sculpture presented here as reused from the public realm, there seems to be a clear tendency towards using public sculpture in a private setting in Asia Minor. At the very least the tomb and votive sculpture were reused. The reason why private citizens could move votive reliefs, tombs, and other public sculptures from their old installation sites to a new location, seemingly without consequences in relation to society, may be because the original installation site had fallen out of use and was now only a memory of the past or simply a marble quarry<sup>61</sup>. The question is whether the sculpture was removed by the collector from its original location or if it was purchased from an art dealer like ›normal‹ collectibles<sup>62</sup>. However, no matter which was the case, it does not change the fact that at some point a person removed the sculptures from their original public or semi-public location.

The purpose of the reuse of public sculpture is very difficult to define: even though reuse is mentioned in several literary sources, none of these speak about the ideology behind the phenomenon<sup>63</sup>. The archaeological material is also far from unambiguous. However, there is no question that the fact that Romans reused both architectural elements and sculpture is very revealing about Roman society<sup>64</sup>. This also applies to how the reused materials were obtained<sup>65</sup>. The question is how to interpret it, and here scholars seem to differ. Many scholars have supported the view that reuse could be divided into two separate categories: sculpture brought to Rome from conquered countries, e.g. Greece, were war spoils and demonstrated Roman power and, after the Republic, erudition<sup>66</sup>. Meanwhile reused local sculpture was written off as a consequence of the general economic and artistic crisis of Late Antiquity<sup>67</sup>. However, the situation in Late Antiquity has been shown to be more nuanced than that even though reuse of sculpture occurred, new statues were still produced throughout the period<sup>68</sup>. However, it is still a possibility that the reused sculpture was a cheap way for the practical collectors, who took advantage of the abundance of sculptures made available by temple closures and public indifference to the old cemeteries, to expand their collections of sculptures. In this case the reuse was simply a practical solution to the fact that fewer new statues were produced and a way of using the precious marble that was lying around<sup>69</sup>. Whatever the case, it is not unproblematic to categorize reuse as a practi-

<sup>60</sup> Bartman 1994, 76.

<sup>61</sup> Bauer – Witschel 2007, 7; Latour 2005, 247; Schiffer 1972, 160.

<sup>62</sup> Rutledge 2012, 56. 60–61.

<sup>63</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 53; Greenhalgh 2011, 76; Kinney 1997, 117.

<sup>64</sup> Kristensen 2013, 29.

<sup>65</sup> Rutledge 2012, 31.

<sup>66</sup> Rutledge 2012, 31. 83.

<sup>67</sup> Esch 2011, 13; Hansen 2003, 12; Kinney 1997, 117. 125–126. 134; Kinney 2011, 1. 7.

<sup>68</sup> Brenk 1987, 105–106; Crawford 2007, 10; Galinsky 2014; Galinsky 2016a and b; Gehn 2013, 77; Hansen 2003, 23; Kinney 2001, 139–140. 145; Lenaghan 2016, 276.

<sup>69</sup> Greenhalgh 2011, 77. 81; Kinney 1997, 127.

cal solution, since it rarely is: reused materials, in this case sculpture, often had to be transported over long distances and maybe even be recarved to fit the new location<sup>70</sup>.

Another possibility is that the reuse was an expression of a new aesthetic of variation, an aesthetic which was characterized by mixing many different styles and colours to create variation and diversity, known as *varietas*<sup>71</sup>. The collection was eclectic and comprised of new, old, and reused sculptures mixed together<sup>72</sup>. This was evidently not a problem for the collector or viewer<sup>73</sup>. Yet not all scholars are convinced that this explains the phenomenon of reuse<sup>74</sup>. Finally, the reuse of former public sculpture could have a symbolic or perhaps even ideological purpose<sup>75</sup>. Previous scholarship indicates that perhaps the foremost task of sculpture was to preserve old traditions and keep memories alive<sup>76</sup>. In this case the reuse can be seen as preserving old objects rather than destroying them<sup>77</sup>. One could theorize that the reused sculpture represented what it used to be a part of, as some kind of *pars pro toto*, thereby preserving the memory of the earlier public monument and thereby serving as repositories of history<sup>78</sup>. Thus the sculpture served as a link to the ›old‹ Roman Empire, a connection between the past and the present<sup>79</sup>. We know that old objects, especially those that could be related to a Roman past or historical personages, were important for Roman self-understanding and *pietas*<sup>80</sup> and that the practice of reusing older sculpture in a public framework showed continuity<sup>81</sup>. Situations could even occur whereby old objects were more valuable and more prestigious than new ones, precisely because of their age and thereby their history<sup>82</sup>. They became integral to the perpetuation of memory. It is not a great leap, considering the new role of the Roman house<sup>83</sup>, to theorize that sculpture reused in a private context showed similar capabilities: sculptures were the medium that transmitted traditions, memories and values from one period to the next. They were bearers of memory and therefore a part of the shaping of the collector's identity<sup>84</sup>. Inevitably, there was a development of the old values and memories along the way: some were forgotten and new ones emerged<sup>85</sup>, depending on the basis of their collector-related context<sup>86</sup>. Nonetheless, it was a slow development and it was hardly visible to the collector himself: he saw himself no less a Roman than his predecessors, but as the direct heir

<sup>70</sup> Brenk 1987, 106; Crawford 2007, 10; Esch 2011, 15; Greenhalgh 2011, 90.

<sup>71</sup> Brenk 1987, 105; Hansen 2003, 13. 172–178; Hughes 2014, 106; Liverani 2011, 38.

<sup>72</sup> Kinney 1997, 140.

<sup>73</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 56. 67.

<sup>74</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 68.

<sup>75</sup> Bonnie 2016, 206–210; Hughes 2014, 103.

<sup>76</sup> Assmann 2011, 15; Bjornlie 2012, 243; Crawford 2007, 20; Kalas 2015, 17. 19. 132; Kristensen 2013, 26–27. Orlin 2016, 118; Prusac 2012, 133. 135–136; Rutledge 2012, 18–19; Videbech 2015, 467.

<sup>77</sup> Brandenburg 2011, 56; Esch 2011, 17–19; Varner 2014, 68.

<sup>78</sup> Hansen 2003, 261; Kansteiner 2002, 182; Kristensen 2013, 23; Olick – Robbins 1998, 106.

<sup>79</sup> Christie 2006, 208; Crawford 2007, 12; Gehn 2013, 63; Hansen 2003, 267–270; Kansteiner 2002, 191; Kristensen 2013, 23; Rutledge 2012, 85.

<sup>80</sup> Rutledge 2012, 67. 172.

<sup>81</sup> Lavan 2011, 441; Smith 2012, 64.

<sup>82</sup> Bartman 1994, 75. 81; Bounia 2004, 64; Crawford 2007, 16; Esch 2011, 23; Greenhalgh 2011, 77; Miles 2008, 163; Rutledge 2012, 68.

<sup>83</sup> The public and private function of Roman houses and villas have been studied and discussed extensively in recent years. Previous research has demonstrated that the function of private dwellings, both *villae* and *domus*, underwent change from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. This trend has been explained by political and sociocultural changes in Roman society: a number of scholars believe they can demonstrate that the private dwelling took over more and more of the functions of the public space. It became the arena of display of power and dominance even more than it had been previously. For more information on this subject see Balch 2008, 3; Bounia 2004, 158. 295–296; Brown 2012, 193–194; D'Ambra 1993, 236; Elsner 1998, 14; Gehn 2012, 27; Hales 2003, 1. 28. 127–128; Lewit 2003, 267; McEnroe 2007, 425; Muth 1998, 21–22; Rutledge 2012, 60. 186; Scheibelreiter-Gail 2012, 138–140; Scott 1997, 54; Scott 2012, 191; Squire 2010, 138; Stewart 2003, 223. 259; Thébert 1993, 213; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 10. 17.

<sup>84</sup> Olick – Robbins 1998, 111.

<sup>85</sup> Greenhalgh 2011, 79.

<sup>86</sup> Bounia 2004, 11; Swift 2009, 193; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3.

to their traditions. By bringing together the former public sculpture the collector could create a connection to the past and thus become part of the great Roman history<sup>87</sup>. The sculpture became a memory transfer, a crucial part of *romanitas* and an anchor and stabilizer in the Late Antique world<sup>88</sup>. Thus memory, and thereby the reused public sculpture, was a pivotal component of the creation of the identity of the collector<sup>89</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

There is no doubt about what the literary sources thought of reuse of public sculpture in private dwellings. Nevertheless, this survey shows that sculptures were in fact moved from public facilities to private houses from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. While it is indeed challenging to identify reused public sculpture conclusively, this does not alter the fact that reuse of public sculpture did occur in private dwellings of the period. In this study, a method to identify this kind of reuse and the problems involved in such a method have been proposed. Furthermore, the reasons which lay behind the reuse have been discussed, relying on previous scholarship on spolia and collective memory. It is evident that this study is only preliminary, and additional and more thorough research is required to make progress in this area and to obtain firmer conclusions. Additionally there are many more aspects to address. One such aspect is the consequence the new context had for the interpretation and function of the reused sculpture<sup>90</sup>. In some cases, such as with the recycled grave reliefs, the answer is simple: these sculptures clearly changed their function from a grave marker in memory of the deceased and as a preserver of the dead person's memory, to become a part of a house's aesthetic expression and the collector's self-presentation. The new network of the reliefs was in many ways very different, yet it also had some similarities to the old network. Instead of interacting with other grave markers or votive offerings, such objects were now part of a network that focused on the collector's self-presentation and aesthetics. Their viewers were no longer mourners, but a very eclectic group consisting of family members, clients, friends, slaves, etc., who came into the house<sup>91</sup>. The reliefs now had the role of being instigators of dialogue between themselves, the collector, and the viewers<sup>92</sup>, mediators of the collective memory of which viewer, sculpture, and collector were a part.

Another aspect that deserves more attention is, what significance should we attribute to the fact that it was possible to move sculptures from public facilities to the private dwelling? Was this an indication of the decline of the affected facilities? Was it an expression of indifference, or maybe even disrespect for the past? Was this an expression of houses as the ›new‹ public space, a private forum<sup>93</sup>, and thereby a weakening of the fora and agora?

<sup>87</sup> Crawford 2007, 20; Rutledge 2012, 18–19.

<sup>88</sup> Bergmann 1999, 11; Kansteiner 2002, 182; Kristensen 2013, 31–32.

<sup>89</sup> Crawford 2007, 13, 22; Fentress – Wickham 1992, 7, 88; Rutledge 2012, 13, 15–18, 19–20, 86; Pearce 1995, 105; Swift 2009, 6.

<sup>90</sup> Esch 2011, 14; Rutledge 2012, 16, 20; Pearce 1995, 8.

<sup>91</sup> Rutledge 2012, 10.

<sup>92</sup> Rutledge 2012, 20; Swift 2009, 1.

<sup>93</sup> Rutledge 2012, 159–160, 186. Already Cicero writes in his *de Officiis* (1, 138–139) that the private dwelling was an important tool for the Roman man to display identity and power.

Table 1: General list of the *villae/domus* included in this study, as well as the number of objects that were found in each building

| <i>villa/domus</i>                                    | <b>Sculptures</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Villa Chiragan (France)                               | 182               |
| Villa Montmaurin (France)                             | 10                |
| Villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne (France)              | 20                |
| Building Chi/The house of Proclus (Athens, Greece)    | 5                 |
| The Silahtarağa Find (near Istanbul, Turkey)          | 11                |
| Panayia Domus (Corinth, Greece)                       | 9                 |
| Domus 25H (Antioch, Turkey)                           | 18                |
| Domus Menander (Antioch, Turkey)                      | 8                 |
| The Villa of the Gladiator (Cyprus)                   | 9                 |
| The Villa of Theseus (Cyprus)                         | 20                |
| The Palace of Stobi (Macedonia)                       | 14                |
| The Villa of Mediana (Serbia)                         | 13                |
| The Villa of Woodchester (Great Britain)              | 7                 |
| Villa el Ruedo (near Cordoba, Spain)                  | 16                |
| Villa Valdetorres de Jarama (near Madrid, Spain)      | 16                |
| Villa Desenzano (near Milan, Italy)                   | 11                |
| Domus Fortuna Annonaria (Ostia, Italy)                | 14                |
| The Collection of Lausos (Constantinople, Turkey)     | 13– ?             |
| The Collection of Marina (Constantinople, Turkey)     | 5– ?              |
| Terrace House 1 (Ephesos, Turkey)                     | 25– ?             |
| Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2 (Ephesos, Turkey) | 35                |
| Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4 (Ephesos, Turkey) | 7                 |
| Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6 (Ephesos, Turkey) | 8                 |
| Pisidian Cremna (South East Asia Minor)               | 9–?               |
| Sidi Bishr (Alexandria, Egypt)                        | 13                |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                                          | <b>498</b>        |



Table 2: List of the possible reused sculpture out of the 498 sculptures from table 1

| Possible reused public sculpture across the Roman Empire                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Statue of Asclepius (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Statue of Hygieia (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Hygieia (The Villa at Mediana, Serbia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Asclepius (The Villa at Mediana, Serbia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Statuette of Hygieia with Greek inscription of dedication (The Villa at Mediana, Serbia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Statuette of Asclepius with Greek inscription of dedication (The Villa at Mediana, Serbia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Statue of Asclepius (The Villa at Mediana, Serbia)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Relief of Cybele with lion (Building Chi/House of Proclus, Athens, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Relief of Asclepius/Pankrates (Building Chi/House of Proclus, Athens, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Base from a classical Greek tomb (Building Chi/House of Proclus, Athens, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Statuette of Roma (Panayia Domus, Corinth, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Statuette of enthroned Asclepius (Panayia Domus, Corinth, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Statuette of Asclepius with Telephos (Panayia Domus, Corinth, Greece)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Villa of Theseus, Cyprus)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Villa of Theseus, Cyprus)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Statue of Hygieia (The Palace of Stobi, The Macedonian Republic)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Villa Valdetorres de Jarama, Spain)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Statuette of Hygieia (House of Menander, Antioch, Turkey)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Statue of Minerva (House of Fortuna Annonaria, Ostia, Italy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Statue of Juno/Ceres (House of Fortuna Annonaria, Ostia, Italy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Statuette of Juno/Ceres (House of Fortuna Annonaria, Ostia, Italy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Relief of a magistrate (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Relief of Serapis Pluto with Cerberus (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 15 Theatre masks (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 50 Portraits (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Tondi: Cybele, Attis, a philosopher (?), Asclepius (?), Hygieia, Minerva, Vulcan, a goddess with <i>stephane</i> /Venus (?), another goddess with <i>stephane</i> /Diana (?), a goddess with <i>stephane</i> /Juno (?), an unidentified god without head and an unidentified god or philosopher without head (The Villa at Chiragan, France) |
| Statue of Myron's Athena (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Statue of Minerva (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Relief of Hercules (2 m in height) (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Relief of Minerva (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Statue of Hygieia (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Copy of a Hellenistic Asclepius (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Head of Minerva (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Base of a bust with inscription – <i>(Ge) nio C. Aconi (i) Tauri vet (...)</i> (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Fragment of a Greek inscription (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Fragment of a cartouche (The Villa at Chiragan, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| Tondo of Minerva (Villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, Aquitaine, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Statue of Jupiter (Villa Saint-Georges-de-Montagne, Aquitaine, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Altar with inscriptions (Villa Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Altar with inscriptions (Villa Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Altar with an inscription and a <i>swastika</i> (Villa Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne, France)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Pisidian Cremna, southeast Asia Minor)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Sidi Bishr, Alexandria, Egypt)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |

|                                                                                                            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Statuette of Hygieia (Sidi Bishr, Alexandria, Egypt)                                                       |
| Athena from the Rhodes shrine on Lindos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                 |
| Hera from Samos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                         |
| Zeus from Olympia (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                       |
| Aphrodite of Knidos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                     |
| Two statues of Lysippus (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                 |
| Statuette of Hygieia (Terrace House 1, Ephesos, Turkey)                                                    |
| Plinth for a statuette of Jupiter (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                       |
| Statuette of Asclepius, perhaps late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos, Turkey)    |
| Plinth for a statue of Zeus with an eagle (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6, Ephesos, Turkey)           |
| Portrait of Marcus Aurelius (larger than life-size) (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6, Ephesos, Turkey) |
| Grave relief from the late Hellenistic period (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)       |
| Grave relief from the late Hellenistic period (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)       |
| Grave relief from the late Hellenistic period (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)       |
| Grave- or votive relief, late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos, Turkey)           |

Table 3: List of the 21 possibly reused sculptures from Asia Minor

| <b>Possibly reused public sculpture of the houses of Asia Minor</b>                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Statuette of Asclepius (Pisidian Cremna, Turkey)                                                          |
| Statuette of Hygieia (House of Menander, Antioch, Turkey)                                                 |
| Statue of Asclepius (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus)                                                      |
| Statue of Hygieia (Villa of the Gladiator, Cyprus)                                                        |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Villa of Theseus, Cyprus)                                                         |
| Statuette of Asclepius (Villa of Theseus, Cyprus)                                                         |
| Statuette of Hygieia (Terrace House 1, Ephesos, Turkey)                                                   |
| Statuette of Asclepius, late Hellenistic (?) (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos, Turkey)       |
| Grave- or votive relief, late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 2, Ephesos, Turkey)          |
| Plinth for a statue of Zeus with an eagle (Terrace House 2 Residential Unit 6, Ephesos, Turkey)           |
| Portrait of Marcus Aurelius, larger than life-size (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 6, Ephesos, Turkey) |
| Athena from the Rhodes shrine on Lindos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                |
| Hera of Samos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                          |
| Zeus from Olympia (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                      |
| Aphrodite of Knidos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                    |
| Two statues of Lysippos (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                                |
| Plinth of a statuette of Jupiter (The Collection of Lausos, Constantinople, Turkey)                       |
| Grave relief, late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)                     |
| Grave relief, late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)                     |
| Grave relief, late Hellenistic (Terrace House 2, Residential Unit 4, Ephesos, Turkey)                     |

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MARTIN KOVACS

## DIE LETZTEN IHRER ART

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE UND KULTURGESCHICHTLICHE  
BEOBACHTUNGEN ZU PERSISTENZ UND ENDE DES ›STATUE HABIT‹  
IN KLEINASIEN IM 6. JAHRHUNDERT N. CHR.

## ABSTRACT

**The Last of their Kind. Archaeological and Cultural Historical Observations on the Persistence and the End of the ›Statue Habit‹ in the 6<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. in Asia Minor**

New dedications of portrait statues became increasingly rare in Late Antiquity. However, especially in the flourishing cities of Asia Minor, the statue habit persisted well into the 6<sup>th</sup> century, much longer than in most of the other provinces of the Roman Empire. This paper examines the reasons for this phenomenon. Late Antique literary sources demonstrate that the specific form of a portrait statue was perceived as an almost ancient, but not outdated type of honouring already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Therefore, the distinctive character of the portrait statue as a social symbol for prestige was reinforced in Late Antiquity. Nevertheless, this practice rapidly went out of fashion during the 6<sup>th</sup> century. The disappearance and misunderstanding of the old statues in the early Middle Ages were closely connected with overriding factors relating to the change of urban structures from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards. With the emergence of churches as new urban foci, older political structures such as the agorai and bouleuteria became less important. The images of dedicators and *euergetai* now instead appeared in two dimensional form in the new religious buildings. In contrast, the old honorary system including the statues, which was related to the old type of the Graeco-Roman polis, disappeared slowly and so the statues became almost imperceptibly obsolete.

## ÖZET

**Türünün Son Örneği. Küçük Asya’da MS. 6. yüzyılda ›Statue Habit‹’in Sonu ve Kalıcılık Üzerine Kültürel-Tarihsel ve Arkeolojik Gözlemler**

Geç Antik Dönemde yeni adanan portre heykelleri artık gittikçe azalmıştır. Ancak özellikle Küçük Asya’nın gelişen şehirlerinde bu heykel alışkanlığı Roma İmparatorluğu’nun çoğu diğer eyaletlerinde olduğundan çok daha uzun bir süre, MS. 6 yy.’ın içlerine kadar devam etmiştir. Makale bu fenomenin nedenlerini incelemektedir. Geç Antik Dönem’in yazılı kaynakları, portre heykeli spesifik formunun 4. yüzyılda zaten onurlandırmanın neredeyse antik ama daha modası geçmemiş bir şekli olarak görüldüğünü gösterirler. Bu nedenle prestijin sosyal bir sembolü olarak portre heykelinin kendine has karakteri Geç Antik Dönem’de tekrar güçlenmiştir. Ancak bu uygulamanın modası MS. 6. yüzyılda çok hızlı bir şekilde geçmiştir. Erken Orta Çağ’da eski heykellerin kaybolması ve artık anlaşıl-maması MS. 5. yüzyılda itibaren kentlerin yapılarının değişmesine ilişkin genel etkenlerle ilişkilidir. Kiliselerin yeni kentsel merkezler olarak ortaya çıkması ile agoralar ve bouleuterionlar gibi eski politik yapılar gitgide önemsiz hale gelmişlerdir. Bağışçıların ve *eugertes*lerin tasvirleri artık iki boyutlu şekilde yeni dini yapılarda görülmektedir. Buna karşın eski Yunan-Roma polisi tipine bağlı olan ve heykelleri de kapsayan eski onurlandırma sis-teminden yavaş yavaş ortadan kaybolmuş ve böylece heykeller de neredeyse farkedilmeden kullanılmaz olmuştur.

Die Bildnisstatue blieb in den Städten Kleinasiens bis weit in die Spätantike hinein ein erfolg-reiches Medium zur bürgerlichen Repräsentation und Bestandteil des öffentlichen Ehrungsdis-kurses. Diese auf den ersten Blick angesichts des allgemeinen Rückgangs von Neudedikationen von Ehrenstatuen im gesamten Römischen Reich seit dem 3. Jahrhundert vielleicht irritierende These lässt sich jedoch leicht im archäologischen Befund belegen. Nirgendwo im spätrömischen

Reich wurden Statuen verdienter Amtsträger häufiger dediziert, und nirgendwo erwies sich dieser Brauch als so persistent wie in Kleinasien, wo auch noch im 6. Jahrhundert neue Standbilder errichtet wurden<sup>1</sup>. Dies steht im auffallenden Kontrast zu den Befunden etwa im Westen des Reiches, wo der ›statue habit‹ teilweise bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts vollkommen zum Erliegen gekommen war<sup>2</sup>. Auch in Rom selbst wird die Materialgrundlage ab dem späten 5. Jahrhundert zunehmend dünner<sup>3</sup>.

Dieser auffällige Befund wirft, bezogen auf die spezifischen kulturhistorischen Bedingungen in den Städten Kleinasien während der Spätantike, einige Fragen auf. Aus welchen Gründen erwies sich die Praxis der Ehrenstatuendedikation in Kleinasien im Vergleich zu den übrigen Provinzen des Reiches als so langlebig? Und weshalb wurde der ›statue habit‹ andernorts deutlich früher und auch endgültig aufgegeben? Welche Faktoren sind für das regional so divergente Schicksal dieser Praxis verantwortlich?

Ein für mich wichtiger Ansatz zur Diskussion dieses Phänomens bildet, im Gegensatz etwa zu vornehmlich wirtschaftlichen Erklärungsmodellen und Dekadenztheorien, die zwar in der Forschung immer wieder eine Rolle spielen<sup>4</sup>, jedoch in den letzten 20 Jahren m. E. zu Recht zunehmend in Zweifel gezogen werden<sup>5</sup>, die Frage nach der spezifischen Qualität und der medialen Bedeutung der Ehrenstatue während der Spätantike. Erst unter Berücksichtigung der Frage, weshalb in den Städten die Praxis der Statuenaufstellung weiterhin einen hohen Stellenwert genoss, und weshalb andererseits aber in den sich wandelnden urbanen Strukturen die Zahl der Neudedikationen nichtsdestotrotz sukzessive sank, lassen sich neue Überlegungen nicht nur zur Frage des ›Endes der Statue‹ diskutieren, sondern auch übergeordnete Ursachen für Phänomene in den Blick nehmen, die allgemein die Veränderung der Stadtbilder in der Zeit zwischen dem 4. und dem 7. Jahrhundert betreffen und auch bereits Gegenstand intensiver Diskussion sind<sup>6</sup>. Wie insbesondere die Studien von R. R. R. Smith gezeigt haben, war auch die spätantike Ehrenstatue als Bestandteil eines komplexen Ehrungsdiskurses eng verknüpft mit den urbanen Institutionen als Dedikanten und den öffentlichen Räumen<sup>7</sup>.

Der Blick vonseiten der Skulpturen- und der Porträtforschung kann hier mithilfe einer möglichst umfassenden Kenntnis des Materialbestands und seiner Kontexte womöglich neue Impulse beitragen. In der konzentrierten Schau speziell auf die Epoche des späten 5. und des 6. Jahrhunderts lassen sich in der synchronen Betrachtung zwischen den noch nachweisbaren ikonografisch bedeutenden Bildnissen oder Statuen jener Zeit und baulichen sowie (kultur-)historischen Entwicklungen in den urbanen Räumen neue Aspekte erarbeiten.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. als Überblick die Sammelbände İnan – Rosenbaum 1966 sowie İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979. Die erste systematische Erfassung von rundplastischen Porträts des 6. Jhs. liefert die Arbeit von Sande 1975. Vgl. ferner Sande 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Zusammenfassend Kovacs 2014, 163–164.

<sup>3</sup> Diese Erkenntnis lässt sich insbesondere am Beispiel der Statuenbasen exzellent anhand der nun öffentlich zugänglichen und für zukünftige Forschungen essenziellen Datenbank der Universität Oxford »The Last Statues of Antiquity« (LSA) ablesen, vgl. <<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>> (28. 10. 2016). Es besteht jedoch ein Problem bei der Datierung vieler später Statuenbasen, von denen einzelne Exemplare aufgrund fehlender oder unsicherer prosopografischer Daten und angesichts der Schwierigkeiten paläografischer Feindatierungsmöglichkeiten sowohl dem 5. als auch dem 6. Jh. zugewiesen werden könnten.

<sup>4</sup> So zuletzt Prusac 2011, die insbesondere den Marmormangel und die sinkende Bereitschaft für den finanziellen Aufwand für den Marmorimport anführt und damit u. a. auch die steigende Praxis der Umarbeitungen erklärt. Vgl. davor Blanck 1969, 96. 99. 105; Fittschen 1975 sowie ferner Liebeschuetz 1992, 4–6. Zu den Thesen von Prusac vgl. Fittschen 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Gegen diese Modelle vgl. insbesondere Borg – Witschel 2001; Bauer – Witschel 2007, 1–24.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. u. a. Lavan 2001; Lavan – Bowden 2003; Brandt – Severin 2003; Brenk 2004; Krause – Witschel 2006; Burkhard – Stichel 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Smith 1999; Gehn 2012; Kovacs 2014.



# I CHARAKTERISTIKA UND FORMALE VARIANZ DES RUNDPLASTISCHEN PORTRÄTS DES 6. JAHRHUNDERTS IN KLEINASIEN

Zunächst sei ein exemplarischer Blick auf den Bestand rundplastischer Porträts des 6. Jahrhunderts aus Kleinasien geworfen. Bereits S. Sande konnte 1975 einen bis heute wichtigen Überblick zu den Bildnissen jener Zeit liefern<sup>8</sup>. Ich möchte aber unter Berücksichtigung eines Neufundes von der Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos einige Hauptmerkmale ikonografischer, stilistischer wie auch kontextueller Merkmale noch einmal herausarbeiten<sup>9</sup>. Ausgehend vom sog. Carmagnola, einem kaiserlichen Porphyrkopf des 6. Jahrhunderts an der Piazza San Marco in Venedig, der höchstwahrscheinlich aus Konstantinopel stammt<sup>10</sup>, lassen sich einige typische Merkmale der rundplastischen Porträts des 6. Jahrhunderts erläutern (Abb. 1 a–b).

Das im Vergleich zum 5. Jahrhundert nun breitere, fast kronenartige Diadem entspricht in Proportionen und Schmuck dem Bildvorrat bedeutender Diptychen und Mosaiken des 6. Jahrhunderts<sup>11</sup>, wie dem Kaisermosaik von San Vitale in Ravenna, auf dem Kaiser Justinian mit seinem Gefolge dargestellt ist<sup>12</sup>. Der Porphyrkopf lässt sich chronologisch von einer bedeutenden Gruppe von Kaiserinnen- und Kaiserporträts des spätesten 5. und frühen 6. Jahrhunderts trennen, die durch drei mit üppigen Hauben versehene Kaiserinnenbildnisse mit dem Rufnamen ›Ariadne‹<sup>13</sup> sowie durch einen anzuschließenden Herrscherkopf in Kopenhagen (›Anastasius‹/›Justin‹) aus Rom vertreten werden<sup>14</sup>. Mit den beinahe kugelrunden Augen, dem umgekehrt eiförmigen Gesichtskontur und der charakteristischen linearen Inskription unterhalb der Orbitalen schließen sich diese Köpfe im Vergleich mit Diptychen jener Zeit zu einer engen Gruppe zusammen. Insbesondere der Kaiserkopf weist aufgrund seiner ausgeprägten Nackenwelle noch enge ikonografische Bezüge zu Privatporträts des 5. Jahrhunderts auf, wie etwa zum Kopf des sog. Eutropius aus Ephesos in Wien<sup>15</sup>. Von diesen formalen Eigenheiten ist der Porphyrkopf eindeutig zu trennen. Neben dem in Größe und Üppigkeit gesteigerten Diadem fällt das lange, die Ohren fast vollständig bedeckende Nackenhaar auf, das partiell bereits an den sog. Pagenschnitt der fortan bärtigen Kaiser auf den Münzbildern des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts erinnert<sup>16</sup>. In ihrer Länge und Anlage lässt sich diese Frisur allerdings bereits bei dem Kaiserbildnis auf dem in seiner Datierung umstrittenen Diptychon Barberini feststellen<sup>17</sup>. Die Ohren sind auch hier bedeckt, und man blickt von unten auf die gerade Schnittkante des Nackenhaares<sup>18</sup>. Ein wichtiger ikonografischer Bestandteil der Erscheinung des ›Carmagnola‹ ist seine beträchtliche mimische Bewegung, die durch die wulstartigen, S-förmigen und mit der Nasenwurzel verbundenen Brauenbögen hervorgerufen wird. Während der Kopf sonst in der Tradition des spätantiken Kaiserporträts seit dem 4. Jahrhundert im Sinne eines ›Rollenbildes‹ nur schwach individualisiert ist<sup>19</sup>, fällt die enorme mimische Anstrengung, die bereits von S. Sande und R. H. W. Stichel mit einem berühmten, heute im Original

<sup>8</sup> Sande 1975 sowie Sande 1992. Vgl. jetzt ausführlich zur Porträtskulptur des 6. Jhs. Kovacs 2014, 195–211.

<sup>9</sup> Aurenhammer 2000.

<sup>10</sup> LSA Nr. 454. Zuletzt Kovacs 2014, 201–206. 263–264 Nr. A 20 Taf. 115, 1; 116, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. etwa das Diptychon Barberini, Volbach – Hirmer 1958, 87 Taf. 219 oder das umgearbeitete Mosaiktafelbild Justinians in der Basilika Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, M. Kovacs in: Puhle – Köster 2012, 278–280 Nr. II.40.

<sup>12</sup> Deichmann 1966, 226–227; Deichmann 1976, 188.

<sup>13</sup> LSA Nr. 755–757. Vgl. Fittschen – Zanker 1985, 36–38 Nr. 39 Taf. 49, 50; Schade 2003, 219–224 Nr. I 60–62 Taf. 63, 64; M. Kovacs in: Puhle – Köster 2012, 270–272; Kovacs 2014, 196–199.

<sup>14</sup> Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. 3162, vgl. LSA Nr. 758. Zuletzt Kovacs 2014, 197–199. 261 Nr. A 10 Taf. 109, 1; 110, 1.

<sup>15</sup> LSA Nr. 611 (Konsole); 690 (Kopf). Zur Gruppe vgl. Kovacs 2014, 143–150 Taf. 70–74.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. Wroth 1908, 162–183 Taf. 20–22 sowie Smith 1985, 221.

<sup>17</sup> Volbach – Hirmer 1958, 87 Taf. 219.

<sup>18</sup> Im Vorrat rundplastischer Bildnisse des 6. Jhs. lässt sich für diese Haargestaltung auch ein Kopf in Yalvaç aus Antiochia Pisidia heranziehen, LSA Nr. 321, vgl. İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 214 Nr. 297 Taf. 168, 1. 2; Kovacs 2014, 188–193. 297 Nr. B 161 Taf. 104, 1. 2. Die breiten Strähnen mit den fast knötchenartigen Spitzen finden sich bei beiden Bildnissen wieder.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Smith 1985, 220; Bauer 1996, 339–341; Bauer – Witschel 2007, 2.

verschollenen Multiplum Justinians verglichen wurde<sup>20</sup>, umso deutlicher auf. Es handelt sich um die verbildlichte Sorge um das Wohl des Staates und die Entschlossenheit zur Tat, wie dies u. a. W. Raeck in einer ikonografischen Analyse des spätantiken Kaiserporträts verdeutlicht hat<sup>21</sup>. Tatsächlich lässt sich diese Anstrengungsformel in der vorliegenden Intensität auch bei einer kleinformatigen bronzenen Kaiserbüste aus Haifa im British Museum wiederfinden, die aufgrund des charakteristischen Spitzbartes und des noch einmal vergrößerten Diadems einen Herrscher des frühen 7. Jahrhunderts meinen muss, vielleicht Phokas<sup>22</sup>.

Der Porphyrykopf, der auffallenderweise nicht etwa die charakteristischen regionalen Stilmerkmale ägyptischer Porphyryskulptur des 4. Jahrhunderts aufweist<sup>23</sup> und daher offenbar den Stil der Hauptstadt Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert repräsentiert, weist zahlreiche Beziehungen zu einigen ephesischen Porträts auf, wie zu einem Neufund des Jahres 1998 (Abb. 2 a–b). Das Porträt konnte dabei aus einem spätantiken, im 7. Jahrhundert aufgegebenen Abwasserkanal unterhalb der Tetragnon Agora geborgen werden. Der Kopf gehörte ursprünglich auf eine schon lange bekannte Himationstatue aus Ephesos in Wien, wie dies J. Auinger nachgewiesen hat<sup>24</sup>, und ist offenkundig umgearbeitet. Dies suggerieren etwa das am rechten Auge erkennbare zweite Oberlid sowie stehengebliebene, ursprünglich sehr tief liegende Bohrungen auf der rechten Seite<sup>25</sup>. Wie anhand der Position des Kopfes auf dem Hals erkennbar ist, wendet sich dieser markant nach links. Die scharf eingeschnittenen Nasolabialfalten sind jeweils unterschiedlich weit um den Mund herum geführt. Der schmale Mund, dessen Lippen durchaus Volumen haben, wirkt durch die von den Mundwinkeln ausgehenden Falten sowie durch das vorstehende, kugelige Kinn stark zusammengepresst und angespannt. Zusätzliche Alterszüge wie Geheimratsecken, Tränensäcke, eingefallene Wangen und ein leicht hängender Hals kennzeichnen den Dargestellten als älteren Mann. Das Bildnis erweist sich durch seine individualisierenden und das Alter thematisierenden Elemente als »typisches« spätantikes Privatporträt, das in seiner Stilisierung betont realistischer als das zeitgleiche Kaiserporträt erscheint<sup>26</sup>.

Die heftige Anstrengungsmimik auf der Stirn wird durch wulstartige, gleichförmig gewellte Falten evoziert, die von einer Kontraktion der Brauen über der Nasenwurzel ausgelöst werden. Wie bereits M. Aurenhammer hervorhob<sup>27</sup>, entspricht das vorliegende Stück in seiner Alterscharakterisierung im Zusammenspiel mit der lockigen Frisur und der hohen Stirn durchaus der bekannten, wohl frühtheosianischen Chlamysbüste in Bodrum<sup>28</sup>, weshalb M. Aurenhammer den ephesischen Neufund in das 5. Jahrhundert datierte.

Typologisch wäre demnach konsequenterweise auch das Porträt einer Chlamysbüste in Thessaloniki hinzuzuziehen<sup>29</sup>, für die C. de Grazia-Vanderpool eine fragmentierte Kopfreplik in Ko-

<sup>20</sup> Sande 1975, 98; Stichel 1982, 64.

<sup>21</sup> Raeck 2005, 99–100.

<sup>22</sup> Waage 1935; C. Entwistle in: Buckton 1994, 100–101 Nr. 110.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. zu den Charakteristika der ägyptischen Porphyrywerkstätten insbesondere Bergmann 1977 und Laubscher 1998. M. Bergmann hat in einem Vortrag anlässlich des Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie in Rom im September 2013 zudem neue Überlegungen vorgestellt.

<sup>24</sup> Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 35/18/98, LSA Nr. 708. Zur Auffindungssituation vgl. Aurenhammer 2000, 17–18 Abb. 1, 23 mit Anm. 23; 25 Anm. 30. Dadurch, dass sich der spätantike Kopf unterhalb einer seit dem frühen 7. Jh. dort angelagerten, fast fundleeren Sedimentschicht befand, müsste dieser kurz vor der Aufgabe des Kanals dorthin gelangt sein. J. Auinger hat die Zusammenführung mit der Himationstatue u. a. auf einem Workshop zum spätantiken Privatporträt im Februar 2013 an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien vorgetragen. Zur betreffenden Statue vgl. Kollwitz 1941, 88–89 Nr. 12 Taf. 23; Auinger 2005, 40–41 Abb. 1; Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010, 671 Abb. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Ausführlich zur Umarbeitung Kovacs 2014, 206.

<sup>26</sup> Exemplarisch bereits Zanker 1988; Bergmann 2005. Diese Beobachtung lässt sich für die gesamte Spätantike annähernd ausnahmslos belegen: Kovacs 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Aurenhammer 2000, 30–33.

<sup>28</sup> LSA Nr. 447; Kovacs 2014, 31–33, 111–112, 272 Nr. B 41 Taf. 41, 1; 42, 1, 3.

<sup>29</sup> LSA Nr. 90; Kovacs 2014, 30–33, 111–112, 294 Nr. B 149 Taf. 41, 2; 42, 2, 4.

rinth nachweisen konnte<sup>30</sup>. Es fällt jedoch sofort auf, dass das Porträt von der Tetragonos Agora keine formalen Eigenschaften aufweist, die für theodosianische Porträts typisch sind.

Die von Aurenhammer beschriebene Pupillenbohrung in Form einer plättchenartigen Aushöhlung ist kein ausschließliches Merkmal theodosianischer Porträts<sup>31</sup>, sondern interessanterweise häufig bei deutlich späteren ephesischen Bildnissen nachweisbar<sup>32</sup>. Insbesondere bei dem Porträt des Prokonsuls Stephanos<sup>33</sup> als auch bei einem Porträtfragment eines korpulenten Mannes in Wien aus Ephesos<sup>34</sup> lassen sich für die Gestaltung der Augenpartie auffallende Parallelen erkennen. Die Lidöffnung ist jeweils vergleichsweise schmal, während die Lider selbst dünn und gratig von den Orbitalen bzw. von den Lidbeuteln abgesetzt sind. Entscheidend ist jedoch: In der wulstigen Brauen- und Stirnfaltengestaltung sowie in der formalen Qualität der Augenpartie gleicht der Neufund dem ›Carmagnola‹ in Venedig markant. Die Unterlider sind gratig zweigeteilt und grafisch von den fein bewegten Tränensäcken getrennt. Der Porphyrykopf des 6. Jahrhunderts offenbart somit die handwerklich ausgereifere Ausführung desselben ikonografischen Motivs. Tatsächlich sind die Ähnlichkeiten in den Einzelformen zu deutlich, um eine formal-stilistische Verwandtschaft ausschließen zu können. Es handelt sich hier zudem um einen wichtigen Beleg dafür, dass nach der ›Aufgabe des Zeitgesichts‹ unter Konstantin zwar die allgemeine Stilisierung des Kaisers von Privatpersonen nicht mehr adaptiert wurde, jedoch einzelne Formeln als ›Zeitgesichtsfragmente‹ weiterhin genutzt wurden. Gerade in der charakteristischen Gestaltung der beinahe ›zornig‹ erscheinenden Stilisierung der Stirnpartie lassen sich im Vergleich mit dem ›Carmagnola‹ noch weitere ephesische Bildnisse anschließen, die auf diese Weise eine offenbar reichsübergreifende Ikonografie adaptierten<sup>35</sup>.

Doch der Neufund aus dem Jahr 1998 ist auch für die spezifische Gestaltung von Frisuren rundplastischer Porträts des 6. Jahrhunderts von Bedeutung. Die Ausarbeitung des Haares erlaubt eine Verknüpfung mit zwei Porträts in Sardes<sup>36</sup>, einem Exemplar aus Bayramiç in Istanbul<sup>37</sup> und erneut mit dem Kopf des Stephanos in Selçuk. Diese Köpfe tragen eine üppige Lockenkranzfrisur. Die gerade gekämmten Strähnenverbände lösen sich dabei in volutenartig auslaufende Schneckenlößchen auf, die keinerlei plastisches Volumen besitzen. Tatsächlich ist diese Einzelform so signifikant, dass annähernd jede Locke bei den betreffenden Köpfen in dieser vereinheitlichten Form gestaltet ist (Abb. 3). Diese typologisch vereinfachte, geradezu ornamentalisierte Haardarstellung hat stilistisch wenig mit den eingangs erwähnten Vergleichsbeispielen aus dem frühen 5. Jahrhundert zu tun, sondern findet sich insbesondere bei Diptychen des 6. Jahrhunderts, wie beispielhaft bei den Tafeln des Philoxenus (525) sowie des Apion (539) (Abb. 4)<sup>38</sup>, und nicht zuletzt bei einem Amtsträgerporträt auf dem Kaisermosaik von San Vitale (Abb. 5). Diese charakteristische Frisur mit wenigen auf die Stirn gestrichenen, leicht gelockten Strähnen gibt zudem das Bildnis einer Togabüste des spätesten 5. oder des 6. Jahrhunderts in Selçuk wieder<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> LSA Nr. 358. Vgl. de Grazia-Vanderpool 2003, 379–380 Abb. 22, 13.

<sup>31</sup> So hingegen Aurenhammer 2000, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. etwa Wien, KHM Inv. I 850. LSA Nr. 694; Kovacs 2014, 296 Nr. B 157 Taf. 117, 1; 118, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 1962. Zuletzt Auinger – Aurenhammer 2010, 670–673. 680–681 Abb. 10. 13. 16. 27; LSA Nr. 698; Kovacs 2014, 293 Nr. B 142 Taf. 117, 3. 4; 118, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Wien, KHM Inv. 1640. İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 155 Nr. 199 Taf. 186, 1. 2; Sande 1975, 99–103 Taf. 17 Abb. 55. 56; LSA Nr. 695; Kovacs 2014, 297 Nr. B 160 Taf. 121, 1. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. etwa Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 478 und 1892, LSA Nr. 688. 702 (vgl. Kovacs 2014, Taf. 119, 3. 4–120, 1. 2) sowie Athen, Akropolismuseum Inv. 2358; LSA Nr. 117; Kovacs 2014, 269 Nr. B 25 Taf. 120, 3. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Vgl. Sande 1975, 92–93 Abb. 43–45; LSA Nr. 1098 sowie Sande 1975, 81–83 Abb. 19–21; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 200–201 Nr. 171 Taf. 270, 1. 2; LSA Nr. 413.

<sup>37</sup> Istanbul, Archäologisches Museum Inv. 2061. Sande 1975, 83–84 Taf. 7 Abb. 23–25; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 159–160 Nr. 112 Taf. 269; LSA Nr. 412.

<sup>38</sup> Philoxenus: Delbrück 1929, 144–146 Nr. 29. Apion: Delbrück 1929, 150–151 Nr. 33.

<sup>39</sup> Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 2043. Vgl. LSA Nr. 707; Kovacs 2014, 293 Nr. B 143 Taf. 77, 4; 78, 2. 4.

Bereits S. Sande machte darauf aufmerksam<sup>40</sup>, dass auch das Porträt Theoderichs auf dem berühmten Multiplum von Morro d'Alba diese eigentümlich gestaltete Lockenkranzfrisur aufweist. In der allgemeinen Diskussion um die ›barbarische‹ Erscheinung des Theoderich wird damit u. a. deutlich, dass der Gotenkönig sich einer reichsweit verbreiteten, luxuriösen und allgemein in aristokratischem Umfeld verbreiteten Lockenkranzfrisur bediente, die damit keineswegs als eine spezifisch germanische Frisur verstanden werden dürfte<sup>41</sup>.

Im Kontrast zu der sich hier abzeichnenden, ausschnitthaft betrachteten, durchaus signifikanten Breite der Produktion rundplastischer Porträts im 6. Jahrhundert in Konstantinopel und offenbar in partieller Abhängigkeit davon in Ephesos, lässt sich gleichzeitig auch in Aphrodisias eine namhafte und handwerklich eigenständige Werkstatt nachweisen, deren bekanntester Vertreter die Togastatue des *consularis Cariae* Flavius Palmatus darstellt. Das Porträt des Flavius Palmatus ist in das frühe 6. Jahrhundert zu datieren<sup>42</sup> (Abb. 6). Dieses steht formal indes nicht allein, sondern ist handwerklich nur ein Exponent einer ganzen Gruppe, zu der neben anderen Bildnissen auch die Statue des Pytheas in Aphrodisias<sup>43</sup> gehört. Die weiterhin substantielle Produktivität dieser Werkstätten belegt aber nicht zuletzt eine beachtliche Replik (?) des Palmatus-Bildnisses aus Laodikeia am Lykos in Hierapolis<sup>44</sup>. Hätte es demnach nur eine auf ›Sparflamme‹ operierende oder gar bereits völlig im Aussterben begriffene Praxis der Neudedikation von Ehrenstatuen gegeben, spräche der hier nur summarisch umrissene Befund nicht so eindeutig dagegen. Im Gegenteil: Zumindest im früheren 6. Jahrhundert erweist der Bestand der rundplastischen Porträts eine beträchtliche Beliebtheit dieser Repräsentationsform. Es lässt sich zwar eindeutig festhalten, dass Statuen seltener errichtet wurden, aber dies spricht nicht notwendigerweise für eine geringer werdende Wertschätzung für das Medium der Ehrenstatue. Insbesondere die Verknappung dieser Ehrungsform könnte zunächst auch gerade für das Gegenteil sprechen, wie dies etwa mitunter feststellbare Restaurierungen und mithilfe von Inschriften stolz präsentierte Neuinszenierungen alter Porträtmonumente während der Spätantike dokumentieren könnten<sup>45</sup>. Die Quantität und durchaus auch beachtliche Qualität der kleinasiatischen Erzeugnisse des 6. Jahrhunderts steht indes in deutlichem Kontrast zu den wenigen Exemplaren, die man etwa in Italien noch fassen kann<sup>46</sup>.

## II STANDORTE UND INSTITUTIONEN DER PORTRÄTSTATUEN WÄHREND DER SPÄTANTIKE

Doch welche Schlüsse ziehen wir daraus für die eingangs gestellte Frage nach dem Stellenwert der Ehrenstatue und des ›statue habit‹ im Umfeld einer spätantiken Stadt in Kleinasien? Dazu ist es nötig, sich erneut die konkreten politisch-sozialen, institutionellen wie auch räumlichen Kontexte zu vergegenwärtigen, in denen Porträtstatuen als Ehrungsform platziert wurden. Und dabei dürfte sich der Ablauf einer solchen Ehrung während der Spätantike, inklusive der zugehörigen

<sup>40</sup> Sande 1975, 82.

<sup>41</sup> von Rummel 2007, 260–261; Kovacs 2014, 192.

<sup>42</sup> LSA Nr. 198 (Statue); 199 (Basis). Zum formalen Kontext s. Kovacs 2014, 150–157. Zur Umarbeitung des Porträts des Flavius Palmatus vgl. Kovacs 2014, 152–154 Abb. 8–11.

<sup>43</sup> Smith 1999, 167–168; LSA Nr. 147 (Statue); 148 (Basis); Gehn 2012, 446–451 Nr. O 32 Taf. 21.

<sup>44</sup> Şimşek 2011, 344 Abb. 22, 17.

<sup>45</sup> Vgl. etwa die Maßnahmen zur Restaurierung des Statuenbestandes auf dem Forum Romanum in Rom: Brandenburg 1989, 239; Bauer 1996, 77. 406–407; Machado 2006. Wichtig in diesem Zusammenhang scheint zudem die Wiederherstellung einer alten Porträtstatue der hohen Kaiserzeit unter dem Statthalter Flavius Anthemius Isidorus zwischen 405 und 410 n. Chr. in Ephesos: Knibbe 1995.

<sup>46</sup> Neben der Ariadne-Gruppe (s. o. Anm. 13) aus der Zeit um 500 sind nur wenige Einzelstücke zu nennen. Vgl. einen Kopf in Forlì, den Fuchs 1943, 245–257 Abb. 1 Taf. 19. 20 als Bildnis des Gotenkönigs Athalarich vorstellte. Für die Identifikation als Kaiserporträt vgl. allerdings Stichel 1982, 66 sowie Kovacs 2014, 202–203 Taf. 115, 2; 116, 2. Daneben lässt sich noch ein Bildnis aus Rom in Kopenhagen in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. 838 anführen: Sande 1975, 79 Taf. 5 Abb. 16–18; Johansen 1995, 192–193 Nr. 85; LSA Nr. 813.



ephemerer Rituale, in vielerlei Hinsicht etwa von der Zeit des Hellenismus kaum unterschieden haben<sup>47</sup>.

Dabei sei an ein aus meiner Sicht besonders signifikantes Beispiel erinnert, auf dessen kulturhistorische Bedeutung W. Raeck hingewiesen hat<sup>48</sup>. Die im Hellenismus errichteten Statuenbasen des Apollodoros auf der Agora von Priene dokumentieren durch ihre Inschriften jeweils die handelnden Akteure. Einerseits wird der Stadtrat hervorgehoben, auf dessen Erlaubnis hin beide Statuen errichtet wurden. Bezahlt wurde jedoch nur eine von der bestimmenden städtischen Institution. Die andere finanzierte die Familie des Apollodoros. Es ist eindeutig, dass Apollodoros für spezifische Wohltaten für die Stadt mit Statuen geehrt wurde, wobei diese nur einen Teil der Ehrungen ausmachten. Tatsächlich gehörten dazu auch ephemere Ehrungen, wie zahlreiche Festivitäten, die Speisung im Prytaneion und nicht zuletzt ein gesteigertes Prestige, von dem die Ehrenstatuen fortan für jeden sichtbar kündeten. Und auch die Präsenz und Erscheinung einer Statue war entscheidend. Sieht man sich nämlich beide Basen an, so standen sie direkt am Ausgang von der Agora zum Athenatempel. Die Bildnisstatuen waren somit nicht nur von vielen Seiten aus zu sehen, sie standen dem vorbeigehenden Passanten buchstäblich im Weg<sup>49</sup>.

Tatsächlich scheinen sich diese konstitutiven Elemente bis in die späte Kaiserzeit kaum verändert zu haben. Noch in den spätesten Inschriften verkünden die Stadträte die Erlaubnis für die Errichtung einer Porträtstatue und auch die unmittelbare Erscheinung und Platzierung eines solchen Standbildes gehorchte diesen alten Regeln<sup>50</sup>. Sogar in den Ritualen und in anlässlich von Ehrungen abgehaltenen ephemeren Festivitäten scheint sich eine bemerkenswerte Kontinuität abzuzeichnen, wie dies etwa die Schriften des Menander Rhetor aus dem späten 3. oder frühen 4. Jahrhundert zeigen können, in denen er etwa in der Vorwegnahme einer Statuenerhöhung die Abhaltung von Festen und Prozessionen empfiehlt<sup>51</sup>. In einer Lobrede für den römischen Senator und *proconsul Achaiae* Nicomachus Flavianus den Jüngeren<sup>52</sup> aus dem Jahr 383/384 erwähnt folgerichtig der athenische Sophist Himerios diese Feste<sup>53</sup>: »Sie veranstalteten einen Festzug, der besser war als der für Hephaistos. Die Rufe des Volkes übertönten die Wellen des Meeres, der Applaus aus der Stadt übertönte die Brandung, und die Zurufe der Karthager übertrafen das Geräusch des Meeres.«

Seit der mittleren Kaiserzeit hatten sich die für eine solche Ehrung infrage kommenden Personkreise sukzessive reduziert: die seit dem 4. Jahrhundert neu errichteten Statuen beschränken sich fast ausschließlich auf den Kreis der senatorischen und kaiserlichen Amtsträger und Statthalter sowie auf das Kaiserhaus, wohingegen lokale Honoratioren kaum noch mit solcherlei Ehren versehen wurden. Es lässt sich aber festhalten, dass die institutionellen Akteure dieses Ehrungsdiskurses grundsätzlich die Gleichen geblieben waren wie ein halbes Jahrtausend zuvor<sup>54</sup>. Daraus lässt sich der Schluss ziehen, dass, so lange Institutionen wie die Boulé der Polis als lebendige Institutionen städtischer Verwaltung fungieren konnten und die Interaktion mit dem potenziell

<sup>47</sup> Vgl. dazu u. a. Quaß 1993; Chaniotis 1995; Wörrle 1995; Borg – Witschel 2001, 90–105; Erkelenz 2003; Erkelenz 2005; Ma 2013.

<sup>48</sup> Raeck 1995.

<sup>49</sup> Vgl. Raeck 1995, 239 Abb. 1. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Als dezidiert neue Ehrungsform scheinen sich hingegen die vermehrt auftretenden, auch epigraphisch festgehaltenen Akklamationen abzuzeichnen, vgl. dazu Roueché 1984; Slootjes 2006, 122–128.

<sup>51</sup> Russell – Wilson 1981, 100–101 (Men. Rh. 2, 381). Zur Person des Menander Rhetor vgl. Radermacher 1932, 762–764; Heath 2004, 93–96. Zur Bedeutung von Menander Rhetor für die Panegyrik der Spätantike vgl. Schindler 2009, 17–21.

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. Martindale u. a. 1971, 345–347 s. v. Nicomachus Flavianus 14 sowie O'Donnell 1978.

<sup>53</sup> Him. Or. 36, 9: Φύσις δὲ ἐκ πρώτος βαλβίδος τὸ θεῖον γένος ὑποσημαίνουσα, λόγοι δὲ παντοίας παιδείας, οἱ μὲν ἐξωθεν, οἱ δὲ ἐνδον. ἀφ' ὧν ἠλέγχθη Περικλῆς εἰς πειθῶ δεύτερης, ἠλέγχθη δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς γνώμης τάχος ἀμβλύτερος, καὶ Πλάτων εἰς φύσιν, καὶ Σόλων εἰς νόμους (...) Καὶ πάντες ἴσασιν, ὅτι οἷς ἕκαστος ὡς μόνοις, ὡς πᾶσιν οὗτος ἀγάλλεται (...). Übersetzung nach Völker 2008, 251. Zu Himerios allgemein vgl. ferner Barnes 1987, 206–225; Penella 2007.

<sup>54</sup> Smith 1999, 173.



Geehrten, d. h. in der Spätantike insbesondere mit dem kaiserlichen Statthalter, in dem lange etablierten und reziproken Spannungsfeld zwischen honoratorischer Tätigkeit und dafür erwiesener Ehren, funktionierte, die Neudedikation von Ehrenstatuen nicht nur grundsätzlich möglich, sondern auch im Sinne eines traditionellen und als altehrwürdig empfundenen Handlungs- und Bilddiskurses elementar blieb. Dies erweist sich auch daran, dass erneut Himerios in einer Lobrede auf den Prokonsul Hermogenes die Dedikation einer Statue als eine alte Form der Ehrung begreift, während er den Gesang, die Rhetorik und andere performative Ehrungen bemerkenswerter- und natürlich irrigerweise als neue(re) Formen vorstellt<sup>55</sup>: »Da nun weder Lysipp noch irgend ein anderer von denen, die noch leben, in der Lage ist, mit eigener Hand ein Werk zu schaffen, das des Vorbildes würdig ist, bemühen sich auch die neuen Künste um dich, es bestreiten die Kosten eines Chores die von überall her ausgewählten Leute, und in der Meinung, dass es für die attischen Theater passend sei, das Weihgeschenk aufzustellen, stimmen sie dafür. Ich aber habe mich bemüht, dich mit einer Rede zu zeichnen und mit meinen Farben, die keine Zeit jemals wagen wird zu beseitigen.«

Die in den spätantiken Inschriften auftretenden Rühmungen bleiben zwar in ihrem panegyrischen Duktus vage, jedoch lenken sie den Blick schnell auf Tugenden wie gerechte Strenge und legitime Milde in der juristischen Praxis, auf rhetorische Kompetenz, Bildung und nicht zuletzt auf häufig nicht näher genannte Bautätigkeiten, die der Geehrte zugunsten der Polis finanziert habe<sup>56</sup>. Gerade diese neue, panegyrisch anmutende epigrafische Kultur, die offenbar als Innovation bereits vor der Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts punktuell in Kleinasien zuerst aufkommt<sup>57</sup> und dann ab dem 4. Jahrhundert überall im Reich nachweisbar ist, geht nicht nur mit der bereits angesprochenen Verengung des Kreises zu ehrender Personen einher, sondern auch im Zusammenhang mit der nun dezidiert altehrwürdigen Erscheinung einer Statue mit einem gesteigerten Prestige dieser Ehrungsform, die neuer Mechanismen der Legitimierung – wie die neuen, panegyrischen Inschriften – bedurften, um in ihrem Rang nicht hinter den alten, bereits existenten Statuen der Vergangenheit zurückzufallen<sup>58</sup>. Das individuelle Streben großer Aristokraten nach statuarischen Ehren dokumentiert beispielhaft Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, der sich in einem Brief leicht verbittert darüber beklagt, dass der Stadtrat von Karthago ihm diese Ehre demonstrativ verweigerte, nachdem er dort als kaiserlicher Amtsträger gewirkt hatte<sup>59</sup>.

Die Dedikation neuer Porträtstatuen war allerdings nicht nur mit den Funktionen politisch-sozialer Institutionen verknüpft, sondern auch mit konkreten Räumen, wie den Agorai, den mit Statuen gesäumten Säulenstraßen, den Theatern und auch den Bouleuterien<sup>60</sup>. Diese bildeten statuarische Bühnen der spezifisch politisch-säkularen Repräsentation für verdiente Amtsträger. Dort aufgestellte Porträtmonumente wurden nicht nur betrachtet und im Einzelfall sicher auch kontrovers diskutiert, sondern auch restauriert und in aller Regel dauerhaft wertgeschätzt.

<sup>55</sup> Him. Or. 48, 14–16, bes. 16: Νυν δὲ ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ Λύσιππος μὴδὲ ἄλλος τις τῶν τῶν οἶον τε εἰσιν ὄντων ἀξίαν χεῖρα παρασχέσθαι τοῦ παραδείγματος, πουδάξουσιν μὲν καὶ αἱ νέαι περὶ σὲ τέχναι, χορηγοῦσι ἔαυταῖς οἱ τῶν πανταχόθεν λογάδες, Ἀττικοῖς δὲ θεάτροις πρέπον εἶναι τὸ ἀνάθημα κρίνοντες ἀνατιθέναι ὅπως ψηφίζονται. Ἐγὼ δὲ σε λόγῳ τε γράψαι καὶ οἷς ἐμοῖς φαρμάκοις ἐσπούδασα, ἃ μὴδεὶς πώποτε χρόνος νεανιεύσει ἀφανίσαι. Übersetzung nach Völker 2008, 306.

<sup>56</sup> Smith 1999, 185–188.

<sup>57</sup> Vgl. am Beispiel der Ehreninschrift für Lucius Egnatius Victor Lollianus in Smyrna (aus den Jahren 244–247) und weiterer Belege aus Kleinasien Kovacs 2014, 75–76.

<sup>58</sup> Vgl. dazu Smith 2007.

<sup>59</sup> Symm. ep. 9,115: *quare esto securus patientiae nostrae et gratulare mihi, quod ego solus torqueo corda liventium, cum alii, quibus statuae quoquo modo tributae sunt, nihil habeant invidendum*. Vgl. dazu Wytzes 1977, 100; Horster 1998, 55 mit Anm. 105.

<sup>60</sup> Zum Embolos in Ephesos: Thür 2004, 270–272; Ladstätter 2009; Fildhuth 2010. Zu spätantiken Aufstellungskontexten von Statuen in Aphrodisias u. a.: Smith 1999; Smith 2002; Smith 2006b, 48–67.

### III NEUE FELDER DER REPRÄSENTATION UND EIN WANDEL DES MEDIUMS

Doch mit dem 5. Jahrhundert lässt sich zumindest baulich in fast allen Städten des Imperium Romanum ein Einschnitt beobachten. Mit der Errichtung der Kirchen scheinen sich traditionelle Felder der städtischen Verwaltung und der politischen sowie repräsentativen Praxis nun sukzessive von den zuvor bedeutenden öffentlichen Plätzen wie den Agorai und Fora in die Kirchen hinein zu verlagern. Für die neue soziale Relevanz der Kirchenbauten bietet sich u. a. in Demetrias ein wichtiges Beispiel, wo man in spätantiken Kirchen Schulen, Hospize sowie in der Nähe befindliche Badeanlagen nachweisen kann<sup>61</sup>.

Dies entspricht überdies den von Gregor von Nazianz literarisch überlieferten Aktivitäten des Basileios von Caesarea, der im späten 4. Jahrhundert im Rahmen wohl einer groß angelegten Klosteranlage mit luxuriöser Herberge eine Armenfürsorge sowie ein Krankenhaus einrichten ließ. Den öffentlichen Raum erfasste eine tief greifende Wandlung, die vom Klerus und infolgedessen durch die neuen Bauten eingeläutet worden war<sup>62</sup>. Gut möglich, dass die Aspekte der potenziellen Repräsentationsmöglichkeiten für Stifter von Kirchen sowie der gesteigerten kommunikativen Relevanz für die Öffentlichkeit zu der Schwemme an neuen Kirchenbauten im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert etwa in Kleinasien führte.

Im makedonischen Amphipolis sind ab ca. 470/480 bis in justinianische Zeit fünf prächtige Kirchenbauten auf engstem Raum entstanden<sup>63</sup>. Auf Knidos wurde der öffentliche Raum geradezu von der Kirche okkupiert, indem man im 6. Jahrhundert die große Agora mit einer dreischiffigen Basilika kurzerhand überbaute<sup>64</sup>. Ähnliches lässt sich auch für Neapel im 6. Jahrhundert belegen, wo auf dem Boden des alten Forums in den Jahren 537–557 eine Kirche errichtet wurde. Und auch in Gallien kann man eine entsprechende Umgestaltung der Fora und öffentlichen Plätze verstärkt beobachten<sup>65</sup>, während die geradezu inflationär auftretende Kirchenbautätigkeit in Syrien seit geraumer Zeit Gegenstand der Diskussion ist<sup>66</sup>.

Die großen Freiplätze des Hellenismus und der hohen Kaiserzeit spielten, zusammen mit den maßgeblichen Gebäuden wie den Kurien, den Odeia oder auch den klassischen Forumsbasiliken in den Planungen des 6. Jahrhunderts keine tragende oder funktionelle Rolle mehr<sup>67</sup>. In Sagalassos bauten die Bewohner ihr durch ein Erdbeben zerstörtes Bouleuterion nicht wieder auf, sondern nutzten die umlaufenden Sitzreihen fortan als eine Art Atrium für die im frühen 6. Jahrhundert direkt daneben errichtete Kirche<sup>68</sup>. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz bezeichnete diese Entwicklung gar als »desecularization« der römischen Stadt<sup>69</sup>. Diese Umwidmung ist symbolhaft und signifikant: Zu diesem Zeitpunkt muss die konkrete Funktion des Gebäudes überflüssig geworden sein, wodurch auch die politische Institution der Boulé an sich an Bedeutung eingebüßt hatte. An ihre Stelle trat die Kirche, mit allem, was man mit ihr funktional, personell und ideell verbinden konnte<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> Karagiorgiou 2001, 74 sowie allgemein Lavan 2003, 324.

<sup>62</sup> Vgl. Müller 2010.

<sup>63</sup> Taddei 2008, 262 Abb. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Bruns-Özgan 2002, 247 Abb. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Zavagno 2009, 162 mit Anm. 158 Abb. 5; Heijmans 2006, 30–34.

<sup>66</sup> Zur Errichtung von Kirchen in Syrien und Jordanien während des 5. und 6. Jhs. vgl. Jäggi – Meier 1997.

<sup>67</sup> In Norditalien ist seit dem späten 5. Jh. die Tendenz zu beobachten, dass die Fora von Privatbauten okkupiert werden, während andererseits die Neuerrichtungen von Kirchen in der unmittelbaren Nähe der Fora, aber auch auf zuvor privatem Grund, stetig zunehmen, vgl. Bierbrauer 1991, 285–286; Haug 2003, 266–268.

<sup>68</sup> Vgl. Waelkens 2006b, 335; Waelkens 2006a, 233.

<sup>69</sup> Liebeschuetz 2001, 137–139.

<sup>70</sup> Als bemerkenswert und gleichzeitig symptomatisch erweist sich der Befund von im 6. Jh. auf der Säulenstraße von Sagalassos wiedererrichteten älteren Idealskulpturen, vgl. Jacobs – Waelkens 2013. Diese Bilder fungierten ausschließlich als Schmuckelemente zur Nobilitierung des öffentlichen Raums und wären insofern von der Praxis der Dedikation von Ehrenstatuen zu trennen.

Dabei darf indes nicht vergessen werden, dass die Träger dieses Wandels im weitesten Sinne aus den Reihen der alten Kurialen kamen<sup>71</sup>. Diese sahen in der kirchlichen Karriere ein neues Feld der politischen Betätigung und damit auch in der Repräsentation, was man auch daran erkennen kann, dass aus Kirchen des 5. und speziell des 6. Jahrhunderts zahlreiche Bildnisse von Stiftern erhalten sind, die sich etablierter Ikonografien aus der Rundplastik bedienten und somit das Medium des Porträts in neue Felder der Repräsentation überführten. Der alte Anspruch, auch individualisierende Merkmale als Bestandteil eines Bildnisses in öffentlichem Kontext zu nutzen, wurde auf diese Weise von den profanen Amtsträgerdarstellungen in das Umfeld des Klerus transferiert und damit in die »neuen« öffentlichen Räume der Zusammenkunft, in die Kirchen, getragen<sup>72</sup>.

Das früheste Beispiel für diese Stifterbildnisse dürften bislang die bekannten Mosaiken der konstantinischen Kirche von Aquileia sein<sup>73</sup> (Abb. 8). Insbesondere die Togabüste eines bartlosen jungen Mannes mit fransiger Stirnhaarfrisur nimmt dabei die formalen Eigenschaften der statuarischen Ehrungen dezidiert auf. Gekleidet in das hier kontabulierte römische Bürgergewand, verdeutlicht das Bild Status und Rang des Dargestellten<sup>74</sup>. Doch auch Heiligenbilder wurden etwa im späten 5. Jahrhundert mit den seinerzeit bekannten ikonografischen Elementen der Rundplastik versehen, wie die Gegenüberstellung des Mosaikbildes des Eukarpion in der Rotunde von Thessaloniki<sup>75</sup> mit dem Porträt der etwa zeitgleich zu datierenden Togastatue des Flavius Palmatus zeigen kann (Abb. 7). Eukarpion trägt zwar nicht die Toga, sondern eine prachtvolle Chlamys, wie sie bei zahlreichen spätantiken Porträtstatuen zu bemerken ist, und entspricht damit in seiner Erscheinung einem geläufigen statuarischen Formular für Amtsträger<sup>76</sup>.

Die allgegenwärtige politische Brisanz von Bildnissen als Zeugnissen öffentlicher Ehrbekundungen zeigt sich sogar bei der Zerstörung von im Bischofspalast und in Kirchen angebrachten Bildnissen unliebsam gewordener Kleriker, über die Johannes von Ephesos im 6. Jahrhundert berichtet<sup>77</sup>. Indes fanden die Porträtstatuen allerdings nicht ihren Weg in die Kirchen<sup>78</sup>. Dies mag insbesondere damit zusammenhängen, dass das Medium der Ehrenstatue eng mit dem traditionellen Kontext säkularer, senatorischer wie auch kaiserlicher Amtsgewalt, aber auch mit einem spezifischen und fest etablierten räumlichen sowie baulichen Umfeld verknüpft war. Tatsächlich erklärt dieser Zusammenhang auch die völlige Absenz von Ehrenstatuen für Bischöfe. Diese speziell ab dem 5. Jahrhundert für die städtische Verwaltung immer wichtiger werdende Gruppe<sup>79</sup> fehlt bemerkenswerterweise im epigrafischen Befund der Statuenbasen.

Mit den immer seltener auftretenden Neudedikationen von Standbildern im öffentlichen Raum nimmt demgegenüber die visuelle Präsenz der aristokratischen Repräsentationsformen in

<sup>71</sup> Hübner 2005, 263. Bereits 320 musste Konstantin den offenbar beträchtlichen Zustrom der Kurialen in den Klerikerstand beschränken, vgl. Cod. Theod. 16, 2, 3, nachdem er ein Jahr zuvor die Befreiung der Kleriker von städtischen Verpflichtungen verfügt hatte, Cod. Theod. 16, 2, 2.

<sup>72</sup> Zur topografischen Dominanz der Kirchen vgl. Cantino Wataghin 2003, bes. 243–244.

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Kähler 1962. Zuletzt Lehmann 2007. Zu den Porträts Kovacs 2014, 213–214.

<sup>74</sup> Zur Bedeutung des Togagewandes in der Spätantike vgl. insbesondere Ševčenko 1968 und in dessen Nachfolge Gehn 2012, 228–236.

<sup>75</sup> Bakirtzis u. a. 2012, 87 Abb. 49. Die von L'Orange 1961 und in der Nachfolge von Kiilerich 2007 (dort mit der älteren Lit.) vertretene frühere Datierung in theodosianische Zeit ist angesichts der klaren Bezüge zur Porträtskulptur des späten 5. und frühen 6. Jhs. nicht mehr haltbar, vgl. Kovacs 2014, 155.

<sup>76</sup> Zusammenfassend Brown 2012, 141–176; Gehn 2012, 221–227.

<sup>77</sup> Für den Bedeutungswandel bzw. -verlust der bisherigen öffentlichen Bauten zugunsten der Kirchen als eine Erklärung für den sukzessiven Rückgang von Statuendedikationen plädiert auch Smith 1985, 215–219. Zu Johannes von Ephesos Harvey 1998. Zu den betreffenden Stellen vgl. Schönfelder 1862, 69–70. 76.

<sup>78</sup> Dies ist allerdings vielleicht in einem einzigen Fall für die Theodoros-Kirche im Sphorakiosviertel in Konstantinopel belegt, vgl. Anth. Gr. 1, 7: Σφοράκιε, ζῶντι φίλα θρεπτήρια τίνων γήθειεν Ἀντόλιος, σὸς ἀνεμνίος· οἰχομένῳ δὲ αἰεὶ σοὶ γεραρὴν τελέει χάριν, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλην εὔρε καὶ ἐν νηῶ σ' ἀνεθήκατο, τὸν κάμες αὐτός. – »Als Du, Sphorakios, lebstest, da gab Anatolios gern dir als Neffe den Lohn für die Pflege, und nun du gestorben, dankt er dir weiter dafür; doch dankt er dir anders, indem er in die Kirche, die selbst du erbaut, deine Statue stellte.« Übersetzung nach H. Beckby. Vgl. Bauer 2003, 503 Anm. 52.

<sup>79</sup> Vgl. dazu insbesondere Haensch 2003; Hübner 2005; Haensch 2007.

den Kirchen zu. Diesem ›Transfer‹ der Repräsentationssphären von den einstigen hochfrequentierten Stätten der antiken Polis in die neu errichteten, z. T. omnifunktionalen Kirchen scheint das Medium der antiken Porträtstatue nun sukzessive zum Opfer zu fallen.

Diesen Wandel des öffentlichen Raums erkennt man insbesondere an Neugründungen des 6. Jahrhunderts, wie von Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad) in Serbien oder Resafa in Syrien<sup>80</sup>. Dort findet man zwar nach wie vor prächtige Säulenstraßen oder Toranlagen, jedoch werden die Stadtbilder nun eindeutig von den christlichen Basiliken dominiert. Die in Caričin Grad gefundenen Fragmente einer kolossalen, wohl kaiserlichen Panzerstatue bilden die einzigen Reste der statuarischen Ausstattung der Siedlung des 6. Jahrhunderts<sup>81</sup>. Es scheint möglich, dass diese Statue als Teil eines Säulenmonuments eine exponierte Stelle innerhalb der Stadt einnahm, jedoch als Porträtstatue eine Ausnahme blieb. Die zuvor so bedeutenden Agorai und auch die Gebäude der alten Institutionen der Polis und damit auch weitestgehend die betroffenen Institutionen selbst spielten damit keine signifikante Rolle mehr.

#### IV DIE EHRENSTATUE ALS TEIL EINES TRADITIONELLEN BILD- UND EHRUNGSDISKURSES

Die Ursache für den allmählichen Untergang der Porträtstatue, d. h. konkret das Abebben der Neuedikationen irgendwann im 6. Jahrhundert, scheint somit grundsätzlich mit einem übergeordneten sozialen, politischen und mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Umbruch zusammenzuhängen, dem auch der bauliche und konstitutionelle Wandel der spätantiken Stadt selbst unterworfen war. Durch neue administrative Strukturen und Umwälzungen innerhalb der alten Eliten in den urbanen Zentren vollzog sich demnach offenbar unmerklich ein Prozess, in dem die Ehrenstatue als Teil einer diskursiven Ehrungspraxis überflüssig wurde. Dabei gilt jedoch zu beachten: Wie die archäologischen Befunde, verglichen mit anderen Teilen des Römischen Reiches, zeigen, vollzog sich dieser Wandel in Kleinasien bedeutend langsamer, wodurch die auffällige Persistenz des Mediums dort zumindest partiell eine Erklärung erhält.

Aber welcher positive Wert verblieb von der Ehrenstatue, abgesehen von der rein traditionellen, rein altehrwürdigen Erscheinung, wie dies bereits die oben zitierte Stelle bei Himerios suggeriert? In eben dieser Stelle scheint Himerios auch einen Hinweis zu geben<sup>82</sup>. Unter Verweis auf den großen Lysipp wird ein formaler Anspruch deutlich, den man in den Statuen vergegenwärtigt sehen wollte. Nur wenn man einen entsprechend wie Lysipp befähigten Bildhauer zur Verfügung hätte, käme man dem Anspruch nahe, ein angemessenes Abbild des Geehrten zu schaffen, das im Sinne einer Mimesis die Erscheinung und die Tugenden abbilden und sowohl visuelle wie geistige Qualitäten unmittelbar nachahmen könnte<sup>83</sup>. Da jedoch Himerios feststellt, dass kein solcher großer Meister zur Verfügung stehe, sei daher auf eine Ehrenstatue zu verzichten. Bezeichnenderweise beteuert ein Epigramm auf einer spätantiken Statuenbasis für den Prokonsul Iunioros in Korinth gerade die Entsprechung gegenüber dieser Erwartungshaltung, wodurch deutlich wird, dass man zumindest ideell den hohen mimetischen Anspruch an die Porträtstatuen beibehielt. Der Bildhauer habe den Geehrten in seiner Gestalt nachgeahmt und sich aller Techniken bedient, die man in Griechenland dafür erfunden habe<sup>84</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Vgl. Zanini 2003, 196–223 bes. 206–209.

<sup>81</sup> Vgl. Grabar 1948, 57–63 Abb. 1 Taf. 8; Bauer 1996, 371–372 Abb. 92–94. Zuletzt V. Ivanišević in: Daim – Fleck 2010, 238 Nr. 182–184.

<sup>82</sup> Him. Or. 48, 14.

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. dazu u. a. Flashar 1979; Körner – Peres 1990; Petersen 1991; Kardaun 1993; Potolsky 2006.

<sup>84</sup> IG IV 1603: [Τ]ίς τύπον εἰμερόεντα Ἰούνορος ἀνθυπάτοιο ἤρπασε, τίς μορφὴν τῆδ' ἐνέγλυψε λίθῳ; μορφὴν λαοτόμος μὲν ἦν μειμήσατο τέχνῃ Ἑλλάδι κόσμον ὅλον μητρὶ χαριζόμενος, [σ]τῆσε δ' ἀγασσάμενός μιν ἀμύμων Εὐτυχιανὸς [ἀ]ντὶ κασιγνήτου εὐ διέπων Ἐφύρην. Vgl. dazu Groag 1946, 97–98; Brown 2012, 164–165 (mit englischer Übersetzung).



Ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor für die spezifische Bedeutung des Mediums ist die kompetitive und normative Qualität der Erscheinung der Ehrenstatue, die sich in der Spätantike noch zu verstärken scheint. Insbesondere in den Inschriften zeigt sich der immer wieder erfolgende Versuch, die Geehrten als Exempla und als den großen Persönlichkeiten der Geschichte ebenbürtig zu zeigen. Als Beispiel möge hier eine Statuenbasis des 5. oder 6. Jahrhunderts in Ephesos für den Prokonsul Andreas dienen<sup>85</sup>: »Der ehrwürdige Andreas hat (die Provinz Asia) bei der Hand gefasst ganz wie (einst) Minos oder Lykurgos oder Solon und hat alle Dinge von Asia wieder aufgerichtet; er hat eine kleine Erwidern für seine Mühen erhalten (nämlich diese Statue).«

Die Inschriften luden somit den Betrachter ein, über die angesprochenen historischen Personen zu sinnieren, den Geehrten der Gegenwart dazu in Beziehung zu setzen und insbesondere die proklamierte Gleichrangigkeit der Personen anzuerkennen. Bereits lange zuvor, im Theater von Sparta, ehrte man in den Jahren 329–333 n. Chr. den *proconsul Achaiae* Publius Optatianus Porfyrius mit einer Statue<sup>86</sup>. In der Inschrift werden sein Charakter und seine Taten mit dem großen Lykurg verglichen. Zusätzlich betonte man gar, dass die Statue des Optatianus auch deshalb neben einem Standbild des Lykurg aufgestellt worden sei<sup>87</sup>. Dies ist insofern bemerkenswert, weil jeder vorbeigehende Betrachter natürlich ohnehin sehen konnte, welche berühmte Persönlichkeit neben dem Standbild des Statthalters aufgestellt war.

Dieser ethische, normative Anspruch der Statuen, die gleichermaßen auch die Tugendhaftigkeit der Vergangenheit aufriefen, manifestiert sich beispielhaft in der 12. Relatio des Symmachus, der darin für den verstorbenen Vettius Agorius Praetextatus auch deshalb eine Porträtstatue fordert, weil diese für die Öffentlichkeit als Vorbild dienen könne und zur Nachahmung des Beispiels des Praetextatus anhalte. Gleichzeitig betont Symmachus ebenfalls, dass gerade die Ehrenstatue die angemessenste und höchste Form der Ehrung sei<sup>88</sup>. Die Statue als Medium ist dabei nicht nur Repräsentationsobjekt für die Verdienste des Geehrten, sondern sie wird, auch mithilfe der panegyrischen Inschrift, sowohl in Relation zu großen Persönlichkeiten der Geschichte verortet als auch zum Exempel vorbildhaften Auftretens und der Tugendhaftigkeit erhoben.

Die variantenreiche Ikonografie wie auch die Inschrift dienten somit als distinktive Mittel der Hervorhebung des Geehrten, aber auch der Nobilitierung des Gesamtmonuments, das sich formal und ästhetisch mit den von der Aura der Anciennität umwehten Statuen des 1.–3. Jahrhunderts zu messen hatte. Zusätzlich kommt der in der Spätantike an vielen Orten festzustellende »museale« Charakter<sup>89</sup> der öffentlichen Plätze hinzu, an dem ältere Statuen auf wiederverwendeten Basen neu errichtet wurden, um die kulturelle Kontinuität zu betonen und den Platz nachhaltig zu nobilitieren.

Damit wird jedoch deutlich, dass die Spätantike mitnichten eine Epoche war, in der Porträtstatuen sukzessive immer weniger wertgeschätzt und deshalb schließlich nicht mehr errichtet

<sup>85</sup> Engelmann u. a. 1980, 162–163 Nr. 1301: χειρὸς κρατήσας ὁ περίσεμνος Ἀνδρέας ὅποια Μίνως ἢ Λυκούργος ἢ Σόλων στήσας τ' ἐς ὀρθὸν τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ πράγματα βραχέϊαν ἀμοιβὴν τῶν πόνων ἐδέξατο. Übersetzung nach Merkelbach – Stauber 1998, 301.

<sup>86</sup> Martindale u. a. 1971, 649 s. v. Publius Optatianus (3). Vgl. Groag 1946, 25–26; Robert 1948, 21; Feissel 1985, 284–285 Nr. 22: (...) Πουβλί(ι)ον Ὀπατιανόν, Λυκούργῳ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁμοιοῦσα ἀπ' ἴσων, ἔστησεν παρὰ τῷ Λυκούργῳ (...). Ferner zu Optatianus Porfyrius: Barnes 1975.

<sup>87</sup> Vgl. Russell – Wilson 1981, 166–169 (Men. Rh. 2, 415–416).

<sup>88</sup> Symm. rel. 12, 2: *nam praeter illum populi Romani inusitatum dolorem etiam senatus inpatiens dispendii sui solacium petit de honore virtutis vestrumque numen precatur, ut virum nostra aetate mirabilem statuarum diuturnitas tradat oculis posterorum, non quod ille praemia terrena desideret, qui gaudia corporis, etiam cum hominem ageret, ut caduca calcavit, sed quia ornamentis bonorum incitatur imitatio et virtus aemula alitur exemplo honoris alieni. (...) Atque utinam nihil huic decori facilitas adulantium postea derogasset! quamvis paria non sint, quae dispari arte quaeruntur.*

<sup>89</sup> Zu dem Begriff vgl. Boschung 1989, 8; Weisser 2002, 668; Krumeich 2008; Rutledge 2012 und für die Spätantike insbesondere Lançon 1995, 31–32; Smith 2006a, 438; Muth 2006. Kritisch dazu Behrwald 2009, 11–27, der insbesondere den Begriff der »Musealität« aufgrund der modernen Konnotationen ablehnt und stattdessen den Aspekt der »inszenierten Kontinuität« hervorhebt. Vgl. ebenfalls die Rezension zu Rutledges Buch von Alexander Heinemann (Heinemann 2015). Zum Begriff der »Erinnerungsorte« vgl. Diefenbach 2007, 28–37.



wurden. Tatsächlich hatte sich nicht nur die Wahrnehmung dessen verschoben, wann eine Ehrenstatue angemessenerweise errichtet werden sollte. Dies scheinen der reduzierte Personenkreis und die neue epigrafische Kultur nahezulegen. Wichtig erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang auch eine These von R. R. R. Smith: Es wäre verfehlt davon zu sprechen, dass die Ehrenstatue während der Spätantike vor ihrem Ende bewusst dem Untergang zugeführt worden sei. Denn angesichts der immer noch erfolgenden Neudedikationen wuchsen für die antiken Betrachter die bereits existenten Statuenwälder mit jedem weiteren Standbild zusätzlich<sup>90</sup>. Vielmehr sprechen die spezifischen Veränderungen gerade für eine besondere Nobilitierung des Mediums der Statue während des 4.–6. Jahrhunderts, das einerseits als Repräsentationsobjekt in überkommenen, traditionellen Kontexten, andererseits als Mittel der historischen Positionierung gegenüber den Geehrten der Vergangenheit fungieren konnte.

Das Ende der Porträtstatue ist hingegen eng verknüpft mit übergeordneten Phänomenen, die ihrerseits den Wandel der antiken Städte bedingten und deren Ursachen noch Gegenstand intensiver Diskussion sind. Es scheint mir hingegen evident, dass mit dem Ende der traditionellen urbanen Strukturen – die infolge nicht nur der Christianisierung selbst befördert wurden, sondern insbesondere durch den bekennenden Wandel der städtischen Eliten, welche im Rahmen des Klerus und im baulichen Kontext der neu errichteten Kirchen neue Felder der politischen Betätigung und der sozialen wie visuellen Repräsentation schufen – die Praxis des ›statue habit‹ ebenso wie andere Elemente der antiken Polis keine Relevanz mehr für die neue, transformierte Lebenswelt im späten 6. und frühen 7. Jahrhundert mehr aufweisen konnten.

Es ist allerdings festzuhalten, dass die im Vergleich zu anderen Teilen des Römischen Reiches stabileren urbanen Verhältnisse im spätantiken Kleinasien eine bemerkenswerte und eigentümliche Persistenz des ›statue habit‹ zumindest in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts gewährleisten konnten. Die traditionelle, altehrwürdige Ehrenstatue funktionierte demnach besonders dort, wo sich die Zeichen einer neuen Zeit noch am zögerlichsten durchsetzen sollten.

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1 a–b Venedig, San Marco. Kaiserporträt des 6. Jhs. (Justinian [?])



2 a–b Privatporträt des 6. Jhs. aus Ephesos, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 35/18/98 (Gipsabguss Archäologisches Institut Freiburg)



- 3 Vergleich typischer Haarlocken bei Bildnissen des 6. Jhs. (links o.: Selçuk Inv. 35/18/98, rechts o.: Porträt des Stephanos, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi Inv. 1962, links u.: Sardes Inv. S 66.24/7426, rechts u.: Istanbul Arch. Mus. Inv. 2061)

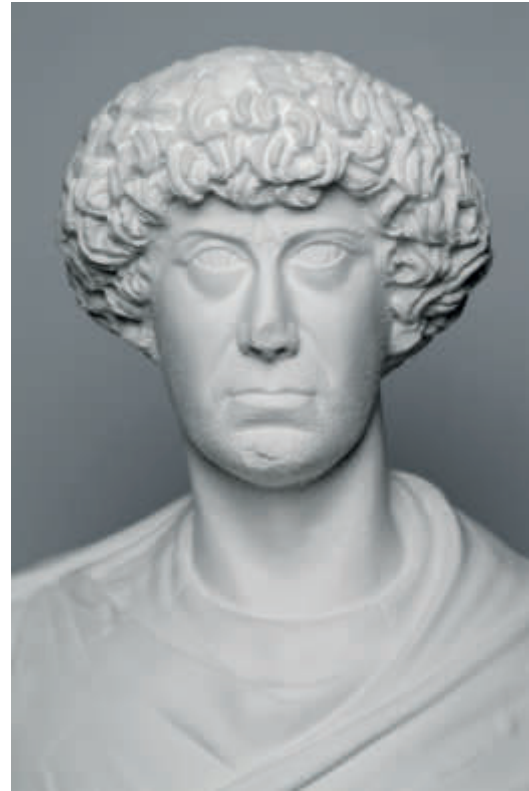


- 4 Konsulardiptychon des Apion (539), Kathedrale von Oviedo





5 Bildnis eines Amtsträgers, Ravenna (San Vitale)



6 Bildnis des Flavius Palmatus, Aphrodisias (Gipsabguss Archäologisches Institut Göttingen)



7 Bildnis des Eukarpion. Thessaloniki (Rotunde von Hagios Georgios)



8 Bildnis eines Kirchenstifters konstantinischer Zeit, Aquileia





**VII NEW AND HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED FINDS  
FROM VARIOUS SITES**



SULTAN SEZİN SEZER

## SCULPTURES IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF BITHYNIUM-CLAUDIOPOLIS

### ABSTRACT

The ancient city of Bithynium-Claudiopolis in the Bithynia region is located in the city centre of Bolu today. The Temple of Antinoos, the theatre, the stadion and the necropolis are among the ruins in the city that still can be seen. The five sculptures in the Bolu town centre were not discovered during the course of regular excavation but were found purely by chance. One of these works is a figure of a young Satyr standing on a square plinth; he wears a panther skin and has the traditional attribute of a *pedum*. The second sculpture is a naked, winged figure of Eros. The third sculpture is an idealized head of a goddess. The fourth sculpture is a copy of a classical type of Hermes. The fifth piece is a sleeping Ariadne that reclines on a natural base. The head of the goddess and the head of Hermes were dated to the Julio-Claudian period. The statues of a Satyr, Eros and Ariadne should belong to the Antonine period based on their craftsmanship and polished surfaces.

When the nature and quality of craftsmanship of the sculptures found in the city are taken into consideration, the city appears to have been the site of important sculptural activity, assuming they were created there.

### ÖZET

#### Bithynium-Claudiopolis Antik Kentindeki Heykeller

Bithynia Bölgesi'nde yer alan Bithynium-Claudiopolis antik kenti bugünkü Bolu kent merkezinde kurulmuştur. Kentte ait şu ana dek nekropolün yanı sıra Antinoos Tapınağı, Tiyatro ve Stadion'a ait kalıntılar bilinmektedir.

Bolu kent merkezinde ele geçen beş adet heykeltıraşlık eseri düzenli bir kazı sonucu değil tamamen tesadüfen bulunmuştur. Bu eserler şunlardır: Birinci eser, kare biçimindeki bir plinthe üzerinde ayakta duran Genç Satyr'dır üzerinde geleneksel atribüleri olan panter postu ve pedum taşımaktadır. İkinci eser, ayakta duran ve tamamen çıplak olan kanatlı Eros'dur. Üçüncü eser, idealize edilmiş bir yüze sahip olan bir Tanrıça'yı tasvir etmiştir. Dördüncü eser, Klasik Dönem Herme kopyalarından biridir. Beşinci eser ise doğal bir kaide üzerinde uzanmış uyur durumda olan bir Ariadne'dir. Tanrıça başı ve Herme imparator Claudius dönemine tarihlendirilmiştir. Satyr, Eros ve Ariadne ise teknik ve işçiliklerinin yanı sıra parlatılmış yüzeyleri ile Antoninler dönemine ait olmalıdırlar.

Kente bulunmuş olan eserlerin niteliği ve kaliteli işçilikleri göz önüne alındığında kentin önemli bir heykeltıraşlık aktivitesine sahip olduğu görülmektedir.

The ancient city of Bithynium-Claudiopolis, situated in the region of Bithynia, was founded in the centre of the city which is today called Bolu. The name of the city, which lies on the main road from Paphlagonia to Pontus in east Bithynia and which was formerly known as Bithynium during the Roman Republic, was changed by the Emperor Claudius, although it is not known when he visited, or the reason for his visit<sup>1</sup>. Emperor Hadrian visited Claudopolis during his first trip to Anatolia between the years 123–124 B.C.<sup>2</sup>. When he encountered the youth Antinous, who was born in Claudopolis, he took him to Egypt with him. After his death in A.D. 130, Antinous was honoured in many cities together with Claudopolis<sup>3</sup>. Emperor Hadrian gave special importance to Claudopolis<sup>4</sup> as the birthplace of his favourite, and a temple was dedicated in the name of Antinous<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Magie 1950, 546.

<sup>2</sup> Schorndorfer 1997, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Boatwright 2000, 100.

<sup>4</sup> Vermeule 1968, 317.

<sup>5</sup> Schorndorfer 1997, 140–141 fig. 51 pls. 1. 2.

Today, the city is known to contain a temple of Antinous<sup>6</sup>, a theatre<sup>7</sup>, a stadion<sup>8</sup> and a necropolis<sup>9</sup>. The ancient city has not been systematically excavated, although the Archaeological Museum of Bolu has conducted a few small-scale excavations. Therefore, our knowledge about the sculptures of the city is inadequate. Five sculptures, which will be examined in this study, have been found by chance in the city centre over the years, and all have been on display in the Museum of Bolu<sup>10</sup>.

## 1 THE HEAD OF A GODDESS (Fig. 1 a–c)

Archaeological Museum of Bolu inv. 54

Findspot: Akpınar District, city centre, Bolu, 1976

Material: Fine-grained white marble

Dimensions: Height 0.47 m, Height of head 0.36 m, Width 0.26 m, Depth 0.38 m.

Condition, technique and craftsmanship: The sculpture is quite well-preserved. The head which is broken below the neck was later reattached. The top point of the head, the tip of the chignon, a small part of the right side of the fillet on the head, and the right earlobe are missing. The projecting edge on the neck suggests it was carved separately in order to place it on a body. The eyes were inlaid.

Unpublished.

A young woman is depicted. The head is inclined slightly to the left and is slightly bending. The hair in the form of thin curls is combed vertically upwards to the crown of the head; it is parted into two in the middle of the forehead, and a chignon is knotted at the back of head. Many traces of red colour are preserved, and gilding was also used<sup>11</sup>. The hair framing the forehead in the shape of a triangle leaves the ears exposed. There are small locks of hair in front of both ears. A thick fillet encircles the head. The face is plump. The pupils of the eyes were carved, but originally coloured stone or glass must have been inlaid<sup>12</sup>. The eyebrows are clear-cut. The nose is in the ideal Greek form which continues the line of the forehead. The chin is fleshy and rounded. The dent between the lower lip and the chin is clearly defined. The full lips are slightly parted. The earlobes are pierced, and this suggests that she once wore metal earrings which were separately attached. The wavy and orderly curls of hair which form a chignon at the back, the forehead in the shape of a triangle and the unlined face are idealizing characteristics. The idealized face, the hairstyle and the fillet indicate that the original type for this statue dates back to the Classical period; it most likely is a depiction of a goddess<sup>13</sup>. Furthermore, taking into account the idealized face, the colossal scale, the dyed and gilded hair<sup>14</sup>, the eyes inlaid with colourful stones and the earrings, the sculpture must belong to a cult statue.

The Caryatid from Tralleis<sup>15</sup>, on display in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (inv. 1189) and dated by R. Özgan to the period of Claudius, is similar to the Bithynium-Claudiopolis goddess especially in terms of craftsmanship and style in the manner of carving the locks of hair. The head of a goddess can be dated to the Julio-Claudian period.

<sup>6</sup> Yalman 1981, 435–450 pls. 191–205; Schorndorfer 1997, 140–141 fig. 51 pls. 1. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Schorndorfer 1997, 139–140 fig. 51.

<sup>8</sup> Güneş 2010, 159–173.

<sup>9</sup> Güneş 2009, 75–88; Güneş 2011, 13.

<sup>10</sup> I would like to express my special appreciation and thanks to Mustafa Güneş, the director of the Bolu Museum, who spared no effort to help me during my studies at the museum.

<sup>11</sup> For similar practices, see Reuterswärd 1958; Brinkmann 2003; Brinkmann – Wünsche 2006, 43, 130; Østergaard 2008; Abbe 2008, 136–151.

<sup>12</sup> See also e.g. Huskinson 1974, 66 no. 122 pl. 47; Despinis et al. 1997, no. 74 figs. 171–174; no. 79 figs. 194–196.

<sup>13</sup> See also e.g. Rizzo 1932, pls. 94–98; Richter 1954, 79 no. 141 pl. 103; Bieber 1981, 158 fig. 670; Boardman 1995, 76 fig. 86, 1–2; Despinis et al. 1997, 46–47 no. 25 figs. 46–49.

<sup>14</sup> Traces of gilding are seen on the red colour on the hair of a female head which belongs to a Caryatid from the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias. Abbe 2008, 139–141 figs. 1–3.

<sup>15</sup> Özgan 1995, 125–133 no. TR 70 pls. 35, 1. 3–4; 36, 1–2.

## 2 HEAD OF A HERM (Fig. 2 a–c)

Museum of Bolu inv. 2396

Findspot: Akpınar District, city centre, Bolu, 1983

Material: Fine-grained white marble

Dimensions: Height 0.50 m, Height of head 0.48 m, Width 0.37 m, Depth 0.32 m.

Condition, technique and craftsmanship: The figure is broken below the neck; the left shoulder is broken. The nose is broken away. There is minor damage on the forehead, on the tip of the beard, on the ears, on the eyelids and on the curls of hair over the forehead. The ringlets of hair, which once descended from behind the ears down to the breasts, are broken off on both sides of the neck. On the left side of the bust, part of the hollow for the arm stump is preserved. There is a layer of lime on the surface. All the details of hair and beard were carved with a sharp-pointed chisel, a drill was not used.

Published: Özgan 1997, 165–169 figs. 13–17.

The head has long hair with moustache and beard. A fillet encircles his head. The curls of his beard which has a vivid appearance are clearly separated from each other. In general, the beard projects slightly forward. The widest part of the beard is defined just below the mouth-line, and the contours on both sides of the beard are used to define the form of face. The beard is parted into two. There are curls of beard under the lips. They are naturalistically and vividly carved. The full moustache grows down around the mouth. The tips of the moustache, consisting of long, wavy curls, terminate in spirals. The tips of the curls of the beard, which overlap, were carved spirally and in a variety of ways like the curls of hair on the forehead.

The face is surrounded by three rows of spirals of snail-shell curls which frame the temple and the forehead. In the first row, the spiral curls slightly recede, while those of the middle row project. The curls of hair on the forehead are treated like a relief rising at the sides. The strands of hair, combed in thin, S-shaped waves over the crown of the head, are fastened with a fillet. The locks of hair on the scalp and those descending down to the back were carved meticulously with a sharp-pointed chisel. The strands forming the curls of hair are smooth, moving and alive. There is a calm and peaceful expression on the face. The fleshy lips are slightly open. The eyelids are heavy, fleshy and sharply framed as in the Classical period, and are carved as separated from the sclera. The tear ducts are defined clearly. As in the Classical period, the upper lids slightly overhang the lower lids at the outer edges<sup>16</sup>. The forehead has a slight dent, and has idealized characteristics.

Considering its hairstyle, headband and facial features, the sculpture represents a copy of the Classical type of Hermes. The original dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and is similar to the models produced by the sculptor Alkamenes<sup>17</sup>. In fact, many scholars have ascribed the type to the sculptor Alkamenes<sup>18</sup> who was active in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., although ancient writers did not mention a herm of Hermes who was known as ›Hermes Propylaios‹ in the literature. The name of Alkamenes is attested in the two inscriptions of the herms found in Pergamon and Ephesos; many copies of the types have been found. Even though these two herms are based on the work of Alkamenes, there are some differences between them. D. Willers who conducted studies on these Hermes types<sup>19</sup>, assigned them to two categories, either as the Pergamon or Ephesos type. A scholarly debate revolves around the question regarding which of these types actually reflects the Hermes by Alkamenes<sup>20</sup>. The ›Simonetti herm‹ in Munich<sup>21</sup> is a high quality copy of the Ephesos type, it reveals many similarities with the Bithynium-Claudiopolis copy in terms of the carving of the curls of hair above the forehead, the treatment of the eyes and eyelids as well as the style of the beard and its carving. On the other hand, the Bithynium-Claudiopolis copy differs from Simonetti's replica in terms of the moving, dramatic and vivid carving of the strands of hair

<sup>16</sup> Özgan 1997, 166.

<sup>17</sup> Richter 1950, 239 fig. 628; Furtwängler 1964, figs. F3–F4; Willers 1967, 42–75; Willers 1975, 33–47.

<sup>18</sup> Praschniker 1935, 23–31 figs. 20–24; Willers 1967, 39–87.

<sup>19</sup> Willers 1967, 42–87.

<sup>20</sup> See the two different positions: Willers 1967, 79–87; Vierendeis-Schlörb 1979, 49–54; Krämer 2001, 9–11. 118–120. 152–153 (in favour of the Ephesos type); Brahms 1994, 114–133 (in favour of the Pergamon type).

<sup>21</sup> Vierendeis-Schlörb 1979, 49–61; Willers 1967, 51–56 figs. 14–15. 17.



that form the hair curls, the more distinct and vivid definition of the eyelids and tear ducts, and by the meticulous treatment of the hairs of the moustache and the beard. In light of all these features, the sculpture can be considered to be the best copy of the Hermes Ephesos type<sup>22</sup>.

The statue of an Ephebe from Tralleis<sup>23</sup>, which is in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inv. 1191) and which is dated by R. Özgan to the period of Claudius, is similar to the Bithynium-Claudiopolis herm in terms of its style and of the carving of eyes, eyelids and hair. The Bithynium-Claudiopolis herm can be dated to the Julio-Claudian period.

The head of a goddess (no. 1) and the herm may have been produced by the same workshop, based on their similarity in date, material, style and craftsmanship.

### 3 STATUE OF SLEEPING ARIADNE (Fig. 3 a–c)

Museum of Bolu inv. 3917

Findspot: Bolu (city centre/Kargatepe district), 1995

Dimensions: Height 0.42 m, Width 0.78 m, Depth 0.42 m

Material: Fine-grained white marble

Condition, technique and craftsmanship: Both sides of the pedestal are broken, but a part of the left side of the pedestal and the crack of the right leg have been repaired. The feet, the left wrist and part of the left hand and the right arm, the right shoulder and part of the chest are missing. There are cracks on the folds of the clothing cascading forward from the hips. There are chips on the right side of the hair and on the top of the head.

Unpublished.

A young woman in a sleeping position rests on her left side against a rock on a pedestal. The head and the body lean against the rock at the right. The head rests on the left arm which is bent at the elbow. The right arm hangs down towards the pedestal. A shell is placed just under the rock at the right on.

The semi-nude figure wears a peplos<sup>24</sup> which is wrapped with a belt under the breasts. The peplos is fastened only over the left shoulder. The peplos is pulled back, exposing the right shoulder and breast; the front of the stomach down to the hips is naked. The himation is bunched around the hips and covers the legs. The rich folds diminish around the stretched knee of the right leg. A greater number of folds appear in the drapery extending down to the feet.

One end of the himation is spread over the rock after it is wrapped around the elbow of the left arm, but the other end, which is brought forward from the line of waist, is bunched on the legs, and falls down to the pedestal like a thick roll from this point. The left leg is bent at the knee and bent backward, and it disappears under the himation which is rolled around the lower part of the body.

The head is in the sleeping position resting on the left side. The hair is parted in the middle, then rolled up over the headband. The rest of the hair hangs in locks at either side. The hair covers the upper part of the ears. The forehead is narrow. The nose is in the ideal Greek style which continues the plane of the forehead. The chin is round and projecting. The face is oval and the mouth is small. The point between the lower lip and the chin is clearly defined. A profound expression of calmness dominates the face.

Based on its iconography, the sculpture must depict the sleeping Ariadne. Following the adventure with the Minotaur, Theseus abducted Ariadne and took her to the island of Naxos<sup>25</sup>. Theseus then abandoned her on the island as she slept. The image of ›Sleeping Ariadne‹, which is

<sup>22</sup> Özgan 1997, 168.

<sup>23</sup> Özgan 1995, 114–125 no. TR 69 pl. 32, 1–4.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. dancing young girls also wearing the same type of peplos: Bieber 1928, 35 pl. 3, 3; Bieber 1981, 39 figs. 90–92; Ridgway 1997, 312 pl. 73

<sup>25</sup> Lurker 1984, 29–30; Bulfinch 1993, 189; Daly 2004, 15–16.

quite common in antiquity, was depicted on mosaics<sup>26</sup>, sarcophagi<sup>27</sup>, wall painting<sup>28</sup>, pottery<sup>29</sup>, glass vases<sup>30</sup>, in terracotta<sup>31</sup> and sculpture<sup>32</sup>.

Compared with the replicas in the Vatican<sup>33</sup> and Florence<sup>34</sup>, we find the following common features with the sculpture from Bithynium-Claudiopolis: the position of sleeping resting on the left arm and looking to the left side, having one breast naked, and legs fully covered by drapery. There is no question that these two replicas are based on a Hellenistic original despite the differences in the movement of legs. The original work dates back to the Hellenistic period<sup>35</sup>.

The sculpture from Bithynium-Claudiopolis must be a variant rather than an exact replica on the grounds that a veil uncovers the head, the figure wears a peplos which exposes the torso, and there are differences in the position of the body, the head, the arms and legs, and in the hairstyle together with the organization of the clothing around the legs.

In terms of the arrangement of the clothing, the figure from Bithynium-Claudiopolis finds a parallel in a figure on a sarcophagus in the National Archeological Museum of Naples<sup>36</sup>. The date of the Bithynium-Claudiopolis figure, however, must be earlier than that of the figure in Naples.

The Ariadne figure in the San Antonio Art Museum<sup>37</sup> shares similarities with our sculpture in terms of style and workmanship as well as the folds in clothing. For these reasons, the Bithynium-Claudiopolis figure can be dated to the Antonine period.

#### 4 TORSO OF A YOUNG SATYR (Fig. 4 a–c)

Museum of Bolu inv. 55

Findspot: Bolu (city centre), 1973

Dimensions: Height 1.06 m, Width 0.31 m, Depth 0.30 m.

Material: Fine-grained white marble

Condition, technique and craftsmanship: The head, the fingers of the left hand and the entire right arm are missing. Only the base of the neck is preserved. It is understood from this part that the head and the body were carved from the same block. The paws of the animal pelt which is on the right shoulder are broken. The sex organ is broken. The tops of the toes are chipped. The pin on the right arm suggests that it was made separately and attached later on. The upper surface of the pedestal is unworked. The left side of the sculpture is covered with a layer of yellowish brown lime. A drill was used for the head of the panther, its paws and the folds of the animal pelt.

Unpublished.

A young satyr standing on a square pedestal is depicted. The satyr is represented almost totally nude except for a panther pelt draped over his shoulders. The panther pelt, whose feet are tied over the satyr's right shoulder, covers the left shoulder and the left arm. The head of the panther hangs down between the left arm and the trunk of a tree which is placed next to the left leg. On the head of the panther, only the ears, the eyes and the mouth are indicated. The long tail of the panther, on the other hand, is wrapped around the trunk in folds. The straight left leg carries the body weight. The freed right leg is pulled back by being slightly bent at the knee, and the foot is positioned to the side. The upper part of the body is turned slightly to the left. The preserved part of the neck

<sup>26</sup> Dunbabin 1999, 214–215 fig. 226; Sweetman 2013, 241–242 no. 135 pl. 40.

<sup>27</sup> Koch – Wight 1988, 37–38 no. 13; Gasparri 1984, nos. 186. 192. 197; Zanker – Ewald 2012, 131. 162 figs. 118. 152.

<sup>28</sup> McNally 1985, figs. 22–25; Lorenz 2008, 287 fig. 136 b; Rüpke – Rüpke 2010, fig. 15.

<sup>29</sup> McNally 1985, figs. 3. 5–7; Boardman 1997, fig. 269.

<sup>30</sup> Brooks 2004, 203; von Saldern 2004, 210 pl. 181.

<sup>31</sup> McNally 1985, figs. 20–21.

<sup>32</sup> Amelung 1908, no. 414 pl. 57; Bieber 1981, 145–146 fig. 624; McNally 1985, fig. 15; Ridgway 1990, 330–331 pl. 168; Wolf 2002, *passim*, regarding depictions in sculpture and other media.

<sup>33</sup> Amelung 1908, no. 414 pl. 57; Wolf 2002, 68–87 pls. 16–27.

<sup>34</sup> Bieber 1981, 145–146 fig. 624; Wolf 2002, 87–92 pls. 28–30.

<sup>35</sup> For the date, Wolf 2002, 116–128 (about 200 B.C.).

<sup>36</sup> Zanker – Ewald 2012, 162 fig. 152.

<sup>37</sup> Ridgway 1990, 330–331 pl. 168; Köhn 1999, 58; Wolf 2002, 100–108 pls. 36–38.

indicates that the head originally turned to the left. The satyr's left arm reaches forward and is bent the elbow. The satyr holds a *lagobolon* (*pedum*) in his left arm. Considering the position at the break, the right arm was raised. The satyr's chest, the muscles of the abdomen and loins, and the structure of the collar bone are clearly defined on the surface. The body muscles are depicted in detail, but also the bone structure is visible on the surface. The specification of collar bones, shoulders, chest and abdomen and the muscles of the loin and legs give a vivid appearance to the surface. The anatomy is represented convincingly.

The sculptors of the Hellenistic period developed a new body type for young satyrs. The body is slim, tall and strong. The muscular form of the body reminds the viewer of an athlete<sup>38</sup>. The satyr can be distinguished from a human being by the animal pelt he wears and by his tail. The original of the Bithynium-Claudiopolis satyr, which displays all these characteristics, must belong to the Hellenistic period.

Other statues of young satyrs, similar to our sculpture in terms of muscular body structure, in the position of legs and arms, the animal pelt they wear and the *pedum* in their left hands, are extant<sup>39</sup>.

The style and the craftsmanship of the Bithynium-Claudiopolis satyr suggest that it was created during the Antonine period.

## 5 TORSO OF EROS (Fig. 5 a–c)

Museum of Bolu inv. 56

Findspot: Bolu (city centre), 1975

Dimensions: Height 0.75 m, Width 0.39 m, Depth 0.23 m.

Material: Fine-grained white marble

Condition, technique and craftsmanship: Both arms from below the elbow are missing. The lower right leg, the lower part of the lower left leg and the head are not preserved. Body and wings were carved from the same block, but the wings are only partially preserved. The left thigh and part of the lower left leg, and part of the right arm just below the shoulder, have been repaired (re-attached).

Unpublished.

A nude, standing young boy is depicted. The wings indicate that this child is Eros. It reflects the traditional Eros iconography with a soft, plump and childish body structure. The straight right leg carries the body weight. The freed left leg is slightly bent below the knee. The preserved traces from the right buttock to the right thigh indicate that there was a support near the right leg. Although broken, both arms were originally extended to the sides. The right arm is spread out more compared to the left one. Puntelli are located on the right breast and in front of the left shoulder, indicating an object originally crossing from the upper left side of the chest to the right.

The figures of children depicted on the crater in the collection of Woburn Abbey reveal similarities with this Eros figure in terms of style and craftsmanship<sup>40</sup>.

The Bithynium-Claudiopolis Eros can be dated to the time of the Antonines.

## CONCLUSION

When we consider the sculptures examined in this study, object no. 1 is the head of a goddess which probably belonged to a cult statue with its idealized face, colossal scale, coloured and gilded hair, the eyes originally inlaid with coloured stones and the earrings. Figure no. 2 is a herm which is an excellent copy of the Hermes Ephesos type. It is therefore an important contribution

<sup>38</sup> Bieber 1981, 139 figs. 568. 573; Smith 2002, 133 figs. 152. 156; Simon 1997, no. 218. 230.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the satyrs in the Uffizi (Mansuelli 1961, 133–134 no. 98 fig. 100), in the Capitoline Museum (Stuart Jones 1912, 279 no. 6 pl. 67; Smith 2002, 133 fig. 152) and in the Vatican (Amelung 1908, 694–696 no. 432 pl. 76; Bieber 1981, 139 fig. 573; Andrae 1998, pl. 60).

<sup>40</sup> Angelicoussis 1992, 104–105 no. 83 figs. 380–383.

to the field of study of herms in Classical Archaeology. The head of the goddess and the herm were made from the same material at the same time, and were discovered in the same location. It is deduced from the style and the craftsmanship that they were produced in the same workshop, too. Statue no. 3, the Sleeping Ariadne figure, was most likely used in the decoration of a villa, a garden, or a fountain. This type of figure was an important adornment especially in the gardens of Roman villas, and thus a number of copies were produced. Statue no. 4 is the image of a young satyr, a part of the world of Dionysos, shown with a new body shape which was developed by sculptors in the Hellenistic age. Statue no. 5 is the torso of an Eros. Furthermore, the Sleeping Ariadne, the satyr and Eros figures can be assigned to the same workshop in terms of style and craftsmanship. It is not possible to determine in which part of the ancient city or in which building they were displayed, as the statues were not discovered in an excavated context. However, their existence indicates the presence of important sculptural activities in the city, taking into account their qualities and the fine craftsmanship they display.

Our knowledge regarding the sculpture of the city will certainly be increased as a result of the systematic excavations which will be carried out in the near future.

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a

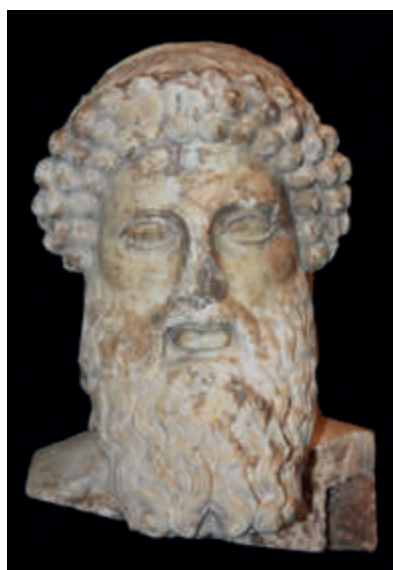


b



c

1 a-c Head of a goddess, Archaeological Museum of Bolu



a



b



c

2 a-c Herm, Archaeological Museum of Bolu



a

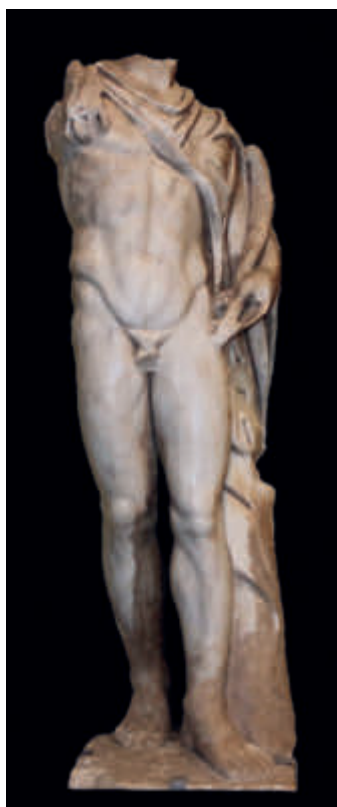


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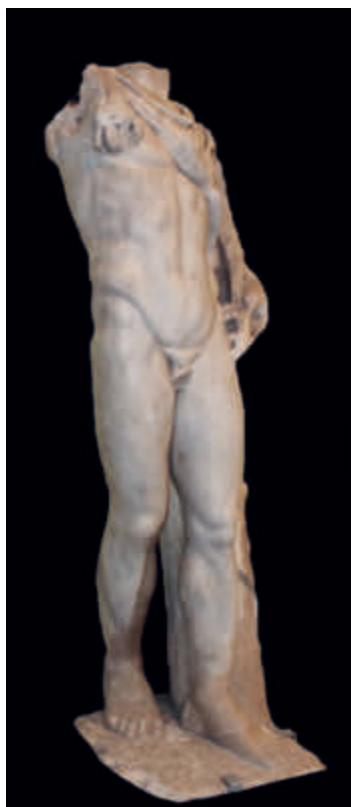


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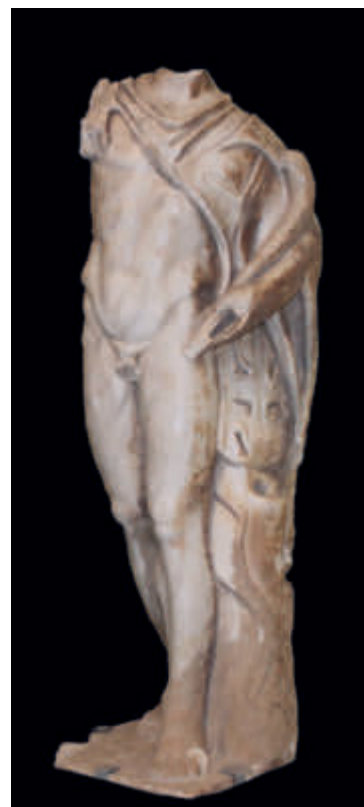
3 a–c Statue of sleeping Ariadne, Archaeological Museum of Bolu



a

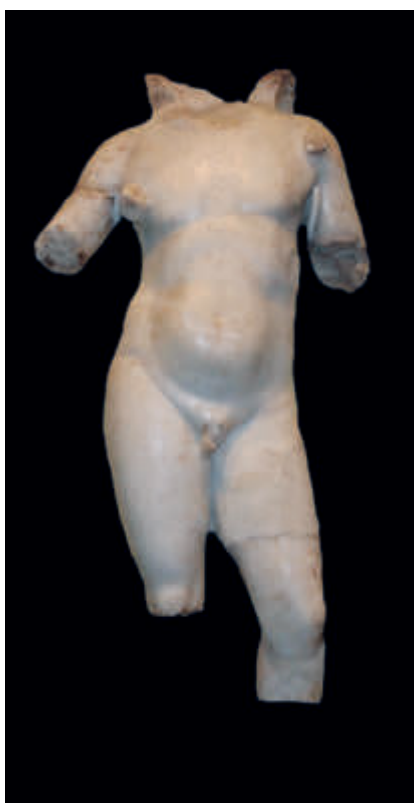


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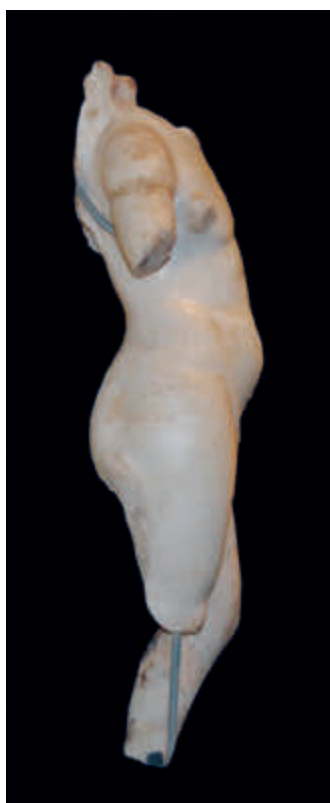


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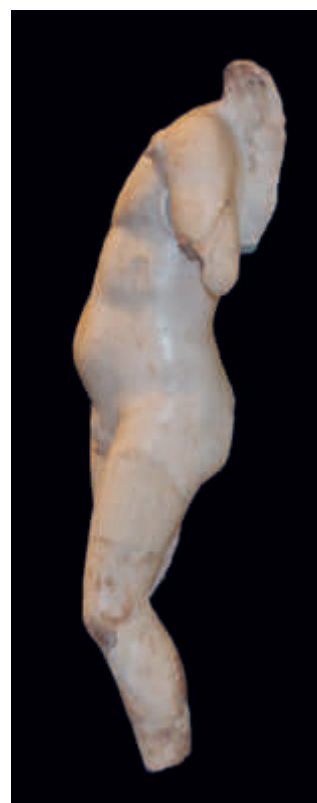
4 a–c Torso of a young Satyr, Archaeological Museum of Bolu



a



b



c

5 a–c Torso of Eros, Archaeological Museum of Bolu



FATMA BAĞDATLI ÇAM

## SCULPTURES FROM TABAE/KALE-İ TAVAS

## ABSTRACT

The ancient city of Tabae (Kale-i Tavas) is located in the Tavas District of the Province of Denizli. Excavations in the city of Kale-i Tavas, which was an important settlement in the Beylik and Ottoman periods, have been conducted by Bozkurt Ersoy (Ege University, Department of Art History) since 2007. During the excavation, fragments of marble and bronze statues were unearthed together with many ceramics and coins in the infilling of a cistern from the Late Roman Period. The most striking piece among the statues is a substantially damaged bronze head. It probably is a portrait statue of one of the Roman emperors. Of the works in marble, the most important is the portrait of a boy from the early imperial period. A head of Tyche, a relief representing Dionysos, and the head of a statuette of a woman can be listed among the other marble pieces. This last piece is the earliest example amongst the works discovered. In addition to these objects, many marble and bronze statue parts were discovered. This is significant evidence emerging from the ancient city of Tabae, which until now has only been known from ancient texts and coins.

## ÖZET

## Tabae/Kale-i Tavas Heykelleri

Tabae (Kale-i Tavas) antik kenti Denizli İli, Tavas İlçesindedir. Beylikler ve Osmanlı Döneminde önemli bir yerleşim olan Kale-i Tavas kentinin kazıları 2007 yılından bu yana Bozkurt Ersoy (Ege Üniversitesi, Sanat Tarihi Bölümü) tarafından sürdürülmektedir. Kazı çalışmaları sırasında Roma Dönemine ait bir sarnıç içerisindeki dolgu- dan çok sayıda seramik ve sikkeler ile birlikte mermer ve bronz heykel parçaları gün ışığına çıkartılmıştır. Heykeller arasında en dikkat çeken parçalardan biri oldukça hasar görmüş bronz bir baştır. Olasılıkla Roma İmparatorlarından birine ait bir portre heykelin başı olmalıdır. Mermer eserlerden en önemli parça, Erken İmparatorluk Döneminde ait erkek çocuk portresidir. Diğer mermer parçalar arasında Tykhe başı, Dionysos kabartması, bir kadın heykelciğe ait baş sayılabilir. Son bahsi geçen baş, ele geçen eserler arasında en erken örnektir. Bu eserlerin yanı sıra bronz ve mermer çok sayıda heykel parçası da bulunmuştur. Bu durum, ismini yalnızca antik metinler ve sikkelerden bilebildiğimiz Tabae antik kenti ile ilgili bilgi verebilecek oldukça önemli kanıtlardır.

Excavations at the site located approximately 1 km to the southwest of the Kale District in the province of Denizli, known as Tabae in antiquity and Kale-i Tavas in modern Turkish, were initiated in 2007 by Prof. Dr. Bozkurt Ersoy, of Ege University<sup>1</sup>.

Strabo mentions that the ancient city of Tabae is located to the south of Aphrodisias on the border of Caria and Phrygia<sup>2</sup>. Even though some authors have assigned it to Lydia, Stephanos Byzantium states that there are two cities with the same name, one located in Lydia and the other in Caria<sup>3</sup>. There are also various opinions with regard to the name of Tabae, the first one claiming that it is derived from a hero named Tabus, while the second states that the name Taba is an Asiatic term in the Carian language meaning »rock«<sup>4</sup>.

The city is located on the border between Phrygia and Caria. Thus, from earliest times it was situated on the transit point of particularly large armies. It is known that Seleucus II used the

<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to my valued lecturer Prof. Dr. Bozkurt Ersoy, for allowing me to prepare and for supporting me in conducting the study. Ersoy 2009, 41–56 and Ersoy 2010, 301–314.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. 12, C 570. 577.

<sup>3</sup> Steph. Byz. 597 n. 5–15.

<sup>4</sup> Cramer 1832, 211.



Tabae Plain while traveling to Phrygia from Caria. According to Livy, the Roman consul Gnaeus Manlius Vulso (189 B.C.) and his army came to Tabae on their third march<sup>5</sup>. The relatively scarce amount of ancient sources, and inscriptions and coins discovered in the city, provide some information. Accordingly, the oldest historical evidence regarding the city dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. in the form of a commemorative inscription from the period of Antiochus I<sup>6</sup>. It is therefore certain that the city of Tabae existed since the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Inscriptions and coins from later on in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. are also known. An epigraph dating to 80 B.C. reveals that the city was honored and awarded freedom with a *senatus consultum* decree for taking the side of Rome against Mithridates Eupator<sup>7</sup>.

An inscription from Aphrodisias mentions citizens of Tabae who probably came here for donations or offerings<sup>8</sup>. It can be concluded that the city of Tabae had close relations with Aphrodisias.

## CISTERN FINDINGS

During the Tavas excavations in 2007 a cistern constructed completely underground was revealed. The southwestern vault of the cistern has been damaged by robbing, and the interior of the cistern was completely filled with rubble and soil due to this open hole and ventilation shaft. Large amounts of pottery, coins, and fragments of bronze and marble statues were found in the soil from the cistern<sup>9</sup>. The ceramic material provided the oldest information pertaining to the ancient period of the city. Among these materials, pottery dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Age (2000–1200 B.C.) and pottery of the Late Geometric and Subgeometric Periods (8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.) prove that the history of the city dates back a long time. The reason for materials of such diverse ages found together can probably be explained by the fact that the materials came to light during the construction of a building or buildings in the city during the Ottoman period, and were then used to fill in the cistern. In this case, it seems apparent that the city existed without interruption since the Bronze Age; it was, however, rebuilt in the Hellenistic Period, the Beylik Period, and finally the Ottoman Period.

## SCULPTURES FROM THE CITY OF TABAE IN LIGHT OF THE CISTERN FINDINGS

### The Bronze Fragments

The largest group of material amongst the works of sculpture from Tabae are the bronze fragments of head and body parts. On closer examination, these consist of head fragments and fragments from a nude male figure, some of which can be put together; fragments of drapery are also preserved.

After fragments of legs and thighs were placed together, it is clear that the statue was in a standing pose with its weight on the right leg (fig. 1). According to the fragments of drapery, probably deriving from the side section of the mantle draped around the arm, it can be proposed that the statue belonged to the ›Hermes Andros‹ type, a popular type for portrait statues after the late Republican period<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. 38, 13; Ramsay 1888, 273; Ratté 2012, 14.

<sup>6</sup> 269/268 B.C. Robert 1954, no. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Buckler – Calder 1939, 59–60 no. 162.

<sup>8</sup> Reynolds – Roueché – Bodard 2007, no. 8.210. Oath of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, Kibyra, and Tabae. Probably 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. (lettering). A part of the inscription: ›To Zeus Philios, Concord, and Dea Roma; (dedicated by) the peoples of Plarasa/Aphrodisias, of Kibyra, and of Tabae who have taken oaths over newly-burnt offerings and made blood-offerings for their natural alliance, eternal concord, and brotherhood with each other ...‹.

<sup>9</sup> Ersoy 2009, 47 fig. 10; Ersoy 2010, 301–309.

<sup>10</sup> Maderna 1988, 84–86; Pollitt 1998, 8; Ridgway 2002, 69. 95 n. 5; 265.

The existence of another statue can be assumed from the three hands preserved among the finds, of which one is preserved with an arm and two are preserved up to the wrists.

In addition, the hem of a mantle can be identified after the ankle of a foot wearing sandals. Thus, the presence of two statues, of which one wore a mantle and the other was naked, can be assumed.

### Bronze Head<sup>11</sup>

The bronze head (fig. 2 a. b) comes from a male figure. The upper part of the neck is protected under the chin, although in general the work is rusted. The head has been substantially damaged. The top section of the head and the right side of the face are missing. No additional fragments belonging to it could be discovered amongst the material from the cistern. The preserved left side of the face has caved in, making a precise interpretation of its appearance very difficult.

Due to the inward curvature of one side of the face, the posture of the head cannot be understood at first sight. In the protected area of the neck, on the left side, however, the structure of strained muscle can be distinguished. On the right side of the neck, the surface is smoother. These observations indicate that the head was bent to the right. Another indication that the head was turned to the right is the fact that the jawbone is more sharply delineated on the left, while it is softer on the right.

The bronze head has short hair. The short, thin and triangular curls formed by a combination of two thin curls have a relatively soft structure. These thin curls have been carved in shallow relief on the surface. The hair in the section extending to the nape of the neck has superficial, thin and comma-shaped curls. When viewed in profile, it is apparent that the hair is more raised at the nape. There is also the same structure above the ears.

According to the structure of hair, the eyes and the mouth the head might have been based on an ›ideal‹ Classical type, but we cannot know for sure as the head is damaged<sup>12</sup>.

The better preserved curls at the back of the head (fig. 2 b) follow a particular order from the top of the head towards the back of the neck and have a dynamic structure. The structure of the head observed from the back resembles a portrait type found at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. and the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., with characteristic hair forms known in portraits from Delos<sup>13</sup>. Two similar examples in terms of the constitution of the hair with dual thin curls, the organisation of these curls in a certain order, and the type of carving, are the bronze portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna<sup>14</sup> and one in the Louvre, Paris<sup>15</sup>. The portrait in Vienna provides a close parallel for the Tabae head: both share the characteristic thin double curls, the organisation of the curls of the hairstyle, and both are similar in carving type. G. Lahusen dates the portrait in Vienna to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., and the Louvre portrait to the Augustan period. A portrait from Luni in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in La Spezia provides the closest parallel for the Tabae head, regarding the curls and the carving type<sup>16</sup>.

In the eye structure of the Tabae portrait, there is a soft and swollen upper eyelid under protruding eyebrows. The iris is encircled by a plastic ring and in the middle there is a small hollow. Such an eye structure suggests a date in the Hadrianic period and later. Thus, when attempting

<sup>11</sup> Denizli Museum. This object is for study in the depot of the museum. Dimensions: H 24 cm, W 19.5 cm.

<sup>12</sup> The most common types used in the early imperial period are the Doryphoros type by Polykleitos and the Hermes Richelieu type; see Hallett 2011, 37–41 pls. 21–22; Schollmeyer 2010, figs. 26 b–c; 48 a–b; 50; Maderna 2010, fig. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Delos was one of the most important centres of the Hellenistic world. It was destroyed by Mithridates VI, king of Pontus in 88 B.C. and 68 B.C. The portraits which were discovered during excavations here date between 140 and 90 B.C. Therefore the portraits from Delos are important benchmarks for the dating of early Roman portraits. Özgan 2013, 61–62 and 74–75; Lahusen – Formigli 2001, fig. 6, 3–4 and especially 87, 3–5.

<sup>14</sup> Lahusen – Formigli 2001, 52–53 fig. 15, 1–3.

<sup>15</sup> Lahusen – Formigli 2001, 53–54 fig. 16, 1–3.

<sup>16</sup> Lahusen – Formigli 2001, 109–110 fig. 55, 1–4 (early imperial period).

to establish a connection between portraits of the later period, and since the head represents a young male, the first example that comes to mind is Alexander Severus with his characteristic short curls<sup>17</sup>. Under closer examination, however, it appears that the curls have a longer and softer form than the hairstyle of the Alexander Severus types. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the emperor was present in this city. Based on the eye structure, a more supportive piece of evidence for the date of the Tabae bronze head is provided by the aforementioned portrait in the Louvre and a portrait of Caligula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York<sup>18</sup>.

As a result of these comparisons, it can be proposed that the Tabae head should probably be dated to the early imperial period. It should also be borne in mind that the city could have been refounded in 80 B.C. with the privileges granted by the Roman Senate. A more precise conclusion in this regard cannot be arrived at, due to the lack of systematic excavation for the early history of Tabae.

### Marble Sculptures

#### 1. Head of a figurine<sup>19</sup>

Among the marble works found in the cistern, the head (fig. 3) that appears earliest in date has a height of 10 cm. Its soft treatment of the hair, and the deep-set eyes in the narrow face, creating a soft effect, are among the characteristics known from the late Classical period. The arrangement of the hair in soft curls encircling the face, in a manner which provides a triangular form to the forehead, and then hanging downwards after being collected at the back of the neck, resembles the Kore types known from the early Hellenistic period.

The Kallipolis Kore from the early Hellenistic period provides a good comparison for this type<sup>20</sup>. The Tabae head is probably from a figurine made in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. representing Kore or Demeter, such as the figurines from Kos<sup>21</sup>.

#### 2. Marble Head<sup>22</sup>

A marble head (fig. 4 a–c) from the cistern was carved out of coarse grained marble. It is broken in a straight line where the chin and neck meet, the tip of the nose is broken, and there is a small fracture in the left parietal lobe.

When viewed from the front, the hairs that surround the forehead are quite high in structure and take the form of comma-shaped curls. The termini of all of the comma-shaped curls in the bottom row point to the right and touch the forehead. There are fewer curls in the uppermost row, and they extend in the same direction as the curls in the bottom row. A pair of curls lie on the temples at the sides, and below these, a couple of curls appear at ear level. The ears below the curls are intended to be seen from the front. The locks of hair are separated from each other and form a deep gap. The structures of the curls are soft and plump. There are slight grooves on the surface of the curls, so that they appear sharper or more angular. Upon close examination, traces of the drill are slightly visible. The facial features have a soft and smooth surface which suits the portrait of a boy. The face does not show any trace of reworking. Therefore it can probably be suggested that the head was designed originally as the portrait of a boy. The head shows traces of recarving only at the back.

<sup>17</sup> Lahusen – Formigli 2001, fig. 172.

<sup>18</sup> Lahusen – Formigli 2001, 125 fig. 67, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Denizli Museum inv. E7054. Dimensions: H 10 cm, W 9 cm.

<sup>20</sup> Themelis 1998, 52–57 pls. 10–13; Geominy 2007, 48–50 fig. 63.

<sup>21</sup> Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, 66–67. 179–180 pl. 10, 1–4.

<sup>22</sup> Denizli Museum inv. E7052. Dimensions: H 23 cm, W 21 cm.

In the upper section of the head there is an evident groove encircling the head. The groove becomes wider at the back of the head, loses its depth, and gives the impression that it has been worked with a rasp (fig. 4 c). The groove demonstrates that there was once a wreath or diadem encircling the head, with a chignon at the back of the neck (see below); however, at a later date an attempt was made to remove them.

The most important detail of the head is its rear surface. Traces of a rasp can be clearly seen on the surface of the hair at the back of head. Below the star-fish pattern on the crown of the head the circular groove disappears in the traces of the rasp. Regarding the thoroughly protected traces on the back of the head, it seems that softer curls were carved here, which were then engraved with a rasp. Traces of the rasp increase towards the nape, so that it can be suggested that a chignon was once present here. Thus we can propose as a second opinion that this head formerly depicted a woman with a bun at the nape of the neck. It seems probable that originally the hairstyle was a high relief one, similar to the hairstyles worn by females in the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods. The individual depicted must be a woman from these periods. When we look carefully at the details of the face, the skin is soft below the eyes, on both sides of the mouth, and in the lower cheek area. These features support the conclusion that the woman originally depicted was youthful.

When viewed from the front, the head is the portrait of a boy<sup>23</sup>. His hairstyle was most popular during the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. The forelocks are arranged in a single row, all of the curls are depicted in comma-shaped locks, and point in one direction. These features are also apparent in Type 1 of the portrait types of emperor Hadrian in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. This type of hair surrounds the forehead like a crown. The arrangement of comma-shaped locks was known, however, since the beginning of the Julio-Claudian period, and was also used extensively in the Flavian period. This arrangement of curls also appears in the military portraits of Trajan, which however do not have the second row of curls in the forelocks. For more precise parallels we need to look for sculpture workshops in the vicinity of Tabae. In the first instance Aphrodisias comes immediately to mind, because inscriptions attest to the relationship between the two cities. Aphrodisias was a major sculptural centre in the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., the date proposed for our portrait<sup>25</sup>. A resemblance between the Tabae portrait and works from Aphrodisias can be observed in terms of the workmanship as well as the style<sup>26</sup>. The plastic and dynamic structure of the hair of the Tabae head is supported with deep rifts between the locks, whereas in contrast the face is calm.

Works from Aphrodisias which are similar to the Tabae portrait can be found amongst the portraits of emperor Claudius<sup>27</sup>, in particular the hairstyle of that emperor as depicted as world dominator in the relief panel from the Sebasteion<sup>28</sup>. Here his hair is parted well to the side and swept across his forehead in separate locks, with locks at each side pointing backwards. This type is similar in its general manner to portraits of Tiberius and Claudius<sup>29</sup>.

A portrait of Nerva found in Aphrodisias also reveals similarities to the Tabae head, in particular the hairstyle in terms of workmanship and formal features<sup>30</sup>. The comma-shaped locks in the forehead of the portraits from Aphrodisias are separated from each other by a deep rift. The same feature appears in the hair of the Tabae portrait. The square shape of the forehead and the differentiation of texture between skin and hair are similar also in the Tabae head. But while at first the facial features appear to be similar, the use of the drill on the eyes and both sides of the mouth in the portraits from Aphrodisias diverges from the Tabae portrait. Conversely, the soft appearance

<sup>23</sup> Smith 2009, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Kleiner 1992, 208–209.

<sup>25</sup> Hallett 1998, 84; Smith 2009, 10–12.

<sup>26</sup> Smith 2009, 9–33.

<sup>27</sup> Smith 2009, 14–15. 246–249 nos. 9–10.

<sup>28</sup> Smith 2009, 15 fig. 6; Ilgin 2011, 76–77.

<sup>29</sup> Smith 1987, 105 pls. 6–7.

<sup>30</sup> Smith 2009, 14–15. 252–253 no. 12.

of the skin in the Tabae head is evident; this is a feature common to works from the Hellenistic period, which continued to appear in works of the early imperial era. In the works of this period, the eyes and mouth were softly depicted, and sharp delineations characteristic of drill work were not evident. The dynamic structure of the hair on the forehead is in contrast to the soft skin of the face. Therefore the opinion proposed above, that the Tabae portrait was recarved at a later date, seems to be supported.

Recarving of an imperial portrait was generally the result of *damnatio memoriae*<sup>31</sup>. The Tabae portrait may originally have reflected a woman, whose memory was erased in the Julio-Claudian or Flavian period. Based on the characteristics of the hair of the Tabae portrait, it would be appropriate to look at female portrait types in which relatively high hair are observed. This is because the relatively dense and high plastic characteristics of the curls at the front extending downwards onto the forehead in the Tabae head require that the original had these features. Female portraits in the early imperial period, however, often followed the same type as that of the empress, making it difficult to determine who is depicted in the absence of additional evidence such as an inscription. The most important characteristic for identifying a female portrait is the hairstyle. In the case of the recarved Tabae head, it is very difficult to determine who was originally depicted. We can only state that it was a young woman. Amongst the imperial women of the first century, Poppaea's and Agrippina Minor's memories were deleted, Julia Minor was banished, and Julia Drusilla was murdered<sup>32</sup>. But it is almost impossible to identify the original portrait without an inscription or other confirming evidence. In the absence of a more precise identification, it is suggested here that the original female depicted in the Tabae head was a princess of the Julio-Claudian house.

To conclude, it is proposed here that the marble head first depicted a woman; based on the evidence of the workmanship and the style of the curls, the head was recarved into the portrait of a boy, probably in the mid- or later 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D.<sup>33</sup>.

### 3. Head of Tyche<sup>34</sup>

This head of coarse-grained white marble wears a *stephane*, behind which is a polos, suggesting an identity as Tyche (fig. 5). A similar example of Tyche is known from Laodikeia<sup>35</sup>. It has been suggested that the Tyche type in Laodikeia also symbolizes the Queen due to a local cult in the name of Laodike, the wife of Antiochos II, whose presence in the city was known. Such a suggestion can probably not be made for the Tabae head, as unfortunately too little is known regarding the early history of the city. Tyche, however, is known on coins from the city which were found before excavations were carried out. The numismatic image of Tyche has a polos, diadem and cornucopia, the former two attributes appearing on the marble head. Based on this evidence, Tyche was worshipped in the city.

Stylistically, the head is relatively roughly worked. Characteristics such as the soft features, fat beneath the chin, and the hair encircling the forehead in the form of a triangle indicate that this head is a later version of an originally Hellenistic type. A date in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. is proposed, and it probably originated from a local workshop, as did the sculpture from Laodikeia.

<sup>31</sup> Varner 2004, 1–9; Smith 2009, 28–30.

<sup>32</sup> Varner 2004, 83–84, 89–90, 97–99, 102.

<sup>33</sup> I am grateful for the valuable contributions by Prof. Dr. Ramazan Özgan and Dr. Maria Aurenhammer with regard to the evaluation of this portrait.

<sup>34</sup> Denizli Museum inv. E4647. Dimensions: H 35 cm, W 15 cm.

<sup>35</sup> Şimşek 2011, 343 fig. 22.15; Şimşek 2013, 137 and 140 fig. 171.



#### 4. Dionysos (?)<sup>36</sup>

As far as it can be determined from the broken section at the back of the head (fig. 6), the texture of the marble is relatively soft and considerably coarse-grained. The figure was carved in considerably high relief, the background of the figure has been broken and the rear side has been carved flat. With a total thickness of only 13 cm it is possible that this relief originated from a frieze or a sarcophagus.

The relief depicts a nude male figure, whose upper body is preserved from the waist up. His hair is long and encircles the forehead, forming a triangular shape, while long wavy curls fall over both of the shoulders. The *korymbos* (?)<sup>37</sup> preserved on the top section of the head suggest a similarity to the Dionysos type known from the Hellenistic period<sup>38</sup>. The apparent drill marks evident near the mouth and other areas of the head reinforce the possibility that it was made in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., as was perhaps the Tyche with its coarse carving of the eye structure. The Dionysos (?) might have been produced in a local workshop under the influence of Aphrodisias.

### CONCLUSION

The works of sculpture discovered in the excavations at Kale-i Tavas, the ancient city of Tabae, provide evidence for the existence of artistic works in the city after the Hellenistic period. The privilege received from the Roman Senate in 80 B.C. must have played an important role in the development of the city. The best proof of this is the bronze statue. A close artistic relationship between the cities of Tabae and Aphrodisias may date back to the beginning of the imperial period, relations are also attested in inscriptions.

As exemplified by the portrait of a boy, possibly artists from Aphrodisias came to Tabae to produce sculpture, or important works were carved in the workshops of Aphrodisias. A detailed comparison of the marble and workmanship of both cities will be able to provide more definite conclusions. Furthermore, in light of examples such as the Tyche head and the Dionysos relief, the existence of a local workshop producing works up until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. can be suggested. Further excavation of the ancient strata of Kale-i Tavas/Tabae has become a necessity. Such an undertaking will lead to more precise conclusions not only concerning the works presented here but also the ancient history of Kale-i Tavas/Tabae.

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<sup>36</sup> Denizli Museum inv. E7053. Dimensions: H 32 cm, W 20 cm, D 13,5 cm.

<sup>37</sup> The fragment on top of the head might depict *korymbos* – berries of ivy or vine leaves which are typical for heads of Dionysos; cf. Aurenhammer 1990, pls. 23. 30.

<sup>38</sup> Gasparri 1986, 435 no. 122 d–f. Alternatively, the absence of a fillet on the forehead and of a goatskin on the shoulder suggest that the figure may be Apollo. Accordingly he resembles the Apollo Citharoedus type known from the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods. For the type of Apollo playing the *kithara*, cf. Lambrinoudakis 1984, 212 no. 228.

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1 Body parts of a bronze nude male figure, from Kale-i Tavas/Tabae



2 a. b Bronze head from Tabae, front and rear

3 Head of a marble figurine  
from Tabae



4 a–c Portrait from Tabae



5 Head of Tyche from Tabae



6 Relief of Dionysos (?) from Tabae

EVRIDIKI-EVDOKIA LEKA

**ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ERESOS (LESBOS)\*****ABSTRACT**

The birthplace of Sappho, Theophrastos, and Phantias located at the south-western coast of Lesbos, Eresos was one of the five independent city-states of the island in the Classical Period. The city flourished particularly in Roman and Late Roman times, and became the second most important city of Lesbos after Mytilene. The local Archaeological Collection in Skala Eresou contains a significant number of unpublished sculptures of late Hellenistic and Roman period (fragments of statues, statuettes, reliefs, table supports), mostly old and fortuitous finds without specific context. Besides technique, typology, iconography, style and dating, the paper explores the possible provenance and use of the sculptures through information provided by the epigraphy and the topography of ancient Eresos. The study of this material allows also new insights into the cults of Roman Lesbos.

**ÖZET****Eresos'daki (Lesbos) Roma Heykelleri**

Sappho'nun, Theophrastos'un ve Phantias doğum yeri olan ve Lesbos'un güneybatı kıyısında lokalize edilen Eresos, adanın Klasik Dönem'deki beş bağımsız şehir devletinden biriydi. Şehir, özellikle Roma ve Geç Roma Dönemi'nde gelişmiştir ve Lesbos'un Mytilene'den sonraki ikinci en ön önemli şehri olmuştur. Skala Eresou'daki yerel arkeolojik koleksiyonunda Geç Hellenistik ve Roma Dönemi'ne ait (heykel parçaları, heykelcikler, kabartmalar, masa ayakları) yayınlanmamış önemli sayıda heykel yer alır. Bunların çoğunluğu spesifik bir kontekse bağlı olmayan eski tesadüfi buluntulardır. Teknik, tipoloji ikonografi, stil ve tarihlenmenin yanında bu makale, antik Eresos'un topografisinin ve yazıtlarının sunduğu bilgiler aracılığıyla heykellerin olası kökenlerini ve kullanımlarını incelemektedir. Bu malzemenin incelenmesi Roma Dönemi Lesbos'undaki kültürlerle ilgili yeni bakış açıları da sağlamaktadır.

**LESBOS IN ROMAN TIMES**

Lesbos is the third largest Greek island after Crete and Euboea. It is situated in the northeastern Aegean at the entrance to the Gulf of Adramyttion (Edremit) in Asia Minor (fig. 1). A number of cities founded around this gulf in the Early Iron Age acknowledged Lesbos as their metropolis, while the Asian coastal area opposite the city of Mytilene was known in ancient sources as the ›Mytilenaeen shore‹, ›Lesbia Chora‹ or ›Peraea‹. In the Archaic period there were six independent city-states on the island: Mytilene, Methymna, Eresos, Pyrrha, Antissa and Arisbe, but the last-mentioned was seized by Methymna<sup>1</sup>. In Hellenistic times Pyrrha was struck by an earthquake and Antissa was destroyed by the Romans in 167 B.C. for having supported Perseus, and its inhabitants moved to Methymna. Thus Mytilene, Methymna and Eresos were the three main cities

\* The starting-point of this paper has been the preparation work for the reopening of the Eresos Archaeological Collection in a new building and according to a new exhibition program. I would like to thank George Zachos for providing valuable historical and epigraphic evidence. I also thank Aglaia Archontidou, Lillian Achilara and Olga Philaniotou, Honorary Ephors of Antiquities, who provided the permission to study and publish a significant number of the sculptures kept in the Eresos Collection (below: EC). Warm thanks are due also to Maria Aurenhamer for improving my article with critical comments.

<sup>1</sup> Strab. 13, 1, 49; 13, 2, 1; Athen. 2, 62 b; Liv. 37, 21, 4; Hdt. 1, 151; Kontis 1978, 7–13. 126–128.



of Lesbos that existed in Roman times, but also there is archaeological and epigraphic evidence of many small settlements spread all over the countryside<sup>2</sup>.

Mytilene supported Mithridates VI Eupator and was besieged by Lucullus in 83 B.C. and Minucius Thermus in 80/79 B.C. The city was plundered, 500 men were executed and 6,000 enslaved. Mytilene became *stipendiaria* until 62 B.C., when Pompey gave back its freedom, largely out of regard for his friend Theophanes of Mytilene. The philosopher and orator Potamon reassured the status of the city in the times of Caesar and Augustus<sup>3</sup>. The propitious attitude of the emperors to Mytilene and Lesbos continued during the imperial period resulting in the flourishing of the island. Also, the extraction and commerce of its grey marble that was widespread all over the Mediterranean certainly provided extra income for Lesbos. This favorable financial situation resulted in the adornment of Mytilene, Methymna and Eresos with important and luxurious buildings both private (*villae urbanae*) and public (baths, aqueducts) and Lesbos was transformed into a lavish resort for the Roman elite<sup>4</sup>.

### ERESOS IN ROMAN TIMES

Ancient Eresos was situated on the southwestern coast of the island, where modern Skala Eresou is located (fig. 1). The acropolis of the ancient city is located on a naturally defensive hill called Mastos (or Vigla). To the southwest of the acropolis lies the harbour of the ancient city. The city's cemeteries were located to the north/northeast, west and southeast of the acropolis. The city flourished in Roman-Late Roman times and became the second most important city of Lesbos after Mytilene, as we can assume not only from a number of epigraphic texts mentioning the activity of a vigorous elite, the existence of the imperial cult and a number of imperial statues<sup>5</sup>, coins issued during the reigns of several emperors<sup>6</sup>, but also from several architectural and other remains (baths, paved roads, mosaics, pottery, coins) of the Roman period that have been uncovered through old and more recent investigations and rescue excavations conducted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lesbos<sup>7</sup>.

Late Antiquity is marked at Eresos by the construction of at least two impressive early Christian basilicas with well-preserved floor mosaics. The first is known as the Basilica of Ag. Andreas and is located near the heart of the ancient city. The second is situated 2 km to the west of Skala Eresou<sup>8</sup>. Architectural members built into a modern house on the northwestern slope of the acropolis are attributed to another early Christian basilica probably to be located nearby. Sections of mosaic floors from Late Roman houses were uncovered also on the acropolis slopes. An extensive set of industrial buildings came to light more recently a few metres to the west of the Basilica of Ag. Andreas, along with a well-preserved section of a Roman paved road<sup>9</sup>.

Modern building activity scattered the remains of the ancient city throughout the countryside, with a significant number of *disiecta membra* (architectural elements, sculptures, inscriptions) incorporated into small churches and modern retaining walls.

<sup>2</sup> Kontis 1978, 197–201; Paraskevaïdis 1978; Mason 1987; Mason 1995, 399–410; Spencer 1995; Labarre 1996, 69–152; Kaldellis 2002, 61–107.

<sup>3</sup> Parker 1991; Anastasiadis 1995, 1–14; Labarre 1996, 87–97. 277–284; Arrayás Morales 2010, 132–150.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Zachos – Leka 2012, 601; Zachos – Leka 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Kajava 2002; Labarre 1996, 119–120. 126–127. 357–359; Kaldellis 2002, 74–75.

<sup>6</sup> Mionnet 1833, 52–54; RPC I, 2334–2336.

<sup>7</sup> Zachos 2010, 228 fig. 1 b.

<sup>8</sup> Orlandos 1929, 29–71; Evangelidis 1930, 33–40; Charitonidis 1968a, 36–38 figs. 19–20 pls. 14–15.

<sup>9</sup> Zachos 2010, 229–230 pl. 30, 1.

## ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ERESOS

Hellenistic and Roman sculpture is represented in Eresos by a significant number of grave stelae that are included in the corpus of the »Ostgriechische Grabreliefs« by E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius. This category of sculptures, though very important, lies beyond the scope of our research, which concentrates on unpublished pieces belonging to other sculptural genres, such as votive objects that can be related to specific cults, and on the other hand portrait statues and table supports. These pieces are presented here for the first time, and despite their apparent poor quality may offer some interesting keys to our knowledge of Roman sculpture in Lesbos.

## ANATOMICAL *EX VOTO*

First of all, the category of Roman votive sculptures from Eresos includes a substantial number of anatomical *ex voto*, that is, thank offerings in the form of human limbs carved more often in relief but also in the round, and made not only of marble but also of limestone, terracotta, bronze, etc. This type of votive object occurs in sanctuaries of Asclepius, as well as of other healing deities. Examples are known mostly from Athens and Attica but also from the Aegean Islands, Asia Minor, and the Peloponnese, as well as Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete and Cyprus. The bulk of the material dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. They symbolize the ill or blessed human limb, for the cure of which the dedicator had wished and the god accomplished<sup>10</sup>. This kind of thank offering is represented in ancient Eresos exclusively by the lower limbs, either in the form of marble feet carved in the round, or in the form of a leg carved in relief on a marble slab, or in the form of pairs of footprints carved in flat relief on blocks of trachyte or marble. Footprints called βήματα (»steps«) in inscriptions from Delos (e.g. ID 2103) are also interpreted as proof and memento that worshippers visited the sanctuary, or represent the imprint of divine feet as a visible token of his epiphany, especially in sanctuaries of the Egyptian Gods<sup>11</sup>. However, the absence of any reference about a sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods in Eresos, as well as the coexistence of the footprints with the other two types of anatomical *ex voto* lead rather to their interpretation as anatomical offerings, as well. Despite the fact that they are fortuitous finds without context and without inscriptions, the omnipresence of these specific human limbs and feet suggests further conclusions. For instance, they may be related to impediments to movement, to a healing sanctuary that specialized in the treatment of foot and leg injuries or diseases<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Forsén 1996; Salta 2013; Stampolidis – Tasoulas 2014, 217–248.

<sup>11</sup> Votive marble plaques with over life-sized footprints from the Sarapieion of Thessaloniki are interpreted as »traces« or »steps« of the deity who listened to the dedicator's prayer, and signify its epiphany. Despinis – Stefanidou-Tiveriou – Voutiras 1997, 65–66 no. 48 fig. 130 and Despinis – Stefanidou-Tiveriou – Voutiras 2003, 253–256 nos. 332–336 figs. 1020–1024 (E. Voutiras). Similar plaques with footprints of different size that were dedicated to Isis Lochia in Dion (Macedonia) are interpreted as »steps« either of the couples who visited the sanctuary after the birth of their children, or of the deity and dedicator, or of a mother and child. Pandermalis 1984, 273–275; SEG 34, 622–624; Christodoulou 2011, nos. 4–7. Such plaques, generally termed *plantae pedum* or *vestigia*, depicting a pair of feet accompanied by a dedication to Isis, Caelestis or Nemesis have been found as far away as Baelo Claudia and Italica in southern Iberia. Revell 2016.

<sup>12</sup> Oberhelman 2014.

The marble feet carved in the round are the most characteristic anatomical offerings in ancient Eresos. They comprise both right<sup>13</sup> and left feet<sup>14</sup> more or less life-sized and provided with a kind of sole or sandal; their carving is not accomplished, though (fig. 2 a). One piece presents also marks of distortion, of which the pronounced curve of the metatarsus is the most apparent along with the twisting of the big toe. The remaining toes are also long and crooked, separated by deep drilled channels. A varicose vein runs vertically in the middle of the foot, and a thick diagonal tendon reaches the metatarsus<sup>15</sup>. The material at our disposal does not allow to assemble pairs of feet, which must have been offered as well, as it is depicted on the famous votive relief of Lysimachides in the Athens National Archaeological Museum (inv. 3526), dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>16</sup>. Outside Eresos, this type of anatomical offering has parallels mostly of terracotta (Corinth Asclepieion) and limestone (Cyprus). Anatomical offerings in the form of miniature bronze feet were inserted in the plinths of statues of Asclepius and Coronis in the Nymphaeum of Sagalassos<sup>17</sup>.

A lower left leg carved in flat relief appears once on an irregular slab of coarse white marble (EC, inv. 157; H 22; W 22; D 7 cm; fig. 2 b). The slab is broken all around and bears abundant marks of the pointed chisel. The leg in profile view to the right is preserved from below the knee to the foot, but most probably the knee and part of the thigh were also represented. The toes, sole, and heel are chipped. The carving of the leg and foot is too sketchy to allow any anatomical details. Many parallels are known for this type of thank offering, for instance from the Athenian Asclepieion<sup>18</sup>. The sketchy carving of this piece along with the summary fashioning of the votive feet that we saw previously point to the symbolic rather than artistic value of this kind of object.

<sup>13</sup> Right foot of coarse white marble, inv. 153. H 10.8; L 15 cm (fig. 2 a). The piece was broken and mended in the middle. The surface of the marble is weathered and the toes are chipped. The bare foot is represented from above the ankle and set on a kind of sole. The carving is not accomplished: the lower leg is thick and polygonal, without ankle; the foot is thin and bony, while two edges run from the ankle to the toes, leaving a hollow in the middle; the toes are long and angular, except for the little one, which appears much shorter; the arch of the foot is exaggerated, leaving a marble surplus between the foot and the sole. Right foot of coarse white marble, inv. 154. H 11; L 16.8 cm. The piece is badly weathered, and the marble has undergone calcification. The bare foot is represented from above the ankle and set on a kind of sole, which projects on the outer side, partly broken. The carving is not accomplished: the massive and trapezoidal foot has no toes; the lower leg is too slender to accommodate the ankle; the carving of the inner side appears more advanced, though the arch of the foot seems exaggerated.

<sup>14</sup> Left foot of coarse white marble, inv. 151. H 12.8; L 19.8 cm. The piece is weathered and patinated. The inner side is better preserved. The bare foot is represented from above the ankle and set on a thin sole. The carving is more accomplished; the lower leg is slender with projecting ankle; the foot is flat, soft and plump; the toes are long and slim, separated by shallow grooves, and have no nails. Left foot of coarse white marble, inv. 150. H 10.2; L 19 cm. The foot is broken at the ankle and under the toes. The sole is chipped all around. The surface of the marble is weathered, patinated, and partially covered with concretions. The foot is represented wearing a soft boot, of which the closing in front in the middle leaves a triangular opening that reveals part of the toes. The shod foot is also set on a kind of sole. Fragment of left foot in coarse white marble, inv. 152. H 11.3; L 11.5 cm. The rear part of the foot is preserved along with the lower leg. The toes and the sole are broken away. The marble is badly weathered. The foot is massive compared with the slender lower leg. Except for the anklebone, no other anatomical details survive. Fragment of left foot in coarse white marble, inv. 155 (in the EC inventory it is referred to as right foot). H 9; L 12 cm. The middle part is preserved on a thick sole, the toes and heel being broken away. The marble is badly weathered. No anatomical details survive.

<sup>15</sup> Fragment of left foot in coarse white marble, inv. 258 (in the EC inventory it is referred to as right foot). H 8.5; L 17 cm. The piece was found in the southwestern foot of the acropolis hill (at the harbour's side). Only the front part of the foot is preserved, the heel and the ankle being broken away. The marble is weathered and patinated. The bare foot is placed on a thick sole (2 cm).

<sup>16</sup> Körte 1893, 235–238 pl. 11; IG II 2, 4387; van Straten 1981, 113 no. 2.1 fig. 52; van Straten 1992, 260–261; Kaltsas 2002, 227 no. 477; Salta 2013, 26–27 fig. 7; Stampolidis – Tasoulas 2014, 125–126 (M. Salta).

<sup>17</sup> Chaniotis 2014, 267 fig. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Forsén 1996, 47–48. 51. 53–54 nos 1.38; 1.43; 1.48 figs. 32. 35. 38; IG II 2, 4502. 4706; van Straten 1981, 108, nos 1.17; 1.21; 1.23.

The same observation applies especially to the quite numerous pairs of footprints carved in flat relief on rectangular blocks either of grey-brown trachyte (local volcanic stone) or of grey marble<sup>19</sup>. Single pairs of footprints are most common, but double pairs appear as well, albeit less often: they possibly represent family dedications. The dimensions of the footprints correspond to life-size and those of the blocks do not vary considerably. Both an upright and a horizontal position fit this type of objects, of which the thickness corresponds either to a slab or to a block. Two types of footprints can be distinguished, one without toes at all (type 1)<sup>20</sup> and one with only the big toes indicated (type 2, fig. 2 c)<sup>21</sup>. The pieces come exclusively from the area of ancient Eresos<sup>22</sup>; they are simple, local products without artistic ambition, and of which the chronology cannot be further specified. The only parallel so far for this type of anatomical offering comes from the outdoor sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos in Athens, where the slab with the relief footprints was placed inside a niche opened on the vertical rock surface, and is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>23</sup>. In fact, the cult of Zeus held a prominent place in Lesbos, and in particular in Eresos<sup>24</sup>.

Let us now try to answer the question, where these objects may have been dedicated. None of the sanctuaries of ancient Eresos has been uncovered yet, but the inscriptions offer valuable evidence about their identification. The city's most important sanctuary was dedicated to Athena Polias and called the »Athenaion« in inscriptions. It must have been located away from the ancient agora, for in an honorary decree directions are given for placing one copy of the decree in

<sup>19</sup> On both kinds of stone, cf. Zachos – Leka 2012; Zachos – Leka 2015.

<sup>20</sup> Square slab of coarse grey-brown trachyte, inv. 159. H 27.5; W 26.5; T 9.5 cm. The top is broken and the edges are chipped. A diagonal cut crosses the left footprint. One pair of footprints without toes is carved in flat relief. The large and rather angular footprints are symmetrical and so tight that they almost meet in the middle. Conze 1865, 31–32 pl. 13.1. Oblong slab of coarse grey-brown trachyte, inv. 285. H 30 cm diminishing slightly towards the right side of the slab; W 43; D 8; L of footprints 25 cm. The surface of the stone is badly weathered and marked by holes and cracks. The edges and the corners are chipped along with the outer right footprint. Two pairs of footprints without toes are carved in flat relief. The large and rounded footprints are symmetrical and placed close together so that they can fit in the width of the stone. Square block of coarse grey-black volcanic stone, inv. 284. H 28.5; W 31; D 14.5 cm; L of footprints 21 cm. The stone is badly weathered, chipped at the edges with remains of modern plaster. The outline of the footprints is blurred. A pair of footprints without toes is carved in flat relief. The narrow, rounded footprints are not symmetrical but placed quite far apart. Their carving is cursory.

<sup>21</sup> Square block of coarse grey-brown trachyte, inv. 267. H 22; W 19.5; D 14 cm; L of footprints 20 cm. The stone is badly weathered and the edges are chipped. A wavy crack line crosses the left footprint, of which the outline is blurred. One pair of footprints is carved in flat relief with the big toes indicated. The narrow and rounded footprints are symmetrical and placed apart so that they occupy the entire width and height of the stone. Oblong block of coarse grey-brown trachyte, inv. 266. H 29; W 37; D 14 cm; L of footprints 22 cm. The stone is badly weathered. Two pairs of narrow, rounded footprints are carved in flat relief with the big toes indicated. The footprints of the right pair are much better preserved, bigger and set closer together, than those of the left pair, of which the design is blurred. Irregular square block of coarse grey-brown trachyte, inv. 313. The surface of the stone is badly weathered and marked by holes and cracks. The edges and the corners are chipped, and the outline of the footprints is blurred. One pair of footprints is carved in flat relief with the big toes indicated. The very narrow and rounded footprints are symmetrical and set wide apart. The carving is rather cursory. Square block of fine grey marble, inv. 309, of footprints 18 cm (fig. 2 c). The surface is covered with soil concretions and marks of a toothed chisel. The edges and the corners are chipped. One pair of footprints is carved in flat relief with the big toes indicated. The narrow and rounded footprints are clearly designed, symmetrical, and set apart. Irregular square block of coarse grey marble, inv. 265. H 20.5 cm diminishing towards the right side of the block; W 20.5; D 18 cm; L of footprints 18 cm. The surface of the marble is badly weathered, covered with cracks, veins and concretions. The edges of the block and the outline of the footprints are chipped. One pair of footprints is carved in flat relief with the big toes indicated. The narrow and rounded footprints are not symmetrical but set apart. The carving is cursory.

<sup>22</sup> A pair of footprints was found in secondary use in the chapel of Ag. Dimitrios in Portos, near the left side of the road leading from Eresos to Mesotopos.

<sup>23</sup> Forsén 1996, 71–72 no. 8.23 fig. 68; IG II 2, 4784; van Straten 1981, 119 no. 8.20.

<sup>24</sup> The month 'Ο μολόιος (IG XII 2, 527 l. 44) has been associated with the cult of Zeus (Shields 1917, 22). The judges were to swear by Zeus and Helios in the text concerning the trial of the tyrant Eurysilaos and mentioning also an altar of Zeus Philippios (IG XII 2, 526 c20; Shields 1917, 6; Ellis-Evans 2012, esp. 195. 207. 210). Zeus M[egistos] has been restored in the dedicatory inscription of an honorific statue for an emperor (IG XII2 542), but the restoration is disputed, cf. Kajava 2002, 102 d.

the agora and another copy in the »Athenaion«. Furthermore, in an agreement between Lesbos and Rhodes of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. directions were given that the Lesbians should erect a stele with a copy of the decree in the temple of Athena Polias at Eresos<sup>25</sup>. The location of the small church of Panagia Minavra, on the south-eastern slope of the acropolis hill has been proposed as the site of this temple, due both to ancient architectural remains and to the name of the chapel (Minavra-Minerva)<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, Athena is represented on coins issued by Eresos<sup>27</sup>. Now at Mytilene, a 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. dedication to Athena by a certain Βηρύλλα bears the picture of an eye. The inscribed stone was found near the acropolis of Mytilene, on which a temple of Athena Soteira probably stood. Dedications of similar form make it possible that Berylla gave this thank offering to Athena because her sight was restored<sup>28</sup>. It is noteworthy that Athena at Methymna was regarded as a deity of health and political protection. According to E. Shields »the goddess appears to be an Athena Soteira, such as we find it in Mytilene, or an Athena Polias, such as at Eresos«<sup>29</sup>. Therefore, we can assume that the anatomical *ex voto* of Eresos may indeed have been dedicated originally in the sanctuary of Athena Polias.

However, apart from Athena, ancient literature and epigraphy mention other deities at Eresos as well, who possessed healing powers, and to whom anatomical offerings were dedicated, such as Apollo, Zeus, Heracles, Artemis, and Aphrodite, while images of Hermes, Apollo, Zeus, Artemis, Demeter and probably Kore, as well as Asclepius are depicted on coins of Eresos<sup>30</sup>. Asclepius indeed held an important place in the religious life of the Lesbians, and it has been argued that Lesbos had one of the oldest cults in the East<sup>31</sup>. Nevertheless, the bulk of the evidence is related only to Mytilene and its territory. For the period after 300 B.C. there is indeed ample testimony from both inscriptions and coins, and we know that in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. Mytilene had an important temple of Asclepius Soter, which was well-known even beyond the limits of its territory<sup>32</sup>. One of its prominent citizens, Potamon held the priesthood of Asclepius in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>33</sup>. Two small reliefs of Asclepius were found at Methymna, whose wine was reputed to possess medicinal properties<sup>34</sup>. At Eresos there is probably a Roman coin type representing Asclepius<sup>35</sup>. The large number of these characteristic anatomical *ex voto* may indeed reveal the existence of an important Asclepieion in ancient Eresos, which probably was founded and/or flourished particularly in the Roman period. However, the lack of votive inscriptions leaves this question of provenance open. One votive relief from Sigri (near Eresos, see below) depicts Sarapis, who is also considered as a healing god<sup>36</sup>, and an association of Sarapiastai is known from Methymna<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> IG XII 2, 529; IG XII Suppl. 120; Kontis 1978, 424 no. 2252; Labarre 1996, 332–333 no. 67.

<sup>26</sup> Laskaris 1959, 72.

<sup>27</sup> Shields 1917, 32.

<sup>28</sup> IG XII 2, 121; Kontis 1978, 424 no. 2251; Forsén 1996, 89–90 no. 21.1. For a different interpretation, Shields 1917, 30.

<sup>29</sup> IG XII 2, 111. 505; Shields 1917, 30–31; Kontis 1978, 424 no. 2254.

<sup>30</sup> Kontis 1978, 429 nos. 2288–289; Ralli – Lagos 2001; Zachos 2010, 226.

<sup>31</sup> Shields 1917, 50.

<sup>32</sup> IG XII 2, 4 l. 1–2; 10 (?); 11; 15 l. 34; 61; 102; 116; Suppl. 25; Shields 1917, 50–54; Evangelidis 1924/1925, 44–45; Kontis 1937, 483–492; Charitonidis 1968b, no. 6b; Kontis 1978, 430–431; Heisserer 1988, 111–132; Labarre 1996, 208–210. 257–259 no. 4; Hellmann 1999, 56–57 no. 14.

<sup>33</sup> Parker 1991, 118 n. 16.

<sup>34</sup> Conze 1865, 22; Gal., De antidot. 1, 5, 14, 29; On Therapeutic Method 10, 832; On Compounding 13, 405. 659.

<sup>35</sup> Head 1911, 560.

<sup>36</sup> Lang 2012, 63–67; Bricault 2014, 101–103; on Sarapeion C in Delos as healing centre, cf. Bricault 2008, 55–71.

<sup>37</sup> IG XII 2, 511; SIRIS 262; RICIS 205/0401; Brun 1991, 105; Labarre 1996, 59.



## LARGE VOTIVE RELIEF SCULPTURES

On the other hand, the category of votive sculptures related to specific cults includes two votive reliefs of the same type depicting the Dioscuroi beside their horses. The iconographic type is best preserved in the relief from Sigri<sup>38</sup>: the two heroes are depicted inside a naiskos, standing symmetrically beside their confronted horses, which they hold by the reins; they wear the chlamys, and hold a spear and a sword scabbard. On top of the horses' heads appear in low relief the miniature protomae of Athena and Sarapis. The second relief from Eresos is very fragmentary. It is composed of two non-joining fragments, one with the frontal figure of a Dioscuros and a second with the confronted heads of the horses framing a tree. Both fragments were noticed and related to each other by Conze as early as 1865<sup>39</sup>. We know that the Dioscuroi were worshipped in Lesbos particularly as deities of the sea<sup>40</sup>.

Another very popular category of votive reliefs belongs to the iconographic type of the Thracian rider (*heros equitans*). One inscribed relief depicts the hero or god riding vigorously as a hunter ready to hit his victim with his raised right hand, holding most probably a spear. The rider is wearing a belted chiton (tunic) and over it a flowing chlamys. On the right edge of the slab there are traces of a tree and a serpent<sup>41</sup>. This marble relief, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>/ 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. was found in the years 1922–1925 at the Basilica of Ag. Andreas<sup>42</sup>. A second relief of the same type from Eresos or Sigri once in the Hypsilou cloister is kept now in the Mytilene Archaeological Museum<sup>43</sup>. Despite their poor workmanship, the marked similarities of these two reliefs, which according to E. Pfuhl are works of the »same hand«, indicate also the existence of a local workshop, specialized in the fabrication of such reliefs. Another inscribed relief, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., shows a riding heroine dressed in a belted chiton and a cloak. The horse is standing calm in front of a burning altar with garlands, from which a tree grows with a serpent, while a maid-servant, dressed in a chiton, stands behind holding a box<sup>44</sup>. A fourth relief composed of two joining fragments preserves the head and the front hooves of the horse, the burning altar, as well as a tree, on which a snake climbs up and behind which a wild boar hides<sup>45</sup>. The name [K]ΑΛΛΙΣΤΟY is inscribed on the bottom of the slab. A date in the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. can be proposed for this relief based on stylistic criteria. The association of *heros equitans*' cult to Asclepios, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Cybele in the East Balkan region is well established<sup>46</sup>.

Furthermore, the fragments of two large votive reliefs – one of Artemis carved in very high relief and one of the lyre of Apollo – can be related to the cult of these two sibling gods. The figure of Artemis is preserved from the base of the neck to the waist along with a part of the background (EC, inv. 147; H 18 cm; fig. 3). Both arms are broken at the elbows. The relief is carved out of coarse light grey marble with an orange brown patina, weathered, and covered with soil concretions. The goddess is represented in frontal position in the type of Artemis Colonna, wearing a short-sleeved chiton with triangular neck opening, girded in the waist. A baldric runs diagonally across her chest. The ephebic bosom of the goddess appears under the parallel V-shaped folds of

<sup>38</sup> Mytilene, Archaeological Museum inv. 17774, middle of 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D. Achilara 2000; Achilara 2001.

<sup>39</sup> EC, inv. 189+129, 1<sup>st</sup> c. A.D. Conze 1865, 31 pl. 15, 1. Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, no. 1460 fig. 88. On the inscription, IG XII 2, 565.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. a marble base of Hellenistic times from Mytilene, which depicts the Dioscuroi on a prow, Kontis 1978, 433–434 no. 2319.

<sup>41</sup> EC, inv. 179. Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, no. 1328 pl. 195; Pantos et al. 1992, 1037 no. 244; 1069 pl. 687 (P. Pantos).

<sup>42</sup> Evangelidis 1924/1925, 54.

<sup>43</sup> Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, no. 1406; Pantos et al. 1992, 1037 no. 245; 1069 (P. Pantos); Archontidou – Achilara 1999, 142 bottom, dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. B.C.

<sup>44</sup> EC, inv. 248. Pfuhl – Möbius 1977–1979, no. 1421 pl. 207; Pantos et al. 1992, 1064 no. 641; 1073 pl. 719 (P. Pantos). On the meaning of the altar, Liapis 2011, 101–102.

<sup>45</sup> EC, inv. 264. Archontidou – Achilara 1999, 143 bottom, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. For the type cf. Pantos et al. 1992, 1053–1056. 1070–1072 esp. no. 486 pl. 706 (H. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, P. Pantos, V. Machaira, M. Oppermann).

<sup>46</sup> Oppermann 1992, 1074–1075.

her dress that reach her left arm. Both arms are brought backwards. The drill work though limited is apparent especially in the wavy girding of the tunic. It is an idealized, classicizing work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>47</sup> On coins Artemis is usually represented as clad in a short chiton, and holding a quiver. Two more representations of Artemis in sculpture have been found in Lesbos. An under life-sized statue in the Museum in Istanbul represents the goddess leaning on a pillar, with her left hand on the hip and her legs crossed. At Plagia, on the southern shore of Lesbos, was found a relief slab of grey marble, representing a figure of Artemis-Hekate, running with a torch in each hand, and at her side a hound. She is dressed in a chiton reaching only to the knees and girded under the breast, and has a small mantle on the shoulders<sup>48</sup>.

We know that Artemis was held in high esteem among the Lesbians. She was considered along with Apollo and Dionysus as one of the most important deities of Lesbos in Roman times, in particular as a goddess of warm springs and baths associated with healing<sup>49</sup>. The cult for which we have most evidence especially in Mytilene is that of Artemis Thermia. The site of the temple with the baths was at Thermae, modern Thermi, a short distance north of Mytilene, and not far from the coast<sup>50</sup>. The healing properties of Artemis were possibly acquired from Apollo, who is likewise called Thermios in this sanctuary. Only one local cult name of Artemis is known from Eresos: an inscription records the dedication of a stoa to Artemis Dreneaia (which must equal *Ἀρὰνεία*, taking its name from *δράνος*, *ἔργον*, *πράξις*, *δύναμις*, according to Hesychius)<sup>51</sup>. There is also a coin type of the city representing Artemis, dated to the reign of Marcus Aurelius<sup>52</sup>.

The fragment of the low relief depicting the lyre of Apollo is carved out also of coarse light grey marble with an orange brown patina, weathered and covered with concretions (EC, inv. 158; H 21; W 23.5 cm). The back of the slab has been smoothed down as has the front. A lyre is presented in upright position next to the right end of the relief slab, indicated by the remains of a vertical edge that survives in the top right corner. All the characteristic features of the musical instrument are clearly depicted except for the strings that must have been painted. The bottom line of the instrument is not depicted either, but seems hidden in the background. Although very fragmentary, the relief can be dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Apollo worship was also an important cult in Lesbos. Hesychius mentions the epithet Eresios for the god<sup>53</sup>, an indication that a special temple of Apollo existed in the city. At the time of Alexander the Great an inscription from Eresos mentions that the advocates in the trial of the former tyrant Eurysilaus shall take an oath by Apollo Lykeios, evidence for the prominence of the cult in the city<sup>54</sup>. The cult remained important in the Roman period, since a priest of Apollo Sebastos is mentioned in an honorary decree of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.<sup>55</sup>. Coins of Eresos represent the wreathed head of Apollo on the obverse and the ethnic ΕΡΕΣΙ/ΕΡΕΣΙΩΝ in a wreath of grain ears on the reverse. The lyre of Apollo is presented on the obverse of a coin type issued by the city in the reign of Caligula<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> For the type cf. Kahil 1984, 639 no. 168 pl. 457.

<sup>48</sup> Conze 1865, 49; Shields 1917, 21; Archontidou – Achilara 1999, 52.

<sup>49</sup> Shields 1917, 12–16.

<sup>50</sup> Kontis 1978, 419–423.

<sup>51</sup> Papageorgiou 1913, 227; Shields 1917, 20.

<sup>52</sup> Mionnet 1833, 53 no. 21.

<sup>53</sup> Hesych. s. v. *Ἐρέσιος*; Shields 1917, 1–12; Kontis 1978, 415–419.

<sup>54</sup> IG XII 2, 526b 30–31; Shields 1917, 6, who leaves open the possibility that the stone was erected in his sanctuary; Heisserer 1980, 27–78; Labarre 1996, 30–34 no. 66; Ellis-Evans 2012; Apollo is also referred in a dedication of Hellenistic or Roman date from Eresos but without cult name, IG XII 2, 534; SEG 26, 908.

<sup>55</sup> IG XII Suppl. Addenda 693; SEG 26, 920.

<sup>56</sup> Ralli – Lagos 2001; one issue bears a countermark in the form of a lyre, Tselekas 2010, 128. 140–141; Komvou – Ralli 2010, 128. 171–172 fig. 3; Mionnet 1833, 52 no. 18.

## VOTIVE STATUETTES

Moreover, a fragmentary semi-naked statuette of Aphrodite (EC, inv. 146; H 23 cm; fig. 4 a)<sup>57</sup> is preserved from the waist to above the ankles. A small part of the left arm survives as well, attached to the hip. The drapery that falls behind her left leg is broken away. A major break occurs also on the right side of the drapery, and minor ones as well as abrasions and stains are present on the whole surface. The back of the statuette is left unfinished. The figure is wearing a himation (cloak) that is wrapped around her hips, held by her left elbow, and falling all along her legs. Her nude torso is twisted intensely to the right, and her right leg moved forward and bent at the knee. Her left leg stands upright so as to support the figure. Two horizontal wrinkles mark the top of the relaxed right thigh. The tender body of the goddess emerges from the thick cloak. The drill work is apparent especially in the deep furrows that define the roll of the cloak, as well as in the deep folds that come between the legs or those falling on the left side, while parallel V-shaped folds are created over the left leg. This statuette carved out of fine white marble is an idealized, classicizing work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. that belongs to a widespread variation of the Anadyomene type often represented in Rhodos and Alexandria<sup>58</sup>.

Another fragmentary statuette of Aphrodite (EC, inv. 301; H 22.5 cm; fig. 4 b) is a classicizing work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. that belongs to the Fréjus type<sup>59</sup>. The piece was found in Skala Eresou, in the area called Xokastro. It is preserved from the knees to the plinth-base, carved out of coarse white marble with a brown patina, and badly weathered. The external part of the right foot has broken away along with part of the plinth, which is broken on the left and back side, as well. A small hole in the middle of the upper surface served probably for attaching the upper part of the torso. The figure stands frontal on a circular striped plinth-base, with her left leg stretched and the right slightly twisted, bent at the knee and moved backwards, touching the plinth only with the toes. She wears a fine long robe (chiton), clinging on both legs and falling between them in deep-cut folds spreading over the plinth. One end of a thick smooth cloak falls behind over the robe. Both feet emerge bare from the drapery.

Aphrodite's cult in Lesbos is well known from the lyric poetry of the Archaic period. It has been suggested that Sappho may have been the head of a kind of religious association devoted to the cult of Aphrodite<sup>60</sup>. However, the evidence for her worship in Eresos is limited. The cult is attested by a votive inscription dated as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., which was found in secondary use at the Basilica of Ag. Andreas<sup>61</sup>. In the time of Augustus his daughter Julia was honored at Eresos by the title Aphrodite Γενέτειρα but such a name was probably given her because of the supposed descent of Augustus from Venus Genetrix, rather than from the local cult influence<sup>62</sup>.

On the other hand, a fragmentary statuette of Heracles (EC, inv. 148; H 22 cm; fig. 5) preserves the hero's left foot standing next to a lateral support, over which a lion skin is hanging<sup>63</sup>. A part of the plinth is also preserved. Different pieces of the lion skin are depicted in front and behind the support (probably the paws) as well as on its side next to the person's foot (perhaps the tail). The foot is large with long toes. Although badly weathered and patinated, this fragment of coarse light grey marble belonged to a fine idealized, classicizing work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. In fact, Heracles was an important hero on the island, and his representations exist on Lesbian coins since the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>64</sup>. At Eresos festivals in honor of Heracles are epigraphically attested, and a decree of the city mentions that a judge of Miletos was honored at Dionysia, at the Ptolemaia,

<sup>57</sup> In the Collection inventory it is also referred to as Nymph.

<sup>58</sup> Delivorrias 1984, 64 no. 541–542 pl. 53; Machaira 2011, 92–93 no. 62 pls. 84–85.

<sup>59</sup> Delivorrias 1984, 34–35 nos. 225–228 pls. 25–26.

<sup>60</sup> Kontis 1978, 425–426; Lardinois 1994, 57–84.

<sup>61</sup> Charitonidis 1963, 269; Charitonidis 1968b, 87 no. 125.

<sup>62</sup> IG XII 2, 537; Kajava 2002, 94.

<sup>63</sup> Boardman – Palagia 1990, 748 nos. 354. 357 pls. 468–469.

<sup>64</sup> Shields 1917, 79–80.

and at the gymnastic games of Heracles<sup>65</sup>. An inscription from Mytilene and another from Kato Pyrgi<sup>66</sup> (in the Gulf of Gera) are indications that Heracleia was celebrated in Mytilene and its territory as well.

## MALE AND FEMALE PORTRAIT STATUES

Except for idealized sculptures representing gods and heroes related to specific cults, the repertoire of Roman sculpture in Eresos comprises also fragments of portrait statues, namely two very eroded male portrait heads of natural size, both beardless, the one more juvenile with short hair. Also preserved are an arm bent at the elbow, the support of a statue in the form of a tree trunk with schematic knots, the head of a child with elaborate hairstyle, and the lower part of a female dressed statue. The condition of these sculptures prevents us from making any further suggestions. It can be noted, however, that according to a civic decree dating to before A.D. 4 a wealthy citizen is honoured for having built a temenos and a temple to C. Caesar and L. Caesar, Augustus' adopted sons, in the agora of the city, a temple or an altar to »Augustus god Caesar« at the commercial port, a temenos and a temple to »Livia Sebastia Pronoia«, on his own private property<sup>67</sup>.

Both male portrait heads are carved out of coarse white marble with a yellow patina, and preserve also a small part of the neck, which bears a large fracture on the left side. They both present a slight torsion to the right, and belonged to life-sized statues. They are very badly weathered, though, the relief of the hair, ears, and facial features being almost completely smoothed down. The head inv. 144 of EC (H 24.5 cm; fig. 6 a) depicts an adolescent with short cap-like hair, high forehead, large, oval face, big, almond-shaped and shallow eyes, prominent eyebrows and cheekbones, short nose and small mouth with thin lips, and small, triangular chin. The hair ends over the forehead with an irregular wavy outline. The head can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., and belongs most probably to the Augustan period<sup>68</sup>. The head inv. 300 (H 29; W 16; D 22 cm) once in the Municipal Archive of Eresos bears remains of modern plaster. A large and deep hole exists in the position of the right ear, and there are small indentations all over the surface of the head. A mature, bald man is depicted, with high forehead, oblong face, prominent eyebrows, large arched, and deep-set eyes, flat cheeks, short nose, small and tight mouth with thin lips, and protruding triangular chin. This head belongs also to the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. A naked right arm bent at the elbow (EC, inv. 316) is preserved from the middle of the upper arm to the beginning of the forearm. The top surface is plain and smooth, being prepared for a joint. The bottom surface is fractured. The upper side of the forearm is flat and quite rough. This arm carved out of coarse white marble belonged to a life-sized, male statue. The weathered fragment of a tree trunk with schematized knots (EC, inv. 181; H 27; W bottom 15, top 18 cm) belonged to the lateral support of a standing, life-sized, male statue, as well. It is carved out of coarse light grey marble, though, with an orange brown patina.

The portrait head of a child (EC, inv. 145; H 21.5 cm; fig. 6 b) is carved out of coarse white marble with a light brown patina. It is weathered and also bears traces of modern plaster. A part of the neck is also preserved presenting large fractures on the lateral sides. Large breaks and long cracks occur also on the right and back sides of the hair. The relief of the facial features has been almost completely smoothed down by weathering. A child is depicted with long hair, round face, high forehead, small eyes, prominent cheeks, short nose, and small mouth with fleshy lips. Thick curls surround the face symmetrically, conceal the ears completely, and reach with a long curve

<sup>65</sup> IG XII Suppl. 139; Kontis 1978, 412 nos. 2176–2178; Brun 1991, 104.

<sup>66</sup> IG XII 2, 49. 480.

<sup>67</sup> IG XII Suppl. 124; SEG 27, 485; SEG 32, 817; Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 275–277. 339–347. 391. 395; Labarre 1996, 351–353 no. 78; Kajava 2002, 91–94.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Laurenzi 1955/1956, 140–141 no. 191; İnan – Rosenbaum 1966, 91–92 no. 70 pl. 46, 1–2; İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 142. 205–206 nos. 85. 178; Despinis – Stefanidou-Tiveriou – Voutiras 2003, 119–120 no. 247 figs. 717–720 (Em. Gounari).

the back of the neck. A short plait is twisted on top of the head, starting from the middle of the forehead. This characteristic hairstyle is borrowed from the iconography of Eros, and occurs quite often in portrait statues of children<sup>69</sup>. The head belonged to an under life-sized statue, and presents a slight torsion up and to the left. The abundant drill and incision work in the locks of hair points to a dating in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.

The lower part of an over life-sized female, dressed statue (EC, inv. 174; H 47; fig. 7) is preserved from the knees to the plinth, the left foot having broken away along with part of the plinth. It is carved out of fine white marble with a light yellow patina, and bears as well remains of modern plaster. Large breaks and long cracks occur on the top and smaller ones all over the sculpture. The carving of the back is summary. Marks of a toothed chisel are visible on the left side of the drapery. The figure stands in frontal position with her right leg stretched and the left bent at the knee and placed to the rear. She wears a long robe (chiton) which spreads over the plinth. Deep vertical folds conceal her right leg, while the shifting of the left is revealed under the fine cloth. A thick smooth cloak (himation) with shallow folds is wrapped round her legs, and its ends meet on the side of the left leg. A fringed angle of the garment falls behind the leg. The long toes of her right foot emerge from the drapery, set on a high sandal. Unless the shoes were painted, the bare feet in the sandals indicate the statue of a goddess. This classicizing type of which the original goes back to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>70</sup> was very popular in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D. for female portrait statues.

## TABLE SUPPORTS

The collection of Roman sculpture in Eresos is completed with the sculptural decoration of three table supports, namely a grotesque male figure in the type of the actor-servant of the New Comedy, a female figure in the type of the Nike of Paionios, and the bust of a lion. Roman marble tables with figural supports served a variety of functions, both secular (tables for glass-wares and vessels) and religious (altars, offering tables, stands for statuettes and figurines, etc.)<sup>71</sup>.

The figure of the actor-servant of the New Comedy is preserved from about the middle of the head to the right knee, attached in front of a vertical rectangular support (EC, inv. 270; H 49 cm; fig. 8). Most of the face has broken off, except for a small part on the left side that preserves the eyebrow, eye and part of the cheek, along with the hair. A small fragment of the hair survives also on the right side of the neck, of which the front part has also broken off. Both arms are broken away from the shoulders. The hips are also fractured, while only a small fragment survives from the left thigh. The folds of the drapery are heavily chipped between the thighs, while minor breaks, abrasions and stains occur all over the sculpture. Most of the support has also broken off, but it retains the oxidized remains of the large iron clump that connected it to the table. The grotesque figure of the mature actor is presented wearing a theatrical mask with curly hair, very prominent eyebrows and cheeks, and large wide-open eyes. He stands upright on his right leg, turning his torso slightly to the right and his head up and to the left, while leaning on the support, and crossing his big hands over his belly. The left leg is slightly advanced, and the right hand closed. He is dressed in a short but long-sleeved tunic (*ependytes*) clasped on the shoulders, girded with a cord under the chest and across the stomach, and reaching the middle of the thighs. The long cord is fastened twice under the chest in loops, of which the ends fall vertically, reaching a cross girding below. The thick and smooth cloth clings to the figure's body, revealing his meagre chest and swollen belly. Parallel curved folds are created between the legs. A short cloak (himation) is wrapped round his left arm and falls on his back. Both garments present a rounded hem.

<sup>69</sup> On a similar portrait head from Thessaloniki, Despinis – Stefanidou-Tiveriou – Voutiras 2003, 63–64 no. 199 figs. 555–558 (B. Schmidt-Dounas).

<sup>70</sup> Machaira 2011, 48–49 no. 8 pls. 14–15.

<sup>71</sup> Cohon 1984, 6–7; Moss 1988, 239–291; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1993, 58–73; Ajootian 2000, 501; Feuser 2013, 11–29.



The fine white marble with the yellow patina along with the fine workmanship of the sculpture suggest a provenance from Asia Minor, while the drill work points to a date in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>72</sup>.

A local origin can be proposed for the other two table supports. The flying female figure in the type of the Nike of Paionios is preserved from the chest to the ankles, attached in front of a vertical rectangular support (EC, inv. 149; H 56; W of the pillar 12.5 cm; fig. 9). The head with the neck was inserted into a large cavity on top of the chest. Both arms are missing, broken at the shoulders, along with the breasts. The back of the drapery beside the right leg is also broken. The surface of the sculpture is weathered and chipped, and the folds of the drapery abraded. The support is fractured on the top and bottom, chipped on the edges, and bears marks of a toothed chisel. The figure stands in frontal position, wearing a long robe (chiton), which is girded at the waist, clings to her lower body revealing her rounded belly, pubis and legs, while it flows behind both sides of the legs. The arms were detached from the torso and moved backwards. Shallow V-shaped folds are created between the breasts, and vertical ones below the breast, ending in a wavy overfold that surrounds the belly, while deep-cut parallel V-shaped folds characterize the flowing drapery on the lower body. In the back view, the flowing drapery is roughly carved with shallow spread-out folds. It is an idealistic, classicizing work of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., carved out of the local coarse grey marble with the light brown patina. The drill work in the drapery points to a date in the second half of the century<sup>73</sup>.

The lion's bust is preserved to the base of the chest, attached in front of a vertical rectangular support, of which the width diminishes from the top to the bottom (EC, inv. 180; H 43 cm; fig. 10). It is also carved out of the local coarse grey marble with the light brown patina. The surface of the sculpture is badly weathered, most of the lion's features (ears, eyes, nose) being smoothed down except for the muzzle with the projecting tongue and beard, as well as the flame-shaped locks of the mane on the sides, of which the modelling is slightly better preserved. The support is fractured on the top and bottom, chipped on the edges, and bears marks of a toothed chisel. The drill work in the locks of the mane points to a date in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.<sup>74</sup>.

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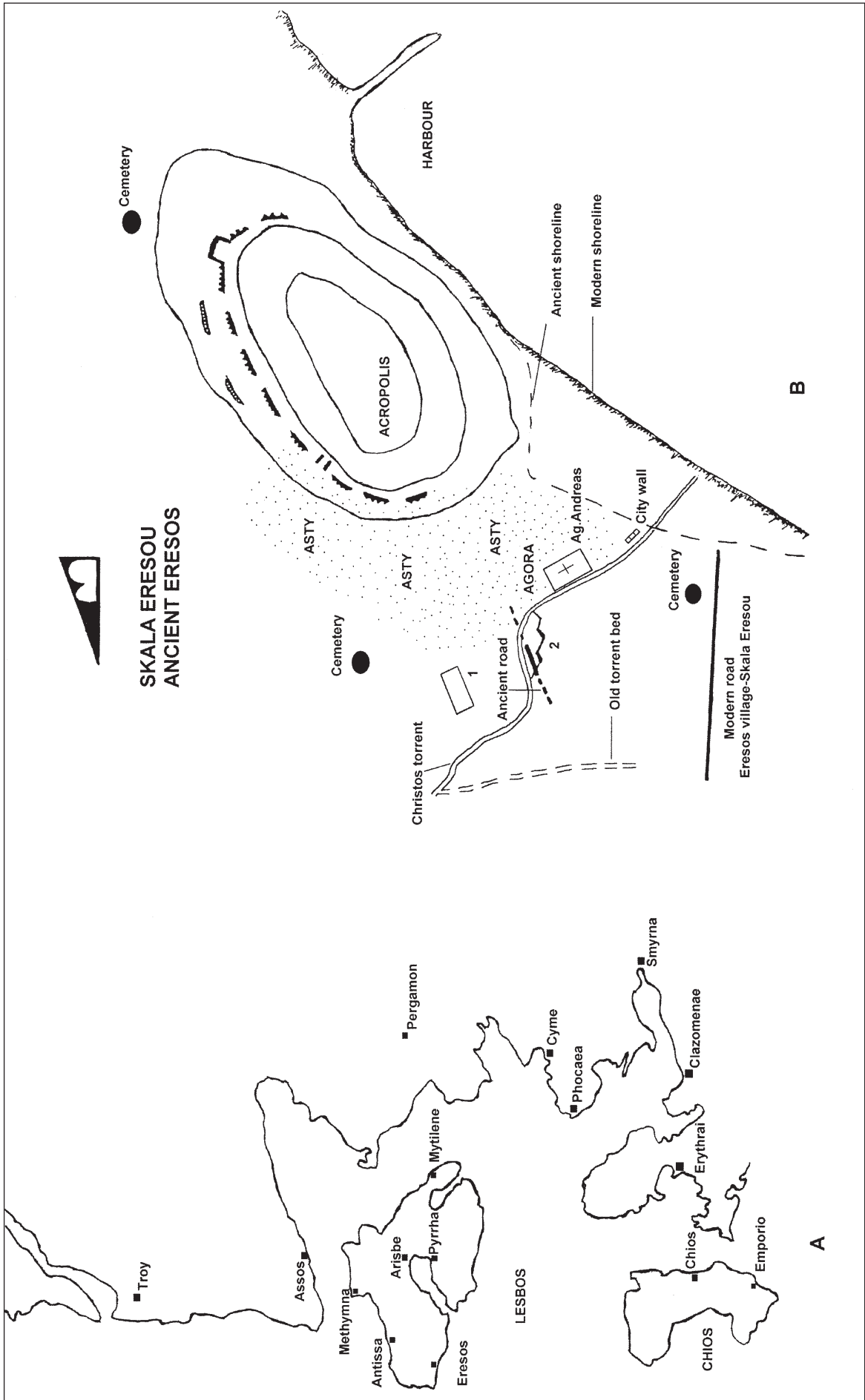
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1 Ancient Eresos. Topography



2 a Right foot carved in the round.  
Eresos Collection inv. 153



2 b Irregular slab of coarse white marble with a lower left leg carved in flat relief. Eresos Collection inv. 157



2 c Square block of fine light grey marble with a pair of footprints carved in flat relief. Eresos Collection inv. 309



3 Fragment of a high relief depicting Artemis,  
2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 147





4a Lower half of an Aphrodite statuette, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 146



4 b Lower part of an Aphrodite statuette, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 301



5 Left foot of a Heracles statuette with the lion skin, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 148



6 a Male portrait head, 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 144



6 b Portrait head of a child, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 145



7 Lower part of an over life-sized female dressed statue, 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 174



8 Table support with an actor of the New Comedy, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 270



9 Table support with a flying female figure in the type of Paionios' Nike, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 149



10 Table support with a lion bust, 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Eresos Collection inv. 180

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