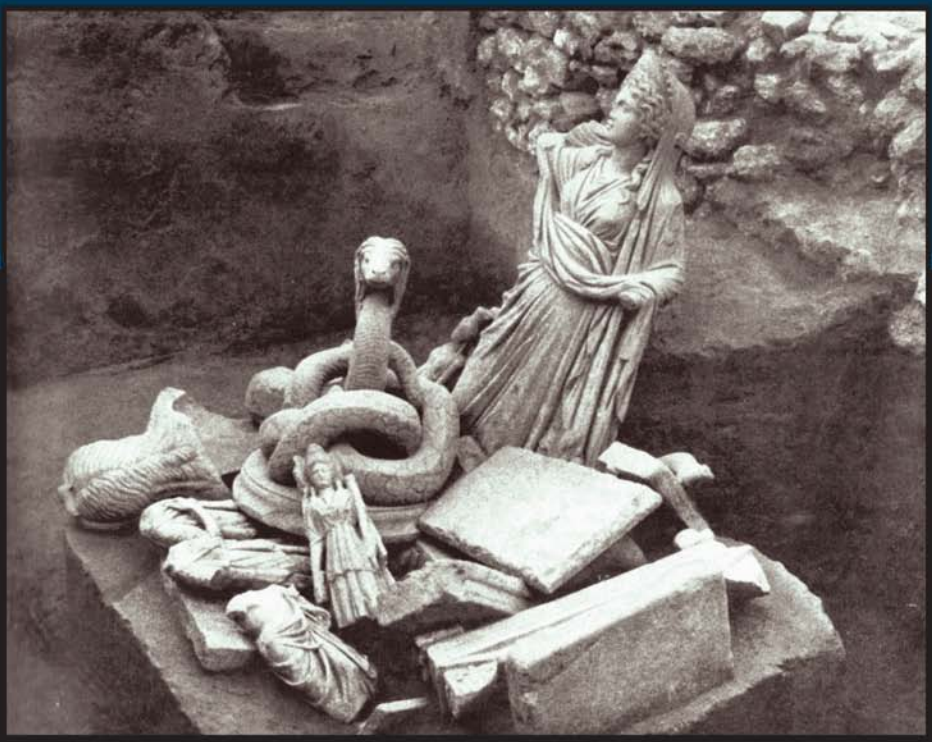
# The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture

## LATE ANTIQUE RESPONSES AND PRACTICES



Edited by

Troels Myrup Kristensen and Lea Stirling

*The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture*

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## LATE ANTIQUE RESPONSES AND PRACTICES

*Troels Myrup Kristensen and Lea Stirling, editors*

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# *Acknowledgments*

This book developed out of two seminars held in the Department of History and Classical Studies at Aarhus University on 26 September 2008 and 25 March 2011. On these occasions, six of the contributions were first presented in earlier versions (Beth Munro, Ine Jacobs, Nadin Burkhardt, Philip Kiernan, Benjamin Anderson, and Paolo Liverani). Ben Croxford, Troels Myrup Kristensen, and Lea Stirling also presented, but these contributions have been published in other formats. Funding for the two seminars came from the Danish Council for Independent Research, the Canada Research Chair in Roman Archaeology, and the School of Culture and Society, Aarhus University. We are grateful to the Classics Department at the University of Manitoba for subvention of the images in the book. The editors would like to sincerely thank these institutions for their generous help and their continued support. Andrea Signore, Angela May, Megan Murray, and Sophie Lawall assisted with editing in Winnipeg; Nicola Daumann and Stine Birk in Aarhus. We thank them all.

TMK would like to dedicate this work to the memory of his grandmother, Christence Myrup (1907–2001), a remarkable woman who embodied the power of both tradition and education. LMS would like to dedicate this work to her husband Mark Lawall, in gratitude for patience and humour, as we pass the *vicennalia* of our marriage.

TMK
LMS

# Introduction

# The Lives and Afterlives of Greek and Roman Sculpture

## *From Use to Refuse*

TROELS MYRUP KRISTENSEN AND LEA STIRLING

> There is nothing more obvious or more important about rediscovered sculpture than the fact that it is nearly always broken.
>
> —Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past*

As Leonard Barkan astutely observes in this quote from his book on the impact of archaeological finds on Renaissance aesthetics, almost no ancient statues have been preserved in their original and pristine state of conservation. Even if often unacknowledged, this basic observation is a well-known fact to scholars of Classical sculpture, and indeed it will be obvious to any modern museum visitor. Both chance and logistics have played a part in this. The many heads without bodies that are now to be seen in so many European and American museums had a convenient size and weight for long-distance transport, which made them a popular choice among both collectors and freighters (see Greenhalgh, this volume). But this is not only a question of putting heads and bodies back together and reconstructing the original appearance of statues. On a much more general and equally important level, it remains difficult to explain how, when, and why individual pieces were broken or mutilated in the first place. Indeed, Cicero noted that "statues perish through weather, violence, and age," pointing to an awareness of the diverse life histories of the individual statues

that made up the Roman sculptural landscape as well as the different fates that they could meet, as inflicted by both natural and human agents.[1]

However, research on the issue of the material disintegration of statuary (including but not limited to the effects of weathering, violence, patination, fragmentation, repair, and reuse) so far has been sparse and unsystematic, continuously being sidelined by seemingly more pressing issues.[2] Furthermore, the disparity between surviving fragment(s) and original whole(s) is rarely articulated or explored at any length in museum labels, handbooks, or even more specialized literature. In those relatively rare cases where such disparities are noted (and not simply lamented), scholarly efforts have mostly been invested in reconstructing those parts (especially heads, arms, and legs) that have been lost with the higher aim of putting the monuments back together as accurately as possible. This imaginative practice occasionally has been given an amusing spin by outsiders who have observed the often very intense discussions that took place between archaeologists, not least in relation to the competing reconstructions of the Venus de Milo's arms after its discovery in the nineteenth century (fig. 1). Most of the "complete" pieces of sculpture that we see today were furthermore heavily restored during the Renaissance or even in later periods, although the trend in more recent years has been to remove such modern additions and to leave the ancient sculptures as "untouched" and "original" as possible, in the process leaving yet more dismembered fragments behind.[3] The Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen has, for example, recently put its collection of "nose jobs" on display in its sculptural galleries, thus shedding light on an important aspect of their collection's history and changing fashions in curatorial practices. Recently excavated examples of sculpture, such as the diverse and very interesting assemblage of statuary that was found in 1992 at the sanctuary of Pan at Caesarea Philippi/Banias (Israel), furthermore have come down to us in a heavily fragmented state (in this case, some 245 fragments in total) and in such a complicated archaeological context that entire sculptures cannot be reassembled, and many pieces of individual sculptures are missing.[4]

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1. On this landscape, see in particular Stewart 2003. Cicero quotation: *Phil.*, 9.14 ("statuae intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate"), trans. Ker.
2. There has been only one archaeological experiment of how sculpture breaks, carried out as part of Stanford University's Forma Urbis Romae project: see Gelfand 2001; Leroy 2001; and, more generally, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu (last accessed 26 June 2013).
3. On the issue of restoration, see Grossmann, Podany, and True 2003; Hannestad 1994, 15–16; and Moltesen 1990, 136, fig. 5. Sometimes modern conservation also has had the side effect of covering up the damage caused by Christian iconoclasts, as argued by Sauer 2003, 17–18.
4. On this group, see Friedland 2012.

Fig. 1. The politics of reconstruction: different scholarly reconstructions of the Venus de Milo, as lampooned in a French nineteenth-century comic (C. A. d'Arnould Bertall, "La Question de la Vénus de Milo," *Le Journal illustré,* July 1874).

What social practices and natural processes may have been responsible for creating such a complex archaeological record? And what impact does this fragmentary state of the sculptures have on the way we interpret them?

Thus, while Barkan's observation may seem obvious, perhaps even slightly banal, little scholarship has been devoted to exploring the broken state of the Greek and Roman sculptural record and its repercussions for the ways in which scholars have approached Classical statuary more generally.[5] In contrast, the individual contributions to this volume seek to provide a more systematic and distinct overview of the diverse afterlives that Roman sculpture experienced during Late Antiquity (defined here as the period between the third and sixth centuries AD, although some contributions extend beyond this chronological framework), a pivotal time for their entry into the archaeological record, as the production of new sculpture in the round was dwindling and the upkeep of old statuary became redundant due to changing habits of patronage and other

5. An exception is now Greenhalgh (2012) that compiles a vast range of evidence related to this question.

changes in society and religion.[6] Chapters therefore explicitly address the different ways that statuary has come down to us through the archaeological record and the implications of their findspots in a range of secondary contexts.

Although already developed in North American behavioral archaeology in the 1970s, systematic study of the many "lives" that objects may have had and the manifold taphonomic processes they have been part of has only recently become part of the field of Classical archaeology, notably within the study of pottery, which, as a cheap, easily breakable, and commonly available commodity, frequently was reused, both as intact vessels and fragments thereof.[7] Michael Schiffer developed a model of the life history of objects as a flowchart that defined different stages as procurement, manufacture, use, discard, and ultimate refuse (and thus entry into an archaeological context where it can be uncovered through excavation). At many different stages in this model, objects can be reused or recycled for different purposes.

Figure 2 adapts Schiffer's categories (and those developed by Theodore Peña in his study of Roman pottery) to visualize the afterlife of Greek and Roman statuary.[8] As Schiffer and Peña have emphasized for other classes of artifacts, many alterations to a statue's physical state or function could occur at many points during its existence. A statue could remain in its primary context right through Late Antiquity, or be moved into a secondary display intact. Or it might have its appearance altered in some fashion (by means of recarving, mutilation, or marking with a cross) before being re-erected, either in the same setting or a new one.[9] Recarving (including recarving into a new subject), mutilation, and cross-marking are grouped together in our diagram, even though mutilation is more hostile than the other two processes, because they were all changes that were meant to be visible and they altered the meaning of the statue

6. Issues further explored in Anderson and Liverani, this volume.
7. On the life history model, see Schiffer 1987. For its application in Roman pottery, see Peña 2007. On Greek pottery, see contributions in Lawall and Lund 2011. A new study of the Traprain Law treasure and Hacksilber emphasizes the need to study all the lives that these silver vessels had before being deposited in fragments in a Scottish hillfort: Kaufmann-Heinimann 2013, 255–59. For application of a similar theoretical framework to the study of Roman sculpture, see Huskinson 2010 and Kristensen 2013a.
8. For a general discussion of the model, see Peña 2007, 9, fig. 1.2; 6–16. Our diagram focuses on the life of statuary after it has begun its initial, intended display (that is, its primary display) and does not elaborate on possibilities for alteration, breakage, and the like in earlier phases. Repair is assumed as a possibility in all phases. One aspect of production that is not well conveyed in this diagram is that production of new statuary continued into the fifth century (albeit in diminishing quantities); thus production could overlap with the "afterlife" possibilities conveyed in the majority of the image.
9. Prusac 2011; Kristensen 2012.

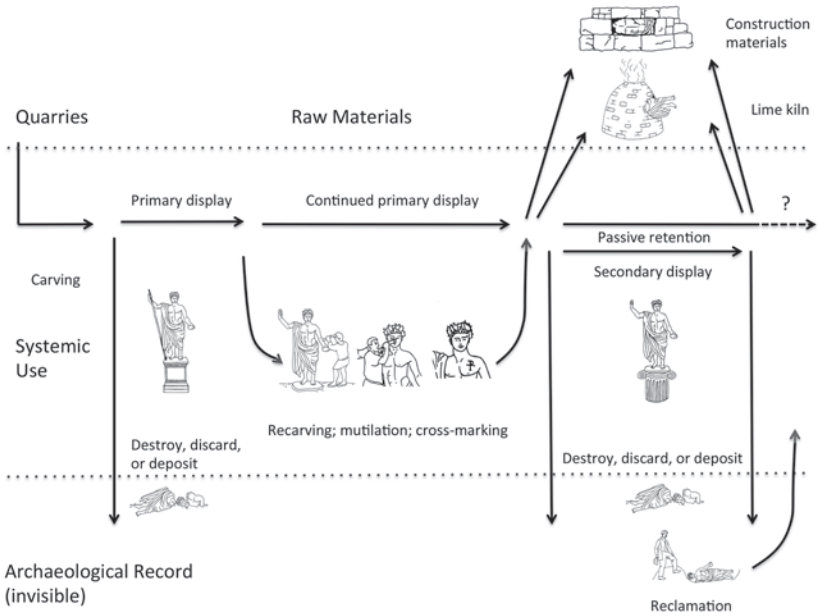


Fig. 2. Flow diagram representing the production and afterlives of Roman statuary (diagram by L. Stirling; illustration J. Troost, by permission).

for its viewers. Lime burning and reuse in construction both turned the statue or its fragments back into raw materials for construction. Lime burning in particular transformed the statue into a new medium, though often small and tantalizing fragments remain scattered near the lime kiln, for instance in the City Baths of Ptolemaïs (Cyrenaica, Libya).[10] Statues or reliefs reused as blocks or filler in stone walls were sometimes visible, sometimes invisible. At any point on the timeline, statues could be discarded or tidied away into wells, pits, foundations, and the like. Ritual deposit of statuary is encompassed by the "discard" category because it results in statuary entering the archaeological record. Still other statues were destroyed for ideological reasons, as documented vividly in many hagiographies and recognized with varying degrees of reliability in archaeological circumstances.[11] Moreover, some unquantifiable but probably

10. Kraeling 1962, 173.
11. Studies focusing on Christian destruction of statuary include Sauer 2003 and Kristensen 2013b.

substantial amount of statuary remained more or less in situ, neither appreciated, scorned, nor even reused.[12] This passive retention of statuary is largely undocumented except for occasional chance mentions of statues in later accounts of earthquakes, siege missiles, and the like.

Many of the stages in the life histories of objects, as defined by Schiffer, are illuminated in the contributions to this volume in relation to Classical sculpture. Hopefully these chapters will convince readers that the study of Greek and Roman sculpture would benefit greatly from further work that zooms in on its place in the archaeological record and its gradual decay over time, not least when considering that the attribution of the destruction of monuments to specific periods or historical agents has frequently become an issue of political contestation both in the past and the present.[13] The study of Classical sculpture would then not only realign itself with broader trends in archaeological theory and method, but also other fields, such as cultural studies and architecture, where scholarship also has been devoted to the life of buildings over time and the impact of natural processes, such as weathering and ruination.[14] As scholarship currently stands, many discussions of the use-life of Greek and Roman sculpture rely on arguments drawn from "common sense" observations of singular cases, or entirely by reference to textual sources.[15] We hope that this volume will help to alter this situation and perhaps also inspire future studies.

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12. Ine Jacobs (2010, 282) refers to undisturbed display as "neutral."
13. A fact that is implicit in, for example, Wood's report from his work on Ephesus where he discussed the mutilated decoration of the Magnesian Gate at Ephesus: "On the front of one of the central piers was sculptured a small bas-relief of Nemesis, the Goddess of Retribution, with the long wings and wheels symbolical of the swiftness of her vengeance. This work has unfortunately been destroyed by visitors to the ruins. I was afterwards assured that these barbarians were some of the passengers of an English boat, but I did not believe it" (1877, 112). This politicizing aspect has also been embraced in recent work on Christian destruction of pagan sculpture by John Pollini (see, e.g., 2008, 165; Pollini 2013).
14. On weathering, see Mostafavi and Leatherbarrow 1993. On the cultural history of ruins and ruination, see, e.g., Woodward 2001 and Sebald 2004. On the ruined state of Roman sculpture in Late Antiquity, see Kristensen 2010.
15. The impact of weathering on the sculptural record (as noted above in the Cicero quote) is one such example. Bryan Ward-Perkins went so far as to comment that "although . . . violent incidents had their effect, it was certainly age, particularly if combined with neglect, that was the most frequent and efficient destroyer [of buildings and statues] in Rome and elsewhere" (1984, 35), a statement that is, of course, impossible to qualify. The impact of weathering on the Ara Pacis and subsequent late antique repair has been part of the hotly debated issue of late antique repairs of this seemingly quintessential Augustan monument (Hannestad 1994, 20–22; with response and contra-response: Claridge 1997; Hannestad 2000; as well as discussion in Conlin 1997, 48; 118, n. 17). Considerations on the varying levels of weathering on the fragments of the statue of Mercury from Uley also played an important role in its interpretation; see Woodward and Leach 1993, 325.

## *Volume Overview*

Individual contributors here address how the sculptural landscape that modern scholarship works with (and that museum visitors today come face to face with) came into being largely as a result of a distinct range of late antique responses and practices. Chapters in the first part ("Practices of Deposition and Reuse") address some of the most important late antique practices that were responsible for the making of the archaeological record in relation to sculpture, as well as the scholarly discourses that have shaped these but have rarely been rigorously studied in scholarship. Ben Croxford (chapter 2) investigates fragments of metal sculpture from British contexts and looks at the different patterns of fragmentation that challenge many current interpretations of such deposits. He also urges scholars to be conscious of their vocabulary in their use of terms, such as "broken," "incomplete," "rubbish," to describe finds of sculptural fragments, as these are all steeped in Western notions of aesthetics and value. By applying the framework of fragmentation, a method pioneered by the prehistorian John Chapman, Croxford provides new insights into a category of finds that rarely plays a role in scholarship beyond mere cataloguing in excavation reports. Beth Munro (chapter 3) turns to the presence of lime kilns at Roman villas in Italy and the western provinces; such kilns are commonly found at late antique sites, and occasionally sculptural fragments can be associated with them. These remains suggest that large quantities of sculpture have been lost for reuse as kiln materials in late and postantique contexts but are also evidence for ongoing production and economic activities. In the last chapter of the first section, Troels Myrup Kristensen (chapter 4) looks at the problems of the archaeological identification of earthquakes, another popular culprit in explaining late antique urban decline and fall. He especially evaluates the difficulties involved in determining the extent of seismic impact on urban adornment, such as statuary. As a whole, these three chapters challenge many scholarly discourses in relation to the interpretation of sculpture as found in secondary, archaeological contexts, and open up new and more critical ways of understanding their different fates. Another outcome of these chapters devoted to methodological issues must be that the development of common terminologies and categories is a priority in order for this field of study to move forward.

Chapters in the volume's second part ("Regional Perspectives") investigate local and regional trajectories in the afterlife of sculpture in different parts of the Classical world, focusing on individual sites that have provided exciting

new evidence for late antique responses and practices, and just as important, on sculpture that was found in old excavations in order to reevaluate their interpretation and wider significance. Ine Jacobs (chapter 5) presents an account of a newly excavated group of mythological statuettes from the ongoing Belgian work at Sagalassos (Pisidia, Turkey) and situates them within the larger sculptural landscape of the late antique city in the eastern Mediterranean. Two chapters then focus on Greece, a region where in recent years a considerable number of studies have been devoted to the late antique life of monuments, but where it is still clear that fruitful work can come out of critical engagements with the archaeological evidence at hand. Nadin Burkhardt (chapter 6) and Amelia Brown (chapter 7) thus give complementary views of the afterlife of sculpture in two major urban centers, Athens and Corinth, respectively, focusing in particular on sculpture's shifting importance in the cities' public spaces. Cristina Murer (chapter 8) explores the reuse of funerary statues in late antique elite dwellings in Ostia, a practice that necessitated the transport of marble sculpture across considerable distances within the city and that demonstrates that statuary continued to be a valuable commodity, even if its original meaning had been lost. In particular, this chapter is important for showing the role that funerary statuary could have in decorative contexts; up to now, scholars have mostly documented the afterlife of funerary monuments as building material, especially in fortifications. Philip Kiernan (chapter 9) focuses on Gaul and Germany, providing an overview of the different agents (Germans and Christians) that are often singled out as responsible for the treatment of sculpture in Late Antiquity. He also points to examples of recycling and reinterpretation of cult images in this region. Using both textual and archaeological sources relating to late antique Sicily, Denis Sami (chapter 10) shows how Christianity had to negotiate a fine line between adherence to prohibitions against idolatry and popular sentiment toward centuries-old statues that had very particular meanings and played an important role in civic and religious life. Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu (chapter 11) focuses on the fate of sculpture on the Lower Danube, a region that is often absent from studies of late antique responses and which here receives its due attention. Although much evidence has been lost due to the insufficient quality of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeological documentation, surviving photographs show how reliefs from well-known monuments, such as the Tropaeum Traiani, had been reused in later times. The regional perspectives collected in this part thus add much to our empirical knowledge of the afterlife of sculpture and shed additional light on the different practices of reuse and response that were discussed in part I.

Finally, the four chapters in part III ("Grand Narratives") return to the bigger picture and synthesize larger developments in the visual culture of Late Antiquity. Lea Stirling (chapter 12) compares the use of sculpture in late antique villas and baths, and demonstrates both similarities and differences in the way that statuary came to be understood in these different contexts. The study of these different responses opens a window into other changes in society, such as new modes of thinking about the body and the adornment of elite houses. Benjamin Anderson (chapter 13) explores the gradual disappearance of the imperial statues that had been such an integral part of urban and political life in cities across the Roman Empire. He argues that growing social tension and rioting led to the increasing unsuitability of portraiture in the round for public display. Paolo Liverani (chapter 14) also investigates the declining interest in sculpture in the round in Late Antiquity, but from a broader perspective that situates this development against the emergence of two-dimensional media, such as panel portraits, that constituted a new preferred form of representation. Finally, Michael Greenhalgh (chapter 15) traces the development of changing attitudes toward sculptural fragments in North Africa and the Near East up until the present day ("museum heaven"), and gives an overview of some of the many travelers' accounts that are relevant for understanding how the sculptural record has been shaped and reshaped over the years.

## *Toward a Chronology*

The range of studies in this volume invites further synthesis about the broad trends of response to statuary.[16] Can we propose a chronological sketch that distinguishes the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries (and beyond) and compares trends in the east and west? Regional variation, uneven evidence, and isolated examples of a particular practice are unquestionably considerable obstacles to proposing a broad chronology. A particular instance, or even a few examples, of a certain kind of statuary use may not mean that it was prevalent in a particular period, only that it had not vanished. A somewhat different approach is to ask when a particular practice was widespread or became rare, or,

16. Regions that are not specifically covered include the Near East (but see essays in Eliav, Friedland, and Herbert 2008; Kristensen 2013b, 197–252), Africa (but see Witschel 2007; Leone 2013), and the Iberian Peninsula (Gonçalves 2007, 572–77). Recent regional studies of cities in Late Antiquity are also invaluable for considering a broad chronology: Kulikowski 2004; Wickham 2005, 2009; Esmonde-Cleary 2013; Jacobs 2013; Leone 2013.

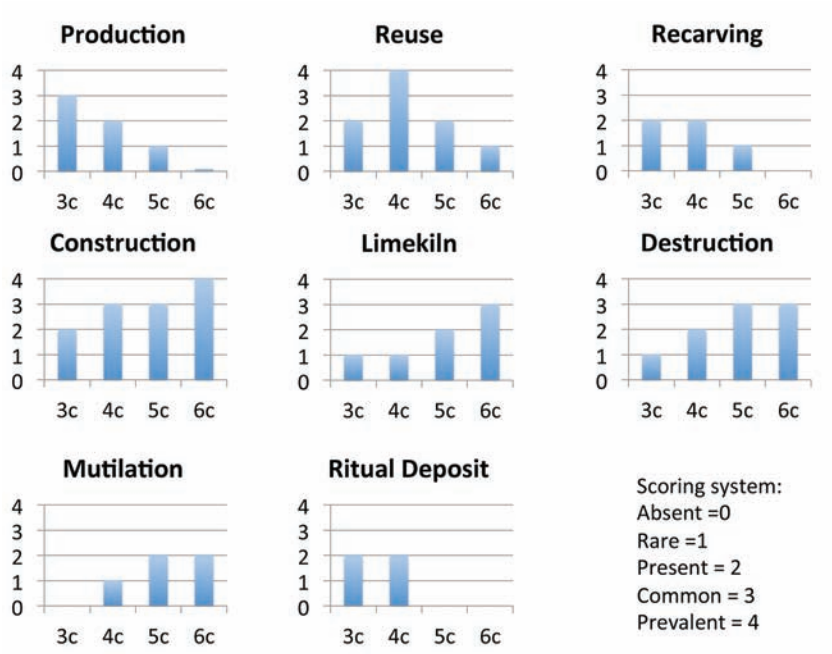


Fig. 3. Estimation of the frequency of different statuary practices in the third through sixth centuries (L. Stirling).

conversely, to ask which practices were commonplace in a particular period. Using the contributions from this volume and other recent scholarship, we suggest some broad and preliminary observations. In what follows, we prioritize archaeological data over textual and epigraphic evidence and attempt to paint as broad a picture as possible.[17] Throughout Late Antiquity, the two capitals of Rome and Constantinople were exceptional in their use of statuary, but they are still valuable within a broader survey because they do indicate what is possible or what could be created at the highest levels of sponsorship.

As discussed in contributions through the volume, many responses to statuary existed in Late Antiquity: production, reuse, recarving, use as building blocks, burning in lime kilns, destruction (without a practical reuse), and mu-

17. We look forward to the contribution of the Last Statues of Antiquity project, whose extensive database (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk) will enable them to construct a closely datable chronology that can be followed throughout the period under study.

tilation. In figure 3, we propose a rough estimate of the frequency of each of the above treatments within the overall practices of the era. Was a particular practice absent, rare, present, common, or prevalent? While the charts admittedly compress broad data into a somewhat arbitrary score, they do serve to highlight patterns, especially when taken together. In our charts, reuse refers to sculptures being moved to a new location or otherwise redisplayed, but still acting as statuary (not, say, as building blocks). Ritual deposit encompasses structured deposits that appear to decommission statues. For such deposits, the interpretations are often disputed (Kiernan, Croxford, this volume). Of course, an individual statue might experience several of these states before entering the archaeological record.

## The Third Century

Let us move the starting gun back before the time of Constantine, as a prologue to the time period investigated by most of the studies here. While most of the chapters in this volume do not look much at this earlier period, some of the practices that accelerated in later times were already apparent, at least in certain locations, and some statues had entered their "afterlife." The crisis of the third century, as is it conventionally termed, put pressures on the statuary population of the Roman Empire. The most direct and visible example is the reuse of statuary in fortifications throughout the empire, seen most spectacularly in the post-Herulian wall in Athens (discussed by Burkhardt, this volume) and the Aurelian wall in Rome, but also on frontiers (Alexandrescu, this volume). At Rome, the Aurelian wall was epochal not only by reusing so much sculpted material but because the demolition necessary for building it created so much rubble to be used in future construction.[18] Recarving of statuary to create new statues or monuments was also evident in the third century.[19] The reuse of much of the "other population" of Rome (and the Roman Empire) was under way before Constantine.

For the most part, large urban infrastructure projects were already in place by the late second or early third century, and there was little large-scale construction after that. During the third century, urban structures and institutions came under strain, affecting buildings and spaces that carried statuary. For in-

18. Coates-Stephens 2001; Dey 2011.
19. Prusac 2011.

stance, most large urban baths in Gaul went out of use during the third century; there was a fairly similar situation in Spain. The number of new inscriptions also takes a considerable dive during this century, indicating that new sculptures and monuments were much less frequently put up in cities across the Roman world.

Ideological damage for political reasons did come to imperial statuary in the third century through *damnatio memoriae*.[20] The erasure of Geta in the early part of the century is one of the most thorough examples, but the practice was rampant during the political instability of the middle of the century.[21] Ideological damage to statuary attributable to Christians is not yet evident in the archaeological record, even if Christian rhetoric on the subject was rife.[22]

## The Fourth Century

The fourth century is bracketed by two political events with ramifications for the use of statues in pagan religion: the establishment of Constantine as the first Christian emperor, and the Theodosian law of 395 that is usually described as closing the temples.[23] Two other important laws were a pronouncement in 380 that the Catholic faith (so named) should be practiced by "all the peoples who are ruled by Our Clemency," and Gratian's decision in 382 to confiscate properties that provided funds for public cults.[24]

What effect did the reign of Constantine have on statues around the empire? As is known from historical sources, he confiscated temple treasuries (which must have held many statues).[25] In a move that is surely not unrelated, he brought statues from around the eastern Mediterranean to decorate the New Rome. The poems of Palladas, recently redated from the Theodosian era to the age of Constantine, lament the melting down of statues and famously describe statues becoming Christian (*Anth. Pal.* 9.528).[26] There is little archaeological

20. Varner 2004; Kristensen 2015, 669–73.
21. Varner 2004, 213.
22. Kristensen 2013b, 66–68.
23. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.13 (addressed to the praetorian prefect Rufinus and given in Constantinople; trans. Pharr 1952, 474: "no person shall have the right to approach any shrine or temple whatever, or to perform abominable sacrifices at any place or time whatever.")
24. For the primacy of Catholic Christianity: *Cod.Theod.* 16.1.2, an edict to the people of Constantinople, issued in Thessaloniki. Symmachus (*Rel.* 3) and Ambrose (*Ep.* 17, 18) refer to the cessation of funding.
25. Kristensen 2013b, 68–69.
26. Wilkinson 2009; Barnes 2011, 13–16, 126–30.

evidence for ideological damage to statuary during this period, even if excavators in the past have been eager to connect finds of mutilated statuary with the reign of Constantine.

However, there appears to be a very early example of the Christian destruction of statuary at the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene.[27] Already in decline for some time, this sanctuary located outside the city was damaged in an earthquake of 262 and not restored. At some point after that, headless statues and heads that had been damaged around the eyes, mouth, and nose were gathered into a large mound whose ring walls contain coins of the 330s. Excavator Donald White interprets the damage as Christian destruction and proposes that cult adherents collected statuary and architectural pieces into this barrow to protect them from further desecration.[28]

Elite interest in statuary décor remained strong in the fourth century, as seen in both urban and domestic contexts. Statuary was an expected component in a city of any pretension, as seen not just in the statuary shipped to the newly founded Constantinople early in the century but also in the dense statuary population of the Forum Romanum and the Forum of Trajan and inscriptions about moving statuary around.[29] Certain functionaries received honorific statues, some of them newly carved. To a large extent, continuation of statuary usage mirrors maintenance of public infrastructure. Many buildings such as theaters and fora largely retained their statuary décor, occasionally adding to it, as seen both archaeologically and through inscriptions referring to statues as part of renovations or the moving of statues to new places. At Thubursicum Numidarum, a new forum built in the later fourth century displayed reused statues including colossal ones of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[30] In some cities, at least, there seems to have been municipal control of statuary and its reuse, as argued by R. R. R. Smith for Aphrodisias and Anna Leone for North Africa.[31] Although many cities were shrinking, with some public buildings

27. Statuary fragments found in the pool of a building (now recognized as a temple) on the forum of Astigi in Spain were initially interpreted as Christian destruction dating to the early fourth century, but interpretation of the finds and context is ongoing (Romo Salas 2002, 2003; García-Dils de la Vega 2012).
28. White 2012, 133–42, 153–59, 173–79; and Kristensen 2013b, 89–106, for a wider consideration of this practice.
29. Witschel 2007; Chenault 2012. Curran (1994, 49) dates one inscription from Beneventum to the fourth century (*CIL* 9.1588). One from Liternum dates before AD 378 (*CIL* 10.3714). Most inscriptions referring to transferals are not datable. See also the essays and reconstructions at University of California 2015.
30. Leone 2013, 111–13.
31. Smith 2006, 60; Leone 2013, 125–27, 136–39, 144–59. In particular, Leone (2013, 151) argues that

abandoned, a trend that accelerated through the fourth century, attention to statuary décor in the urban setting remains visible in many cities.[32] At Ostia, for instance, the sanctuary of Magna Mater retained its layered statuary collection on display into the late fourth or early fifth century, and the statues were never removed or damaged.[33]

Late antique homes and villas maintained their heirloom collections and sometimes supplemented them with statuary from a variety of sources, including even funerary sculpture (Murer, this volume). Traditions of classical education that fostered appreciation for mythological artwork or classical styles remained widespread in elite classes.[34] The latest archaeological examples of "learned collectors" date to the late fourth and early fifth century.

Much of the statuary in all these contexts of appreciation was reused, but some was freshly produced. Certain sites are well known for their output and consumption of portraits and late antique statuary: Rome, Constantinople, Aphrodisias, Ephesus, and Ostia, with further clusters and production sites identified at other centers.[35]

What of destructive and ideologically driven treatment of statuary? Notwithstanding the pitfalls in interpretation, textual sources indicate a rise of such behavior over the fourth century, which reached a textual crescendo with the destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria in 392 (also attested archaeologically).[36] The tacit permission for Christian destruction came not only from increasingly fervent emperors but also undoubtedly from the growing proportion of Christians in high offices. Pagans and Christians were about equal as officeholders by the mid-fourth century, and Christians predominated from the 370s on.[37]

Archaeologically, it is harder to identify examples of statuary destruction securely datable to the fourth century, though it is true that comparatively few archaeological examples of destruction are datable anyhow. Moreover, even when statuary has clearly been damaged or discarded, there is usually no indisputable evidence as to the agent of destruction (Kiernan, this volume). None-

statues found in cisterns had been placed there for storage and to make other parts of the building's décor (revetment, columns) accessible to workers who wanted to strip it away.

32. Especially in Italy, Africa, southern Gaul, the larger capitals in Spain, and the eastern Mediterranean.
33. Boin 2013b, 183–200.
34. As discussed by Alan Cameron 2011, 357–66.
35. Vorster 2012–13; Bergmann 1999; Smith 1999a; Smith et al. 2006; Auinger and Aurenhammer 2010. See also A. Brown 2012; further references in Stirling, this volume.
36. Kristensen 2013b, 118–35.
37. Salzman 1992.

theless, examples do exist. Headless imperial statues were found with late fourth century debris in an augusteum at Narona.[38] Narona and other similar cases of potential Christian destruction are significant, however, not only for their quantity but also for what they reveal about changes and continuities in visual practices and the way that images shaped the experience of the divine.

An ideal female head found in rubble of the abandonment of the forum of Aeminium in Spain in the late fourth or early fifth century had been battered at the eyes and mouth, and words were scratched over the face.[39] The damage and writing are hard to interpret, but they are clearly both deliberate and ancient. The rubble in the forum of Aeminium serves as a reminder that over the fourth century, statuary must also have been used in construction, providing both blocks of stone and raw materials for lime kilns.

To summarize, the fourth century saw steady change in statuary practices, though not as much immediate or violent rupture as the raw historical texts on Constantine, Theodosius, or the lives of saints might make us think. This period has the most variety in the usage of statuary of any surveyed here. Reuse and recarving, practices bespeaking a level of appreciation or positive valuing of statuary, are well attested. New statuary continued to be produced for the most elite clients and reached an empire-wide clientele. This level of production, though decidedly lower than that of the high empire, stands in strong contrast to most of the fifth century. Production largely fell away after the early fifth century. At the same time, destruction of statuary was present, and increased through the century. With cities rapidly changing their urban footprint, much statuary also wound up abandoned in place or harvested for use in construction. The contrasts in contemporaneous usages of statuary are highest in the fourth century.

## The Fifth Century

The years around 400 saw important political changes, with the de facto splitting of the empire by the sons of Theodosius I and their rival advisers in 395, and most western provinces (Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, Africa) were lost to the emperor's control shortly after 400. Both urbanism and the economy remained stronger in the eastern empire, which was relatively sheltered from

38. Marin 2001, 91; Kristensen 2013b, 70–71.
39. Carvalho 1998, 166, 169–74. The meaning of the engravings is not clear; the most legible words, across the forehead, read *capito cinae*.

Fig. 4. Antonine Fountain at Sagalassos, displaying statuary that was erected in a late antique refurbishment (photo by L. Stirling).

barbarian incursions. Changes in the appreciation and usage of statuary also accelerated after the early fifth century, making the period around 400 an important watershed, especially in the western empire. Eastern and western statuary practices diverge more after this point.

Some cities continued to use statuary in their urban decoration during the fifth century, with later attestations being fewer and more concentrated to particular cities, especially Rome, Constantinople, and other cities of the eastern Mediterranean. Most of the décor in these cases comprised existing statuary and pieces moved into new locales.[40] At Constantinople, the first half of the fifth century saw the formation of two more semipublic collections of statuary, by the chamberlain Lausos and by Marina, a daughter of Theodosius II. Rome remained exceptional, even with a blow to its population from the loss of grain

40. The latest datable inscription for transferal of statuary is one from Beneventum (*CIL* 9.1563) dating to the second quarter of the fifth century; undated ones may belong to this period too.

supply after the Vandal capture of Carthage in 439. It is clear that urban statuary practices lasted longer in the east, where cities were more prosperous. Some renovations or new constructions did reuse earlier statuary in a monumental fashion. Examples include fountains, city gates, and baths in Asia Minor (Jacobs, this volume). The Antonine fountain on the upper agora of Sagalassos was refurbished in the later fourth or fifth century with 10 mismatching statues of divinities, many clearly culled from local sanctuaries and still carrying dedicatory plaques on their bases (fig. 4).[41] Even so, most new constructions of the fifth century (such as churches) did not call for statuary (Liverani, this volume), except perhaps as building material.

In the western Mediterranean, many cities entered the fifth century with a suite of classical buildings, albeit some derelict, at their core. These buildings (and presumably their statuary) were increasingly repurposed and quarried over the fifth century.[42] Evidence for civic maintenance of buildings ceases in the European provinces. Even the layout of cities changed, with the old street grids built over and altered. Whereas the fountains or colonnaded streets of the eastern cities might display older statuary, there was no similar venue for statuary reuse in western cities. Some sculpture undoubtedly remained in the civil landscape, such as the Sicilian statues discussed by Sami (this volume), but there is little evidence of statuary being reinstalled or reused after the early fifth century.

Indications of active appreciation of statuary in private contexts also decline steeply after the early fifth century. In the early fifth century, certain great villas of southwest Gaul and the Iberian Peninsula still displayed statuary and even acquired select portraits or mythological pieces, but the end point of those displays is less clear. Still, it is significant that the statuary remained available for reuse when materials were collected and reprocessed at those villas at a later time (Munro, this volume). In some instances, the active discard of statuary from private or public settings can be placed archaeologically in the early fifth century. Examples include the jettisoning of most nude statuary from the Vedius bath-gymnasium at Ephesos and the construction of a church at the villa of Fianello Sabino using broken-up Hellenistic statuary in its foundations.[43] In the western European provinces, various factors point to a shrinkage in the numbers of the educated classes receiving a classical education. After the mid-

41. Jacobs 2010, 274–75.
42. Esmonde-Cleary 2013, 431–35; Kulikowski 2004, 224–30.
43. Auinger 2011, 71–76; Vorster 1998.

dle of the fifth century, there was a concomitant shift toward the use of military trappings rather than classical symbols to express status.[44] In North Africa, decline in interest in classical imagery among classes below the ultrarich is seen in the sharp drop-off of mythological images in favor of Christian ones on African Red Slip lamps after about 400.[45] Clay lamps, even decorated ones, were not high luxury goods, and they must represent a fairly ordinary stratum of people. Likewise, even Dionysiac imagery dwindled away over the second half of the fifth century.[46] Appreciation for mythological subjects remains evident in two-dimensional media, most particularly textiles.[47]

Statuary destruction and desecration are visible in the fifth century. Textual sources, the Theodosian laws against pagan worship, and the vanishing of institutions of classical urbanism all suggest that Christian damage to statuary must have been fairly frequent, but archaeological contexts are often not closely dated; the best cases are those that can be independently dated by means of associated coin finds, such as a statue of Hercules from Messene.[48] Both urban and rural sanctuaries (and their statuary) were attacked. Note that cleanup after statuary destruction could easily make an episode of destruction invisible to archaeology.

Intriguingly, some classical statuary retained in public places (especially baths) suffered damage but apparently remained on display for at least some of the fifth century (for instance, Ephesos, Salamis, Scythopolis).[49] Such damage must represent a culture clash between classes, with upper class patrons valuing the statues as traditional elements of beauty in a city, but ordinary Christians now seeing them as homes for demons or simply nude and monstrous figures. Another form of attention to statues was marking them with crosses, but with most examples it is not possible to date the actual inscription of a cross. Nevertheless, the crosses are suggestive of an intensive Christian interest in such forms of public statuary that necessitated particular forms of action to be taken, especially in those cases where the crosses are very elaborate and clearly designed to be visible, although it can be very difficult to establish whether we are to see this as a positive form of engagement (by confirming the status of the

44. Esmonde-Cleary 2013, 435–38.
45. Lund 2001.
46. Jacobs 2013, 441.
47. Silver hoards of the fifth century frequently contain liturgical vessels, though some have heirloom pieces or fragments (bullion) with mythological scenes.
48. Kristensen 2013b, 89.
49. Kristensen 2013b, 9–22, 218–32.

statues as part of the urban fabric) or as a negative one (as a form of exorcism or desecration of their former status).[50] Still, the paucity of cross-marked statuary in the west (where public bathing ended earlier than in the east) suggests that this was mostly a practice of the fifth century and later.

Production of new statuary decreased rapidly after the early fifth century, though new or recarved pieces do still appear in provincial capitals such as Aphrodisias, Ephesos, and Corinth (Brown, this volume). Even the production of imperial portraits is little attested, either through texts or physical remains (Anderson, this volume).

Statuary continued to provide a reservoir of building materials, through direct usage as building blocks or lime burning. City walls and churches consumed much spolia. At Mérida, the carefully constructed circuit walls of the fifth century used only granite blocks. These spoliated stones probably originated in local cemeteries, but interestingly, no inscriptions or reliefs were left visible in the wall.[51] An unquantifiable amount of statuary remained passively or neutrally in place in cities and landscapes.

After the early fifth century, the variety and contrast in statuary practices seen in the fourth century was transformed into a preponderance of practices that removed statuary from view. Production, recarving, and reuse all dwindled, with the first two having essentially ended after the early part of the century. The decades flanking the year 400 marked a significant change in the statuary practices.

## *The Sixth Century*

By the end of the fifth century, most of the traditional usages of statuary seen during the high empire had become rare. Still attested in some places at the beginning of the sixth century, these active usages were rarer still or absent by the end of the century. Let us qualify these remarks. What do we know of urban statuary? For the most part urban sculptures were those that had simply remained standing while a city changed around them. Textual sources about earthquakes make it clear that much statuary did simply remain standing in the cityscape to be damaged by earthquakes for many more centuries (Kristensen,

50. See Kristensen (2012) for an exploration of the various interpretative options.
51. Kulikowski 2004, 210.

this volume). A handful of high officials received statuary honors. There was little fresh imperial statuary (Anderson, this volume). In most cities, the epigraphic and archaeological records provide few traces of active and positive use of statuary (as opposed to damage, discard, or construction). Few building types that had housed statuary in earlier eras remained in their original function, and many had been quarried (though cities of the Near East stand out most for their urban prosperity in much of this period). In the east, colonnaded streets and nymphaea (decorative fountains) sometimes maintained statuary. Ine Jacobs (this volume) shows how, in the early sixth century, inhabitants of Sagalassos began the colonnaded street that served as the city's main entrance with an air of monumentality and even statuary décor, but did not complete the renovations. However, the motivations for such sculptural display as still remained may have changed. At Caesarea Maritima, broken statues restored to view on a main thoroughfare may have evoked Christian triumph rather than a sense of historic grandeur, also suggesting that changes in aesthetics were occuring.[52]

The capital cities remained exceptional, but even in these locations antique statuary was steadily being turned to other purposes or being used in ways that showed devaluation. The remaining great collections of Constantinople lost their integrity under Justinian.[53] Construction and warfare continued to erode Rome's holdings, as shown in the colorful episode of Byzantine defenders using statues from the Mausoleum of Hadrian as missiles against the Goths during Belisarius's capture of Rome.[54] In other eastern cities, statuary was discarded from private and public locations (Jacobs, this volume).

There is also archaeological evidence for the destruction, discard, or desecration of ancient sculpture during the sixth century. Conversions of temples into churches began in the fifth century, but are more evident in the sixth century (and were more prevalent in the east than in the west). Temple conversions undoubtedly exposed forgotten statuary to destruction. John Pollini suggests that the defacement of the Parthenon metopes occurred when the ancient temple was converted into a church, possibly in the sixth century, even if it should be noted that the date for this conversion has been disputed (and an earlier case of temple conversion to a church in the fifth century at Medinet Habu resulted

52. Kristensen 2010, 275–82; Kristensen 2013b, 232–42.
53. Bassett 2004, 127–28.
54. *De bello gothico* 1.22.

in similar destruction).[55] As a contrast, though, we may note that when the Severan Basilica at Lepcis Magna became a church under Justinian, it retained pilasters with vine scrolls showing the labors of Hercules, apparently still on view (though the faces on lower figures are missing).[56] Western cities, now looking very unclassical, probably retained little civic statuary to destroy. However, hagiographic accounts, west and east, talk about attacks on rural and remote sanctuaries. Such texts provide important insights into how the pagan sculptural landscape was imagined by not only Christian authors but also by their audiences in churches and monasteries.

Interestingly, all but one of the five western examples of cross-marked statues and both western examples of mutilated statues on display in baths come from areas that were reconquered by Justinian. One of the cross-marked statues, a nude male statue from a nymphaeum at Thubursicum Numidarum, was decorated with a tau-rho symbol that did not gain widespread usage in North Africa until the fifth or sixth century.[57] This distribution implies that cross-marking and display of damaged statuary were principally eastern and late practices.

## *Perspectives*

As a whole, the chapters in this volume and the insights provided by other recent studies allow us to reconstruct a rich picture of the afterlife of Greek and Roman sculpture during Late Antiquity. Although the topic has received considerable attention in recent years—and looks set to continue to do so in the near future—it is hoped that this volume will provide stimulus for further discussion and interrogation of the many difficult questions that arise from it. Where do we go from here?

Further chronologies and discussion framed from nontextual data remain essential as a counterweight to the triumphalist Christian narrative embodied in most of our surviving texts. Of course, many archaeological contexts are not well dated or well recorded, but there is still scope for further evaluation and

55. Pollini 2007, 2008. On Medinet Habu, see Kristensen 2013b, 161–62.
56. Leone 2013, 77–78.
57. Kristensen 2012, 61 no. B24. In the earliest surviving Christian manuscripts, the tau-rho symbol is inserted into the word for the cross (Hurtado 2006, 135–54). It moved into more visible contexts in the mid-fourth century, and was widespread on Christian objects in the fifth century (Spier 2007, 233–34).

synthesis. Epigraphic data provide evidence, sometimes closely datable, for positive uses of statuary. We look forward to the studies emanating from the research project on the Last Statues of Antiquity at Oxford, with its accompanying database already available, as well as efforts to visualize the changing "statu-escape" of the late antique Forum Romanum.[58] In particular, the Greek and Latin epigraphic material could create a valuable framework for urban honorific statuary.

Continuing regional synthesis drawing on multiple sites (and varied types of sites) and making use of nuanced interpretive methods such as those developed in part I of this volume is likewise important. There is much to learn from creative reanalysis of old archaeological data, even in cases where the documentation at first appears to be insufficient or incomplete.

Finally, comparative studies looking at treatment of statuary (or other artwork) in other historical or modern contexts would elicit new perspectives on aggregate archaeological data, even when detailed or closely datable material is not abundant. Looking at how changes unfolded in a different setting can help explain the functioning of analogous influences or expose the absence of other factors from one situation. For instance, modern postcolonial situations provide parallels for changed cultural practices toward artwork or aggression toward symbols of the departed overlords. Regime changes throughout history can engender not just hostility to the images of the ancien régime but also unstable situations where statuary or artwork is exposed to theft, appropriation, destruction for pragmatic purposes, or hiding for safekeeping. Both shrinking postindustrial cities and rapidly expanding new capitals provide manifold possibilities for comparison with various late antique situations. The destruction of art and entire heritage sites during the ongoing civil war in Syria further underlines the contemporary relevance of the issues discussed in this volume.

58. Visualizing Statues in the Late Antique Roman Forum: http://inscriptions.etc.ucla.edu/index.php/statues-and-memory/. On the Last Statues of Antiquity project, see now Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016.

# PART I
# Practices of Deposition and Reuse

ONE

# Metal Sculpture from Roman Britain

## *Scraps but Not Always Scrap*

BEN CROXFORD

Modes of thinking regarding physical states and perceptions of incomplete objects encountered during archaeological work are governed by modern Western structures of thought. Notions such as "broken," "incomplete," "damaged," and "rubbish" frequently unconsciously, or at least in an unchallenged manner, dominate the narratives. This is particularly the case where art objects are concerned, most likely due to modern sensibilities regarding what is functional and what is destructive—the latter essentially negating the former where it is seen to have occurred. It often remains problematic to engage objects in reduced or damaged states without first having to overcome certain assumptions that are dictated by the physical condition of the object in question. This is despite the now long-standing existence of a body of theory that clearly makes the case for more complex destructive or postbreaking engagements with material objects in the past.[1] It is this issue of perception of damage that lies at the heart of consideration here. The intention is to examine a specific type of material that is particularly susceptible to the assumptions outlined above, but where it can be shown that relationships thought to be uncomplicated were far from straightforward.

Metal sculpture was probably never particularly common in Roman Brit-

1. Chapman 2000.

ain. Certainly today it makes up less than 4 percent of known examples of sculpture from the island, with only 56 recorded.[2] What does remain is frequently highly fragmentary and greatly reduced, often comprising only small scraps of once much larger images. There is a not unreasonable assumption made regarding these small traces, namely that they are the result of recycling efforts carried out in the late and post-Roman periods. The interpretation runs that their small size and poor survival is a direct consequence of their material of construction, metal obviously being an easily reclaimed material and one that retains its value across periods and changing social or cultural situations. This materialistic-based narrative overlooks several complexities of the material, the surviving traces, and the objects they originally came from. Detailed examination of the remains of metal sculpture from Roman Britain reveals a more nuanced situation, one in which the objects are not simply treated according to their material of construction, and, more important, one that often runs counter to the assumptions underpinning the common current understanding of the objects and the scraps as they survive.

## *Metal Sculpture in Roman Britain*

Metal was used in two forms for sculpture in Roman Britain. First, there were the images produced entirely in metal, free-standing bronze sculptures for the most part. Second, there were composite images, where metal was employed for only part of the image. This extends beyond the practice of acrolithic sculpture (where the drapery was of metal but the exposed sections of flesh of stone) to images where only key components were produced in metal, that is, objects held or worn. There are few examples of acrolithic sculptures that may be confidently identified for Roman Britain. Fragments of drapery, such as the exceptionally fine examples from St. Albans, Hertfordshire,[3] could just as easily have come from completely metal sculptures. More common in terms of composite examples are those where only particular objects were produced in metal. The collection of sculpture from the Walbrook mithraeum contained two such examples: a head of Minerva that originally had a metal helmet fitted over the upper part and a hand of Mithras that once held a knife.[4] These two examples

2. Croxford 2008a.
3. Anthony 1968, 49–50.
4. Toynbee 1986.

serve to demonstrate the particular problem with examining this form of metal sculpture: it is most frequently evidenced by absence from empty stone hands. It is possible that actual examples of the metal objects themselves lurk among museum collections, having been overlooked or misidentified. For the most part, though, "metal sculpture" relates to the completely metal objects produced in the round and being free-standing. There are, however, further qualifiers that must be set out.

For the purposes of this chapter, "metal sculpture" refers to all statuary produced in metal that was greater than 15 cm in original height. This deliberately excludes the innumerable smaller figurines common for the period. Those are subject to a number of complicating factors arising from their size, status, and portability that render them distinct from the material in focus here (some of these factors will become apparent below, all of which make them a subject in their own right). As it happens, this division is not as artificial or arbitrary as it may appear. In terms of numbers of surviving examples, there is a genuine distinction that corresponds with size: there are more larger images (near- or even greater than life-sized—36 examples) than statuettes (greater than 15 cm but significantly less than half life-sized—nine examples). This appears at first glance to be counterintuitive, assuming that smaller pieces "must" originally have been more common than large images. There are two possible explanations for this apparent disparity then: first, competence or technical limits restricted the maximum size of image possible for the majority of metalsmiths. Once an image reaches a certain size, it is no longer practical to produce it in solid metal, the technique used for figurines. Instead, the hollow-cast and assembled structure seen for larger metal images must be employed.[5] As such, statuary in this smaller size range was potentially beyond the technical ability of most smiths and perhaps therefore they were rarer commissions. It is important to stress, though, that at least some objects of this class were being produced in Roman Britain; mold fragments for an image c. 38 cm high have been found on a villa site at Gestingthorpe, Essex.[6] They could then once have been more common, along similar lines to the larger images in terms of numbers, perhaps even more numerous still. The second factor possibly at work here is that their smaller size renders them subject to different processes from the larger images, more like the figurines in terms of accessibility and vulnerability.

5. See Mattusch 1996, 9.
6. Frere 1970, 266–67.

Whatever the true cause, there is a genuine distinction in terms of survival or frequency of metal sculpture dependent upon size and one that justifies limiting consideration here to statuary greater than 15 cm in height as opposed to figurines.

## *Population and Survival*

Having defined metal sculpture, we may turn to consider its prevalence and nature in Roman Britain. It might be assumed that metal sculpture represented a high-status object, almost certainly in the case of the largest examples, one restricted to civic or even imperial circumstances. The complexity and costs of production would have made them unusual commissions. Attempting to actually define these costs and place a value on metal sculpture is problematic. The Foss Dyke Mars, from Lincolnshire, does carry an inscription that specifically mentions values involved in the dedication—100 sesterces and a pound of copper made at three denarii.[7] It is not clear, however, if this covers the full cost of production, whether it factors in all labor or materials, or even if the money mentioned was added to the donation of the statuette. What we can determine is that this value only relates to a small metal sculpture, one at the lower end of consideration here. Larger objects would therefore have been prohibitively expensive, in materials alone, not even factoring in the extra costs of the highly skilled labor necessary to produce them. That said, they were perhaps more common than this initial assessment might suggest: the relatively minor fort of Segontium (Caernarfon, Gwynedd) was equipped with such an image.[8] We cannot therefore assess the original likely population from an assumed rarity arising from cost or perceived status alone. Instead we may note that the technical difficulty of execution, requiring as it does highly skilled labor for production and moderately skilled labor for assembly (taking into account the possibility of manufacture elsewhere and the importing of pieces for construction onsite), does suggest a natural inherent rarity for such objects. There are, however, other influencing factors to consider.

Metal sculpture accounts for only 4 percent of known examples of sculpture of all types from Roman Britain. This may be further broken down by focusing

7. *RIB* 274.
8. *CSIR* 1.5 (Brewer 1986), no. 48.

only on the statues (only 38 percent of sculptures are statues, the other sculptures being reliefs, tombstones, or altars with anthropomorphic elements), whereupon we find metal statues account for 13 percent of this object type (the remainder being almost all in stone, wooden images being unusually rare).[9] The problem comes when attempting to move from these figures for surviving material to the likely original composition of the sculptural population of Roman Britain. We cannot hazard a guess as to the original population of all sculpture, but it seems reasonable to question whether one in eight is a likely ratio of metal to stone statues. It is a very real possibility that the rate of survival has been skewed by a number of factors relating to the nature of the material in question. Perversely, though more vulnerable to complete destruction through melting down, metal sculpture is actually potentially more visible in the archaeological record; smaller pieces of metal sculpture are recognizable as fragments of sculpture compared with stone examples. To explain, were a stone and a bronze sculpture both reduced to fragments no more than a few centimeters across, and further reduced by only a small number of these pieces then being recovered, it is less likely that the stone pebbles would be identified as having come from sculpture, compared with the more easily identifiable scraps of metal. This is not to say that scraps of metal are always recognized as there are some rare instances where they are occasionally overlooked; the fragment from Segontium languished unrecognized between the original excavation, where it does not even feature in the published finds list, and reexamination 40 years later.[10] It is unknown how many other similar scraps are hidden in museum stores, at best catalogued as "bronze scrap." What is more certain is that there are not similar chances of finding unrecognized stone sculptures in these same stores as such pieces will not have been retained. Under modern excavation conditions, such small fragments may be identified but certainly older digs have probable biases in their retention policies (cf. the stone kneecap from Uley in Gloucestershire[11] and the overabundance of stone hands from rubble deposits found during the early excavations at Corbridge behind Hadrian's Wall).[12]

Metal sculpture then occupies an unusual position in that it is at once both more vulnerable to destruction, even complete annihilation, but also, due to the practices and realities of archaeology, able to proceed through the stages of re-

9. Croxford 2008a, 103.
10. Cf. Wheeler 1923 and Boon 1972.
11. *CSIR* 1.7 (Henig 1993), no. 134.
12. *CSIR* 1.1 (Phillips 1977), no. 141, for example.

covery and recognition to be restored as a known object.[13] Consequently any attempt to calculate the original population of metal sculpture present in Roman Britain must account for this paradoxical heightened vulnerability and survivability. It is then better to talk more generally of sculpture when attempting to define how common it once was, and what position it occupied in the military and civilian spheres and spaces.

Such sculptures would not have been overly common but it would have been a regular feature, certainly at particular sites across Roman Britain. That said, sculpture was not universally employed in Roman Britain; there are clear regions of production and utilization, seemingly not dependant upon the availability of raw materials or proximity to civitas capitals, London, military emplacements, or the continent. Interestingly the general distribution or occurrence of metal sculpture matches that of stone, suggesting that much like the epigraphic habit, uptake was dependant upon particular social circumstances, rather than any material or generic "Romanization" issues.[14] For example, Kent has no shortage of villas, towns, or major ports and yet has produced remarkably few pieces of sculpture, and, of these, all but one or two were probably made on the continent and imported.[15] Having worked through the numerous factors influencing the original population, its survival, and eventual recognition and recording as a known example, we may conclude that metal sculpture was not abundant and its poor survival is not simply and directly a reflection of the efficiency of late or post-Roman scavengers.

## *Scrap*

The defining characteristic of sculpture from Roman Britain in general is its fragmentary and incomplete nature. Metal sculpture is no exception to this, though it does display some distinct traits. There are two means of quantifying sculpture survival: the index of conservation (fig. 1) and the index of fragmentation (fig. 2). The first records the proportion of the original image surviving in terms of defined body parts, including null scores where no entire piece survives, such as just a base, while the second logs the number of pieces in which the surviving portion, whatever it may be, has been found. Nearly 40 percent of

13. Cf. Thomas 1996, 62.
14. Croxford 2008a.
15. Croxford 2008a.

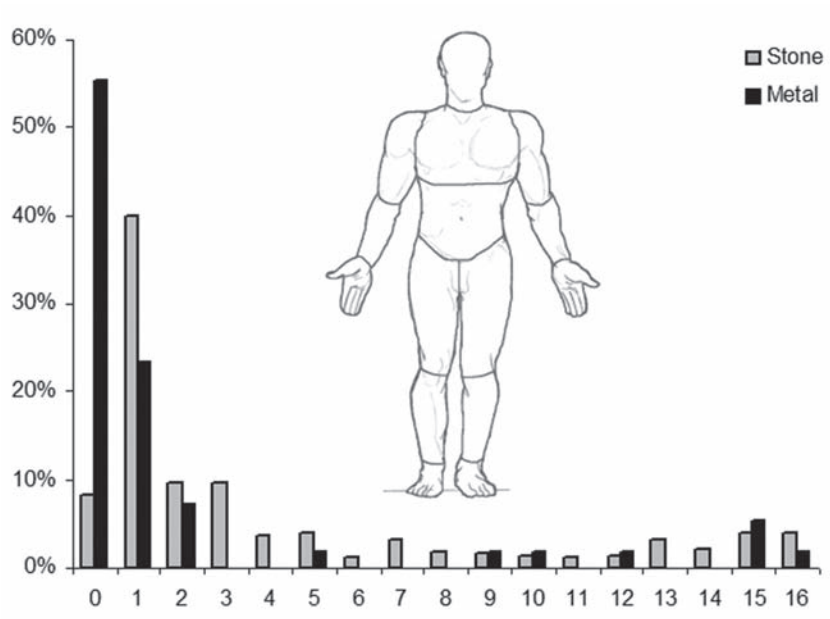


Fig. 1. Index of conservation for statues (n = 472 in total, 416 stone and 56 metal) and map of zones, each scoring 1 on the scale for present.

nonmetal statuary is now represented by only one complete body part. By comparison, 55 percent of metal statuary has no complete body part. The index of fragmentation shows a similar divergence focusing on material type: while 2 percent of nonmetal statuary survives in four or more pieces, 11 percent of metal sculpture does so. The material is the root cause of this distinction. As already seen, metal sculpture can be broken down into smaller, more numerous pieces and still be recorded as sculpture. This alone does not explain the level of fragmentation. Instead, coupled with the poor survival in general of metal sculpture, there has been a logical assumption that such images were melted down to recover their metal content; the greater fragmentation is therefore to facilitate melting in small crucibles. The problem is that in many instances the fragments do not appear to be in what might be called a prepared state, seeming instead to be simply lost pieces. They certainly do not resemble collections of precious metal that have been subjected to such treatment, often being isolated finds. Instead, we must rely upon associations to identify instances of metal recovery efforts.

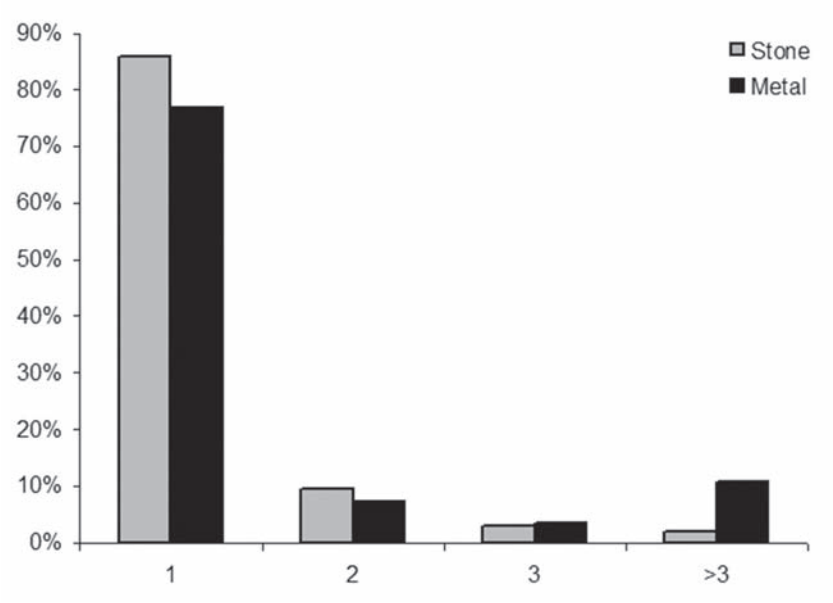


Fig. 2. Index of fragmentation for statues (n = 472 in total, 416 stone and 56 metal).

Beside the absence of the majority of each metal statue (in itself, not particularly compelling as evidence given the similar absence of the majority of nonmetal statuary), there are genuine instances of material recovered in circumstances that suggest active recycling in Roman Britain. At Caerleon, Gwent, during excavations in the late 1960s, 13 fragments of life-sized bronze statues[16] were recovered from the area around a total of eight bases, six of which were probably for sculpture, on the site of the *basilica principiorum*.[17] The additional discovery of two apparently solidified runners of bronze and the dismantled state of the building strongly hint at a process of demolition and material recycling but one perhaps occurring over two phases. The first saw the disuse of the site, the lifting of the flagstones and maybe some initial dismantling of the statues, perhaps sometime in the late third century. The second phase occurred in the first half of the fourth century; the scraps and runners were found on the earth layer that had accumulated after the removal of the flagstones.[18] There

16. *CSIR* 1.5 (Brewer 1986), nos. 44–45.
17. Boon 1971, 22.
18. Boon 1971, 32.

was some difficulty on the part of the initial reporter factoring in the apparent failure to completely remove the statues, especially as they were probably imperial images.[19] Despite this, on the whole it was felt that this was a good instance of statues being recycled, particularly in light of the small size of the pieces, each seemingly broken up in preparation for melting down, coupled with the runners of bronze and the empty plinths.[20] Similar fragments associated with a statue base have been found at Gloucester,[21] Wroxeter,[22] and numerous small fragments have been found in the basilica at Silchester.[23] The material from Silchester is particularly compelling as the basilica was used for metalworking in the late Roman period[24] and so suggests the gathering together of scrap for recycling.

A recent discovery at the Bosworth Field battle site, Leicestershire, is perhaps directly more indicative of the likely fate of much of the metal sculpture from Roman Britain. Over 900 metal artifacts, including a hand from a medium-sized bronze statue, were recovered from the topsoil of a very shallow site. There were numerous rider-type brooches and evidence of metalworking. It is thought that the site represents later Roman recycling of older objects, making them into new brooches.[25] With the increasing use of metal detectors and the recording of discoveries through the Portable Antiquities Scheme,[26] it is possible that more such ephemeral sites with these concentrations hinting at metal recycling will come to light. Certainly there are a number of important recent discoveries that have come through this channel, such as the three fragments from a life-sized bronze found in Lincolnshire,[27] a finger[28] and an eye.[29] Aside from the fragments from Lincolnshire, each conforms to the general pattern so far established, small fragments found removed from all other traces of the image. It is here that we find the first reason to really question the motivation for the dismemberment. Though much was being melted down, basing this either on absence or the types of

19. Boon 1987, 43.
20. Boon 1971, 31.
21. Hurst 1972, 57; *CSIR* 1.7 (Henig 1993), no. 177.
22. *CSIR* 1.9 (Henig 2004), no. 184.
23. *CSIR* 1.2 (Cunliffe and Fulford 1982), no. 153; Boon 1981, 100; Boon 2000; Fulford and Timby 2000, 350–57.
24. Fulford and Timby 2000, 579.
25. Richard Mackinder, pers. comm.
26. www.finds.org.uk
27. PAS LIN-31B698.
28. PAS LIN-A80353.
29. PAS NARC-D112F1.

discoveries outlined above, this was not the be all and end all of the material in question, nor does it really engage with the motivations, perceptions, and full range of actions carried out by those responsible.

## *Not Scrap*

The underpinning element of the interpretive narrative where metal sculpture is concerned is ultimately that the material effectively trumped the object's thingness at the end of its use-life. That is to say, the metal value outweighed the artistic or aesthetic value and even the anthropomorphic resonance. This is not expressly stated or acknowledged in considerations of metal sculpture as it is a subconscious influence on interpretation. In many respects it is a perfectly logical assumption to make: the majority of metal sculpture is now absent; pieces of these objects have been found in conditions that suggest recycling of the metal content; metal is a valuable commodity and would most likely be recycled. What has been missed, though, is that not all actions taken in relation to metal sculpture in these post-initial-phase-of-the-use-life situations are solely informed by this structure of thinking on the part of those undertaking the dismemberment. As with many other unacknowledged assumptions regarding past values, attitudes, or thought processes, the existence of the biased, overly materialistic, or "logical" structuring of interpretation is not foregrounded until a detailed examination is made of the material at the heart of the narrative. Hence, looking again at metal sculpture, without the assumption that metal value was the dominant factor, we can begin to examine what happened to it and how it might have been viewed.

There are particular patterns in the survival of sculpture from Roman Britain, with certain body parts, most notably the head, overrepresented in the archaeological record.[30] Examination of these has called into question previous assumed narrative explanations, namely a putative complete and particularly focused Christian iconoclastic purge.[31] Statistically speaking, such patterning is not the product of chance but rather a deliberate selective process. The problem arises when attempting to determine whose selection. As already touched upon above, issues of recognition and retention skew the data in particular direc-

30. Croxford 2003, 2008a.
31. Croxford 2003.

tions. The material of the object has similar influences, hence the atypical high scores on the index of fragmentation for metal sculpture (fig. 2). Despite these issues, it remains the case that metal sculpture is particularly represented by surviving heads, hands, and especially fingers. Mechanical failure dynamics inherent in the object type account for the detachment of these particular elements; they each represent extremities more vulnerable to separation. Observation biases also make them more likely to be recovered than, say, elements of torso.[32] This alone, though, cannot account for the survival of these pieces, whether or not the proportion we now have is truly representative.

The survival of large sections of metal sculptures, whether heads or hands, fundamentally does not fit within the simplistic materialistic narrative. The metal value, which supposedly drove the dismemberment in the first place, should be in force for all the resulting fragments, particularly large sections that must have contained considerable material value. Consequently, the deposition of these sizeable sections of sculpture, or "large chunks of recyclable metal" to maintain the normal narrative structure, represent substantial loss on the part of those carrying out the melting down or deposition, or both. In some instances, a concealment interpretation comes to the fore, in an effort to reconcile the apparent discard of valuable scrap. Cases such as the base-cladding (fragments of bronze thought to have been used to decorate the base of a metal sculpture, though without firm evidence either way) from beneath floorboards at Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire,[33] could fall into this category. They are small sections with no apparent anthropomorphic significance and are in locations that do suggest concealment. The important distinction is that it was possible to recover the piece from its hiding place. With many of the bronze hands from London, this was not the case as they were cast into wells or other wet contexts. This has attracted attention previously; Ralph Merrifield suggested that this action related to a late Roman variant on the anatomical ex voto tradition, utilizing the decaying sculpture as a convenient source of ready-made offerings.[34] This, however, overlooks the limited practice of this tradition in Roman Britain and cannot account for the earlier instances of depositing sculpture in such locations.

Regarding the size of the aberrant surviving fragments, there is the issue of

32. Though cf. PAS LIN-31B698—a rare instance of body fragments having been recovered, most likely due to the circumstances of discovery, that is, metal detecting and the Portable Antiquities Scheme.
33. *CSIR* 1.5 (Brewer 1986), no. 49.
34. Merrifield 1987, 103.

their anthropomorphic characteristics. Survival patterns of sculpture in general show body-part-specific trends and this holds true for metal sculpture, with the addition that individual fingers are exceptionally common; 16 percent of metal sculptures are represented now only by a solitary finger. As noted above, mechanical failure traits of the image type make this an easily separated element, and they do posses a unique quality that could account for some bias in their survival, namely that they are often one of the few solid cast elements of these sculptures. Consequently, they are more robust and better able to survive deposition and recovery. Their separation from images, and even the likely sites of image display (a finger was found in a barracks building at Caerleon, Gwent[35]) does however bring us back to the idea that there were selective decisions made by those with access to the sculptures either during the process of dismemberment or perhaps in advance of it. This raises the issues of access, perception (which permits access), and likely sequences of action.

## *Going about Breaking Sculpture*

Another inherent assumption of the materialistically driven narrative of "the end of sculpture" is that it must have occurred in the late or post-Roman period. The reasoning runs that in order for sculpture, particularly large public, perhaps imperial, sculpture, to be recycled it must have been vulnerable. It would have been most vulnerable once the sites had fallen from use and were generally available for scavengers to reclaim building materials. George Boon's difficulty reconciling the seeming abandonment of imperial images at Caerleon, arising from only finding fragments from recycling in the second phase of dismantling,[36] is typical. It is assumed that sculpture is valuable and therefore would not have been left on display were the site to go out of use. In this instance, such reasoning is strengthened by the removal of even the flagstones of the building and the preparations for the recycling of lead water mains.[37] This certainly suggests a concerted effort by third- and fourth-century workers to recover all available material of value. The survival of the metal sculpture is doubly odd then in that it was not completely removed as useable sculpture, nor was it all melted down. The issue at the heart of this is one of perception,

35. *CSIR* 1.5 (Brewer 1986), no. 46.
36. Boon 1971, 31.
37. Boon 1971, 32.

both modern and ancient. When does a sculpture stop being art and become material that may be reclaimed? The problem of theft from images was a known one in the late antique world.[38] The lamentation of the negative impact this was having is telling of a mind-set that still held such images as important (on the part of Cassiodorus and, presumably, other members of the Roman elite) but also that such actions were taking place, albeit surreptitiously where large public images were concerned. This suggests a class- or status-based division, but it would be particularly oversimplistic to conclude that all elites still valued images over material or that those of lower status were only interested in the material. Instead, we must take it as an insight into mind-sets that permitted such actions. While public order still held sway, and sites were in regular use, it is unlikely that larger or public images were "available" for recycling. This may account for the poorer survival of smaller images, as these would have more rapidly entered the recycling market were this suggested dynamic correct.

Inherent within this notion of sculpture becoming available is one that assumes decay or social transformation, whereby sculpture ceases to be sculpture. Certainly age can erode the significance of sculpture, a phenomenon observable today with private grave monuments. Additionally, changing use of public spaces can render such objects neglected and vulnerable, again as seen in the modern Western world particularly with regard to nineteenth-century cemeteries. Such reasoning overlooks the form of the images. As touched upon above, anthropomorphic resonance, which is to say, the fact that people can most frequently recognize images of people, even in cases where such simulacrum is not intended,[39] would perhaps have ensured that the images would always have remained "human." This feeds back into the idea that the bodies were being harvested for use as anatomical ex votos[40]: a hand is a hand, even if the statue is no longer a statue. It was once supposed that fanatical Christians broke everything as they were unable to distinguish between a peaceful citizen on his tombstone and a hated image of a pagan deity.[41] However, it cannot be suggested that there was a complete breakdown of interpretive ability on the part of observers in the later and post-Roman periods. They will have been able to recognize an image even if not its particular function or meaning. This perhaps accounts for the treatment of the Camomile Street soldier, a first-century tomb-

38. Cassiod, *Var.* 7.13.
39. For the phenomenon of facial recognition, see Bruce and Young 1998.
40. Merrifield 1987, 103.
41. Roach Smith 1859, 71, though cf. Croxford 2003.

stone found reused in a fourth-century bastion of the London wall,[42] subjected to a rite performed on human corpses at the point of burial—decapitation with the head placed between the ankles of the supine body.[43] In this particular case it is additionally complex as the sculpture appears to have been completely transformed from stone into human, in that it receives a rite performed nowhere else in Britain on a sculpture, but more generally, though, the image was still human even if it was no longer a sculpture. Similar complex relationships or modes of understanding are posited for another distant late antique/early Christian context in Egypt, where destructive interactions with sculptures were seemingly informed by notions of the body.[44] This potential for interaction informed by transformation of the stone body to a real body by virtue of its form offers an insight into complex modes of past understanding. The possibility remains difficult to engage with given the distances in time and space between both modern understandings and contemporary ones, namely that what motivated action in late antique Egypt may differ greatly from late Roman Britain, despite the apparent similarities in the resulting fragments, a common problem when engaging with destructive actions such as these.

We can therefore say that a number of changes are necessary in order for the destruction, and particularly the recycling, of metal sculpture to be undertaken. These mostly relate to perceived values, which is to say the value that society attaches to sculpture as sculpture over the material value inherent in the metal. This does of course assume that the destructive action only occurred once consensus on this issue was reached, or at least once society's value or interest had declined sufficiently to allow enterprising individuals to reclaim the material value. As evidenced by Cassiodorus, not everyone waited this long before making off with parts of images. This brings to the fore another assumption, namely that all destruction occurred at the end of the use-life of the sculpture.

## *Chronologies of Breaking*

Determining a date for separation of parts of an image is extremely difficult. The generally low scores on the index of fragmentation (fig. 2) very often mean that we have only one part of any image and usually cannot say with any confi-

42. Bishop 1983.
43. Croxford 2008b.
44. Kristensen 2009b.

dence when it parted company with the rest of the original image. There is often a presumption to compress the sequence of dismemberment and recycling into a single event, or at least events in close proximity to one another chronologically. Rare instances where multiple fragments from single images are recovered reveal longer, more complex processes. At the temple at Uley in Gloucestershire[45] the stone image of Mercury was broken up, probably some time in the late fourth century, as evidenced by the reuse of some fragments from it in later structures on the site.[46] The separated fragments experienced different trajectories in terms of deposition and presumably recognition or value: most notably, the head was deposited as much as a century or two after it had been separated from the other fragments.[47] It is possible to envisage a number of scenarios to account for this (each largely as valid as the other and based upon possible sequences of events that all result in the same eventual arrangement of fragments, and hence of questionable value[48]), but ultimately it serves to remind us that we more often assume dating or significance on the basis of a few pieces and their broken state. This is most obvious in relation to a few pieces of metal sculpture in particular.

There is a small subset of metal fragments from Roman Britain that are of importance for two reasons. First, they are assumed to have been deposited well ahead of the normally presumed period for such action, and, second, they attract a particular interpretation regarding the circumstances of their dismemberment, one distinct from the recycling motivation considered at length here but perhaps still informed by the material. The pieces in question are the fragments of metal sculpture thought to have derived from looting of Roman centers and to have been deposited away from these places, often within the tribal lands of groups known to have been hostile at various points in the earlier history of Roman Britain. The most famous of these is the bronze head from the River Alde, Suffolk. Often said to be a first-century imperial image (whether of Claudius or Nero is still debated[49]), what is important is its separation from the body and deposition in the river. Such action is essentially similar to the later treatment of fragments, namely removal and deposition in wet contexts, and all in apparent opposition to the potential material value of the metal. The only

45. Woodward and Leech 1993.
46. Woodward and Leech 1993, 71.
47. Woodward and Leech 1993, 71.
48. Croxford 2008a, 228–31.
49. Cf. Russell 2006, 44; Stewart 2000, 15, and correspondence in *British Archaeology* 90 and 91 from Henig, Plouviez, and Twinch.

significant difference is the presumed date of deposition. There is no evidence that the head was deposited in the first century, let alone in the immediate aftermath of the retreat of the defeated forces of Boudicca. Indeed, it is interesting to note that one of the first interpretations offered for the head's deposition was that Vikings were responsible.[50]

Other examples of such assumed early deposition relate to images of Nero. It is an unusual quirk of *damnatio memoriae* that more traces of images of damned individuals are known than all other emperors combined, at least for Roman Britain; this probably arises due to the limited number of imperial images known and the increased chances of survival, in archaeological terms, arising from their deposition. In many instances the identity of Nero is assumed from the date of deposition, in that the only imperial images thought to have been vulnerable to dismemberment at this date must have been of this particular individual. Occasionally such circular reasoning is expressly avoided,[51] but for the most part it is thought that traces of broken sculpture of the first century must either be reviled images of Nero or victims of Boudicca (see the case of the tombstone of Longinus Sdapeze,[52] where the accidental modern loss of the face became one of the most celebrated cases of Boudiccan destruction). A fragment from Usk, a single pteryx,[53] was found among deposits relating to the demolition of the fortress in AD 69. An association was therefore made that the image was probably of Nero and evidence of the destruction of his images. Janet Webster argued that it was unlikely for this single piece to have broken off accidentally and, though she considered whether this fragment indicates the whole statue's destruction,[54] concluded that as the edges of this piece have been damaged, it is likely that the whole image was broken up at this time. That it could represent the loss of only one small piece from an image of any number of possible subjects is outweighed by the historical associations provided by the tight chronology of deposition.

The interpretive narrative constructed around such pieces is largely dependent upon the biases of the interpreter and the period in which they operated. A more cautious approach, even in the face of dating evidence that does link deposition to the later first century,[55] is to conclude that we cannot know the precise circumstances of deposition, or perhaps even the motivations of those

50. *Athenaeum*, 12 December 1908, 766.
51. E.g., Bayley et al. 2009.
52. *CSIR* 1.8 (Huskinson 1994), no. 48.
53. Webster 1995, 46–54.
54. Webster 1995, 48.
55. E.g., Bayley et al. 2009.

performing the action. The same holds true for pieces lacking any dating relating to deposition. It is assumed, in the absence of first-century material in association, that all other deposits must be late or even post-Roman. An exception to this exists in the form of fragments of bronze sculpture from beyond the frontier. These are taken as evidence of raiding, presumably during the Roman period, and the items are therefore loot offered up or concealed after such actions, for example, the gilded lower leg of a rider from an equestrian statue found at Milsington, Roxburghshire, possibly in a bog.[56]

One especially rare survival best lends itself to such reasoning. The Tunshill Victory consists of the arm and associated bracelet bearing an inscription[57] from a less-than-half-life-sized image.[58] The inscription suggests it probably stood in the headquarters of the sixth legion at York. Its discovery in a slate quarry in Lancashire, c. 65 km west of the city, immediately summons ideas of looting and perhaps even concealment, as opposed to discard or loss. This view is strengthened because it is also a unique object—it is the only evidence for such large-scale images in silver surviving from Roman Britain. Consequently, precious metal, military origin, removal from original display location, and remote deposition all combine to make a seemingly credible case for this particular piece having been stolen and concealed. That this interpretation flows so easily is testament to the strength of the ingrained notion of value inherent in silver as a material. Were the image of gold, the automatic association or assumption would be stronger still; however, the story sketched out above is in essence identical to those constructed around the other metal sculptures from Roman Britain. It is only the precious metal that makes this one pass more easily and makes constructing alternative narratives that much more difficult. This is not to deny that this could be a case of looting or concealment of prized metal, or both, and that such images would be among the first to be targeted by metal thieves or recyclers, but rather that we should acknowledge the potential bias introduced into our thinking by notions of value or worth entirely springing from the "precious" metal in question. In this sense, it is only the greater modern value of these metals compared with copper alloys that strengthens the assumed reasons for reclamation.

This interesting exploration of our own conditioning aside, the Tunshill arm remains an important object. It is evidence for an otherwise completely

56. Curle 1932, 365.
57. *RIB* 582.
58. Potter and Johns 1992, 124–25.

vanished subset of metal sculpture from Roman Britain. Images in precious metal will have been rarer still than normal metal sculptures but even if each legionary principia had only one, there would have been several in Roman Britain. Their nearly total absence from our records could be read as a clear example of the metal value of such images driving their destruction and reclamation; if not in the Roman period, then presumably in the subsequent 1,500 years before the object value again came to outweigh the material value, and thus ensure their preservation and recording. The possibility that great care was taken in relation to such images by departing military units (as opposed to the case with the bronze statues at Caerleon, see above) should be considered. Whether this accounts for their absence and whatever the circumstances in this particular case, it is apparent that not all such images were completely destroyed, and, potentially, the same factors that led to the selection of some fragments for preservation in the cases with bronze sculptures could perhaps apply in other materials also.

## *Reasons for Breaking and Deposition*

When attempting to reevaluate any corpus and associated and long-held interpretative norm, it is inevitably asked, if the previously held interpretation does not account for what is found, then what does? Reexamining the destruction of sculpture from Britain is no different in this respect. Demonstrating complexity in selection processes, probable differences in perception, and clear instances of action in opposition to assumed motives must be sufficient; it is not possible to provide a new complete theory or model that accounts for all observed or possible instances, nor indeed it is even desirable to do so. This is because it is not possible to determine the precise sequence of events and the vast array of possible influences or intentions underpinning them. The fragments recovered are simply the surviving scraps, and this same eventual residue can be the product of any number of scenarios. It is therefore not the intention here to replace the former interpretive narrative with a new one, simply to highlight that the assumptions of old do not fully do justice to the material, its condition, or the events that resulted in the deposits encountered and the traces recovered. At best it can be suggested that a greater individual agency probably existed in relation to the fragmentation of metal

sculpture than has been thought, namely that each destructive episode was performed by people who might not have previously carried out such an act, that they made personal choices that were informed by notions of the image, their understanding of it, and wider social or cultural influences. This makes the repeated responses, namely specific body part selection and deposition practices or choices, all the more intriguing. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to compare the actions of the Romano-British sculpture-breakers with their contemporaries from elsewhere within the empire or even from different periods. There is a suspicion that the repetition of certain action types where the destruction, or reduction and distribution, of sculpture is concerned arises from ingrained ideas relating to the human body. These will have been culturally specific, though, as demonstrated by the treatment of the Camomile Street soldier, the tombstone of a long-dead soldier subjected to decapitation burial (no element of which finds an easy parallel in later periods). Rather, it is likely that the form as well as the material of a sculpture largely dictates what can be done with it.

Returning to the idea of individuals being responsible, but with an apparent shared basis determining what actions are taken (always remembering the range of actions that will not have been so easily preserved in archaeologically detectable circumstances), it is possible that private action and thought were the primary factors. The abundance of lone fingers offers the best insight here. Each represents the whole image via a recognizable form, a portable fragment that can be acquired relatively easily (physical traits of the image and also social circumstances permitting or attempting to forbid such reductions). It is not possible or beneficial to advance a total theory that accounts for the dismemberment and discarding of large sections because it is likely that they were the results of individual or small group decisions. Whatever value the metal held, it was evidently exceeded by the symbolic value of the hand or the image it originally came from that led to it being cast into a well or river. It should also be apparent that these ideas could have been held in opposition of norms or wider group understandings, and, consequently, that the same statue and the same action could have been treated and viewed differently even within the group carrying out the fragmentation. It is perfectly possible that many images were simply broken up for scrap but that during this process the factors considered here played some role and even that parts from the same statue could have followed very different trajectories.

## *Conclusion*

To assume that metal sculpture was dismembered and recycled uniformly, and apparently in complete disregard for the image or art object that the sculpture originally was, is to overlook the complexity of the possible responses to sculptural pieces, whether fragments or objects about to be fragmented. The situation in late and post-Roman Britain was not completely without precedent as far as metal sculpture is concerned; pieces were subject to recycling or modification throughout the Roman period. As with any population, accumulation occurs simultaneously and in competition with depredation. Certainly between the first and third century AD accumulation easily outstripped the losses but it remains the case that some images were subject to destruction and reclamation during that same period. Consequently, in late Roman Britain we see repetition of some ideas or responses, with echoes of previous episodes of statue destruction. This is not to suggest that the same motivations that drove the earlier examples resurfaced, or, more important, came to dominate and thus cause the end of sculpture population growth and begin the decline. Rather, it is the case that there are a number of human responses to sculptures, even to fragments of sculpture, most likely stemming from the form of the objects in question.

Metal sculpture in Roman Britain underwent a number of processes for a variety of reasons, mostly resulting in strikingly uniform residues regardless of this range of potential motivations and actions. Clearly it is an error to read the resulting fragments, the scraps left over from the metal sculptural population of Britain, as simply the product of a process driven solely by material value. Fragmentation was not always entirely dictated by the desire to reduce the sculpture to salvageable pieces. As a further complicating factor, multiple actions and motivations could be applied to the same image, with the resulting pieces experiencing divergent uses and perceptions from that point forward. The most significant element underpinning all consideration here is the apparent evidence for interaction with the sculpture based upon its quality as an anthropomorphic object. Despite the value of the metal and the possible devaluing of the art, the fragments were not simply scrap but could be treated in ways informed by ideas of the body and some remaining elements or qualities of the original image, albeit in some cases simply that it was a piece that happened to look like a human body part. This quality apparently regularly outweighed the metal; the scraps we find are not always simply scrap.

TWO

# Sculptural Deposition and Lime Kilns at Roman Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity

BETH MUNRO

The presence of marble sculpture at Roman villas has been widely used by scholars to demonstrate the wealth, taste, and status of the owners of rural properties. As marble was costly and highly valued in the Roman period, the location of the sculptural finds has frequently highlighted the elaborate décor of villas, including in the dining rooms, courtyards, reception areas, and baths. While there is usually a correlation between the general locations of marble finds and the grandest architectural spaces in villas, the specific findspots of marble fragments can also tell us much about the process of site decline and postvilla activity.

The decline and end of villas in the west has been the subject of much recent scholarship, which has focused on defining postvilla phases and identifying the populations frequenting or inhabiting sites after they ceased to function as luxury villas.[1] While there were individual circumstances that dictated the exact transformation of villas between the fourth and the sixth centuries AD, there are three general patterns of decline that archaeologists have observed. By the end of the fifth century AD, most villas in Italy and the west had either been

1. Various studies on the "end of the villa" include Brogiolo 1996; Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau, and Valenti 2006; Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2005; Chavarria Arnau 2004a, Chavarria Arnau 2007; Francovich and Hodges 2003; Lewit 2003; Ripoll and Arce 2000.

destroyed or abandoned, or had been converted into churches.[2] In addition, following a period of abandonment, some sites were then reoccupied in the early medieval period as smaller settlements, perhaps devoted to agricultural production, as was the case at Faragola in Italy.[3] A very common process that has also been detected through archaeological analysis that occurred either before or alongside these transformations was the recuperation and recycling of utilitarian and luxury materials from villas.[4] The most desirable materials seem to have been glass (especially glass tesserae), metals (both precious and nonprecious), roof tiles, wood, and marble. As much of the Classical sculpture in luxury villas was no longer wanted or needed as decoration in the late antique period, it was often removed from buildings for firing in lime kilns. Firing marble is indeed something that is well known to have occurred in the medieval and Renaissance period to facilitate the large-scale construction of churches. However, it also appears to have been a common enough practice in Late Antiquity, too, where the demand for lime seems similarly to have been for the construction of churches.

Ancient craftsmen and construction workers were clearly aware that white marble was not only a valuable material for sculpture but also useful for the production of lime. Cato, for example, mentions that white, uniform stone is the best kind for making lime.[5] But during the Roman period, white marble was mainly desired for sculpture, and this is reflected in the high price of marble. It was less expensive, locally sourced limestone that was instead used to produce the vast quantities of lime required for the construction industry in the Roman period. In Late Antiquity, however, the abundance of disused white marble, particularly in cities, then replaced newly quarried limestone as a source of lime. This is evident from the numerous remains of lime kilns that date from the fifth to the eighth centuries AD, such as the lime kiln at the Crypta Balbi in Rome, the many lime kilns in Ostia, and those in Bulla Regia and Sabratha in North Africa.[6] The use of lime kilns within city limits is also attested to in historical records; for example, a law in the Theodosian Code

2. Bowes 2008, 125–88.
3. Volpe et al. 2009, 288–89.
4. Munro 2011, 2012. Also, see Croxford (this volume) for a discussion of recycling of metal sculpture in Britain.
5. Cato, *Agri* 38.
6. Manacorda 2001, 45; Lenzi 1998; Leone 2007, 216–17. M. Greenhalgh (2012) has identified many other examples of the dismantling of marble for use in lime kilns outside of western Europe from the early Middle Ages through to the nineteenth century. See also Murer and Greenhalgh, this volume.

forbade people from destroying monuments for marble to make lime in the fifth century AD.[7] While the increased use of marble to make lime in the late antique period has been observed both through archaeological and historical research, there have been no previous discussions of the mechanics of such material recovery, particularly at villas. It is therefore the aim of this chapter to explore the location and nature of sculptural deposits at villas in relation to processes of materials recovery and recycling, specifically the production of lime from white marble.

The focus here is on collections, stores, or depositions of marble fragments. Stored or dumped collections of broken marble statuary, ranging from several fragments to several hundred fragments, have been noted in the late antique phases at several sites, such as the Roman villas at El Ruedo in Hispania and Chiragan in Aquitania. These collections of marble have previously been interpreted as the work of postvilla inhabitants or visitors, who destroyed the pieces and dumped them in various locations, for ideological or political reasons.[8] However, more recent analysis of other broken sculptural deposits, such as those at Ostia, has argued that the collection and storage of broken marble sculpture was also undertaken prior to reprocessing in lime kilns.[9]

While excavators have not identified many lime kilns at villas, the deposition of marble sculpture might, in fact, indicate that they were present on-site or nearby. Through comparing the finds of any remaining sculpture at sites where there are lime kilns with those that have sculptural finds but no lime kilns, we can identify patterns of deposition. In addition, examining the size of the sculptural fragments and the location of the finds at sites without lime kilns tells us much about whether they were naturally deposited or broken and collected prior to the abandonment of the site. These two features will be examined below in more detail. However, it is first necessary to give an introduction to lime kilns to understand why they might have been located at or near villas in the late antique period.

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7. *C Th* 9.17.2.
8. For Chiragan, Joulin (1901, 71–160) describes how the sculptural fragments were found intentionally deposited in pits filled with other building materials. See also Bergmann 1999, 27–28, who suggests this could have been the act of Vandal invaders. For El Ruedo, see Vaquerizo Gil 2008, 271.
9. While the principle of collection before recycling that Laird (2000, 63–64) proposes is undoubtedly correct, in the case of Ostia it now seems that not all secondary (or tertiary) depositions of marble statuary existed to facilitate the production of lime. See Murer's (this volume) careful reassessment of the late antique statuary collections in Ostia.

## *Locating Lime Kilns*

It is remarkable that lime kilns are rarely discussed in modern scholarship given that they were a crucial element of the Roman construction industry, and as Michael Greenhalgh identifies in this volume, continued to be a fixture of the construction industry in Europe, the Near East, and North Africa through the Middle Ages. The reasons for this omitted discussion in nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeological studies are not entirely clear. Brigitte Demierre argues that there is a general lack of archaeological visibility because lime kilns were located near ancient quarries, in remote, difficult to explore areas.[10] Alternatively, it is possible that some excavators have not been interested in reporting lime kilns or failed to recognize them as different from other types of kiln. Regardless of the reason, the fact that lime kilns have been so infrequently discussed has not allowed for proper analysis of their place within the ancient economy. Furthermore, the important relationship between lime kilns and the stone quarrying industry has yet to be fully understood.

We do know that in addition to being a crucial element needed to make mortar for the Roman construction industry, lime was also used as fertilizer for crops in the Roman period. Our best ancient source on lime kilns is Cato, who describes their structure, dimensions, and function.[11] While there was evidently some flexibility in the way lime kilns could be constructed, most often they were round structures, either partially built into the ground or a hillside or free-standing structures constructed of brick. Kilns normally contained one or two flue channels for adding and removing fuel, and measured between 2 m and 7 m in diameter, though normally were about 3–4 m in diameter.[12] In size, lime kilns were similar to Roman pottery kilns, but the internal lip that was used to support a wooden shelf distinguishes them from pottery kilns. Lime is produced by heating limestone blocks to temperatures of 900–1100° C, when, after prolonged exposure, it turns into powder commonly known as "quicklime." Analysis of extant lime kilns has estimated that producing a kiln-full of lime would have taken 2–3 weeks, which included time for cooling, loading, and unloading.[13]

10. Demierre 2002, 286–87.
11. Cato, *Agri* 38.
12. Adam 1984, 69.
13. Adam 1984, 74; Baradez (1957, 293) has estimated a shorter processing time for the lime kiln at Tipasa of only 12 days (two days for loading, three to four days for calcination, four days for cooling, and two days for unloading).

The proximity of raw source material (limestone) was the key factor in the location of lime kilns in the Roman period. Data compiled by David Lavergne and Franck Suméra on lime kilns in Roman Gaul suggests that while only about 15 percent of the identified 55 lime kilns were located directly at quarries, an additional 42 percent of kilns were located at agglomerations of limestone, or at villas or farms near quarries.[14] It is argued that the location of lime kilns a short distance away from quarries allowed for easy and continued access to fuel, which was the other crucial requirement for their operation. At Lucus Feroniae, located approximately 25 km north of Rome, there were at least three lime kilns in an outbuilding of a Roman villa (fig. 1). The limestone for the kiln was accessed from the local travertine ridge and wood could have been accessed in local forests—Sergio Fontana has controversially argued that lime kilns located at villas around Rome might have contributed to the deforestation of the area.[15] It is thought that sites like Lucus Feroniae provided lime for the building industry in Rome from the first century BC to the first century AD, when villas acted as intermediaries between quarries and Rome, with easy access to fuel.[16] But it should be emphasized that lime kilns were probably located as near as possible to stone quarries to minimize the transportation of heavy stone blocks. Limestone loses about half its volume when it is transformed into lime; this is certainly of significance when we consider the transport of huge amounts of lime for the mortar needed to support imperial building projects in Rome and elsewhere.[17] The importance of close proximity to raw materials and fuel meant that in the Roman period lime kilns were located in the rural environment.

In Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, however, lime kilns appear in the urban context. At the Crypta Balbi in Rome in the eighth century AD, a lime kiln was built in the exedra of an abandoned imperial building. Next to the kiln were many fragments of sculptural and architectural marble, of irregular shapes, but all in the range of 2000–4000 $cm^3$. We can assume that the presence of this kiln inside the walls of a building was related to the availability of marble fragments from this abandoned structure. In the same way as situating a lime kiln near a stone quarry enabled easy access to the limestone source, situating a kiln next to the ruinous building saved any major transportation of stone. In addition, a recent study of charcoal remains from a late antique lime kiln dis-

14. Lavergne and Suméra 2000.
15. Fontana 1995, 569.
16. Fontana 1995, 563.
17. Dix 1982, 336.

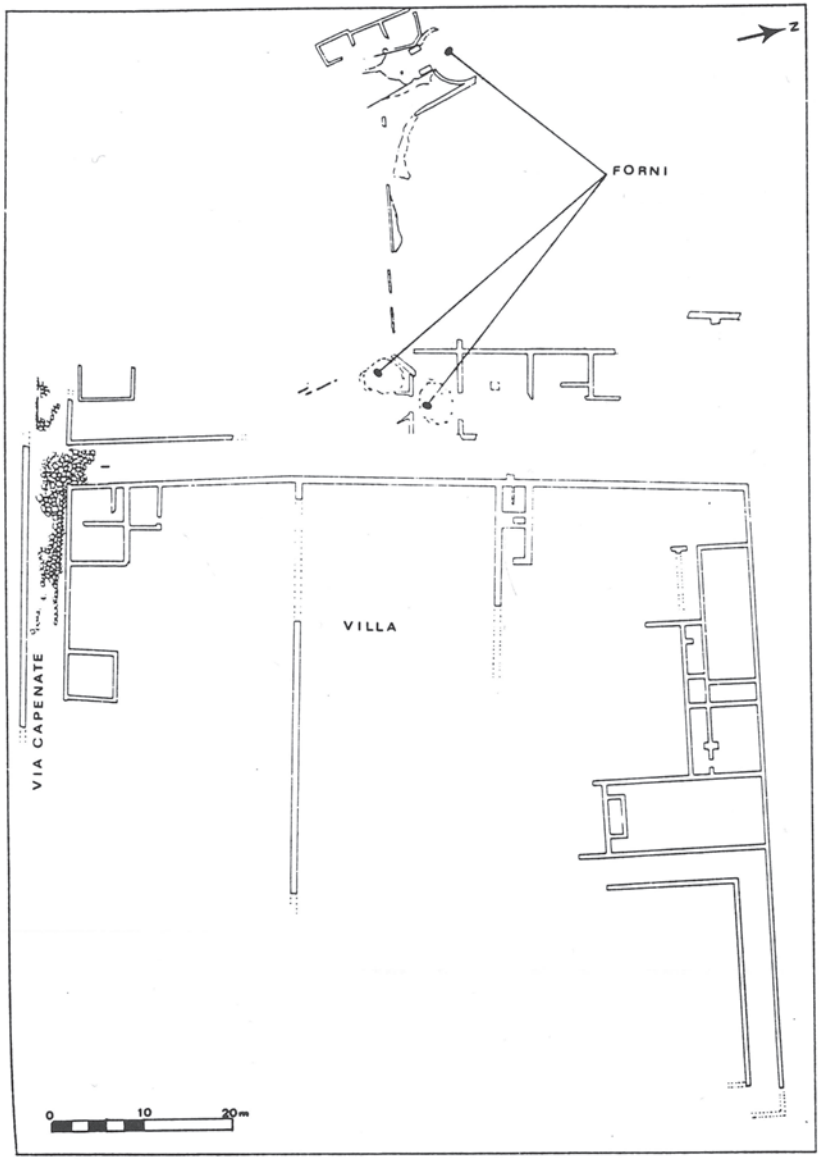


Fig. 1. Plan of the villa at Lucas Feroniae showing location of lime kilns (*forni*) (Fontana 1995, fig. 2, by permission).

covered in an abandoned urban bath complex in Egnatia, Puglia, Italy, identified that the fuel used was from timber—that is, carpentry wood—which was thought to be salvaged from the disused structure.[18] Thus the location of lime kilns in Late Antiquity was not only the result of available marble as source material but also of disused timber for fuel.

The location of kilns in the late antique city also appears to be indicative of the destination of the lime, which likely supported the construction of churches in Rome— Daniele Manacorda suggests that the lime kiln in the Crypta Balbi supported the reconstruction of the monastery of San Lorenzo in Pallacinis undertaken by Pope Hadrian I in the late eighth century AD.[19] Other examples of lime kilns in the late antique urban setting include one located in the foundation level of San Clemente in Rome, which used nearby marble to make lime for the reconstruction of the early medieval church; those used in Ostia from probably the sixth century AD onward; and further afield, one in the basement of the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse, which fired many of the sculptural pieces from the Roman cemetery to support construction in the city in the fifth to seventh centuries AD (fig. 2).[20] Thus, it can be argued that lime kilns in Late Antiquity found their way into the urban environment because of the availability of both "raw" materials and proximity to new construction projects.

The presence of a lime kilns in intermediate phases of construction at rural churches has also been noted in the medieval period. As in the urban context, lime kilns at medieval churches were using the sculptural fragments and limestone blocks from the earlier churches that were no longer in use. Examples include the lime kiln at Santa Cornelia near Rome in the eleventh century and at Villamagna in Lazio in the thirteenth century.[21] While the lime kilns in these cases are much later, they again highlight the practice of situating a lime kiln at the site of both source material and a new construction project.

The examples of Roman, late antique, and medieval lime kilns demonstrate the importance of situating a lime kiln near the raw material to minimize cost and maximize efficiency of transport of lime to construction projects. In Late Antiquity and beyond, the lime kiln moves from a strictly rural environment to

18. Stellati et al. 2012, 196–97.
19. Manacorda 2001, 45.
20. Lenzi 1998; Cazes and Arramond 1997, 39–41. Fragments of marble observed at the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse measured slightly larger than those at the Crypta Balbi in Rome, with sizes ranging from 3500 to 7000 $cm^3$.
21. Christie and Daniels 1991, 59, fig.16; Booms et al. 2008, 13–14.

Fig. 2. Lime kiln in the basement of the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse, view from above (© B. Munro, with permission of Musée Saint-Raymond).

locations that both had "raw" material for firing, but that were also nearby to the new construction projects in both the urban and rural setting.

Indeed, in the late and final phases of occupation at villa sites, lime kilns also appear. The best documented example can be found at Monte Gelato, a villa/church site that was occupied from the first to the eleventh centuries AD, located about 40 km north of Rome. The lime kiln was most likely in use throughout the fourth century AD, as indicated by fills that included African Red Slip fabric C sherds and courseware datable to the late fourth–mid-sixth centuries AD.[22] In this phase the first church was also constructed in the southwest corner of the villa, and it is probable that the lime kiln, being contemporaneous with this construction, provided the lime for the mortar of the church. Of most interest to this current study, several fragments of inscriptions and portraiture from a freedman's funerary monument were found in this kiln, under the fill, and unfired. Based on stylistic comparison with other freedmen portraiture, the monument probably dates from the early imperial period

22. Potter and King 1997, 69–71.

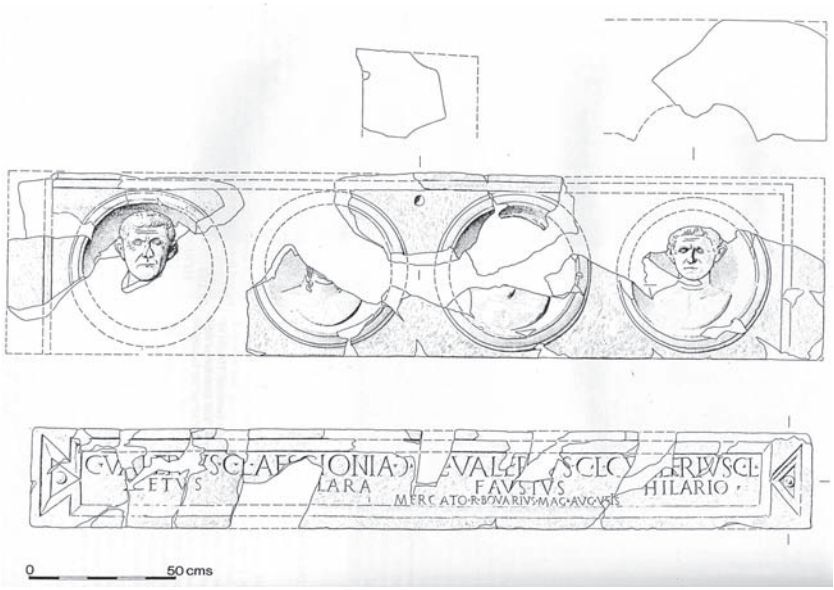


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the fragments of the freedmen's relief found in the lime kiln at Monte Gelato (Potter and King 1997, fig. 135 © BSR Publications).

(fig. 3).[23] It is not known whether this funerary monument originated from Monte Gelato itself, or whether it came from a neighboring property. There were other fragments of partially burned marble also found in the kiln, including what looks to be the legs of a Venus statue. The excavators stipulated, on the basis of the size of the kiln, which had a capacity of at least 20 $m^3$, and on the obvious frequent use, that lime may have been transported to Rome for construction projects there in the fourth century AD. But it seems more likely that the construction and use of this kiln took advantage of the abandoned sculpture from the estate to make lime that was used to construct the church.

A lime kiln was also identified in the postvilla phases at Castelculier in Lot-et-Garonne, France. Dating to the sixth century AD, the kiln was located in the former bath complex and was fed using the marble statuary, columns, and limestone wall blocks from the villa.[24] In fact, several broken fragments of mar-

23. Potter and King 1997, 7, figs. 135, 136. The fragments from this funerary monument measured between 3,000 and 6,000 $cm^3$.
24. Stephanus 2009, 276.

ble statuary were found piled up in the monumental entrance to the villa, presumably in advance of moving them into the lime kiln. This unique discovery of both collected marble fragments and a lime kiln on-site highlights the two-stage movement of marble sculpture in disused villas. The first stage was devoted to breaking and organizing the marble, while the second stage was devoted to loading it into the lime kiln. These processes, and the exact position of the marble storage area along a central axis of the villa, will be explored further below. The destination of the lime from this kiln is not known; however, Castelculier is strategically located 8 km southeast down the Garonne from Agen, which was a thriving Roman and early medieval town until the eighth century AD. It is possible that lime was transported along the river from the villa to Agen for sale at market or to support local construction, as appears to have been a similar pattern of production in the Roman period where lime was made in the rural setting or at quarries and transported to larger commercial centers.[25] However, little is known of Agen in the early medieval period and it is therefore difficult to pinpoint the destination of the lime.

There are several key points to highlight about lime kilns in postvilla phases. First, when lime kilns have been discovered, they are located outside the walls or built over exterior walls of villas, such as at Newel in Germany (fig. 4). As examined above, the primary motivation for the location of lime kilns both in the Roman and later periods was the close proximity to a limestone source, as it was easier to transport quicklime than it was marble or stone blocks. But of crucial importance was a market demand for the lime. In the Roman period, sites like Lucus Feroniae were supplying Rome with lime for imperial construction projects; however, in the late antique period there was a vastly reduced demand for lime for construction projects. The only major building projects being undertaken were the construction of churches, but even this was nowhere near the same scale as the imperial building projects several centuries earlier. The limestone and marble available from ruinous buildings and the number of lime kilns in the late antique urban environment suggests that these provided an adequate supply of lime for urban church construction. It seems unlikely that marble was being produced at villas for shipment into the urban centers, but rather that it supplied a more local construction of churches and other buildings, as demonstrated at Monte Gelato. This may partially explain why lime kilns are not found at all villas.

25. Demierre 2002, 286; Fontana 1995, 569–70; Lavergne and Suméra 2000, 459.

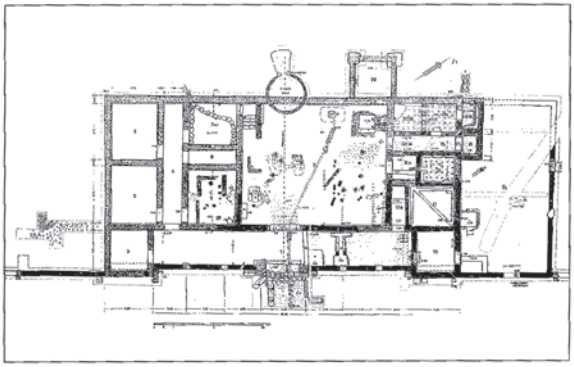

Fig. 4. Plan of the villa at Newel, Germany, with lime kiln top center (H. Cüppers and A. Neyses, *Trierer Zeitschrift*, Abb. 2 © Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier).

Indeed, the above examples are the best documented lime kilns in postvilla phases at rural sites in Italy and the western provinces. The lack of other documentation of lime kilns is rather curious, particularly in light of the fact that numerous villas were transformed into churches and would have required lime for mortar. Another possible explanation for the lack of reported lime kilns on other villa sites could be the typical location of lime kilns. The majority of rural lime kilns from the Roman and early medieval period were located outside of the boundary of villa walls. While most excavations now use geophysical scanning over sites, excavations undertaken before this technology may have focused only on the villa structures themselves, and thus may have missed kiln structures outside the walls of the villas. While lime kilns have not been identified at the majority of villas in Italy and the west, they may have existed only a short distance away, or were planned to be built but never constructed.

## *Sculptural Collections at Villas*

There are the same methodological challenges with the documentation of marble sculptural findspots as we see with lime kilns. The documentation of sculptural findspots has traditionally not been as important as describing the subject and style of the sculpture itself. In many cases, we do not know exactly where marble sculpture was found at villas, and indeed much of it has been disturbed by plowing or by unmethodological recovery in the postclassical periods up to the twentieth century. The fact that we do not often know where sculpture was discovered at villas has resulted in the available sample being somewhat limited.

Analysis of the type of deposition, and the precise location and size of sculptural finds (when recorded), can reveal further information about the decline of villas and the value or destination of disused materials. First, the type of deposition can highlight the condition of the villa and those responsible for assembling the marble collections. Second, the location of a sculptural collection within the architectural plan of villas can be considered to determine whether the remains of the villa had any effect on the sculptural deposition and how marble was moved through the standing architecture. Finally, the size of the sculptural fragments can inform us about whether these were meant to be transported or fired in lime kilns.

There are two specific ways in which marble sculpture was intentionally dumped—in pits and in water features.[26] At Monte Gelato, for example, a significant amount of veneer was found in the so-called fish-pond, located approximately 40 m from the lime kiln.[27] When excavated, this water feature contained two fills separated by a thin, ephemeral plaster surface. The lower fill contained pottery, a few wooden needles, a brooch, much tile, and six nails; this fill has been dated to the early second century AD. The upper fill, dated to the late second or early third century AD, contained more bone, and copper jewelry, glassware, iron nails and clamps, marble sculpture, and 124 pieces of veneer, mostly gray and white Luna marble, which is ideal for making into lime. The marble sculpture consisted of a labrum and the complete neck of a crater. The upper fill of the "fish pond" was likely a rubbish dump, which coincided with the destruction of the villa, but it may also be possible that some marble was removed from here for burning in the lime kiln. It is interesting that this rubbish dump exists at all because it demonstrates that some effort was taken to clean out the building after its abandonment.[28] Elsewhere I have considered the other workshops that are contemporaneous with the lime kiln at Monte Gelato; these indicate that there was also some glass and metal recycling that occurred on-site at the same time.[29] It is possible that rather than being strictly a rubbish dump, the "fish-pond" was also designated as a collecting point for storage until these materials could be recycled.

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26. Brown and Alexandrescu (this volume) have also noted a number of instances in Corinth and the Lower Danube, respectively, where marble statue fragments have been found in wells, fountains, and drains.
27. Potter and King 1997, 30–31, 46.
28. Brown (this volume) makes an interesting, comparative comment about a well being used for "cleanup" by raiders or others in fourth century AD Corinth.
29. Munro 2011, 76–88.

Fig. 5. Plan of El Ruedo, showing location of sculptural findspots (based on Vaquerizo Gil and Carrillo Díaz-Pines 1995, fig. 1, by permission).

A similar, broken collection of marble sculpture was found in a former water feature at the site of El Ruedo in Spain. In the pool and the surrounding central portico of the villa, excavators found a collection of broken sculpture.[30] The plan clearly shows that there was a cluster of sculptural finds in the peristyle courtyard and the pool (fig. 5). Arguably this collection could have been found here because this was near where the statues originally stood; however, the intentional destruction of the sculpture and discovery of seven fragments in the pool of the courtyard quickly demonstrate this not to be case. It is clear that the pieces were intentionally stored or dumped here. Like Monte Gelato, El Ruedo during Late Antiquity (fifth century AD) also had a number of workshops and industrial structures implanted on the remains of the villa, including water channels, metal working ovens, and other domestic hearths, including

30. Vaquerizo Gil 2008, 269.

what appears to be a bread oven made of reused columns.[31] The population at the villa in Late Antiquity may have been the group responsible for the destruction and movement of these sculptures.

The findspots at El Ruedo and Monte Gelato can also be compared with the discovery of a large amount of sculpture at Desenzano, located again in the central courtyard area of the villa (fig. 6). In this instance, however, the sculpture was dumped into a pit dug into the courtyard.[32] Again, this is obviously a secondary deposit of sculpture, which had been broken into similarly sized pieces as those at El Ruedo.

Further, there was the outstanding discovery of the pits filled with broken sculpture discovered at the villa at Chiragan, south of Toulouse, in the mid-late nineteenth century. Here about 50 portrait heads and over 150 other marble sculptural pieces were discovered, apparently in shallow pits mixed with building materials.[33] Like at El Ruedo and Desenzano, the sculpture found at Chiragan was intentionally broken into pieces, and appears to have been placed in the pits before a fire destroyed the remaining villa structures. It has previously been argued by Marianne Bergmann that these sculptural fragments were not intended for lime kilns because they were mixed with building materials.[34] However, the sculpture was certainly not in its original context and while the reasons for its situation in a secondary storage or dumping context must remain hypothetical, I would argue that this type of mixture of building debris has been seen on a smaller scale at Monte Gelato, where there was a lime kiln.

The deposition of marble sculpture in water features has also been noted at other areas in the Roman and late antique period and requires a brief comment. Some of the most well-known examples of sculpture deposited in water features are the three imperial busts that were found in cisterns on Pantelleria, an island off the coast of Sicily. Here archaeologists have identified two separate deposition events, both seemingly aimed at hiding images of the emperor. First, around AD 100, the busts of Julius Caesar and a Julio-Claudian woman were carefully placed in a cistern and sealed by a thick layer of ash, likely from a funeral pyre where animals had been sacrificed—the bones of numerous cows, sheep, and dogs were found within the ash. Second, the head of Titus was found in a separate cistern, possibly hidden during the Vandal invasion in the fifth

31. Vaquerizo Gil and Carillo Diaz-Pines 1995, 132.
32. Roffia 1994, 35.
33. Bergmann 1999, 28.
34. Bergmann 1999, 27–28.

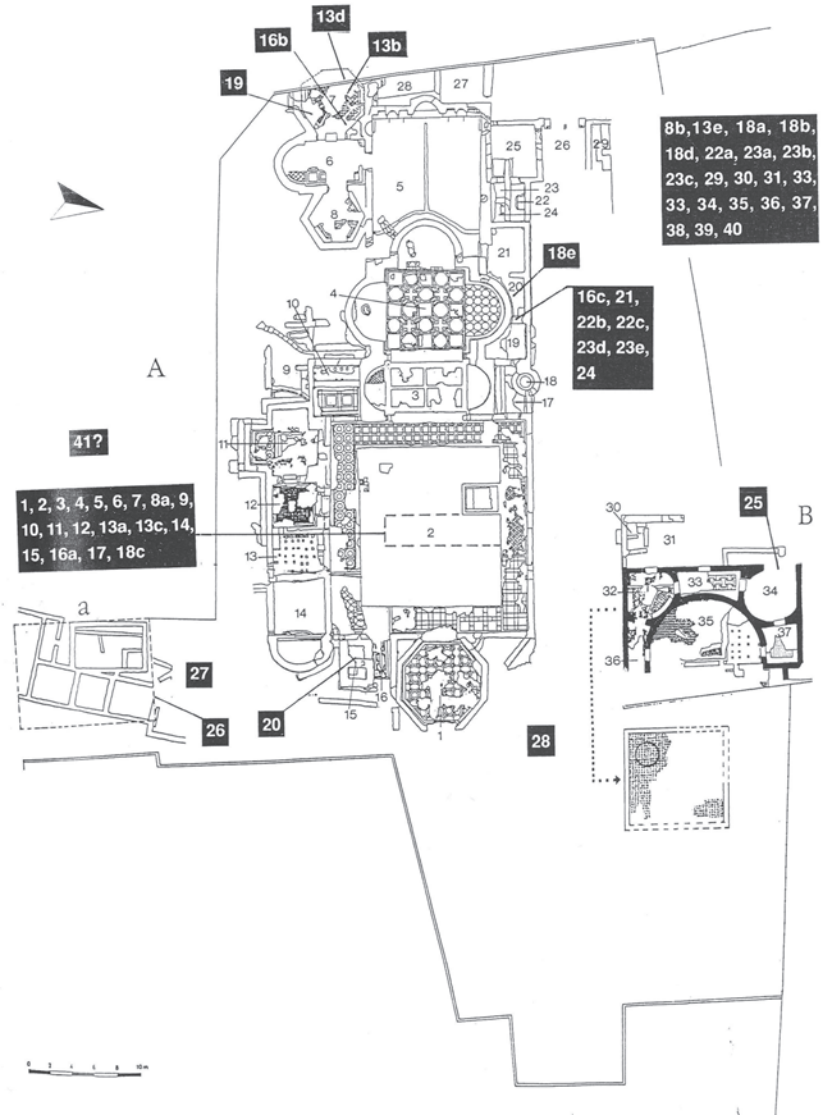


Fig. 6. Plan of Desenzano with sculptural findspots (Roffia 1994, fig. 1, by permission).

century AD.[35] The excavators at Pantelleria believe that efforts were made to protect the marble sculpture when it was put in the cisterns in two separate events. This hypothesis is supported by the discovery of the ash layer, which points to a ceremonial burial or hiding of the Caesar and female Julio-Claudian sculptures. Indeed, there is a sharp contrast between this and the obvious destruction of the sculpture at the villas discussed above, where there were no efforts to preserve the fragments in good condition. In addition, there was no ash or animal bone deposited over the sculptures at the villas. However, neither at the villas nor at Pantelleria is there any conclusive proof that the deposition of sculpture was undertaken for ideological reasons. The use of water features in both the villas and Pantelleria examples highlights only that these spaces were convenient for storage, hiding, or final disposal of objects. Crucially, there is a significant difference between using defunct water features and cisterns for storage or hiding. For example, a shallow pool, like the fountain at El Ruedo, would have been a problematic place to hide sculpture, as it could easily be uncovered and lifted out. Compare this to a deep cistern, which would have been ideal for hiding objects, as they would have been very difficult to retrieve without special lifting mechanisms. It is therefore more likely that the Pantelleria statues were put in water features not for storage, but rather for final deposition or hiding, and those at villas were put there only for storage, with easy access for removal.[36] In addition, as fountains were plastered, they were particularly durable and ideal for storing heavy objects or materials, like marble.

The other method of deposition of sculpture in pits at Chiragan and Desenzano also has some interesting implications, due to the fact that the pits must have been intentionally dug. This would have required workmen, tools, and time. While the digging of pits does not conclusively support the argument for practical or ideological deposition, it does demonstrate organization and intention to move the statuary from its primary context. Similar time and effort

35. The material deposited on top of the sculpture dates to the sixth century AD, which led excavators to assume that the head was hidden before this, perhaps during the Vandal invasion of the mid-fifth century AD (Baldassari and Fragonara 2004, 60–61).

36. While Brown (this volume) admits that identifying intentionality in water feature depositions is challenging, it seems clear that the heads in particular were not reused in late antique construction in Corinth in the same way as other sculptural fragments (inscriptions, limbs, torsos), and some found in the wells and drains were also defaced in late antiquity. In the case of the villas presented here, fragments found in water features were both heads and other body parts, and not subject to defacing. But the similarity in type of findspot is striking, and the question of cleansing of the statues, for practical or ideological reasons, should not be ignored. In the case of the villas, it is possible that an attempt was made to remove paint from the statues before they went into the lime kiln, as the presence of paint could chemically inhibit the production of lime.

was devoted to the construction of storage facilities for glass and metal prior to recycling at Aiano-Torraccia di Chiusi (Tuscany), where 6,000 tesserae were found in a pit, and at a villa in southern France, known as Milhaud, where glass was found collected in reused *dolia*.[37] Like the marble storage, with these other materials, therefore, there was also both the reutilization of extant containers and the digging of pits to facilitate storage.

Another interesting aspect of the secondary deposition of the sculpture is that it falls along a central axis of the villas. The relevance of the central axis in architectural terms is a well-known concept, particularly in relation to late Roman villas, as has been demonstrated by Catherine Balmelle and Carla Sfameni.[38] If we consider the layout of the villas at El Ruedo, Montmaurin, and Desenzano, for example, it can be observed that the main entrances are along the same axis and directly face the grand dining rooms (rooms 75–77) (fig. 7). But from a more practical perspective, these main entrances along the central axis also provided the widest openings into villas, which meant that they were the easiest to access. The importance of ease of access can be understood best by access analysis, an architectural theory developed by Bill Hillier and Julianne Hansen that was subsequently introduced to the study of Roman architecture by Mark Grahame.[39] In his article, Grahame explains that the advantage of access analysis is that it interprets the function of rooms based not on traditional textual analysis, but on the spatial configuration of the rooms.[40]

While access analysis is meant to be used to interpret how people lived in architectural space, the theory is also relevant to how we understand the sculptural findspots at villas. The location of many of the sculptural collections in the center of the villas near the main entrances suggests that workmen moved the sculpture to a position that required the fewest barriers to access. In effect, these locations were the easiest to access from the exterior of the building. Not coincidentally, the lime kilns that have been identified at villas were loaded from the exterior of the villas, which meant that any marble being fired in the kilns had to be transported to the outside of the building. Even if the kilns were not directly at the villa site, as may have been the case at Desenzano, the main entrances also normally lead directly to the road

37. Cavalieri and Giumlia-Mair 2009, 1023–32; Foy and Michel 2003, 332.
38. Balmelle 2001; Sfameni 2006.
39. Grahame 1997, 146–50; Hillier and Hanson 1984. See also Grahame (2006) for a more detailed discussion.
40. Grahame 1997, 147.

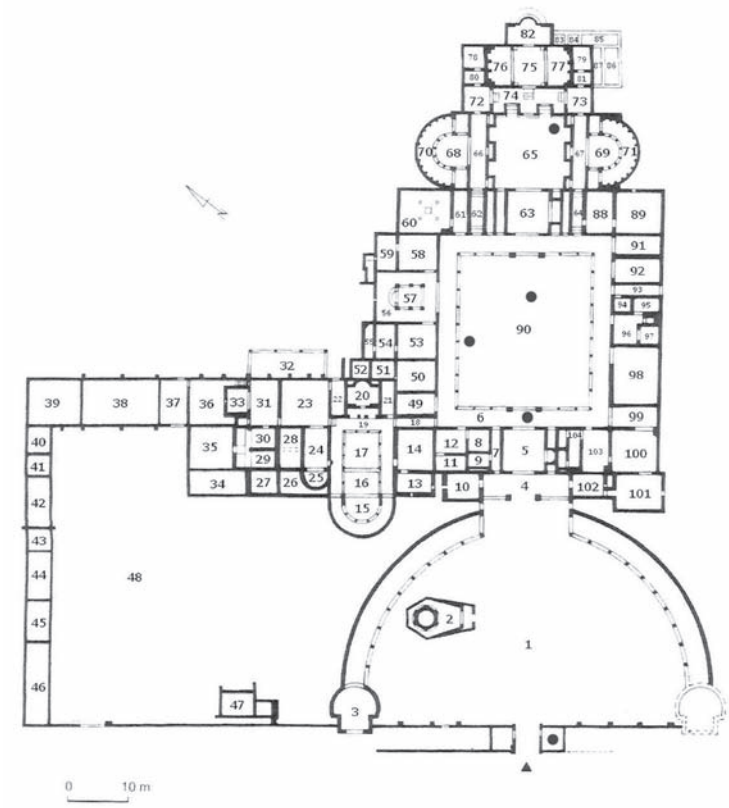


Fig. 7. Plan of late Roman phase villa at Montmaurin, showing the known marble findspots (based on Fouet 1969, fig. 23, © CNRS Éditions).

or paths in and out of the estates. At Chiragan, for example, the sculptural findspots were located with very easy access to the river. In fact, Léon Joulin reported that some broken sculpture was found in the river, which could be interpreted as the result of a loading accident.[41] However, this hypothesis presumes that the marble was being transported before firing in a kiln, which is contrary to the archaeological evidence of lime kilns in urban settings and the limited sample from rural settings. It may have been possible that a lime kiln was located a short distance downstream, as seems to have been the case at Montmaurin. Georges Fouet reported, for example, that a medieval lime

41. Joulin 1901, 160–61.

kiln was located at a smaller villa/church site known as La Hillère, approximately 1 km from the large, late Roman villa at Montmaurin.[42] It is possible that some of the white marble was transported from Montmaurin by barge downstream to La Hillère for firing at this lime kiln.

The question of transport of marble, even over short distances, can potentially be answered by examining the size of the sculptural fragments. At El Ruedo, the largest broken sculpture fragment weighed approximately 60 kg and the smallest only 0.05 kg. However, most of the pieces weighed around 2 kg.[43] Similar sized pieces were also found at Chiragan and Desenzano.[44] If the maximum weight one man could carry is approximately 20–25 kg, then most of these pieces can be easily and quickly moved by workmen. Breaking the sculpture into these sizes would not only allow them to be moved easily from their primary locations but also, after storage at the collection points, to the lime kilns or onto forms of transports, such as carts or boats. The small size of the sculptural fragments does not decrease the overall weight of a load on a cart or boat, but only enables the easy and quick movement of the sculpture by workmen. In fact, if marble were to be transported, it would be easier to transport it in larger pieces as this would require fewer trips to the cart from the villa, and less risk of pieces moving around during transport. Thus, despite the average size of the fragments that could easily be carried, and the location of the marble collections within easy access of the main villa entrance, these two aspects do not conclusively argue for the transport of marble fragments. It is far more likely that these marble pieces were being stored for processing on-site in lime kilns. The question remains whether or not lime kilns ever existed on these sites, and, if so, where they were situated and why the marble collections were never fired. Further archaeological investigations outside the walls of villas may shed more light on whether or not these piles of sculpture would be recycled on-site or off-site.

## *Conclusions*

The sculptural collections and lime kilns found at villas in the late and postantique phases highlight a practical afterlife of Roman statuary. The nature and

42. Fouet 1972, 83, fig. 2.
43. Calculations of the size and weight of sculptural fragments based on figures given in the catalogue in Vaquerizo and Noguera 1997, 100–210.
44. Bergmann 1999; Joulin 1901; Scagliarini Corlaita et al. 1994, 59–104.

location of the sculptural findspots within the context of the declining villas and challenging economy of Late Antiquity strongly support the theory that the value of sculpture at these sites was no longer based on its style or the skillfulness of an artist, or both, but rather the physical properties of the material. The fact that pieces of sculpture were left on-site in the first place indicated that they were no longer meaningful or valuable as decoration. The intentional breaking and storing of materials supports this concept. Furthermore, given the common sizes of the marble fragments, their accessible collection points, and the presence of the lime kilns, it seems highly unlikely that these depositions were anything other than practically motivated. Also, other recent research on materials recycling has demonstrated similar practices of storage and organization prior to reprocessing.[45]

The large collections of marble sculpture at El Ruedo, Chiragan, and Desenzano, however, indicate that at least some portion, if not all, of the sculpture was not fired in lime kilns, but was only organized for this purpose. The breaking of the marble indicates that there were workmen on site preparing the sculpture for firing. However, the absence of lime kilns on these sites means that either preparations were made for a lime kiln on-site that fired only part of the marble and was then destroyed, or a lime kiln was never built, or the broken marble was assembled in advance of transport off-site, which also never occurred. Alternatively, perhaps the kilns have not been found in modern excavations or surveys. The intention to organize the marble is definitely present and the similar positioning of sculptural collections in many villas across Italy and the west suggests that this was not the work of invading tribes or armies. But it remains puzzling as to why work intended to organize and fire marble was only taken halfway. It is possible that the organization of marble into piles was part of a larger program of materials recovery and reprocessing undertaken by workmen employed to build churches at or near the villa sites, where only selected materials were then fully reprocessed or needed for reuse.

Because of the rural location of villas, the demand for recyclable materials from villas was probably more limited than it was from buildings in the urban context. The only really significant construction projects in the fifth-seventh century AD rural countryside were churches, and even these were not as prolific as the villas of the Roman period. The numerous collections of broken marble stored at villas in postvilla phases, combined with the existence of only

45. Cavalieri and Giumlia-Mair 2009; Foy and Michel 2003, 332; Munro 2011, 81–83; Munro 2012, 359.

a few lime kilns, indicates that there was an abundance of supply and lack of demand for materials at the end of the empire. This evidence at villas may indeed provide insight into the optimistic viewpoint of villa owners or inhabitants—perhaps they hoped that they might be able to use or sell their marble for lime, but the lack of construction did not allow for it. In this way, the economic significance of these marble stores at villas should not be underestimated. They provide a crucial understanding of the difficult economic circumstances of the late antique and early medieval countryside.

THREE

# "Christ-Loving Antioch Became Desolate"

## *Sculpture, Earthquakes, and Late Antique Urban Life*

TROELS MYRUP KRISTENSEN

Earthquakes of cataclysmic proportions feature with notorious frequency in both scholarly and popular accounts of the late antique decline and fall of cities in the eastern Mediterranean, not least because of their widespread occurrence in the contemporary textual sources, as well as the region's more recent history of seismic disasters.[1] The powerful image of earthquakes toppling temples and monuments has indeed proven to have a remarkably strong and enduring influence on scholars in their attempts to explain the processes of ruination and transformation that affected Classical cityscapes during Late Antiquity, even if texts and archaeological finds rarely match up in a straightforward fashion. Among the many competing narratives of late antique urban life, the leading place of earthquakes is seemingly confirmed by the fact that many scholarly

I have been discussing the issue of earthquake damage to statuary with my coeditor Lea Stirling intermittently for more than six years. I am very grateful to Lea for this ongoing dialogue, which has sparked much of the inspiration for writing this article. Ine Jacobs read a draft and provided important updates and unpublished material concerning Sagalassos, for which I thank her. For help with the acquisition of images, I am grateful to Emanuela Guidoboni, Jeroen Poblome, and Marc Waelkens. Finally, for answering queries relating to the Aphrodisias bouleuterion, I would like to thank Christopher Hallett. Any remaining errors or faults of interpretation are my own.

1. Ward-Perkins 1984, 34; Rothaus 1996; Rothaus 2000, 16–21; Sanders 2004, 170–72; Christie 2006, 198–200; Dally and Ratté 2011, s.v., "earthquake(s) and aftermath"; Jacobs 2013, s.v., "earthquakes"; Avni 2014, 325–27.

discussions have focused on the question of *which* earthquake, attested in the historical sources, was responsible for particular instances of destruction observed in excavations, rather than the issue of whether other events or agents could have been the cause.[2]

More specifically for this volume's theme, earthquake damage plays an important role in many explanations of the gradual decline and disappearance of urban décor such as Classical formats of sculpture in the round, along with other predominant narratives of their late antique life that are covered in other contributions. The issue of how to identify such damage is, however, rarely discussed in any detail. Public statuary, frequently placed on exposed bases, consoles, or columns as part of the embellishment of urban spaces, certainly would always have been vulnerable to damage during earthquakes, a fact that is also clear from evidence from both the Hellenistic and imperial Roman periods. In his *Histories,* Polybius thus tells us that the Colossus of Rhodes was destroyed by a major earthquake that hit the island sometime between 229 and 225 BC.[3] Likewise, a well-known relief from the House of Caecilius Jucundus (V 1.26) in Pompeii dramatically depicts a temple and two statues wobbling on their bases as the ground beneath them trembles. This has been interpreted as representing a scene from the Campanian town's forum during an earthquake, possibly that which, according to other sources, occurred on 5 February AD 62. This particular earthquake is believed to have caused considerable damage to the urban fabric, even to the extent that seventeen years later, when the town was destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius, repairs were still ongoing in many houses and public buildings.[4]

In the case of Late Antiquity, there is textual evidence to suggest that sculpture was damaged or destroyed by the effects of earthquakes or their aftershocks, although much of this is difficult to correlate with the archaeological evidence that is currently available. This chapter thus seeks to explore the role and extent of late antique earthquake damage for our understanding of the afterlife of Classical sculpture (primarily in marble but also in other stone). It will explore some of the methodological tasks that we face when trying to identify earthquake damage to statuary in the archaeological record, and it will offer

2. See, e.g., the case of Kourion on Cyprus: Soren 1981.
3. Polyb. 5.88. The following chapter describes the preparations for its reconstruction that were ultimately discouraged by the oracle at Delphi. For discussion of this earthquake, see also Ambraseys 2009, 91–92.
4. Berry 1997. On the effects of earthquakes at Pompeii, see also Dobbins and Foss 2007, index, s.v., "earthquakes (AD 62–79)."

some general remarks on the nature of the textual and archaeological sources for this challenging question. It will then turn to two case studies that employ sculptural finds from sites in Asia Minor—Aphrodisias and Sagalassos—both of which have been suggested as casualties of earthquakes in Late Antiquity. First, however, we must look at the current *status quaestionis* in the study of late antique earthquakes and their overall impact on urban life during the period.

## *Late Antique Earthquakes: Between History and Archaeology*

Antioch-on-the-Orontes, in its heyday one of the wealthiest and largest cities in the Mediterranean, is one of the places where the trend of citing earthquakes as an agent of late antique urban decline has been particularly marked. Textual sources inform us that the metropolis suffered major earthquakes in 526, 528, and 577 AD.[5] These seismic events have repeatedly been invoked to explain the demise of the city's Classical incarnation, with its colonnaded streets and monumental public buildings. As a result of the very destructive earthquake in 526, Malalas noted that "Christ-loving Antioch became desolate, for nothing remained apart from some buildings beside the mountain," pointing to the extensive damage and the loss of life caused by the disaster.[6] While both the short- and long-term impact of each of these three earthquakes has been debated, there are many others to choose from in the historical record, and it is generally agreed that such seismic events did play a highly malevolent role in the course of the city's late antique history. Although repairs were undertaken particularly during the reign of Justinian, most assessments have argued that the city never fully recovered from the 526 earthquake.[7] Large parts of central Antioch remain relatively underexplored from a modern archaeological perspective, making it difficult to correlate the textual sources with the material remains on a more general level, but there can be little doubt that earthquakes had a very negative impact on the state of the city's urban fabric. Indeed, the two earthquakes of 526 and 528 affected the region at large, and they have also been cited to explain the widespread destruction identified in excavations further inland at Apamea.[8]

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5. 526 (29 May): Ambraseys 2009, 184–89; 528 (29 November): 189–92; 577 (31 October): 215–16. Ambraseys (2009) compiles all historical and scientific data relating to earthquakes in the Mediterranean and the Middle East up to 1900.
6. John Malalas. 17.16/419, trans. Jeffreys, Jeffreys, and Scott, slightly adapted.
7. Downey 1961, 525.
8. Liebeschuetz 2001, 56. For a map of early twentieth-century excavations at Antioch, see Levi 1947, pl. I.

Further testimony to the widespread practice of pointing to seismic events as an agent of social and civic upheaval in historical interpretations of late antique urban life is the case of Gortyn on Crete, where the Italian excavators have identified the negative impact of an earthquake c. 670.[9] This identification has even come to replace the older prevalent narrative that argued that the city was destroyed by an Arab raid. The diffusion of the explanatory model can also be observed in a number of other cases, most of which are seemingly supported by archaeological evidence: "catastrophic disasters" as a consequence of earthquakes in the third and fourth centuries have thus been identified in the Hanghäuser at Ephesus.[10] According to the Austrian excavators, the Asian metropolis took a long time to recover subsequently, and the earthquakes profoundly affected urban prosperity for at least a century. In the publication of the last phases of the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cyrene (which was rich in sculpture), references to the effects of earthquakes are similarly numerous.[11] Excavations in the central district of Beirut uncovered evidence of a large earthquake in 551, dated primarily by means of pottery finds that have been connected with historical evidence describing a major earthquake in that year.[12] Earthquake damage has also been identified in the case of individual buildings, such as the recently excavated temple complex at Omrit in northern Israel.[13] South of the Sea of Galilee, the chronology of the baths at Hammat Gader strongly hinges on the assumption that each phase came to an end with an earthquake.[14]

There is, of course, a very real danger of subscribing to circular arguments in many of these examples (as well as many others), given that texts are used to date earthquake damage and that these attributions then in turn contribute to a growing body of archaeological evidence for the scale of the events mentioned in the texts. More recently, this unsatisfactory methodology has caused both historians and archaeologists to adopt more skeptical views of the impact of earthquakes on late antique urban life.[15] In response to the challenges of dating and identifying specific agents of destruction, the scientific study of earthquake damage, as well as the role of seismic activity more generally in the formation of the archaeological record, has increased significantly in recent years and has

9. Di Vita 1996; but see Ambraseys 2009, 222–23.
10. Ladstätter and Pülz (2007) chart these earthquakes and the city's subsequent recovery.
11. White 2012, index, s.v., "earthquake," and "earthquake debris."
12. Saghieh-Beidoun 2004; Curvers and Stuart 2004, 262.
13. Stoehr 2011.
14. Summarized in Hirschfeld 1997, 479.
15. Christie 2012, 15; Avni 2014, 325–27, reassesses the archaeological evidence from Palestine and concludes that "earthquakes cannot be seen as playing a major role in altering regional settlement patterns" (327).

developed into its own specialized discipline, sometimes known as archaeoseismology.[16] This development has paved the way for a strongly multidisciplinary investigation of the nature and extent of earthquake damage in closely documented archaeological contexts. Scholars have thus looked for earthquake destruction patterns that can be identified at archaeological sites, using a variety of scientific methods, with some interesting results.[17] Evidence of earthquake damage has surfaced in excavations: not only parallel lines of columns that appear to have fallen like domino bricks (so-called sequenced rubble), but also more subtle patterns of seismic activity such as fractures and faulting ("offsets") in mosaic pavements or walls.

Importantly, these careful and systematic recent studies have facilitated the establishment of more finely tuned earthquake chronologies. In the case of the Temple of Hera Lacinia at Crotone in southern Italy, the temple's ultimate destruction has thus been attributed to an earthquake in the third century.[18] Earthquake damage dating to the third century has been identified at the theater in Stobi in Macedonia.[19] Seismological data at Carnuntum in Austria have also made it possible for archaeologists to ascribe masonry damage to the effects of "seismic waves" in the mid-fourth century.[20] Even human victims of earthquakes have occasionally been identified in the archaeological record by archaeoseismological studies.[21] At the same time, it has become increasingly clear from this mass of new scholarship that many earlier studies of earthquakes vastly overestimated their effects and their overall impact on the urban landscape. In light of these recent developments, we shall in the next section turn more directly to the impact of late antique earthquakes on the sculptural record, beginning with the evidence of texts, and then turning to the archaeology.

## *Late Antique Earthquakes and Sculpture: The View from the Historical Record*

Textual evidence generally yields only indirect evidence of earthquakes and their impact on the sculptural landscape of cities, although some sources give

16. Stiros and Jones 1996; Ambraseys 2006, 2009; Buck 2006; Galadini, Hinzen, and Stiros 2006; Sintubin 2011.
17. Korjenkov and Mazor 2005.
18. Galli et al. 2006.
19. Gebhard 1996.
20. Decker, Gangl, and Kandler 2006.
21. Nur 2008, 141–61.

more specific information, especially in cases that pertain to Constantinople. Furthermore, while several ancient authors wrote about earthquakes of various magnitudes affecting larger or smaller regions of the Mediterranean, they had many different reasons for doing so, which makes it difficult to take their attributions at face value. For example, Eusebius uses an earthquake and tsunami in 303 as the narrative backdrop to the discovery of the body of the martyr Apphian on the Palestinian coast.[22] In a similar vein, Augustine uses an earthquake in the Algerian town of Sitifis as a prelude to the baptism of 2,000 local residents.[23] Both authors thus had good reason to overestimate the scale and impact of an earthquake. Such use of earthquakes as a literary topos to emphasize a dramatic effect or a miraculous account was not limited to Christian authors. Libanius informs us that Palestine, Libya, Greece, and Sicily were struck by a major earthquake after the death of Julian the Apostate, thus giving one particular seismic event a truly rhetorical spin.[24] In Palestine this news was, however, interpreted as punishment for the persecution of Christians during Julian's reign, a fact that affected tremendously the way in which the account of the earthquake was transmitted and the extent to which it was repeated by later sources.[25] The texts that we possess therefore frequently have heavily moralizing agendas that complicate their use as historical sources. Another difficulty with the texts is that many accounts of earthquakes were not written by eyewitnesses, or date long after the events that they describe, further diminishing their historical accuracy.

In spite of these significant difficulties, recent work has laboriously compiled all of the textual sources that mention earthquakes in the Mediterranean region. Particularly useful in this regard is Nicholas Ambraseys's *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900* (2009), which assesses both the historical and the scientific data for each individual seismic event in its study region, and which has mostly superseded Emanuela Guidoboni's earlier effort, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean up to the 10th Century* (1994).[26] A map of the textually attested earthquakes in the eastern Mediterranean between the third and the end of the fifth century, taken from the latter work, unsurprisingly shows a heavy overrepresentation of evidence relating to Constantinople, due to the geo-

22. Eus., *Mart. Pal.,* 325/1478; and see Ambraseys 2009, 140.
23. Aug., *Serm.,* 19.6/137; and see Ambraseys 2009, 162.
24. Lib. *Or.* 18.292; Rothaus 2000, 17; and see Ambraseys 2009, 148–51.
25. Levenson 2013.
26. Guidoboni et al. 1994.

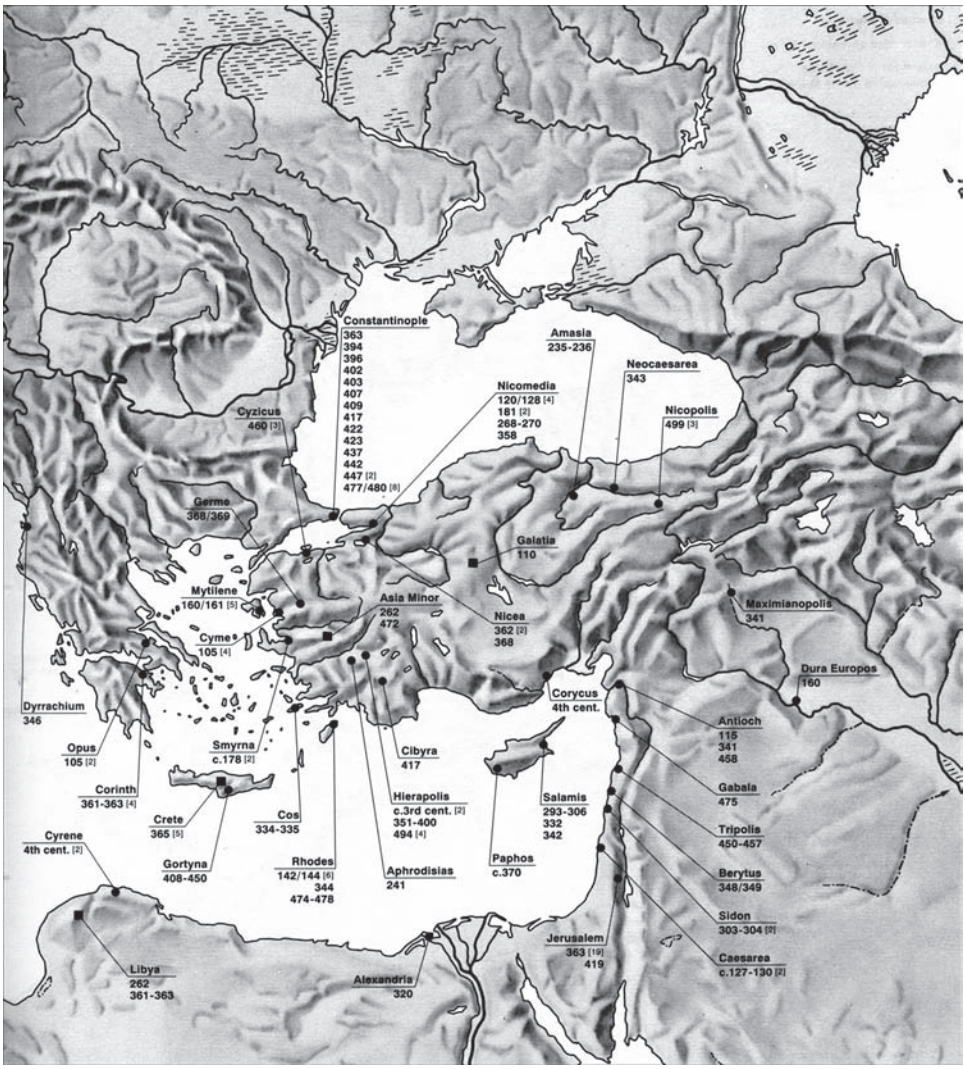


Fig. 1. Map of historically attested earthquakes in the eastern Mediterranean between AD 101 and 499 (reproduced from E. Guidoboni et al. 1994, 419, by permission of the author).

graphical biases of a large percentage of the textual sources (fig. 1). This furthermore makes it very difficult to assess and compare with earthquake damage in regions that are not covered to the same degree as Constantinople.

Some textual accounts of earthquakes are very brief and matter-of-fact, whereas others constitute longer narratives that offer more detailed descriptions of the extent and ramifications of earthquakes in a particular location. Although texts sometimes note the destruction of specific buildings, very little in them relates specifically to statuary. Occasionally, buildings that are very likely to have been adorned with statuary are mentioned as casualties of earthquakes (such as baths, nymphaea, gymnasia, colonnades, and private houses), but explicit references are rare.[27] In his detailed account of a major earthquake at Beirut on 9 July AD 551 (now seemingly confirmed by recent archaeological fieldwork, as discussed above), Pseudo-Dionysios furthermore recounts the subsequent attempted recovery of treasures from the sea, but while these may have included artworks and statuary from the destroyed buildings and houses, none are specifically mentioned.[28]

Textual sources devoting direct attention to earthquake damage sustained by sculpture—unsurprisingly—mostly concern major public statuary in Constantinople, such as the colossal bronze statue of Constantine that adorned the central column of his forum, to which texts cite damage occurring in AD 477 and 869.[29] In an assessment of the damage of the earthquake of 24 September AD 478, we are told that "the globe of the statue in the Forum and the statue of Theodosius the Great on the column of the Taurus also fell."[30] Statues of Arcadius and Theodosius are later mentioned as having been destroyed in an earthquake dated to AD 526.[31] Although an earthquake is not explicitly mentioned, Malalas reports that a statue of Julian the Apostate fell from a city gate at Constantinople around AD 533–534 and that it was replaced by a cross.[32] Also according to Malalas, the column and statue of Arcadius in the Secundinanae fell on 13 December AD 557.[33]

Incidental evidence from other Constantinopolitan sources such as the

27. Several baths and a nymphaeum were thus destroyed in the AD 458 earthquake at Antioch, according to Evagr. 2.12, see Ambraseys 2009, 168–71. Some 20 years later, a gymnasium and "everything beautiful in the city" of Rhodes was destroyed, according to *Meg. Chron.* 5.252v/38, see Ambraseys 2009, 176.
28. Ps. Dion. 2.133–136/100–102; and see Ambraseys 2009, 199–203.
29. Bardill 2012, 28. In 542, the statue's spear also may have been damaged, see Ambraseys 2009, 196–97.
30. *Meg. Chron.* 5.5/307, cited from Ambraseys 2009, 174–76.
31. Ambraseys 2009, 189.
32. Malal. 479/696, and see Ambraseys 2009, 196.
33. Malal. 488–489/705–708; Ambraseys 2009, 209.

*Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Brief Historical Notes) mentions statues falling from columns in earthquakes, emphasizing their role in miraculous events, such as when they are described as having landed upright.[34] The precise nature of the *Parastaseis* has been much debated, and it is very difficult to assess whether such accounts are credible, and why they were recorded in the way they were. Many stories in these sources point to the complex social, political, and religious character of the public display of sculpture, as did Malalas's report of the fall of the statue of Julian the Apostate and its replacement by a cross. The stories are thus more interesting from the perspective of how these statues were perceived by the populace of Constantinople than as information that is useful for understanding either specific historical events or indeed the overall impact of earthquakes on urban life and its sculptural adornment. However, many of the sources give important information on the physical state of statues at particular points in the history of major cities. Other such texts relating to Rome suggest that in some instances earthquakes destroyed statuary there, such as one case recorded in the year 442–443.[35]

Seemingly contemporary and direct evidence of the correlation between earthquakes and subsequent repairs to the urban fabric can additionally be found in a number of inscriptions, both from Italy and from other parts of the Mediterranean, that inform us of buildings and statues that were damaged or destroyed in seismic events.[36] Epigraphy usually attests to civic recovery after earthquakes and the patronage involved in such efforts, for example, in the case of a building at Areopolis (Rabbat Moab) in Jordan that was restored in 597–98 after an earlier earthquake.[37] The text is unfortunately fragmentary, and it is not possible to reconstruct what kind of building was restored. Many other inscriptions simply mention repairs and do not single out the cause of earlier destruction, although in some cases the dates of the inscriptions strongly suggest that they followed earthquake damage that is recorded in other sources.[38] Later, we shall discuss an inscription from Aphrodisias that explicitly mentions repairs of statuary damaged in earthquakes.

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34. *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,* 75.
35. Ward-Perkins 1984, 34, with references.
36. Inscriptions: *CIL* 9.2338 (baths at Allifae in Campania). A famous and evocative case is a group of two inscriptions, dated to 484, that mention repairs of the Colosseum following a *terramotus* (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk, LSA-1420 and 1421, C. Machado = *CIL* 6.1716b-c).
37. Ambraseys 2009, 216–17.
38. Such as an inscription on a mosaic medallion from Antioch dated to 537/538, some ten years after the 536 earthquake: Levi 1947, 366–68; Jalabert and Mouterde 1950, 450–52, no. 786; Lassus 1972, 135, no. 14.

## *Late Antique Earthquakes and Sculpture: Archaeological Evidence*

Turning now to more direct evidence of earthquake damage to sculpture in the archaeological record, it is clear that this cause has frequently been invoked to account for particular instances of fragmentation and destruction, even when secure documentation is limited or entirely lacking. Thus, in some instances where objects do not have an archaeological context, scholars have still attributed damage to earthquakes. In the case of a Greek portrait head in the Getty Museum, for example, it has been suggested that this was split in two in antiquity by an earthquake.[39] Plausible though this interpretation may be, it is unsatisfactory for our purposes here. We may also note that earthquakes (as indeed is the case with many natural disasters) have not had an exclusively destructive impact on the archaeological record. In other cases, the impact of earthquakes seems to have preserved statues from subsequent destruction as well as preventing looting. A particularly striking example of such a case relates to a group of 76 statues at Cyrene that were discovered in 2005 by archaeologists from the University of Urbino, who suggested that the sculptures had been preserved by a collapsed wall that was toppled in an earthquake in 365 (although many other earthquakes are attested at this particular site, including a notable one in 262 for which archaeological evidence has been uncovered in the city's agora).[40]

What evidence would then be required to ascertain whether particular examples of statuary had been destroyed in an earthquake? To help us answer this question, we may turn to some of the more general criteria that have been formulated in order to identify earthquake damage in the archaeological record, such as those proposed by noted archaeoseismologist Stathis C. Stiros.[41] Although most of Stiros's criteria are directly related to architectural and large-scale structural damage, we may identify those that are of most use in relation to sculpture and adapt them for our purposes:

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39. J. P. Getty Museum 91.AA.14; see Grossmann 2003, 34.
40. Ambraseys 2009, 138 (AD 262), 151–56 (AD 365). Although the sources are obscure, an earlier earthquake in 351 has also been discussed as an agent of urban destruction at Cyrene, see Ambraseys 2009, 137–38. See also White 1996. To my knowledge, information on the 2005 Cyrene discovery is so far available only in the press, see, for example, www.tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=7&i=1012 (accessed 20 August 2013).
41. Stiros 1996, 152, appendix 2.

(1) A well-dated archaeological context for sculptural finds that closely correlates with historical, epigraphic, or archaeoseismological data for a significant seismic event. While this criterion seems relatively straightforward, "close" correlation may often involve a margin of error of several decades.
(2) An archaeological context for sculptural finds that shows seemingly contemporary and clear signs of structural earthquake damage, for example, disjointed or displaced parts of walls or floors, cracks in arches, vaults, or domes, parallel fallen columns, and so forth.
(3) Destruction patterns in one or several sculptures that are more plausibly explained by seismic activities than by any other agent.

This last criterion is, of course, very slippery (and could possibly also make room for the Getty portrait as one of our earthquake victims), and it must count as the least important of the three. Yet it is by a long way the criterion most commonly invoked by scholars suggesting that sculptural assemblages were destroyed or damaged in earthquakes.[42] Progress could be made, however, if more research was undertaken on the impact of earthquakes on the physical stability of statuary.[43] Earthquakes are often followed by a series of aftershocks that sometimes induce fires, which makes it even more complicated to isolate the damage caused by the earthquake itself.[44]

We may briefly consider a test case for these criteria that will demonstrate some of the difficulties that arise when trying to apply them to archaeological finds. This case concerns a statue found in the ancient town of Echinos (modern Achinos), situated on the border between Malis and Achaia Phthiotis in Greece. Rescue excavations here by the fourteenth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities excavated an early Roman-period building, 5 x 7 m wide and constructed of *poros* and limestone blocks, which has been interpreted as a

42. See, for example, the series of broken statuettes of the Muses from the theater at Cyrene in Goodchild 1968, 42–43 (and further discussed in Ambraseys 2009, 138), and the sculptures from the theater at Leptis Magna in Caputo and Traversari 1976.
43. Following in the vein of Ambraseys and Psycharis (2011) who investigate the impact of seismic disasters on statues placed on columns, such as a nineteenth-century statue of Apollo in the Academy of Athens that was affected by a 5.9-magnitude earthquake in 1999. Other work on this topic, unsurprisingly, focuses on present concerns, such as the display of sculpture in museums located in earthquake-prone cities: see here esp. the contributions in Podany 2008.
44. The statuettes mentioned above (n. 42) from the theater at Cyrene, for example, were found both "scorched and splintered amidst layers of ash" (Goodchild 1968, 43).

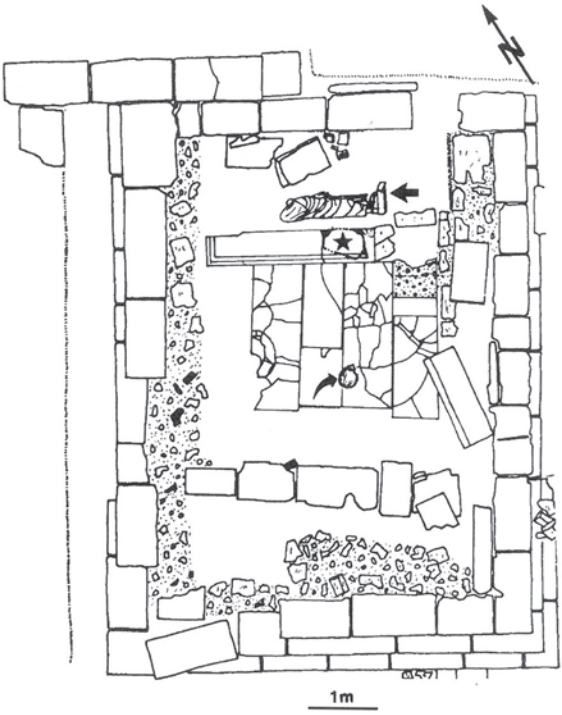


Fig. 2. Plan of the Echinos temple, showing the findspots of the torso, the head, and the suggested original location of the statue, marked by a star (after Papaconstantinou 1996, fig. 2, used by permission).

*heroon* or small temple (fig. 2).[45] Within a destruction layer, dated by the excavators to the third quarter of the third century AD on the basis of the pottery finds, a headless torso of a himation-clad man was found covered by several architectural blocks. Although we thus have a relatively well-dated archaeological context for the statue, historical or epigraphical evidence for a contemporary earthquake is lacking (indeed, no third-century earthquakes are attested in the region). Yet the region is certainly earthquake-prone; a very large earthquake is attested in the area of the Malian Gulf in 426 BC, as mentioned by Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo.[46] In AD 551, furthermore, three earthquakes are known to have struck the region.[47] It is thus plausible that there could have been an earthquake in the third quarter of the third century AD, but the criterion remains only partially fulfilled. The statue itself was found below

45. Papaconstantinou (1996) offers a preliminary account.
46. Buck and Stewart 2000.
47. Ambraseys 2009, 203–5.

fallen architectural blocks, which makes it likely that the site fulfills our second criterion; these, in turn, had effectively sealed the statue and protected it from later intrusions. The head was found about 2 m to the south of the rest of the statue, in the central part of the building, along with fragments of a marble offering table. Although the excavators do not single out an earthquake as the only explanation for this find situation, human agency is unlikely to have caused the displacement of such large blocks.

The case of the Echinos statue thus appears to be a relatively good candidate for the status of earthquake casualty, even if the criteria can only be partially fulfilled. The excavators, however, have gone one step further and have proposed a sequence of events leading to the following find circumstances: first, the statue was decapitated by debris falling down as a consequence of an earthquake; subsequently, the body fell and was buried by blocks; and this was in turn followed by a fire that caused major damage to the building. While plausible, this sequence of events remains speculative. The case also reminds us of one of the ways in which it is possible for archaeologists to uncover earthquake-damaged objects, namely that the "disaster layer" was sealed and thus protected from subsequent disturbing intrusions. In most cases where earthquakes caused statuary simply to fall to the ground, we can imagine that it would have been removed, repaired, or even reused, perhaps in an entirely different context. A "closed" archaeological context will therefore constitute one of the best ways of identifying earthquake-damaged statuary in an excavation.

## *Earthquakes in the Late Antique Sculptural Landscape: Two Case Studies from Asia Minor*

As outlined above, a solid archaeological context is a fundamental requirement for archaeoseismology to move forward and identify specific cases of sculpture damaged in earthquakes, as well as being able to contextualize them further within the larger urban landscape. The following two case studies have been selected with this necessity in mind and cover two major urban sites in Asia Minor—Aphrodisias in Karia and Sagalassos in Pisidia—where large-scale excavations have been ongoing since the 1960s and the 1990s, respectively, in both cases providing important new information on the afterlife of Classical sculpture.

## Aphrodisias

Since the inception of major archaeological excavations by New York University under the direction of Kenan Erim in 1961, Aphrodisias has become one of the most important sites for the study of Roman sculpture. It has provided a wealth of evidence for the different settings in which statuary continued to be displayed in Late Antiquity. Additionally, the city is situated in a region that continuously experiences seismic activity. Indeed, according to Erim, earthquakes played a prominent role in the city's history and especially in its late antique transformation and ultimate demise. In his overview of Aphrodisias's urban history, Erim ascribed building damage to earthquakes in a number of cases, such as the Sebasteion, well known for its extensive program of sculptural decoration.[48] Erim suggested that the building collapsed following an earthquake in the 350s or 360s.[49] An inscription from the Sebasteion dating to the first century indeed also mentions that a portico had previously been re-erected after an earthquake, suggesting that such damage was not uncommon.[50] Erim furthermore believed that this fourth-century earthquake had affected the sculptural workshop north of the bouleuterion (council hall), afterward left deserted.[51] The many funerary monuments that were damaged in this earthquake, Erim hypothesized, were reused for the construction of the city wall, which incorporates a significant number of spolia. Another major earthquake in the city's history is dated to the early seventh century, more precisely the reign of Heraclius (610–641), on the basis of coin finds. This earthquake resulted in the collapse of the theater's *scaenae frons*.[52] The stadium, by this point much reduced in size, was also destroyed in this earthquake, according to Erim.[53]

Recently, Erim's assessment of the impact of earthquakes on the city's urban fabric has been reexamined by Christopher Ratté, who suggested a much more prudent approach in light of the fact that the archaeological evidence for the proposed earthquakes affecting Aphrodisias is rather thin.[54] The evidence that

48. Smith 2013.
49. Erim 1986, 108.
50. *IAph2007* 9.1. Although very fragmentary, *IAph2007* 12.318, dated by the letter-forms to the second century, may also be related to repair of the Sebasteion following an earthquake.
51. Erim 1986, 65.
52. Erim 1986, 79–88. Sculpture from different monuments in Aphrodisias was reused as fill in the walls of the bastion that was constructed in the theater in the seventh century, Erim and Smith 1991, 90.
53. Erim 1986, 69.
54. Ratté 2001, 140–44.

directly or indirectly points to earthquake damage in the city thus consists of just four inscriptions that relate to the restoration of statuary.[55] The most specific of these dates to the reign of Trajan and was found by the South Agora Gate, where it had been reused in a wall; the second part of the inscription explicitly mentions the repair and re-erection of statues "thrown down, shattered and made useless by an earthquake."[56] Another inscribed base mentions the restoration of a statue, but does not specify that the previous damage had been caused by an earthquake.[57] Although very interesting, these inscriptions thus mostly offer the kind of indirect evidence for earthquake damage of statuary that was previously discussed. They furthermore offer valuable insights into the "nuts and bolts" of patronage and civic recovery, but they cannot be used to support an entire narrative of devastating earthquakes that left entire cities desolate, and emphatically not in the context of Late Antiquity, as they all date to earlier periods.

Ratté's reassessment of the impact of earthquakes on the city's urban fabric has been followed by an interpretive shift in other studies of late antique Aphrodisias and its sculptural landscape. In her recent publication of the reliefs from the Agora Gate, for example, Pascale Linant de Bellefonds thus notes that in the case of "Aphrodisias, just as at Ephesos and in other cities of Asia Minor, the radical urban transformations at the beginning of the seventh century and the abandonment of certain monuments of the civic center are probably due to the weakening of the imperial power rather than to a hypothetical earthquake."[58] In her work on the sculptural workshop that Erim believed to have been destroyed in an earthquake, Julie Van Voorhis now suggests that it was simply abandoned and left exposed to the elements.[59] She explains the fragmentary nature of the sculptural finds from the workshop by reference to the fact that they were reused in later constructions. In light of this shift in scholarly interpretation at Aphrodisias, can any convincing cases of earthquake damage of statuary currently be identified there, based on the criteria outlined above?

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55. Ratté 2001, 140.
56. ὁ δῆμος τοὺς ἀνδριάντας τοῦ /
Κύκλωπος κατενεχθέντας ὑπὸ /
σεισμοῦ καὶ συντριβέντας καὶ ἀ-/
χρειωθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισ-/
κευάσας ἀποκαθέστησεν (*IAph* 4.308).
57. *IAph2007* 13.116.
58. Linant de Bellefonds 2009, 5, n.18.
59. Van Voorhis 2012.

Candidates may be found among the very rich cache of sculpture that was uncovered in the city's bouleuterion, located immediately adjacent to the North Agora.[60] Unfortunately, the building was among the first to be excavated as part of Erim's efforts in the city, and the archaeological documentation therefore leaves a lot to be desired. Later work has attempted to compile the evidence from the early excavations in order to refine the building's chronology. The most recent and most extensive assessment by Lionel Bier suggests a date of construction in the late second century or early third century AD, based on the evidence of dedicatory inscriptions preserved on statue bases, but the bouleuterion underwent significant structural changes in Late Antiquity when it was transformed into a palaestra. Inscribed statue bases inform us of the many portraits that originally adorned different parts of the building.[61] Significant work has been devoted to establishing the findspots of individual pieces of sculpture, much of it damaged and broken up (fig. 3).[62] Erim ascribed this damage to the effects of an earthquake, but Ratté is less convinced.[63] In his recent discussion of the bouleuterion's architecture and chronology, Bier also steers away from explicitly pointing to an earthquake as the destructive agent responsible for the destruction of the building, although he notes that the statues that adorned the *scaenae frons* collapsed in the seventh century.[64] Nonetheless, Christopher Hallett, who is responsible for the publication of the sculptural finds, has followed Erim's suggestion and has suggested that the sculptures of the bouleuterion stage building were damaged in two separate earthquakes occurring in the fourth and seventh centuries, while having been repaired in the meantime.[65] The reconstruction of the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frons* is indeed based on this premise: the most fragmentary statues are placed on the second tier, whereas the more well-preserved statues are placed on the first (fig. 4).

However, closer scrutiny of the evidence shows that none of our three criteria can really be claimed as being clearly fulfilled in this case. We lack a well-

60. Bier (2008) provides an overview of the building, its architecture and chronology. The building complex and its sculptural décor is currently being restudied by Christopher Hallett and Ursula Quatember. This eagerly awaited work will certainly change our understanding of the building's life and afterlife.
61. Reynolds 2008.
62. Smith et al. 2006, 15–16. For examples of portrait sculpture found in the bouleuterion, see also Smith and Lenaghan 2008, 242 (cat. no. 7), 274 (cat. no. 23).
63. Erim 1986, 62–63; Ratté 2001, 140.
64. Bier 2008, 154.
65. Ratté and Smith 2004, 160–62; Ratté 2001, 140; Bier 2008, 154. Hallett informs me that the sculptures were found among the rubble from the stage building (pers. comm., October 2005).

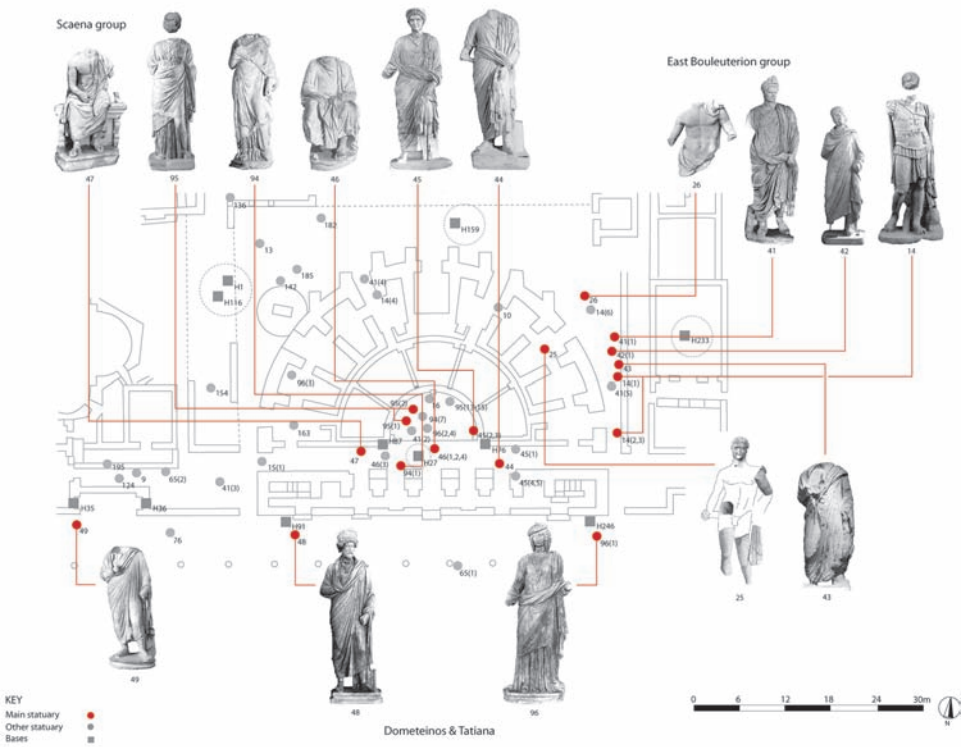


Fig. 3. Map of the sculptural finds from the Aphrodisias Bouleuterion (courtesy of New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias).

dated archaeological context for the sculptural finds (at least on the basis of what has so far been published from the Aphrodisias team). Nor is there anywhere in the bouleuterion clear evidence of structural damage that is suggestive of an earthquake. Only the third and most slippery criterion—destruction patterns in a series of statuary that are more plausibly explained by reference to an earthquake than by any other attribution—may be argued to be at least partially fulfilled, given the highly fragmentary nature of most of the sculptural finds. However, during the medieval period the site of the bouleuterion was used as an olive press, and it is likely that this could have negatively affected the preservation of the statues, as in the case of the finds in the Sculptor's Workshop, as Van Voorhis has argued. The site was in that sense not a "closed" context after its use as a palaestra came to an end, and statuary could have been moved

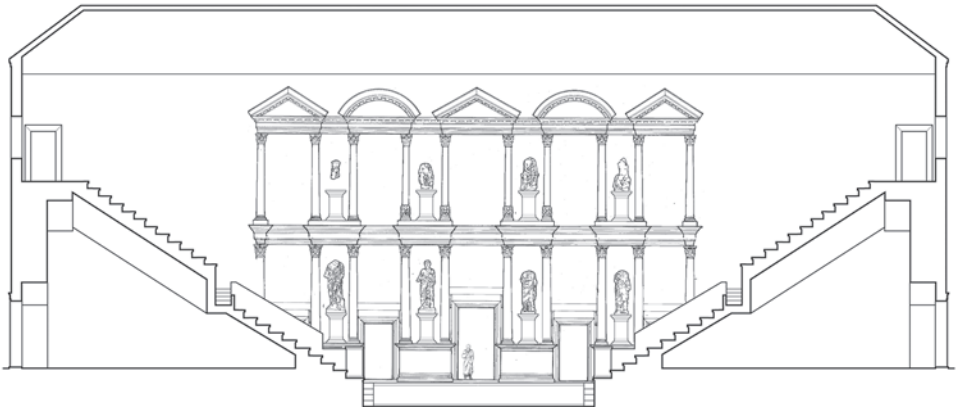

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* of the Aphrodisias Bouleuterion (courtesy of New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias).

around and damaged even after the seventh-century earthquake. There are thus a range of other factors besides an earthquake that may have contributed to the state of preservation that we see among the bouleuterion sculptures. Hopefully the forthcoming final publication of the sculptures and the bouleuterion as a whole will shed more light on their findspots and clarify their place in the archaeological record.

## Sagalassos

Sagalassos has been the subject of major archaeological fieldwork since the early 1990s, undertaken by the University of Leuven under the direction of Marc Waelkens. Later in this volume, Ine Jacobs provides a comprehensive overview of the late antique sculptural landscape at Sagalassos; here, we will focus on the impact of earthquakes on the city's sculptural décor.[66] Several earthquakes struck the city in Late Antiquity, and their impact has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention from the interdisciplinary research team working in the city.[67] Archaeoseismological work has been an integrated part of the research project from the beginning, leaving us on much firmer

66. See Jacobs, this volume.
67. Similox-Tohon et al. 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Sintubin et al. 2003.

ground when it comes to identifying and dating specific instances of earthquake damage. This work has also located a previously unidentified active normal fault. In Late Antiquity, the city was hit by an earthquake around 500 (in the past this was sometimes cited as occurring in 518, although consensus has now moved away from this precise date), and was then struck hard by an earthquake in the early seventh century, estimated to measure around 6.4 to 6.8 in magnitude.[68] Earthquake damage has, among other places, been identified in the mosaic floor of the Neon Library, and in the still-standing yet nearly collapsed entrance to the theater; a layer containing earthquake debris has also been identified in the Byzantine workshop area to the north of the Upper Agora.[69] The effects of earthquakes are furthermore believed to have had a greatly negative impact on the flourishing of Sagalassos's wider *chora* in the period from the mid-fifth to the seventh century, as evident from the large-scale surveying that has been undertaken by the Belgian team.[70]

One of the most likely candidates for a late antique earthquake casualty at Sagalassos is a naked colossal statue excavated during the 1996 and 1997 seasons in a small square in front of the so-called Northwest Heroon, a landmark in the urban landscape that so far has escaped closer identification due to the lack of a dedicatory inscription, but which has been dated to the Augustan period (fig. 5).[71] What is clear, however, is that all of these fragments were found among building debris, including blocks that originated in the Heroon, and they must therefore originally have been part of a statue displayed in that context. The high-quality marble fragments uncovered include legs, torso (including parts of a cloak), and the head of the statue. Based on the stratigraphy, the excavators proposed that the Heroon, including its statuary, collapsed during an earthquake in the early seventh century, thus suggesting that the statue had continued to be part of the city's sculptural landscape up to this relatively late point in time. We thus have solid reasons for satisfying two of our most important criteria: a well-dated archaeological context that correlates with archaeoseismological data for an earthquake in the early seventh century, as well as other signs of earthquake damage, notably the building debris that was recovered below the Heroon.

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68. This earthquake was previously dated to the mid-seventh century by the excavators, cf. Waelkens et al. 2000a; Waelkens et al. 2006, 231, 244; Ambraseys 2009, 179 (c. 500), 223 (c. 670). The most up-to-date overview of earthquakes at Sagalassos, their chronology, and impact on the urban landscape is found in Jacobs and Waelkens 2013.
69. Neon Library: Waelkens et al. 2000c, 329–36; Waelkens et al. 2000d. Workshop, room 17: Waelkens et al. 2000c, 291, 294 (fig. 101).
70. Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003, 287–89; Vanhaverbeke, Martens, and Waelkens 2007, 637.
71. Waelkens et al. 2000b. On its archaeological context, see esp. 567–68.

Fig. 5. Sagalassos NW Heroon, head of colossal statue found among the debris (reproduced from Waelkens et al. 2000b, 573, fig. 34, used by permission).

Elsewhere in Sagalassos, the Nymphaeum on the Upper Agora has also been identified as a casualty of the early seventh-century earthquake.[72] In this case, intriguingly, only seven of the original ten statues were found during the excavations, suggesting that others had been removed before then. Two other monumental nymphaea in the city present a similar picture. Some of these "missing" sculptures may have been damaged beyond repair in the c. 500 earthquake and then removed before the final seventh-century earthquake.[73] Altogether, the members of the Belgian team at Sagalassos are currently making heavy reference to the effects of earthquakes in toppling the city's sculptural embellishment and in playing a major role in putting an end to urban life in the once-thriving city.

## Discussion

In the case of the Sagalassos Heroon (and to a lesser degree, the previously discussed example from Echinos), a single sculpture could be identified as having been damaged in and afterward concealed by an earthquake, thus preventing later damage. In the case of the bouleuterion at Aphrodisias, it has been suggested that a whole assemblage of statuary was damaged in an earthquake in the fourth century, then repaired, and finally destroyed for good in a second earthquake, dating to the seventh century. While this is an intriguing suggestion, there simply is not evidence available at this point to firmly establish the validity of such an interpretation. However, a comparative case from the theater at Salamis (Cyprus) is suggestive of a similar situation. Here, statues of Apollo and the Muses were found among the debris of the *scaenae frons,* indicating that architecture and sculpture had collapsed in a simultaneous event. The excavator Vassos Karageorghis ascribes this damage to an earthquake in the fourth century.[74] A later, rather crude stage was constructed on top of the debris of the earthquake, showing that performances continued but on a different scale and without sculptural decoration. Although we do not possess precise archaeoseismological data in this case, the archaeological context points to the agency of a major natural disaster affecting the late antique sculptural landscape.

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72. See Jacobs, this volume.
73. As suggested by Jacobs, this volume.
74. Karageorghis and Vermeule 1964, 5; Karageorghis 1969, 195. It is interesting to note that these sculptures were all found headless, indicating they may have been decapitated before disaster struck.

What do these case studies tell us about the afterlife of Classical sculpture? Earthquake damage is certainly most easily identified in large-scale archaeological projects that incorporate scientific archaeoseismological work, especially when working in areas of the Mediterranean whose late antique history is not widely documented in contemporary texts. Yet we still rely heavily on historical texts to date particular instances of earthquakes and to make inferences about their impact on late antique urban life. This kind of inference is always tempting, but it must be made clear that the circumstances under which particular earthquakes are mentioned in surviving texts are at best random, and that the texts are heavily biased toward particular narrative uses, as discussed earlier. Yet even without the availability of texts or archaeoseismological data, it remains important to look at assemblages as a whole and to attempt to identify destruction patterns that can be linked to earthquakes in the archaeological record.

## *Conclusions*

The conclusions must necessarily be tentative. The main point is that it is crucially important to explicitly address the effects of different kinds of damage in order to better understand the afterlife of Greek and Roman sculpture—and this includes the potential effects of earthquakes on late antique urban landscapes and their embellishment. Disaster archaeology has always had a strong hold on the scholarly as well as the popular imagination, and there can be little doubt that earthquakes contributed at a general level to the overall decline of Classical cityscapes over the course of Late Antiquity (as well as during later periods); but many other factors contributed as well. However, the traditional narrative of earthquakes as an agent of major damage to the urban fabric has in recent years been challenged, as we saw particularly in the case of Aphrodisias. In recent treatments of late antique urbanism in the Roman west, earthquakes furthermore play a significantly lesser role than in the east.[75] Surely we must then do better than to "pull the rabbit out of the hat" when all other explanations are not satisfactory: not least by formulating a particular set of criteria from which we can document cases of earthquake damage.

75. See, e.g., the lack of an earthquake entry in Esmonde Cleary 2013, index.

# PART II
# Regional Perspectives

FOUR

# Old Habits Die Hard

## *A Group of Mythological Statuettes from Sagalassos and the Afterlife of Sculpture in Asia Minor*

INE JACOBS

The statuary landscape of late antique cities in Asia Minor was largely derived from previous ages. A combination of Greek, Roman, and late antique statues, and especially their bases, survived into the seventh century or even later. In some instances, they appear to have been left untouched from the moment of their dedication. In others, statues were relocated to a new setting—often in the immediate vicinity—or they remained standing even when their surroundings underwent renovations or repairs in later centuries.

In this chapter, it is my intention to stress the longevity of the statuary tradition within Asia Minor. I will argue that, although the provision of new statuary had dwindled quickly—and this is true both for honorific and mythological items—most existing items were continuously regarded as indispensable decoration for highly frequented public locations far into the sixth century AD. With the supply now dry and the existing reserve thinning out as well, the desire to preserve existing statuary and, with it, the inventiveness of late antique and Byzantine builders, became ever greater. Eventually, this would lead to thoroughly unclassical, but still effective, manners of reuse. The starting point will be the life story of a collection of mythological statuettes found in the city of Sagalassos.

## *Sagalassos in the Sixth Century*

Sagalassos was a wealthy, medium-sized town in the western Taurus Mountains about 110 km to the north of modern-day Antalya. It developed much in the same way as other similar towns of western and southern Asia Minor. Its urban fabric had been saturated with the full array of urban amenities by the early third century AD. Nevertheless, it was continuously maintained, and when necessary, renovated. Somewhere along the way, the grandest entertainment buildings, such as the stadium, the theater, and the bouleuterion, went out of use, but other traditional buildings were maintained into the sixth century.[1]

In the early sixth century, the town fell victim to a major seismic catastrophe.[2] The damage was no doubt substantial, but the Sagalassians were obviously still numerous and wealthy enough to undertake extensive renovations. They collected building materials from derelict structures and long-abandoned monuments for this purpose. Even so, repairs were executed with a great sense of monumentality, thereby illustrating that the "municipal" spirit of old was still very much alive. Public buildings such as the macellum and the Roman Baths were extensively repaired and redecorated. The damaged marble veneer of the enormous pillared halls forming the complete east side of the Roman Baths may have been replaced with only a simple white plaster, but their floors did receive a new black-and-white mosaic with decorative motifs accentuating the internal divisions of the building. An *emblema* with an inscription in the central hall indicated that the dining activities taking place at this location since the late fifth century were again resumed. These dining activities were watched over by six enormous acrolithic statues of the Antonine emperors from Hadrian onward and their wives standing in the hall to the south.[3]

The extent of the sixth-century renovations is even more obvious in the city's streets and squares. The porticoes of both the Upper Agora and the Lower

1. Waelkens et al. 2006 describe the general lines of the town's development from the second century AD onward. The field research at Sagalassos was supported by the Belgian Programme on Interuniversity Poles of Attraction (IAP 6/22), the Research Fund of the K. U. Leuven (BOF-GOA 07/02), project G.0421.06 of the Research Foundation–Flanders, and a Methusalem Grant from the Flemish Ministry for Science Policy granted to Marc Waelkens, director of the Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project until 2013.
2. For the earthquake, see Sintubin et al. 2003, 6–15; Similox-Tohon et al. 2008b, 81, 91. The long-supposed date of this earthquake was confirmed in 2012 by soundings underneath the mosaic floor of frigidarium I in the Imperial Baths (Waelkens and the Sagalassos team 2012, 104–5). See Kristensen, this volume, for a critical appraisal of the importance of earthquakes, including at Sagalassos, in archaeological interpretations.
3. Jacobs 2011.

Agora were re-erected using a diverse collection of pedestals, columns, and capitals. The decorative fountains or nymphaea positioned along their north side still had an extremely pleasing effect on the hot and busy city squares. By the sixth century, the squares may have been more crowded than ever before, as they had been converted into open-air markets. Today, holes in the pavement slabs and inscriptions mentioning professions and names of individuals indicate that the agora centers were usurped by small wooden stalls, selling a variety of products.[4] Some of those located on the Upper Agora may have targeted the visitors to the bishop's church established on the terrace just west of the square, where the bouleuterion (council hall) of Sagalassos once stood. In this period, a monumental staircase was constructed to provide direct access to the church atrium from the agora. There was thus no better place to sell religious paraphernalia such as figurines of rider saints and pilgrim flasks. Furthermore, the porticoes of the agorae had also been subdivided into smaller workshops and shops. The west portico of the Upper Agora housed, among others, a blacksmith, a moneylender, and later also a small bakery.[5] The Lower Agora served more as a food court: the west portico was subdivided into several small units, all of them selling foodstuff, and the east portico came to house a five-roomed *thermopolion,* a restaurant serving hot food and beverages.[6]

The most extensive building project, however, was the renovation of the city's main traffic axis, the 10 m wide north-south colonnaded street (fig. 1).[7] Its colonnades were renovated in a thoroughly unclassical manner, incorporating both brick-and-tuff pillars as well as Corinthian columns placed on a variety of bases. These supports were surmounted by arches instead of entablatures. A new colonnade floor was begun and the shops behind the colonnade were in all likelihood also reconstructed. In addition, part of the street pavement was replaced, whereas the grandiose staircase leading up from the street to the Lower Agora was completely relaid several meters to the south of its predecessor, implying that the length of the agora was augmented. This new street was further adorned with decorative monuments: the Tiberian gateway that had originally surmounted the monumental staircase had collapsed, but the columns and entablature pieces that had remained intact were collected and used to erect a

4. Lavan 2013, 328–33.
5. Kellens et al. 2003, 550; Jacobs and Waelkens forthcoming a.
6. Waelkens et al. 2007, 507–11; Jacobs and Waelkens forthcoming b.
7. The main colonnaded street of Sagalassos was excavated by the author between 2006 and 2009. In 1998 and 2005, test soundings had already been undertaken by Dr. Femke Martens. The building history of this street is discussed in detail in Jacobs and Waelkens 2013.

new, somewhat unclassical L-shaped monument with three columns (fig. 2). A statuary base, and maybe also the statue, of Julian the Apostate was re-erected just in front of this columnar monument. Furthermore, on the street itself a small street fountain was put in place on top of an older, strongly diminished water channel. Finally, the highlight of this renovation phase was the creation of a new statuary display in the street section between the Lower Agora and the first crossroad. Next to a variety of small fragments spread all over the area, near the staircase, at the foot of two pillars preserved in the western colonnade, the remains of a group of the Three Graces were found; in the section to the south of the fountain, a statuette of Aphrodite and an unidentified draped female statuette, possibly Hygeia, were present; on the opposite side of the street, a Hygeia statuette had been displayed next to one of Apollo (fig. 3). These statuettes possessed diverse dimensions but were all under life-sized; the Apollo, Hygeia, and the second draped female were only some 80 cm high. They also had varied manufacture dates, the latest dating back to the fourth century AD.[8]

Four of these statuettes were found close to rather rough consoles (fig. 4). In total, eight consoles have been found among the debris lying on the street as well as inside the masonry of a Byzantine fortification wall to the south of the original display. The separate items were similar in design, but of quite diverse measurements, their lengths varying between 0.71 and 1.04 m, their widths between 0.32 and 0.47 m.[9] Even so, their number implies that at least eight statuettes were once put on display on top of these consoles, which would have been integrated in the brick-and-tuff pillars alongside the street.

This statuary composition is remarkable, not least in the fact that it was assembled in the second quarter of the sixth century AD. Moreover, its final appearance would have been thoroughly unclassical. In the following paragraphs, I will attempt to trace the reasons behind its creation.

## *Contexts of Display*

The large majority of small-scale statuettes originate from workshops in western Asia Minor, among them studios located in Dokimeion, Aphrodisias,

8. The statuettes are currently under study by Ine Jacobs and Lea Stirling.
9. The presence of consoles or statue brackets in colonnaded streets is known from cities such as Apamea and Palmyra in Syria, as well as Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç), Hierapolis-Kastabala, Anazarbos (Mersin), and Pompeiopolis in Cilicia. However, these streets were designed to display portrait busts or larger statues from the beginning, often of founders or emperors, not small-sized statuettes.

Fig. 1. The section of the north-south colonnaded street in which the statuary remains were discovered, just to the south of the Lower Agora (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

Ephesos, and Constantinople.[10] Although the production slows down after AD 400, some of these workshops may still have received orders as late as the late fifth century.[11] The longevity of production in itself is a noteworthy fact, which already points out the tenacity of this cultural tradition within the region. The production of new portrait statues even continued far into the sixth century. Thus the "school of Ephesos" was responsible for a great number of honorific statues for emperors, proconsuls, and governors put on display, especially along

10. Gazda (1981, 160–63), Stirling (2005, 56–58), and Hannestad (2007a, 294–96) provide examples of late antique small-scale statuettes that could be assigned to a "School of Aphrodisias." For further information on this well-studied workshop, see Smith (2011) with references to older literature. Kiilerich 1993, Bergmann 1999, and esp. Stirling (2005, 117–29) discuss possible workshops of Asia Minor and the east.
11. Hannestad 2007a. Among the latest items to be produced were very flat statuary groups of Orpheus amid animals. They may have been exported from Aphrodisias as far as Sabratha in the late fifth century (Hannestad 2007b, 6–7).

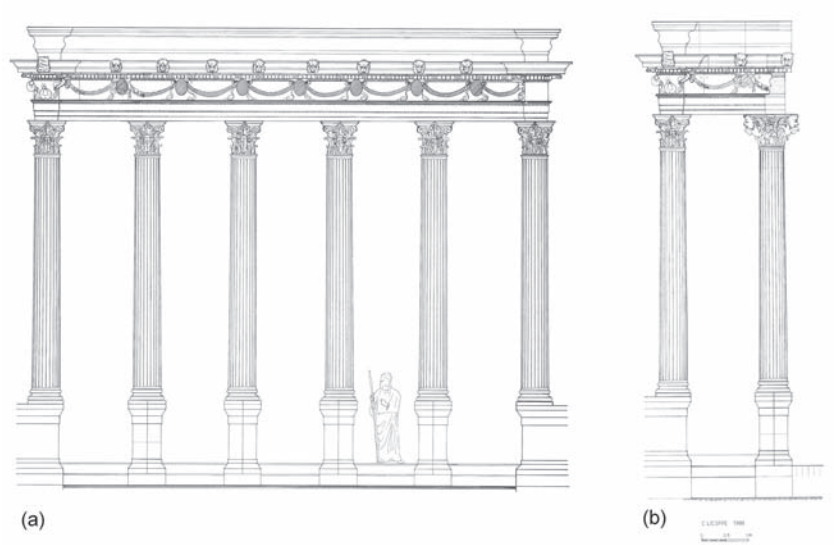


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Roman gateway and the sixth-century three-columnar monument at the south end of the Lower Agora of Sagalassos (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

the streets of Ephesos.[12] Likewise, statues of emperors, proconsuls, and governors of both the fifth and sixth centuries are recurrent finds in the excavations of the city center of Aphrodisias.[13]

Conversely, small-scale mythological pieces were generally not intended to decorate such open-space public settings, but were instead displayed in the opulent aristocratic residences of Late Antiquity, alongside heirloom and contemporary portraits.[14] The wide geographic spread of statuary discoveries—in

12. An overview of late antique portrait statuary in Ephesos is provided in Auinger and Aurenhammer 2010.
13. Smith 1999a.
14. Hannestad (2007a, 292, 299; 2007b, 197) makes the connection between late statuary production and the late antique villas in the Mediterranean. Hannestad (1994, 117–44; 2007a–b) and Bergmann (1999) treat most of the known collections of late antique statuettes. Stirling (2005) is a fundamental work for late antique pagan and mythological small-scale statuary discovered in private houses all over the Mediterranean. Stirling (2007) compares evidence from Gaul and Spain, and Stirling (2008, 132–36) focuses on domestic statuary found in Greece. There are only a few public buildings in which small-scale statuettes have been discovered. Bartman (1992, 42) mentions statuettes found in the Trajanic Baths of Cyrene, the Roman theater at Capua, and the Julian and South Basilicas of the Roman forum at Corinth. In addition, three statuettes of c. one-third life size as well as 12 statuettes

Fig. 3. The remains of the statuette of Apollo (photo by author).

Fig. 4. Consoles found next to the remains of the statuettes (photo by author).

virtually all regions around the Mediterranean and as far away as Britain—testifies to the ample dissemination of these luxury products.[15] It is now commonly accepted that these statuettes or statuary groups were purchased and displayed by both pagans and Christians (or Jews) alike, either for aesthetic reasons, as moral *exempla,* or as expressions of status, rank, and education.[16] I know of only one example whereby such small-scale statuettes were displayed in an urban setting. In the traditional aediculated façade of the fountain complex near the stadium at Ephesos at least three late fourth-century statuettes were found: one of Dionysos and a satyr, a sleeping Eros, and a young boy, often

under 0.20 m high were found in the theater of Corinth (Sturgeon 2004, 17). At Sagalassos itself, small-scale statuettes were on display in the final occupation phase of the Imperial Baths, but it can be argued that they were not intended for this location and only brought there at a later moment in time. The statuettes found at Sagalassos are being studied by Jacobs and Stirling.

15. See Stirling 2005, 132–36, for the mechanism of transport from east to west.

16. Gazda 1981, 168–70, 177; Stirling 2005, 26–27, 153–55; Hannestad 2007a, 273–74, point to the importance of *paideia* for collections of statuary. *Paideia* was reserved for the "happy few," so that, especially from the fourth century onward, it provided a social identity to the upper classes and became a symbol of elite status (P. Brown 1992). Liebeschuetz (1995–96) argues for a continuation and assimilation of pagan myths in Christian visual and literary culture in general. Maguire (2001, 243–47) provides an overview of pagan and mythological motifs reflecting general ideas of plenty and good fortune in the late antique house.

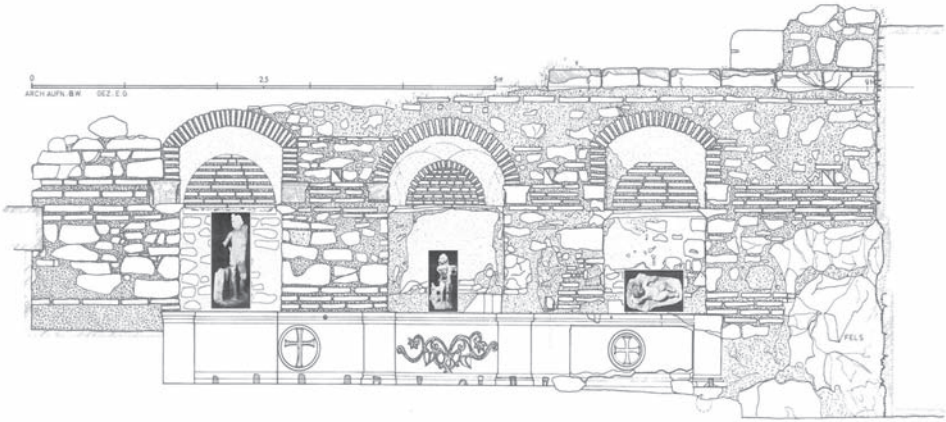


Fig. 5. Drawing of the remains of the stadium fountain at Ephesus with tentative placement of the statuettes (drawing by author after Jobst 1986: 53, fig. 3, and plates 14.1, 14.3, 14.5).

identified as Harpokrates, with a crocodile and theater mask (fig. 5).[17] The parapet slabs of this fountain were decorated with Christian motifs: crosses in circular medallions and a kantharos with projecting vegetal motifs. These indicate that, as was the case in aristocratic villas, such mythological statuettes did not have a religious meaning, but were used as ornaments, as part of a secular heritage that could be combined with expressions of the new dominant religion. In the surroundings of the statuettes found on the north-south street of Sagalassos, Christianity was also omnipresent in the form of crosses and prayers inscribed on columns and even pavement slabs, and some architectural fragments carried crosses in relief.

In view of the above, it seems logical to assume that the statuettes at Sagalassos were also originally ordered by local aristocrats, either pagan or Christian, to be displayed in the closed, private context of their home. Even if their exact location remains unknown, excavations in the so-called Urban Mansion of Sagalassos give a good indication of the private wealth present even in a small provincial town such as this one. This private palace, located in the eastern domestic area of the town (fig. 6), probably reached its largest extent in the

17. Jobst 1986.

Fig. 6. Plan of the urban mansion at Sagalassos (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

second half of the fourth century. At that time, it comprised more than 70 rooms spread over four terraces, including two peristyle courtyards, dining halls, reception rooms, an atrium with decorative fountain, and a private bath complex.[18] The massive extent and the evident luxury of the complex suggest it belonged to an extremely wealthy individual, whose identity regrettably remains unknown.

Although the building was thoroughly robbed before its final abandonment and collapse in the course of the seventh century, leftovers of the decoration of this mansion coincide with what is known from villas elsewhere in Asia Minor and in the Roman Empire: during the 2011 campaign, remains of a late antique tondo were discovered in the lower peristyle, whereas an arm of a small-scale female statuette, likely an Aphrodite, was unearthed on the floor of one of the reception rooms located on the higher terraces in 2005.[19] The statuettes found on the street would fit in nicely with such a collection. However, their findspot on the colonnaded street indicates that they must have been relocated from a private to a public context some time after their original purchase.

The presence of statuary alongside a colonnaded street in itself is not surprising, considering the high visibility of these locations. In Late Antiquity, colonnaded streets became symbolic of the city. Authors such as Libanius (*Or* 11.196–201) and Malalas (*Chron.* 15.11) for Antioch, Joshua the Stylite (§ 29) for Edessa, Chorikios (*Or.* 7.52) for Gaza, and Prokopios (*Aed* 3.4.18) for Melitene proudly expressed their admiration for the colonnaded streets in their city.[20] These streets formed the architectural background for formal ceremonies such as *adventus* and other processions, both secular and Christian.[21] In addition, when other, less significant visitors came to a city, they would largely keep to the same thoroughfares. It is thus not surprising that such high-profile zones were well taken care of, that they were provided with additional decoration such as small fountains, and that they were favored locations for both new honorific statues and relocated mythological ones.[22]

Late antique relocation of mythological statues to streets and squares is

18. Uytterhoeven and Martens 2008.
19. See Uytterhoeven, Jacobs, and Kiremitçi (2007) for the remains of the statuette of Aphrodite.
20. However, in the course of the sixth century the perception of the colonnaded street seems to have changed, and though it still featured in many sources, it was no longer praised as a place where civic social life took place (Saradi 2006, 270–71).
21. Halfmann 1986; Bauer 1996, 389–94; Slootjes 2006, 106–10, for a reconstruction of the events and the itinerary followed during an *adventus*.
22. See Bauer (1996, 2001a-b, 2003) for cities such as Constantinople, Rome, Ephesos, and Ostia. See also Jacobs 2013, 571–73.

widely attested. In Italy and North Africa, inscriptions mention that such items were relocated from derelict sites to busy locations for what can very broadly be called "beautification purposes."[23] The most extensive relocation operation in the east was the decoration of Constantinople, known from both literary and iconographic sources, which also included decoration of the Mese with older statues.[24] In Aizanoi (Phrygia), a new colonnaded street was adorned with two relocated statuary bases, one of them carrying in its new position a statue of a satyr. At Ephesos, bronze statues of Nike were relocated to the Embolos, where they were integrated in an ensemble honoring the later fourth-century empress Aelia Flaccilla and possibly also the emperor Theodosius, of whom a rider statue may have been present.[25]

The display at Sagalassos differs from the foregoing examples in three aspects: first, the statuary was small scale, whereas most other examples known to have been relocated to public locations, streets, or public monuments such as baths, nymphaea, and so on, were life size; second, it was relocated from a private to a public context; and third, as said above, it was reinstalled at a much later date than other examples of relocated mythological statuary known from Asia Minor.

## *Supply of Statuary in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Period*

Small-scale statues—as described, the Apollo, Hygeia, and a second draped female must have been some 80 cm high and all of the items found were under life-sized—are somewhat misplaced on a 10 m wide colonnaded street that was framed by supports with a minimum height of 4.40 m.[26] It is therefore difficult to believe that statuettes would have had much visual impact in this monumental setting. So why relocate them here? Why not opt for life-sized statues, similar to those still on display in the town's nymphaea? It al-

23. Ward-Perkins 1984, 32–33, 43–44; Curran 1994; Machado 2006, 183. Examples of large statue movements to public spaces and bath buildings are given in Lepelley 1994, 12–13. See further, for Rome, Brandenburg 1989; Curran 1994; Lepelley 2001. Witschel (2007) used statuary bases to discuss the collections of statuary in fora in Italy and Africa (see 122 for phrases clearly pointing to relocation).
24. Bauer 1996, 209, for the Mese; Bassett 2004, 37–136, for the decoration of Constantinople from Constantine to Justinian.
25. Roueché 2002; Auinger and Aurenhammer 2010, 668.
26. On the outer north edge of the street, a column shaft and Corinthian capital collapsed right next to the matching column pedestal. Their combined height was c. 4.40 m.

most seems that more suitable decorative elements were no longer available when the street was renovated.

## Access to Statuary

On the whole, the availability of statuary was not as great in Late Antiquity as it had been in the Roman age, and a city such as Sagalassos would have been particularly hard hit by this trend.[27] First of all, as in previous centuries, the city "suffered" from its location high up in the Taurus Mountains, at a considerable distance from the marble quarries of Dokimeion and Aphrodisias, and also from the Pamphylian coast, where marble from Prokonessos arrived from overseas.[28] Transport difficulties, and especially the high costs involved with overland transportation of heavy objects, resulted in the use of local limestone for all construction purposes. Imports were limited to decorative architectural building elements such as bases, columns, capitals, entablature, wall and floor revetment, and, of course, statuary. Petrographical analyses have clarified that the majority of the statues and decorative building elements found at Sagalassos came from Dokimeion, with a small portion being manufactured of Aphrodisian marble, and that there was a complete absence of Prokonnesian marble.[29] Even though the latter was a cheap variant overall, transport from the Pamphylian ports over the steep Klimax Pass into the Taurus Mountains would have been cumbersome.[30] By contrast, the Dokimeion quarries, located centrally on the Anatolian plateau, exported their produce to the coastal cities over the Via Sebaste, which passed through the territory of Sagalassos. Not only Sagalassos but also other cities located in a comparable location, in the Pontus or Taurus mountains or on the central Anatolian plateau, at a considerable distance from any seashore, must have experienced similar difficulties. If, as argued above, supplies of statuary were running dry, such cities would have been the first to experience difficulties in acquiring new items.

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27. Corremans et al. (2012) discusses the marble supplies of Sagalassos in detail.
28. For the use of Prokonnesian marble on the coast of Pamphylia, see, among others, Pensabene 1998, 345; Waelkens et al. 2002, 375, 378; Barresi 2003, 295–96.
29. Moens, De Paepe and Waelkens 1997, 379–82; Waelkens et al. 2002, 371–74; Mägele 2009, 63–66, 261, 426, 428, 484, 493.
30. A good idea of the relative cost of these stone types is given by the Price Edict of Diocletian, in which the maximum price for Dokimeion marble was 200 denarii per Roman foot, whereas that of Prokonnesian marble was only 40 denarii (Barresi 2003, 157–58). Due to the location of the Prokonnesian quarries on an island near the seashore, transport costs could be kept low. In contrast, the export of Dokimeion marble always involved hundreds of kilometers of mountainous terrain.

But more important than a disadvantageous geographical location was the fact that there was little reason for new statuary imports in a medium-sized town such as Sagalassos in Late Antiquity. The new political situation of the fourth century had ensured that the political arena, together with the largest supplies of money, became concentrated in the provincial capital. In these centers, honorific statues of proconsuls and governors made up the majority of new dedications, supplemented by imperial statues and a few private benefactors.[31] We are especially well informed about Aphrodisias and Ephesos, which were not only production centers of statuary but also important administrative centers, the first being the capital of Caria, the second the diocesan capital of Asia. At these sites, manufacture of portraits and dedication of portrait statues, especially of magistrates, extended far into the sixth century AD, with famous statues such as those of Flavius Palmatus at Aphrodisias and Stephanos at Ephesos.[32] Imperial statues are frequently attested into the fourth and the early fifth centuries. Private individuals occasionally still earned honorific portraits, but less frequently than in previous centuries. In provincial capitals as elsewhere, city politics were no longer dominated by competing local aristocrats but by the governor or by the new late antique magistrates. Therefore, even in the capitals benefactions dropped due to this low level of competition and so did the number of people deserving an honorific statue.[33]

In smaller cities of the provinces, late antique honorific statues were largely limited to statues of emperors of the fourth century AD. Occasionally, a statue of a governor or an imperial magistrate has been found. Thus, a statue base for a certain Zeno, *magister militum,* dated around the mid-fifth century, was found near a gateway north of the Roman Baths at Sagalassos.[34] Also, the spread of honorific portraits was not entirely limited to provincial capitals. Occasionally late antique portraits are discovered in smaller cities. For instance, in the

31. Slootjes 2006, 141–52, for a summary of information on statues of governors. See 144 for their possibly overwhelmingly high number in Late Antiquity.
32. From the late fourth to sixth centuries, seven statues of proconsuls were set up along the Embolos at Ephesos, versus three imperial statues and only two of private citizens; see Bauer 1996, 289, and also Auinger and Aurenhammer 2010. At Aphrodisias, the proportions of statues of emperors, governors, and citizens were more equal. For governors between the later fourth and sixth century, see ala2004, 31, 32, 37, 62, 64, 65; ala2004, 16, honored a governor from the first half of the fourth century. For imperial statues, see ala2004, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28. For "private" citizens from the fourth century onward, see ala2004, 11–12, 13, 24, 33, 36, 41, 73, 74, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88. See ala2004, 14, for an imperial *comes.* Most honorific statues are discussed in Smith (1999a) and Smith (1999b).
33. Liebeschuetz 1992, 4–5; Bauer 1996, 297; Smith 1999a, 173.
34. Lavan 2008, 204; Mägele 2009, 173.

Gate-Nymphaeum of Stratonikeia, two early fifth-century busts depicting members of the local elite were recovered.[35]

Although new dedications became scarcer, existing statues may have survived in the urban landscape for quite a long time.[36] In many cities, statues of emperors, magistrates, and revered private citizens from before Late Antiquity were discovered next to their base, indicating that they had remained present in the cityscape throughout the ages.[37] Nevertheless, the existing record of older statues was inevitably thinned out in the course of the centuries. Statues could have been relocated more than once, both for practical and aesthetic reasons, or could have simply toppled over during earthquakes. During such events, statuary ran the risk of being damaged, sometimes beyond repair. Even ensembles derived from excavated "closed" contexts—contexts that have been covered under a substantial amount of debris, which protected the statuary collection from later salvage attempts—often no longer possessed an intact assemblage by the time they collapsed. The clearest example is provided by the nymphaea of Sagalassos, all of which presumably collapsed in the early seventh century. The Nymphaeum on the Upper Agora in its latest phase offered room for 10 statues, though remains of only seven were discovered underneath the debris.[38] The Hadrianic Nymphaeum, located on a terrace just above the Lower Agora, right in the sightline of the colonnaded street, could house 14 statues, five of which were nearly completely recovered, whereas the others were represented by numerous fragments and inscribed statue bases.[39] Finally, in the Severan Nymphaeum on the Lower Agora, at least seven statues must once have been on display. Four of them were retrieved and could be identified, although dozens of other statue pieces, belonging to an unknown number of other sculptures, were found in the immediate surroundings.[40]

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35. Özgan 1999, K50, K51; Kiilerich 2011, 359–62.
36. Theoretically, once a statue was erected, it was even protected by law and could not be removed without the consent of the government (Witschel 1995, 340). For a more detailed discussion of factors surrounding the preservation of honorific statues, see Jacobs 2013, 410–12.
37. For instance, one of the wings attached to the Hellenistic Gate at Perge included an honorific statue of Plancia Magna, a major benefactress of the city (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, no. 225). Two statues of the same woman were found in the statuary niches on the Square of Septimius Severus (Mansel 1975, 74–75). At Aphrodisias, older honorific statues for local citizens included the statues of Antoninius Claudius Dometeinus Diogenes and Claudia Antonia Tatiana in front of the odeion (Smith 1998).
38. Waelkens et al. 1997, 142–44; Jacobs 2010, 274–75.
39. Mägele, Richard, and Waelkens 2007, 481–97.
40. Mägele 2009, 134.

As a consequence, it is not unlikely that by the second quarter of the sixth century, a considerable part of the town's statuary record had already been toppled over either incidentally or intentionally. It is therefore also possible that smaller statuettes were the only presentable items still available to provide the new street with additional decoration. Maybe the end result was thoroughly unclassical in appearance, but then again, so were the street colonnades, with their mixture of building elements, columns, and pillars, and so was the three-columnar monument closing off the vista of the street to the north. In both cases, the building elements needed to create a more "classicizing" composition were simply no longer available after the earlier gate and colonnades had crashed to the pavement as a result of the early sixth century earthquake.[41] The Byzantine builders simply collected all the elements that were still useable. If indeed small-scale statuettes were the only option left to create a statuary display on the street, positioning them on consoles was the best possible solution, one that was reminiscent of the statue brackets on the streets of Syria and Cilicia.

## Public to Private and Private to Public

In the entire late antique Mediterranean world, there are very few clearly attested examples of statuary transfers from private to public venues, or the other way around, for that matter.[42] Also, the epigraphic sources of Italy and North Africa are not very specific on the matter. They generally indicate the origin of the statues as "a neglected site" or "a hidden place."[43] Although it is generally assumed that most statues relocated to baths, nymphaea, streets, and so on were taken from deserted temple enclosures, other derelict public buildings, or storehouses, it is not inconceivable that statues occasionally could have also been removed from private property or purchased from private owners. There are, in any case, a few archaeologically attested statuary compositions in which this seems to have been the case.

As we have seen above, the stadium fountain at Ephesos is the only example besides the colonnaded street at Sagalassos where small-scale statuary has been found in a public context. It was originally assumed that the statuettes were

41. See note 2.
42. Murer in this volume discusses some interesting examples of funerary statues taken from high imperial tombs outside the center of Ostia and reused as *ornamenta* both inside public buildings and private houses in the late third–early fourth century.
43. See note 23.

produced for this fountain, based on the coinciding dates of the sculptures, assigned to the fourth century, and the architectural decoration—capitals and decorated parapets of the fountain—also assigned to the fourth or early fifth century. However, as was the case at Sagalassos, the statuettes hardly seem to have been fitted for this fountain. There is no thematic unity whatsoever. The ensemble combined a Dionysiac theme (the group with Dionysos and a satyr) with a reference to Isis (the young Harpokrates holding a theater mask and flanked by a crocodile) and an evocation of Aphrodite via a sleeping Eros. Moreover, Eros is not a customary subject for fountains. Even though Eros sometimes appears as a subsidiary figure to Aphrodite, the statuette at Ephesos appears to be the only occurrence of an alone-standing Eros in a fountain context in the eastern Mediterranean.[44] Finally, the statuettes are far from a "fitted" decoration for the fountain. The three niches housing the statues measured more than 1.70 m in height, whereas the largest statuette, the Dionysus group, was only 0.83 high; the Harpokrates 0.58 m; and the Eros, lying down, a mere 0.46 m (fig. 5). In short, these statuettes are simply too small to have been made for the niches. It seems much more likely that these statuettes were also taken from a rich townhouse. Admittedly, the young boy with the theater mask was designed as a fountain figure, but it is just as likely that he originally belonged to a smaller, private fountain.

A second example from Stratonikeia in the province of Caria concerns the two late antique portrait busts mentioned earlier. Although such busts are normally intended for a private context, they were found in the Severan Gate-Nymphaeum of the town. They were put here on display somewhere in the nine statuary niches spread over the two levels of the elaborate columnar architecture. The other niches were filled with older, mainly mythological statues, including a female statue of an early first-century date, a bearded head dated c. AD 160, two Muses, and an Athena produced in the Antonine period, as well as an Apollo of a late Hadrianic or early Antonine date.[45] The diverse creation dates of the statuary and their appearance in a nymphaeum assigned to the Severan period indicates that they were also taken from other positions of display, maybe when the gate and nymphaeum were constructed, maybe at a later moment in time. The portraits were obviously the last additions. Whatever the reason for their transfer, the new location of display was well chosen.

44. Richard 2008, 322.
45. Özgan 1999; Mert 2005.

The gate-nymphaeum was a highly decorative and impressive monument, located in the vista of the main colonnaded street of Stratonikeia. It is not surprising that the city ensured that one of its most visible monuments retained prestigious décor.

The exact circumstances surrounding such transfers remain unknown, however. In the case of Stratonikeia, the portraits may have been donated to the city by descendants of the honorands. By that time, these heirlooms probably also evoked civic pride, as the individuals depicted were obviously of considerable importance. The clothing of the male portrait, in particular the *pelta*-decorated crossbow *fibula,* indicates that the subject held a high position in the military or administrative hierarchy.[46] As has already been mentioned above, especially smaller cities gladly preserved such references to aspects from their "glorious" past in the urban landscape.

Statuary relocations from private to public spaces taking place in Asia Minor during the sixth century may also have had much less noble motivations. Indeed, in the course of the sixth century, wealthy private mansions in many cities of the region lost their elite character.[47] This is also what happened to the enormous mansion currently under excavation at Sagalassos. In the first quarter of the sixth century, the owners apparently sold or rented their property to diverse entrepreneurs. Subsequently, its former audience halls were stripped of their furniture, marble wall plates, and floor decoration. The mosaics present in other rooms were cut through for the installation of water pipes or cooking installations. The lower terrace came to house a *xenodocheion* or an inn, whereby a kitchen was installed in the large peristyle and a smaller courtyard was converted into a stable and storage room, both for dung cakes and wine amphorae.[48] Although I do not wish to claim that the statuettes found in the colonnaded street came from this mansion in particular, its decline does indicate the general status of private habitation in the town in the first quarter of the sixth century AD. And when a mansion was used for such prosaic purposes, a major clearing out of statuary is likely to have taken place. In this particular case, the statuettes, together with the white marble floor and wall revetment, in all likelihood ended up in the lime kiln that had been installed inside the former atrium (fig. 7).[49]

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46. Kiilerich 2011, 365.
47. S. P. Ellis 1988 and 2004 mention plentiful examples.
48. Uytterhoeven, Poblome, and Waelkens 2011.
49. On the appearance of lime kilns near aristocratic mansions, see the contribution of Munro in this volume.

Fig. 7. The atrium of the urban mansion at Sagalassos with an early Byzantine lime kiln (bottom left) (© Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project).

Nevertheless, the statuettes found in the colonnaded street clearly show that a few ornamental items were awarded an additional career within the most frequented and visible locations of the city. Thus, they left their aristocratic surroundings and entered the public sphere again, where they would be visible to all. Apparently, it was occasionally still possible to present items with mythological and even pagan connotations to a wider public.

## *An Anomalous Sixth-Century Relocation?*

The relocation operation at Sagalassos remains a remarkably late event, however. Most of the evidence for the continued significance of statuary, in the form of private and public collections, repairs, and relocations, is limited to the fourth and fifth century AD. Inscriptions on relocations from the west have been assigned to the period between the mid third and the second quarter of the fifth century;[50] the decoration of Constantinople was largely halted after the

50. Cf. note 23.

Theodosian period, and relocation of statuary decoration to the streets of Ephesos and Aizanoi belongs to the later fourth century.

By the later fifth and certainly in the early sixth century, the tide was turning. Images that had in the past been regarded as rather neutral or had been given a Christian reinterpretation were often no longer tolerated. Even in villas that remained inhabited by members of the local elite, clearance operations were occurring. At Aphrodisias, the philosopher portraits—a collection of tondi of renowned philosophers and heroes from the present and the past produced during the fifth century—were taken from the hall in the Atrium House in which they had been on display and thrown into an inaccessible alley behind the main apse of the house, together with *unguentaria* of sixth-century type and some discarded roof tiles.[51] At Athens, various portraits and statuettes found their way into pits and wells around AD 530.[52] Similar events were taking place in public spaces and monuments in other cities. Imperial portraits that had been on display in the basilica of Ephesos had already ended up in a foundation around AD 500.[53] Pagan statues in the East Baths at Scythopolis were disposed of around AD 515.[54] At Sagalassos itself, at least two lime kilns and no less than five metal kilns were established inside the Roman Baths between 525 and 575, which explains why so few metal and marble statues have been recovered from this enormous complex, and why, for instance, there were only three of the six acrolithic statues left in the dining hall.[55] Even the magnificent collections built up during the fourth and early fifth century at Constantinople began falling apart under Justinian.[56] Also in other media, such as pottery and even silverware, Christian iconography began to supplant more traditional themes. Thus personified and semidivine entities that had been well-liked references to idyllic, bucolic, or cultured life in the fourth and fifth centuries were gradually disappearing.[57] Dionysiac iconography was in decline from the later fifth century onward—including in the local ceramic production of Sagalassos—and once-popular depictions of Nike diminished in the course of the sixth.[58]

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51. Smith 1990, 153–55.
52. Frantz 1988, 41, 87.
53. Alzinger 1972–75, 260–63.
54. Tsafrir and Foerster 1997, 129–31; Tsafrir 2003, pls. 110–111.
55. Unpublished excavations of 2011, under the direction of Rob Rens.
56. Bassett 2004, 128–29.
57. Jacobs 2010, 287, with further literature.
58. Nike: Roueché 2002, 541–45; Dionysus and his circle had been a very popular theme in Late Antiquity (Bowersock 1990, 41–53). Elsner (1998, 218–21) and Stewart (2004, 130–31) give examples where Dionysios is depicted together with Christian imagery. Parrish (1995, esp. 332; 2004) and

This shift in iconography was part of a much broader transformation of society. Christianity was clearly developing its hold on all fields of society and on the whole had little tolerance for elements referring to the unregenerate classical past.[59] Even if statues in this period were also not necessarily violently destroyed, the new Christian sensibilities and tastes ensured that they were no longer repaired when they were damaged or re-erected when they fell down or when their surroundings saw a new building phase.

Examples such as the decoration of the colonnaded street of Sagalassos demonstrate that this evolution was still not universal and that also, in later decades, statues that were often already regarded as suspicious or at least irrelevant to contemporary life could still be employed for prestige purposes. But was this the only example of such a sixth-century statuary relocation? Surely not. There must have existed other, comparable events. However, recognizing relocation, let alone dating it, remains a difficult task. The epigraphic record of Asia Minor is thin in Late Antiquity, so that, in contrast to Italy and North Africa, relocated statues were not combined with newly carved inscriptions. Moreover, if a statue was displaced along with its base, how are we to recognize this event if the original location of the statue is not mentioned in its inscription? And what of statues that were never accompanied by a text? Only if a statue is found in a context in which it clearly does not belong can it be assumed it was moved there from elsewhere. Dating, however, remains almost impossible.

It is definitely no coincidence that the only other example comparable to the street decoration of Sagalassos can also be associated with solidly dated infrastructure work. At Caesarea Maritima, the *pater teis poleos* Flavius Strategius laid out an esplanade, which ended to the north in a rectangular hall that was entered beneath triple arches. Flanking the entrance, two statues of colossal size faced each other across the esplanade. To the east, the famous red porphyry figure of the emperor Hadrian, probably the cult statue from the city's temple of Hadrian, had been re-erected. To the west was another emperor or god, carved from white marble and likewise seated.[60] As parts of these statues were built

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Stirling (2005, 87) discuss Dionysiac images in private houses. Talgam (2005, 1133–34) focuses on Dionysus in late antique mosaics. See Talloen and Poblome (2005, 69–73) for the heyday and decline of Dionysiac images on tableware at Sagalassos.

59. Even if images were secular, holding no religious meaning, they were considered to impede a distinctive Christian identity. Markus (1990) esp. discusses how Christianity set its mark on all aspects of life, leaving no space for the "secular." Also, the closing of the last philosophical school at Athens by Justinian can be regarded as part of this shift (*Cod. Iust.* 1.11.9–10; and Watts 2004).

60. For intolerance toward cult statues of Roman emperors, see Jacobs 2010, 288.

into the surrounding architecture, their relocation and final display must have been part of the original building project, which is epigraphically dated somewhere between AD 546 and 606.[61] Both statues were installed in this new location in a very slipshod way: the Hadrian did not fit the granite throne he is seated on, and, moreover, makeshift bases and odd bits of stone were used to prop the statues up where parts of the original sculpture were missing. This again indicates that classical aesthetics had broadened, much as was the case in the colonnaded street of Sagalassos.

However, in contrast to the mythological small-scale statuettes of Sagalassos, these two colossuses are more likely to have derived from cultic contexts, which made them infinitely more dangerous in the eyes of Christians.[62] Their redisplay in the later sixth century—not only combined with thrones in which they did not fit, but probably also in a mutilated state, without heads or limbs—as well as the exact reasons for their redisplay, are therefore probably completely different from other examples discussed above.

## *Summary*

To summarize, what can the sixth-century statuary collection on the colonnaded street of Sagalassos tell us about the statuary habit in Asia Minor? First, that late antique and Byzantine relocations of statuary are probably much more numerous than we can make out today. Much of what seems to be passive preservation, meaning that the statue remained standing throughout the ages without any interference whatsoever, was probably touched and moved around for decorational or other purposes as late as the sixth century AD. This would suggest that the attachment to the statuary habit was much greater than has been thought in the past. Second, the Sagalassos example shows that well into the sixth century AD one still felt the need to create an impressive scenery for public events, for processions, for the reception of magistrates, and so on, in both larger and smaller cities. This resulted in highly impressive urban spaces. Their creators obviously went through a lot of trouble to create them, using inventive solutions when necessary. Statuary apparently remained essential to finishing the total picture. Third, the

61. Avi-Yonah 1970; Holum 2003, 158. Kristensen (2010) discusses these statues as well as their redisplay in detail. In the same city, another relocation of the statue of Tyche could also be assigned to the later sixth or even early seventh century (see Gersht 1984; Wenning 1986; Holum et al. 1988, 10–12; Kristensen 2010, 276–77).
62. Jacobs 2010, 286–87; Kristensen 2010, 280.

pressure to create such a prestigious ensemble explained away the use of mythological statuary, even in a thoroughly Christianized town, even at a time that such statuary was being removed from private houses, and even though in other contexts Christian themes had already succeeded the more traditional iconography. A shortage of more suitable items may very well be the explanation for this phenomenon. In cities such as Ephesos and Aphrodisias, public spaces were still equipped with new late antique statues into the sixth century AD. At Sagalassos, there were few new dedications, though the existing numbers slowly thinned out. The value of the items remaining, both honorific and mythological, grew. Their individual identity and connotations gave way to a more general interpretation as "adornment elements," items useful for self-display, for enhancing the prestige of a location, just as they had done in the past.[63]

The end of the statuary habit in Asia Minor apparently only came when the city as a whole declined. To continue the story of Sagalassos: in the second half of the sixth century, suddenly, more pressing matters were at hand. The large-scale rebuilding program, of which the statuary display formed a part, was interrupted before it could be completed. Immediately afterward, around the mid-sixth century, debris, ceramic sherds, and butchery refuse coming from the Lower Agora were dumped both in the street fountain and in heaps alongside the entire western side of the street. The fact that waste was left to rot in full view, producing putrefying smells in the very center of the city, suggests a drastic change in mentality from the civic pride displayed only a few years earlier. Similar signs of decay appeared all over the city. The population numbers dropped drastically. There is extensive debate on the reason for these sudden changes.[64] Suffice it to say, when the city was finally struck by another devastating earthquake in the early seventh century AD, large-scale occupation had already come to an end.

## *After Antiquity*

The story of our statuettes, however, is not yet finished. Neither the city nor the colonnaded street was totally abandoned after the early seventh century. The

63. For references and discussions of ancient texts and edicts referring to these values, see Lepelley 1994; Salzman 1999, 131–32; Stewart 2003, 154–55; Schmidt 2003, 215; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; Saradi 1997.

64. A number of factors may have been responsible, including increasing aridity, plague, external military threats, the decline of long-distance trade, and general insecurity caused by brigandage and revolts (Vanhaverbeke et al. 2004; Waelkens et al. 2006, 247–48).

Fig. 8. The torso of Aphrodite appearing underneath a heavy base inside the fountain (photo by author).

column fragments that were lying on the pavement were pushed against the sides of the street to facilitate passage. To the south of the street, a small, but easily defendable, promontory was turned into a *kastron*. For this purpose, building elements lying around on the street pavement were collected and transported to the construction site. In addition, along the eastern side of the street, a new channel bringing water to the new fortified core in the south of the city was installed.[65]

While rummaging around on the street, the Sagalassians must have come across the remains of the statuettes. On the whole, they were not bothered by them. However, the torso of Aphrodite induced a stronger reaction, possibly because of her nakedness.[66] Attitudes toward the human body had severely changed with the growing esteem of ascetic Christianity in the course of the fifth and certainly the sixth century. Sexual shame and avoidance of temptation in general are recurrent themes in early Christian literature.[67] As a consequence, mixed bathing was forbidden, and naked statues in bath buildings and

65. The northern end of the channel was constructed on top of a column fragment rolled to the side, confirming that it postdated the collapse of the colonnades of the street. It reached the street from an eastern direction some 10 m below the Agora Gate Staircase. It continued on top of the pavement for c. 15 m before suddenly merging into terra-cotta pipes and running underground for another 75 m until it passed underneath the blockage wall connecting the two towers of the so-called Fortification Gate 1.
66. Jacobs 2010, 288.
67. P. Brown 1988, esp. 315–21; Markus 1990, 59–61, 81–82.

in nymphaea were subjected to certain "modifications," whereby all offensive parts were hammered or cut away.[68] The population of the seventh century apparently felt the desire to get rid of this naked statuary fragment permanently. They threw the torso into the disused street fountain, into a pile of butchery refuse and ceramics, and immediately covered it with a heavy column base, no doubt to make sure that it would never see daylight again (fig. 8). This emotional reaction is reminiscent of the superstitious responses described in the *Parastaseis,* in which statues became the direct or indirect cause of violent deaths, or conversely, provided supernatural protection, and were, in general, connected to magic.[69] It lies miles apart from the classicizing attitudes displayed less than a century earlier. As such, the statuary habit of Asia Minor did eventually come to an end.

68. Hannestad 2001 for bath buildings; Auinger and Rathmayr (2007) mention several examples from the bath buildings and fountains from Ephesos.
69. Earthquakes, *Parast. Synt. Chr.* 4, 75; violent deaths, 28 and 14; protection, 6; magic in general, 8 and 17. On statues possessing power, see James 1996.

FIVE

# The Reuse of Ancient Sculpture in the Urban Spaces of Late Antique Athens

NADIN BURKHARDT

Statues were part of the visual appearance of an ancient town. Some monographs deal with late antique statues in Greece, but their context and secondary use are rarely taken into consideration.[1] Assemblages of statues and other artworks constitute an important source for understanding the development of towns in late antique Greece. Statues offer a variety of insights into the modification of the Athenian townscape from the third to the sixth century AD. The focus of this chapter is the meaning, significance, and effects of these sculptures in Late Antiquity, how statues and older architectural sculpture were integrated into private houses and public space, and the establishment of new contexts even without moving a particular statue. The study includes statues known only through literary sources and ones without context but preserving evidence about their later use.

After a short introduction to the history of Athens in late Roman times, three sections follow. The first discusses statues from late antique Athens without a precise archaeological context, including reworked Roman portraits and

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1. Some studies do consider context: Baldini Lippolis 2009, 71–86; Krumeich 2008, 353–70; Marx 2001, 221–54; Rothaus 2000, 105–25; Shear 2007, 221–24; Stirling 2005.

statue bases with late Roman and early Byzantine inscriptions. The second part examines statues with a known late antique context, including ones in sanctuaries, public spaces, and private houses. Finally, the third part discusses Christian responses to "pagan" sculpture in Athens.

## *Late Antique Athens: Historical Overview*

In the later Roman period (third to the sixth centuries AD), Athens was not an imperial residence. The seat of the proconsul was in Corinth. None of the Roman emperors from the third and fourth centuries AD seems to have concerned himself with Athens; the town was, after all, situated far from the main routes between the western and eastern Roman Empire. But Athens was still known for the beauty of its famous buildings. It enjoyed the fame of its former greatness and was regarded as a cradle of civilization.[2]

In the second and third centuries AD Greece, like other parts of the Roman Empire, was confronted with the danger of external threat and barbarian invasions. In AD 267 the Heruli invaded Athens, an event that left a lasting impression on the city.[3] In some places a destruction level of approximately that date can be discerned. Many houses and public buildings collapsed and were burned. The barbarian invasion led to the building of a new fortification wall in the last third of the third century AD (fig. 1).[4] This watershed experience constitutes the starting point of the present study.

In the fourth century, the inhabitants of Athens undertook the rebuilding of their town. They began with the demolition of destroyed buildings and the clearing of central areas such as the Agora. It seems that at the end of the fourth century AD the Visigoths attacked the town and left a new wave of destruction. But even after this disaster there were new building activities in the fifth century AD. Of note here are the new and larger houses, a new city gate in the west, and several modifications to public space.[5]

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2. Plut. *Mor*. 4, 343D; 4, 345F. 349; Aristid. *Or*. 16. 354. 191; compare Himer. *Or*. 59.2–3; *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52 (trans.: Frantz 1988, 22; see also Rougé 1966).
3. For archaeological evidence of the Herulian sack and its aftermath, see Thompson 1959, 61–72; Camp 2001, 223–38; Frantz 1988, 1–15.
4. Figure 1 shows the buildings and monuments discussed in the text.
5. For the historical events and the development of Athens from the third to the sixth century AD: Burkhardt 2010, 120–36; Sironen 1994, 14–57; *SEG* 38, no. 184; Frantz 1988, 78–82; Setton 1975, 234.

Figure 1. Map of Athens showing structures of the fourth to sixth century discussed in the text (adapted from plan by J. Travlos [198]), courtesy of American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

During the fifth century AD, the first churches came into being. These were initially located at the periphery of the town, where church buildings took over already existing structures so that there were few modifications in the urban layout. Nonetheless, pagan cults were still practiced and had a long life.[6]

## *Statues from Late Antique Athens without a Precise Context*

Sculpture from this period in the town's history displays developments analogous to those of other towns of the Roman Empire. Production of new pieces dropped significantly, but various statue bases and some portrait heads demonstrate that

6. Trombley 1993, 307–29.

public space remained an important area for the erection of statues. For the public, there was still a need for self-representation in this traditional manner.[7] These portrait statues consisted of private portraits (male and female) and portraits of officials between the late third and the fourth century AD, as well as a group of so-called philosopher portraits from the fifth century AD, a group of bearded men with serious faces. Approximately 16 of the late Roman portraits that have been found in Athens are reworkings of earlier Roman portraits from various periods.[8] The consistent recarving method used on these portraits may be the work of a single sculptor or workshop with access to older marble portraits.[9] Most of these portraits have been found either in late Roman deposits (or later ones), in wells in the area of the Agora, or in the destruction debris around the Areopagus and the Agora. The sculptures and portraits in wells and in the filling of the post-Herulian wall originate from the cleanup following the disaster of AD 267. Unfortunately, we do not know the original context of these portraits.

More information can be gained from statue bases. Statues with inscribed bases originated from non-Christian public dedications and honors as well as from private dedications to pagan gods.[10] Few late Roman and early Byzantine inscriptions refer to statues. Of the 22 statue dedications only four are dedications to emperors.[11] Most of the statues were dedicated in honor of prefects, proconsuls, archons, and benefactors of the city. The bulk of the bases are reused, in one case for a third time. The older inscriptions were chiseled away before the new inscription was cut. Some of the bases are made from modified fluted columns.[12] Two dedications were reused herms, one bearing an epigram honoring Iamblichus for having adorned Athens with wisdom and for building the city walls and towers.[13]

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7. Harrison 1953, 26–27, no. 15, pl. 11; 42, no. 30, pl. 20; 49–55, nos. 37–41, pls. 24–28; 57–62, nos. 44–47, pls. 28–30; 63–64, no. 49, pl. 31.
8. Prusac 2011, 143–44, nos. 239–44, 246–48; 145, no. 273; 154, no. 429; 155, nos. 461–65. Please note that some entries printed under "Athens" in the index are incorrect: no. 56 (Rome); no. 504 (Copenhagen); no. 265 is an incorrect number; it should be no. 273; nos. 461 and 463 are also from Athens but are missing from the index, as is the Benaki museum. Prusac's dating of the reworked portraits should be taken cautiously.
9. For the "Athens group," see Prusac 2011, 98–99.
10. Sironen 1994, 15–62; Sironen 1997, 55–76, nos. 4–18; 77–87, nos. 20–26.
11. Sironen 1997, 62–63, no. 7, dedicated to the emperor Diocletian (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13265); 63–64, no. 8, to Diocletian and Maximian (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13266); 64, no. 9, Mus. Eleusis E 868 to Diocletian and Maximian (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13267); 65, no. 10, Epigraphical Museum, Athens, Inv. 279 to Constantine or Constans.
12. Sironen 1997, no. 33 (Agora Mus. Inv. I 3358).
13. Sironen 1997, 72, no. 15 (Iamblichus): 75, no. 17; Frantz 1988, 51, with n. 214, pl. 45a I 3542 (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13277); Raubitschek 1964, 63–68.

In 12 cases the inscriptions indicate the material of the statue: stone, marble, or bronze. Bronze statues were rarely erected; we know two from their inscriptions and a few more from installation holes on the surface of the bases.[14] Six inscriptions refer to stone statues, and four to marble statues.[15] On one of the bases there is a round cavity on the top, reserved for a marble statue.[16] Bronze statues were also valued in the later Roman Empire. In an honorary epigram to the proconsul Theodorus by Themistocles (AD 379–95), the latter expresses his hope that the city would allow him to set up a bronze statue after this one in stone.[17] This inscription also shows that the sponsor needed permission to set up a statue. One feature of other towns does not appear to be present in Athens: there is no statue base inscription that states that a statue was moved from its original location to a more frequented place in order to decorate the city.[18] Only one dedication was in situ (see below). For others a findspot is known, but these are often in a postantique context, so we cannot be sure that they were originally set up in the same area. Some of the honorary statues seem to have been erected on the Acropolis, in the Agora, in the area of the library of Hadrian, or in the Roman Agora.[19] Apparently these public areas were still places of public presentation in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. An interesting location for an honorary statue is mentioned by the epigram from the base of a statue of the hierophant Erotius, whose son Cleadas set up the statue in the temple of Demeter and Persephone.[20] Erkki Sironen proposed a date around the reign of the emperor Julian, when pagan cults were encouraged. In Athens, however, pagan cults were common until the fifth century AD, as is proved by the so-called sanctuary of Hecate located in the Kerameikos (from the fourth century AD), and in the continuation of the Panathenaic festival.[21]

In Athens, like in other ancient towns, statues formed part of object-related practices of memory.[22] For example, the inscription of the statue base for P. Herennius Dexippos, dated after AD 270, and the inscribed statue base for The-

14. Robert 1948, 23, 53; Sironen 1997, 66, 69, no. 13; 70, no. 14.
15. Robert 1948, stone: 23, 24, 60, 63, 91, 94; marble: 19, 62, 117, 127; Sironen 1997, 66.
16. Sironen 1997, 66, no. 12, Athens, Acropolis Museum13247.
17. Sironen 1997, 70–72, no. 14.
18. For discussion and bibliography, see Brandenburg 1989, 235–46.
19. Sironen 1997, 59, no. 5; 60–61, no. 6; 66, no. 12 (Acropolis); 72, no. 15; 76, no. 18; 82, no. 23; 84–85, no. 24 (Agora); 78–79, no. 21; 81, no. 22 (library); 62–63, no. 7; 69, no. 13 (Roman Agora).
20. Sironen 1997, 74–75, no. 16 (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13278).
21. Koumanoudis 1883, 170; Brueckner 1931, 4, fig. 1; 20, fig. 12, 18, 28; Sironen 1997, 77, no. 20 Epigraphical Museum, Athens, Inv. 10512 (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13281).
22. Lambrecht 2010.

odoros both refer to the history of the town and the mythical founder of Athens.[23] At the same time such inscriptions demonstrate that the perception and the effect of these objects depended on the education of the observer. Franz Alto Bauer and Peter Stewart have already demonstrated that the intellectually ambitious epigrams of statue bases address only a relatively small circle of recipients with special literary and historical knowledge.[24] We should not rule out the possibility that there was also a verbal staging surrounding these sculptures, through the creation of myths or local legend, as Pausanias describes for statues in Olympia at an earlier time.

## *Statues with a Known Late Antique Context*

### Statues on the Athenian Acropolis in Late Antiquity

Athens provides an opportunity to observe old monuments in their original place of installation. In contrast to Constantinople, where in the fourth century AD various objects of art from different places around the Mediterranean were rearranged in new contexts, a significant portion of Athenian statues remained where they had been erected and obtained a new context without transformation by deformation or through a different visual perception.

An important statue in Athens, the Athena Promachos, stood upright on the Acropolis from the mid-fifth century BC until the fifth century AD.[25] This famous work of Pheidias, made from the spoils of the war against the Persians and circa nine meters high, commemorated the former grandeur and power of Athens.[26] That the statue also acted as a local fixed point is indicated by a statue base recording that a statue of Herculius was set up in the early fifth century AD next to the Athena Promachos.[27] Indeed, the Athena Promachos statue had an inherent power for the citizens of late antique Athens. According to Zosimos, the statue saved the town from the Visigoths.[28] Statues in prominent places in the

23. *IG* II/III$^2$ 13262 (Dexippos); *IG* II/III$^2$ 13276 (Theodoros).
24. Stewart 2007, 36–42; Bauer 2007, 79–109.
25. According to Marinus, a statue of Athena was displaced sometime between the middle of the fifth century AD and the life of Proclus (*Vita Procli* 30).
26. Niemeyer 1960, 76–85; Monaco 2009, 300; Paus. 1.28.1; Dem. 19.272.
27. *IG* II/III$^2$, no. 13284, (*IG* II/III, no. 4225); Monaco 2009, 290, figs. 11–12; Sironen 1997, 82–84, no. 23.
28. Zosimus (5.6) reports that Athena Promachos, together with Achilles, patrolled the town to protect Athens from Alaric and the Goths.

town, like the Athena Promachos, remained part of the ideal urban image. In this way the Athena Promachos remained a status symbol and part of the identity of Athens, just like other older statues and monuments on the Acropolis pointed to the glory of the past and represented an important part of local history. The Athena Promachos was surely more than a *simulacrum,* an ornament.[29]

The bronze statue of Athena Promachos was not the oldest statue on the Acropolis in the late Roman period; a seated marble statue of the sixth century BC, the supposed Athena of Endoios, stood on the Acropolis until the late third or early fourth century AD (fig. 2).[30] Its original location on the Acropolis is unknown, but the statue survived the Persian sack and, if it is really the Athena of Endoios, Pausanias saw this statue in the vicinity of the Erechtheion in the second century AD. At a later date the statue was damaged and moved to the northern foot of the Acropolis slope, where it was built into a late antique wall of c. AD 270–300 (the statue was placed right side up and facing forward). Still later, in c. 1740, the wall with the statue was incorporated into a Turkish outwork near the new north gate. In both cases the statue remained visible.[31] So, before its incorporation in the wall, this ancient *anathema* stood in its original place or in a later arrangement between more recent votive statues on the Athenian Acropolis.

The cult statue of Athena Parthenos also remained preserved over a long time and was repeatedly restored. This famous chryselephantine statue by Pheidias, with an impressive height of twelve meters, had been the pride of the Athenians since the fifth century BC. Such a long-lasting monumental cult image could be an object of common identity, symbolizing the continuity and stability of the polis. It could also stand for an idealized period in the past.[32] In the fourth century AD, the statue was used in a ritual act and worship: in an account of a dream, Zosimos reports that the priest Nestorios put a statuette of the hero Achilles below the statue in order to transfer its magical power and

29. Compare Bravi 2010, 291. Late Roman legislation includes many regulations regarding public buildings and statues: Stirling 2005, 158–63, with further bibliography. Compare Them. *Or.* 17.308; 18.324; 31.192. Late Roman legislation includes many regulations regarding the exposure of inherited buildings and statues (such as *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8). See also Prudent., *C. Symm.* 1.499–505.
30. Acropolis 625; Scholl 2010, 253–54; Paus. 1.26.7.
31. Scholl 2010, 253–54; Marx 2001, 221–46, figs. 1, 3–4 (fig. 3 reproduces a drawing of the statue built into the wall). Another possibility is that the statue was damaged during the Persian attack and was part of the "Perserschutt" and fell on the north slope during the destruction of a part of the north wall of the Acropolis: Ridgway 1992, 138–39, fig. 91. However, the surface of the statue was weathered as if it had stood outdoors for centuries: Scholl 2010, 254.
32. Nick 2002, 162, 187.

Figure 2. Sculpture of Athena of Endoios from the Athenian acropolis (acropolis 625). The statue was later incorporated into a late Roman or Turkish wall (photograph: Hellner, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-1972/2935, all rights reserved).

save the town from an earthquake.[33] Marinus described the removal of the cult statue of Athena Parthenos (perhaps by Christians) during the lifetime of the philosopher Proclus, before AD 485.[34]

The long-lived tradition of putting up votives in the sanctuary of Athena on the Acropolis caused spatial problems because, as in other sanctuaries, it was forbidden to remove gifts to the goddess from the sanctuary. We can observe various ways of dealing with this problem on the Acropolis. Statues were buried or deposited in the ground of the Acropolis. Statues and bases of statues were reused and rededicated, as can be seen in the fifth-century AD honorary inscription for Plutarchus, who three times financed the sacred ship in the Panathenaic festival. The late antique inscription is engraved on the reverse side of a reused statue base of the fourth century BC.[35]

Statue bases were also used as building materials. More than 25 marble bases appeared in the frame of the west door of the Parthenon. These belong to a repair phase after a destructive fire in the cella in the third or fourth century AD. Statue bases were also found in parts of the late Roman Beulè Gate.[36]

As in previous centuries, the Acropolis was an essential part of the city, at least in the written tradition of the fourth century AD.[37] In the late Roman period the Athenians erected honorary statues there for fellow Athenians and for Romans, politicians and benefactors. The setting of the Acropolis, with its classical buildings, the Propylaea, the Parthenon, and a representative collection of statues from different stylistic periods, established for the newly erected statue a relationship with the tradition, history, and fame of Athens. New honorary statues were placed alongside the famous names and great benefactors of the city. That this phenomenon was noticed is evident in the late work *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*: "Athens has the centres of higher learning and its ancient historical monuments and something worthy of special mention, the Acropolis, where by means of many standing statues it is wonderful to see a so-called war of ancients."[38]

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33. Zos. 4.18.2–4.
34. Marinus, *Vita Procli* 30.
35. Sironen 1997, 65, no. 11, Epigraphical Museum, Athens, Inv. 10512, *IG* II$^2$ 3692 (Hegias); 77, no. 20, Epigraphical Museum, Athens, Inv. 10512, *IG* II$^2$ 3818 = *IG* II/III$^2$ 13281 (Plutarchus).
36. Parthenon: Kyparissis 1927/28, 123–34; Krumeich 2010, 373, 380, nos. A 7, B 4, figs. 2–3 with further literature; Beulè Gate: Tanoulas 1997, 17–18, 246–47.
37. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52 (trans.: Frantz 1988, 22); Julian, *Ep. ad. Ath.* 275 A-B; Himer. *Or.* 59.3; Marinus, *Vita Procli* 10.
38. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 52, 14–16. This work is a Latin translation of a lost Greek cosmography of about 359–60 AD: see Rougé 1966, 292.

The Acropolis was a favourite destination for members of the Roman provincial administration as well as for emperors and their families (until the early third century AD); maybe as a famous symbol for the victory of the civilized world over the barbarians, with a Pan-Hellenic character. So it was a highly frequented tourist destination, a situation that means that a statue would also have been noticed quickly by foreigners.[39]

A late antique statue gallery on the south stylobate of the Zeus temple in Olympia illustrates that classical architecture could be used as a stage for later statues. That the same phenomenon is imaginable for Athens is suggested by the walled-up steps in front of the west façade of the Parthenon; these have holes for stelae and bronze statues that were set up here without bases (fig. 3).[40] However, these cuttings are difficult to date and may have been made before Late Antiquity or over a broad span of time.[41]

However, the Acropolis was not a type of "museum" that just conserved the preexisting stock of art and buildings. There were some new additions in Roman times, including a new marble stair in front of the Propylea, the small Augustan Monopteros, and many newly erected statues and other votives.[42] In late Roman times the Beulè Gate and some large cisterns were built. But like the Augustan Monopteros, which referenced the ornamental decoration of the Erechtheion and was already part of the history and fame of Athens by its probable position near the Parthenon, the newly erected statues of the late Roman period were a positive act that actively changed the environment. The dedications used the existing context and at the same time gave it new shape.

## Statues in Other Sanctuaries and in Public Spaces in Late Antique Athens

One of the last newly erected cult statues in Athens appears to be one of Hecate in the Kerameikos (fig. 4).[43] The location of the sanctuary, in a functioning

39. Aneziri 2010, 285–86.
40. The steps were c. 33 m long and there are holes for 38 stelae and not less than three bronze statues, but there are no inscriptions on the steps. Parts of the upper masonry and the installations for the statues and stelae seem to be later in date. Krumeich and Witschel 2010, 8, pl. 7, figs. 11–13; Stevens 1940, 4–13, 24–40; Dinsmoor 1947, 135, n. 441, fig. 5; Korres 1999, 85, fig. 3.10.
41. Ralf Krumeich has pointed out to me that the technique for installing the bronze statues, with two holes for the heel and ball of the foot, suggests the imperial period rather than the late Roman period. I thank him for this advice.
42. See Schmalz 2009, with further references.
43. Brueckner 1931, 4, fig. 1; 20, fig. 12; 18–21, 28.

Figure 3. Athens, Acropolis, Parthenon, steps in front of the west façade: holes for stelae and bronze statues (photo R. Krumeich 2010, by permission).

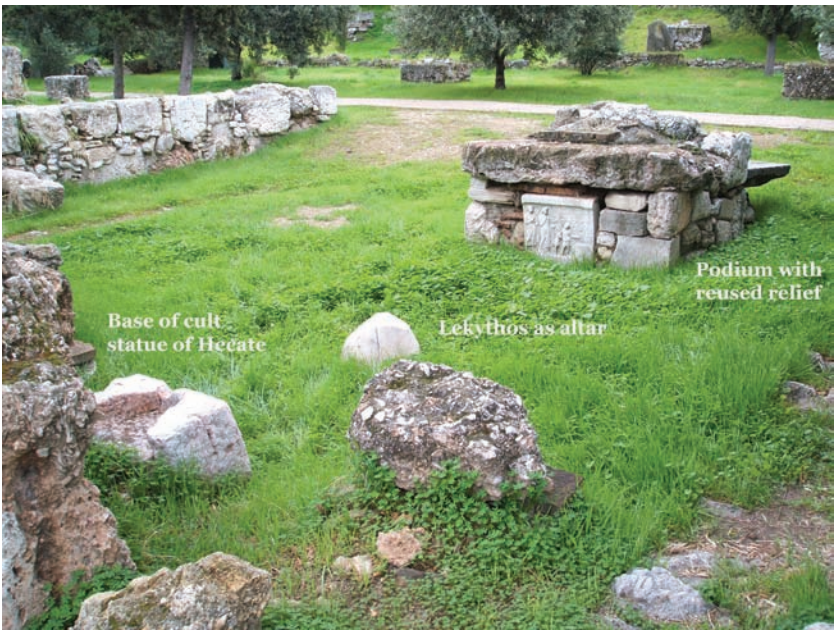


Figure 4. Athens, Kerameikos, so-called sanctuary of Hecate, base of the cult statue, the altar (a reused *lekythos*), and a pedestal or offering table with different spolia, view from Northwest (photo by author).

graveyard between two roads directly in front of the gates, was fitting for Hecate, who was the goddess of crossroads and the underworld and was closely associated with magic. During the fourth century AD, this new sanctuary was built over older graves behind the Tritopatreion in a rather makeshift manner.[44] Integrated into the irregular wall of the *temenos* is a classical grave relief, with the engraved side displayed to the outside. Consequently, the relief lost its function as a grave marker, but it could have functioned as more than pure decoration because commemoration remained possible. The grave relief depicts a priestess with an offering vase, a Hydrophoros, a subject that is infrequent on grave stelae but could have a special connection to a sanctuary and cult activi-

44. The dating of this sanctuary and the dedication to Hecate are not secure. Graml (2014) argues for an imperial date and dedication to Artemis Soteira. However, a late antique building phase is documented by a maintenance shaft behind the area with the base of the cult statue.

ties.[45] Of the cult statue only the base with the hole for the triangular tenon of the triple-body cult statue of Hecate is preserved. Consequently, we do not know if an old cult statue was used or a new one was created. The altar was made from a former marble *lekythos* set upside-down in the earth with its foot cut off. In front of the altar, probably acting as an offering table, was a pedestal built from spolia, with a reused relief of the fourth century BC on the front side.[46] The unfinished relief shows a sacrificial scene fitting for the position and a sanctuary: a couple with a servant holding a *phiale* and a ram in front of an altar. This sanctuary of Hecate is interesting not only because of its late construction date; it also has a special significance because of the creative way the classical and Hellenistic reliefs were treated. The artistic quality of the reliefs appears to be still valued; the message of the image was still understood or interpreted anew, as we will also see in the House of Proclus (below). It is not clear why the builders used this unfinished sacrificial relief when there were a lot of reliefs of higher quality in Athens. Maybe they used only pieces from the area of the Kerameikos (such as the marble *lekythos*) and there were not many sacrificial reliefs in the neighbourhood.

The next example involves the public space of the town. In the northern part of the city, in the area of the Kerameikos, a new avenue was created at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century AD. This avenue was formed by the construction of a new city gate between the Dipylon and the sacred gate, and was flanked by two new porticoes. Further street porticoes were placed in the direction of the Agora as well as two large structures, possibly nymphaea (one with a semicircular foundation, one with a circular one), that were constructed at the northwestern entrance to the Agora. Toward the east, a new street leading to the library of Hadrian was reopened; it had been closed 200 years earlier by the construction of a basilica. At the end of this new avenue, the architectural prospect of the library of Hadrian was changed by the placement of a new statue in front of it. The new statue was a portrait statue of Herculius, the prefect of Illyricum, who was honored by the sophist Plutarchus as a preserver of the laws.[47] This honor may be associated with the repair of the library of Hadrian in the first quarter of the fifth century AD.[48] The inscription

45. Clairmont 1993, 319, no. 1.334; Kerameikos Museum inv. P1131.
46. Brueckner 1931, 53–55. For the visible relief, see fig. 28.
47. *IG* II/III$^2$, no. 13283 (*IG* II/III no. 4224), Sironen 1994, 50, no. 31.
48. The library was integrated in the post-Herulian wall. The peristyle was rebuilt with new columns on pedestals and the eastern room complex was remodeled, but the outer wall and the façade were without modification. The exact function of the complex in Late Antiquity is uncertain. Maybe a

is written on the left side of the Propylon of the library and the statue would have been placed nearby, possibly in the Propylon.[49] In recent excavations archaeologists found a classicizing statue of a Nike on a globe together with fragments of shields and armor plates, a fragment of a statue of a youth wearing a *chlamys,* and a fragment of a relief with the foot of a woman (fig. 5). The Nike is about three meters high and is of the Victoria Romana type; it possibly dates to the last decade of the first century BC. It was found in front of the southwest corner of the library, reused in a wall of the Ottoman period. The presence of fragments from the drapery and other parts of the statue in and around a depression in the paved courtyard in front of the western façade suggests that the statue originally stood in the corner of the façade and the post-Herulian wall. According to Alkestis Spetsieri-Choremi and Ioanna Tigginaga, this Nike was probably part of a victory monument for the emperor Augustus after his triumph over the Parthians. It originally stood in the area of the nearby Roman Agora and must have been transferred to the library and its new context at a later date, probably in connection with Herculius's renovation.[50]

The rebuilding of the library of Hadrian, the placement of an inscription at the Propylon, the erection of an honorary statue in front of the formidable façade, and a possible new placement of the Augustan Nike all placed the prefect Herculius into a context with the emperors Augustus and Hadrian and their political and urban merits in the eyes of Athens and the province of Achaia.

The personification of Nike or Victoria received increased appreciation in Late Antiquity.[51] The erection of a statue of Victoria was not only associated with the emperor's victories but could also reflect on the victories of the donor. We know of two other honorary dedications to Herculius in Athens, one of which is from the Acropolis.[52] The honorary statues suggest the importance of Athens as a place for benefactions and self-representation in the early fifth century AD.

Also interesting is the secondary and even tertiary use of older reliefs and

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statue of a priest or of the emperor Julian stood inside, because a late fourth-century AD portrait head—fashioned for insertion into a draped statue—was found near the northwestern corner of the complex. Athens, National Museum, inv. 2006; Karivieri 1994, 103 nos. 98–101; Meischner 1990, 303–24, fig. 12.

49. In Late Antiquity, honorific statues were often erected in front of monuments or inside colonnades and so were directly connected to the architecture, because the honorand had been responsible for its renovation or construction. Jacobs 2013, 423.
50. Spetsieri-Choremi 1995, 137–47, figs. 3, 8, 9; Spetsieri-Choremi and Tigginaga 2008, 124, fig. 9.
51. Roueché 2002, 527–46.
52. *IG* II/III$^2$, no. 13284.

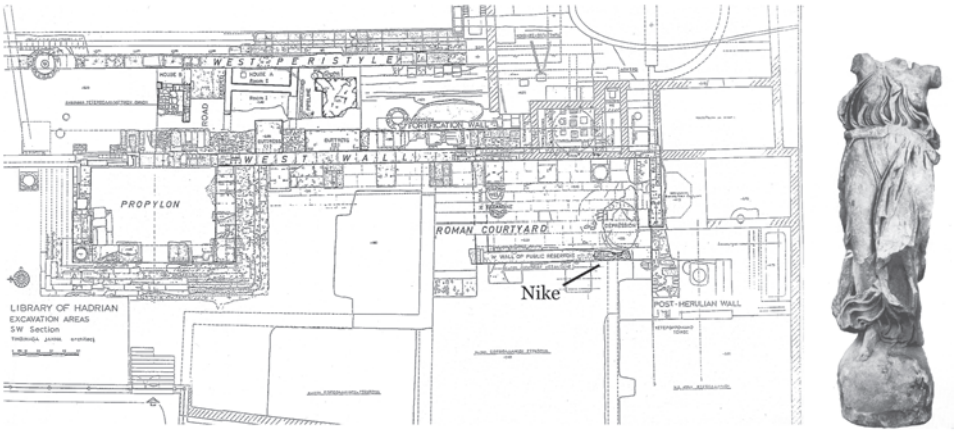


Figure. 5. Library of Hadrian, showing the possible new placement of the Augustan Nike in front of the façade; Augustan statue of Nike found in the library (Spetsieri-Choremi 1995, 140, fig. 3; 144, fig. 9, by permission).

architectural sculpture in Athens. A new bema in the Theatre of Dionysos in the early fifth century AD integrated late Hadrianic or early Antonine reliefs and supporting statues (*silenoi*) into the stage front.[53] This ten-relief panel could be from an older stage building of the theater or from altars of the sanctuary of Dionysos.[54] In either case they came from the immediate surroundings and remained part of the same sanctuary. The upper edge was carefully cut off, protecting the heads of the figures. The back face of the front of the *bema* is made up of rubble and spolia, with a marble cover composed of architectural spoils. Notwithstanding the patchwork character of the *bema,* the sponsor Phaidros appears as a proud benefactor and emphasizes the beauty of the work.[55] With such a donation he signals his education in philosophy and poetry.[56] The work is also a sign of Phaidros's piety, since if we consider that the theater is part of the sanctuary of Dionysos, the *silenoi* and reliefs become votive offerings to the god.

53. Gogos 2008, 101–2 (with a dating in the time of Constantine); Frantz 1982, 34–39 (with dating around 400 AD).
54. Despinis 2003, 63–79, 142.
55. *IG* II$^2$ 5021.
56. Another donation of Phaidros confirms this impression: a sundial (*IG* II/III$^2$ 13627 = 5208).

The second example of the reuse of older sculpture is the façade of a large late antique complex on the Agora, the so-called Palace of the Giants. Several generations had passed after the destruction of the previous building at the same place, the Odeion of Agrippa, during the Herulian sack of AD 267. The space in front of the gate in the new post-Herulian wall was used by craftsmen, with their associated workshops and debris. Then, in the early fifth century AD a new large building in the center of the Agora was built, with a stoa in the north, a peristyle complex, and private baths in the south. The use of this complex is debated. An inscription found nearby mentions a gymnasium and has been associated with the complex. Conversely, Garth Fowden proposed that it was the official residence of Athenaïs-Eudocia after her marriage with the emperor Theodosius.[57] The porticus of the Π-shaped stoa and the added large and small exedras allow a cultivated conversation and discussion and meetings of small groups and create a public atmosphere. For the building's new façade, a Π-shaped stoa with three open arches, six tritons (with fish tails), and giants (with snake tails) were reused; one was in situ and two were found nearby, while the two heads were found in Eleusis (fig. 6). Homer Thompson thought that the tritons and giants originally stood at the entrance of the second building phase of Agrippa's Odeion in the second century AD (fig. 7).[58] However, the stylobate of the façade of the Odeion is lost, the façade of the villa did not stand in the same place but some meters further north, and the giants and tritons were not arranged in pairs as they were in the façade of the later structure. Enzo Lippolis proposed that the two heads in Eleusis were part of a porticus or a late Hadrianic propylon in Eleusis and argued that the tritons and giants found in the Agora were part of the monumental decoration of a contemporary sanctuary of Demeter or Triptolemos that stood nearby.[59] In either case, the sculptures must have been moved and intentionally reused for the new building.

The integration of the marble sculptures of giants and tritons was not only done for pragmatic reasons, nor was it solely due to the continuing popularity of the gigantomachy in late Roman art and literature.[60] In my opinion, the sculptures were reminders of the peaceful period of Athenian history in the second century AD, when the town expanded and received many new build-

57. Frantz 1988, 95, n. 1, 110–16; Fowden 1990, 497; for the inscription: Thompson 1950, 136; *IG* II$^2$ 11030; a headless togate statue of the fifth century AD was found nearby: Harrison 1953, 79, no. 64, pl. 41.
58. Thompson 1950, 103–24, figs. 16, 17.
59. Lippolis 2003, 153–55, 167, 171–75. See also Tomasello 1992, 107–15.
60. Stirling 2005, 206–7; Hannestad 1994, 126.

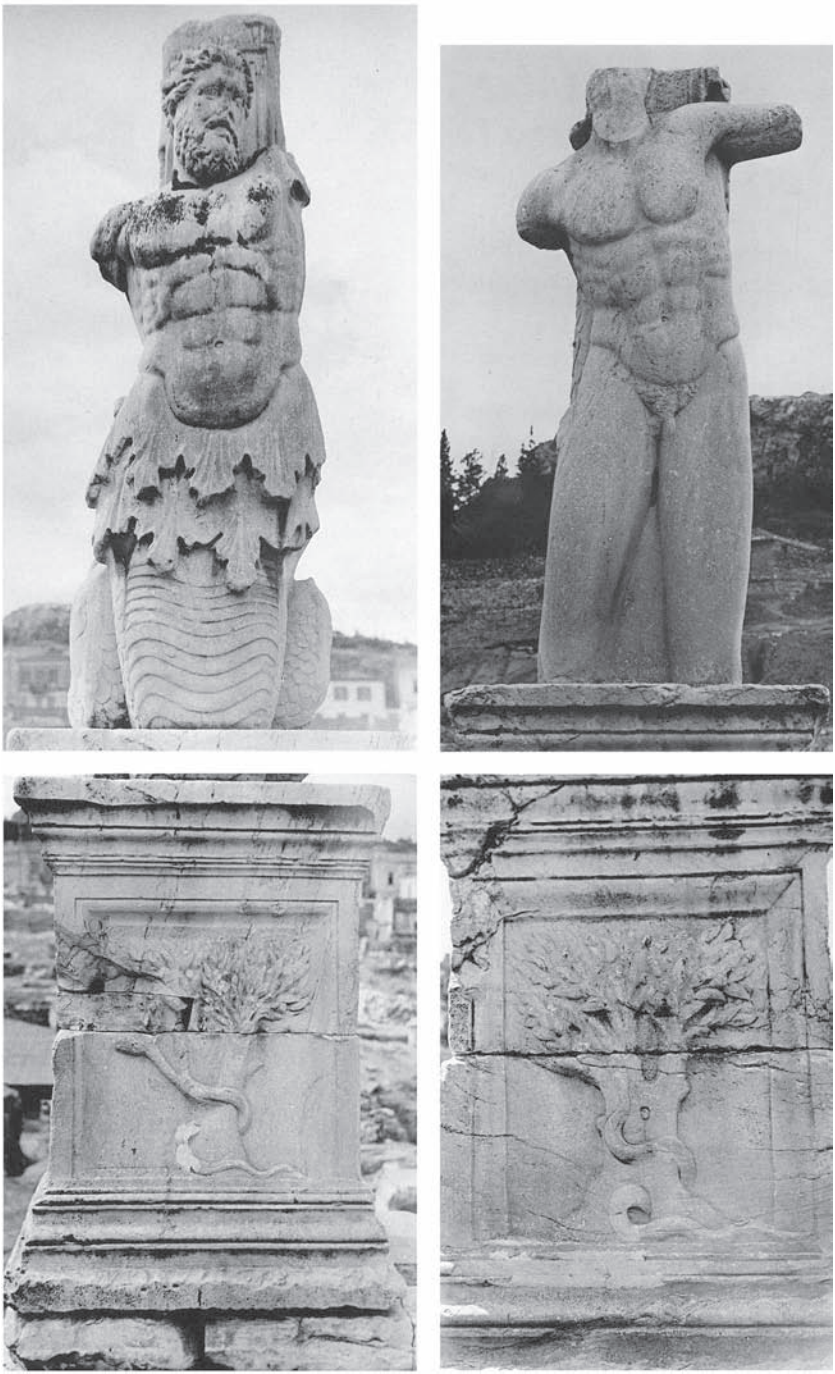

Figure 6. Two reused tritons and giants from the Odeion of Agrippa/Palace of the Giants in the Athenian Agora (after Thompson 1950, pls. 62, 69, 72; Agora Images: 1997.10.0276 [XIX-71]; 1997.10.0260 [Section ΩΔ 181]; 1997.10.0273 [XIX-68]; 1997.10.0275 [XIX-70], with permission of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

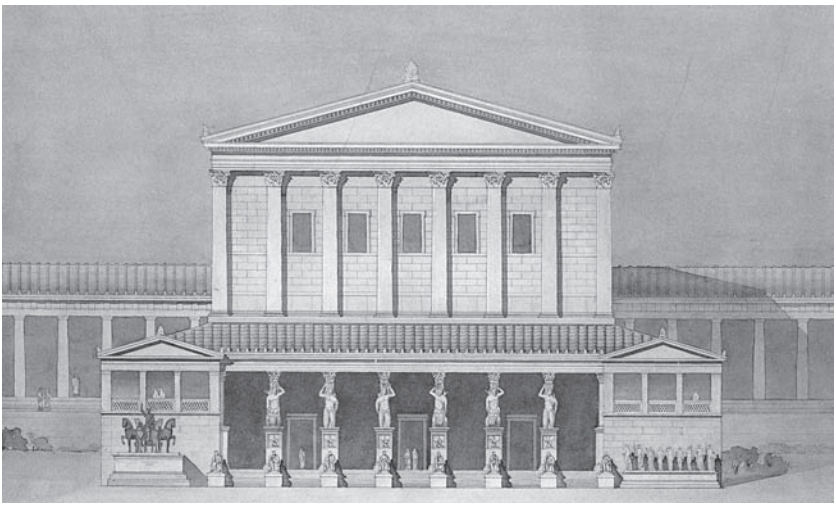

Figure 7. Reconstruction of the façade of the second building phase of the Odeion of Agrippa in the Athenian Agora (Thompson 1950, pl. 60; PD 730 [DA 4544] with permission of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations).

ings. Consequently, these statues represent a part of the history of the town. The topic of the sculptures also connected the pieces with classical Greek art and the classical period since the popular gigantomachy theme was present on the Acropolis, on the Parthenon metopes, the east pediment of the temple of Athena Nike, the shield of the Athena Parthenos, and in the votive statues given by the Attalids. The bodies of the giants and tritons found in the Agora are adaptations of those seen on the east and west pediments of the Parthenon.[61] Also, the body of the giants with the lower part in serpent form brings to mind Cecrops, the mythological first king of Athens,[62] a visual connection to the history of Athens as is common in the late antique inscriptions of the town. As oppressed half-human, half-animal creatures with barbaric natures, giants could also symbolize the victories of the Greeks over the "Other," the barbarians. The gigantomachia symbolizes the battle between chaos and order—civilization

61. Thompson 1950, 122.
62. Lippolis 2003, 189. Also Triton is connected mythologically with Athena; she was born on a river named Triton and has also the surname Athena Tritogeneia: *RE* 2. 7. 1 (Stuttgart, 1958): 245–303, s.v., "Triton" (H. Hartel).

against barbarism. This aspect was very topical in light of the contemporary threat to Athens and Greece posed by the invading tribes from the north.[63]

## Reused Sculpture in Late Roman Private Houses in Athens

During the fourth century AD, old houses were restored and new, larger dwellings were built on the north and southwest slopes of the Areopagus, in the east of the Agora, and in the area now occupied by the National Garden. These houses have one or two peristyles with columns, rooms with painted stucco decoration, floors paved with marble slabs or elaborate mosaics, a large room with an apse, a nymphaeum or private baths.[64] A large apsidal room with niches is characteristic of late Roman Athenian houses.[65] These rooms have been interpreted variously as triclinia, reception halls, or lecture theaters (the latter especially in Athens). The niches of the apse are good places for sculpture or other decorative objects. Finds demonstrate that some of these new houses were decorated with old reliefs, statuettes, and statues (all reused).[66] These sculptures must have been available for use in the late Roman period, after the Herulian sack and the invasion of Alaric.

Lea Stirling has assembled most of the late Roman houses that contain sculpture.[67] Half a dozen statuettes of gods and several portraits were found in a house near the Zappeion.[68] In the so-called house A on the slope of the Areopagus (rebuilt in the fourth century AD with a peristyle court) were found a few small, crude marble figures of gods.[69] In house B nearby, a head and a statuette of a god were found in a well, along with one further sculptural piece.[70] In Omega house (also known as house C), which had a private nymphaeum, the owner had amassed a handsome collection of sculpture that ranged in date from the fourth century BC to the third century AD. These sculptural pieces

63. Compare Hannestad 1999, 199. with n. 79; compare also the transfer of the serpent column—the famous votive by the Greeks after their victory over the Persians in 479 BC near the city of Plataea—from the sanctuary in Delphi to Constantinople under Constantine (or certainly before the fifth century AD) against the background of the new military conflict with the Persians: Stichel 1997, 319.
64. Frantz 1988, 35–48, pls. 26–27.
65. Stirling 2005, 204–10; compare Hannestad 1994, 152–54; Baldini Lippolis 1995, 176; Bonini 2003, 197–248, esp. 212.
66. Frantz 1988, 36, 41, pls. 38–40, 41a–b.
67. Stirling 2005, 203–10.
68. Stirling 2005, 208: Athena, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Pan, a satyr, dancers, head of a youth, a portrait of a woman, and possibly a portrait of Hadrian.
69. Frantz 1988, 36, pl. 23a–c.
70. Stirling 2005, 204: a statuette of Hermes, a headless statuette of a seated man and a head of Nemesis.

were found in three wells, and appear to have been deposited there during renovations in the early sixth century AD. One of the closed wells is located under private baths dating to the sixth century AD, and a statue of Athena was incorporated as a threshold during the rebuilding phase. Among the inventory are three reused reliefs, one with a hunting Artemis,[71] another with Hermes handing the infant Dionysos to nymphs, and one showing the cave of Pan, originally dedicated by Neoptolemos in c. 330 BC.[72] The latter may have originally been dedicated at the cave of Pan on the north slopes of the Acropolis, not far from the house. Other pieces include five marble portraits and three statues of different gods. A herm balustrade with herms and posts shaped as Silenus was found in one of the peristyles. It seems that these statues formed part of the house furnishings until the first half of the sixth century AD.[73] Their exact positions are unknown because it seems that at a later date the inhabitants of the house remodeled the interior. The furnishings of Omega house closely match Eunapios's description of the house of the sophist Julian.[74] Eunapios wrote that in this house statues were erected of Julian's most admired pupils, and that he had a theater of polished marble made after the model of a public theater, only smaller, for his private lectures.

In P. Kyriakou Street, east of the Lycabettos hill, seven bronze statuettes were found placed closely together in a pit. These statuettes, mostly images of gods, are second-century AD Roman copies of Classical originals, and might therefore belong to a domestic lararium. They were apparently buried during the Herulian or Visigothic attacks in the third/fourth century AD.[75] Sculptural groups of pagan gods and goddesses from private contexts are also known from late Roman houses in many regions of the empire.[76] They are often from a range of older periods and in some cases form part of the decoration of the house. Acquiring heirlooms indicates appreciation for these works of art. Such decoration could be used by the patrons of the house to express their status and education (*paideia*).[77] The luxurious late antique houses were accessible to visitors.

71. Camp 1986, fig. 176; Camp 1980, 7, fig. 15.
72. Camp 1986, fig. 178. In the courtyard well of this house were found three marble heads of gods from the second century AD.
73. Camp 1986, 208–9, figs. 183–84; Stirling 2005, 204.
74. Eunapios *VS* 483.
75. Daux 1968, 741–48, figs. 15–22.
76. Stirling 2005; Stirling 2007, 307–22; Stirling 2008, 89–161; Hannestad 2007a, 288; Jacobs, this volume. The relocation of statues in private and public places is common in the fourth and fifth century AD and could be mentioned in the inscription on the base. See Jacobs 2013, 404.
77. Uytterhoeven 2009, 323, 328–31; Jacobs 2013, 434 with n. 222.

Thus, the sculptures, like the subjects of the floor and wall decoration, allowed the house owner and the participants to exhibit their educational and cultural level and provoked discussion of topics related to philosophy, literature, and theater performances.

Some of these statue and statuette groups do not seem to have been acquired gradually; rather, they look like private collections that imply a corresponding market.[78] We also know from the written tradition that sculptures of pagan divinities in Athens were not just seen as idols for worship. Rather, as in former centuries, they were viewed as beautiful pieces of art that also had religious power.[79] They could be interpreted in an academic or a religious context, as Alison Frantz has argued.[80] Stirling argued that in most homes there are only a few pieces that could be clearly identified as religious sculpture, but in Athens there are strong indicators for a religious practice for statuary. These include elements like the shrine in the House of Proclus, the small apsidal room with Cybele statuettes (see below), and particular motifs such as votive reliefs or portraits of a wreath-wearing priest.[81] Domestic cult activity is common in Greek houses from the archaic until the imperial period and is also present in Athens.[82] Considering the longevity of cultic activity in Athens we can expect constant and intensified domestic cult practices until Late Antiquity. The inscription attesting the celebration of the Panathenaic festival until the fifth century AD and the small finds from the town demonstrate a living worship of pagan gods in Late Antiquity. Maybe some of the sanctuaries with cult buildings had been abandoned, but the sculpture and minor objects of art demonstrate a partial translocation of cultic activities into private houses. Some statuary stood in houses interpreted as philosophical schools. Comparing Athenian houses with the known philosopher's houses in Alexandria, the architecture, layout, locations, sculptural assemblages, the pagan sacrifice in the House of Proclus, and the special iconography of a reused relief in the same house, does support the interpretation of these houses as philosophers' schools.[83]

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78. On sources of statuary for late antique homes, see Stirling, this volume.
79. For instance, Damascius, a philosopher of the fifth and sixth centuries AD, wrote that he saw a statue of Aphrodite in Athens and, upon seeing it, fell into a sweat caused by divine terror and astonishment: Athanassiadi 1999, 170–73; Damascius 63A. In one of the late Roman bath buildings in Athens a highly polished statuette of Aphrodite of Aphrodisias was found: Stirling 2005, 208.
80. Frantz 1988, 177.
81. Stirling 2005, 205, 224–26.
82. Nielsson 1974, 187–89; Rumscheid 2006, 126–31.
83. Frantz 1988, 37–48; Camp 1989. On Alexandria, see Vinzent 2000, esp. 66–68. Compare also the written sources about private houses as philosophical schools in Athens: Himer. *Or.* 54.1, 64.

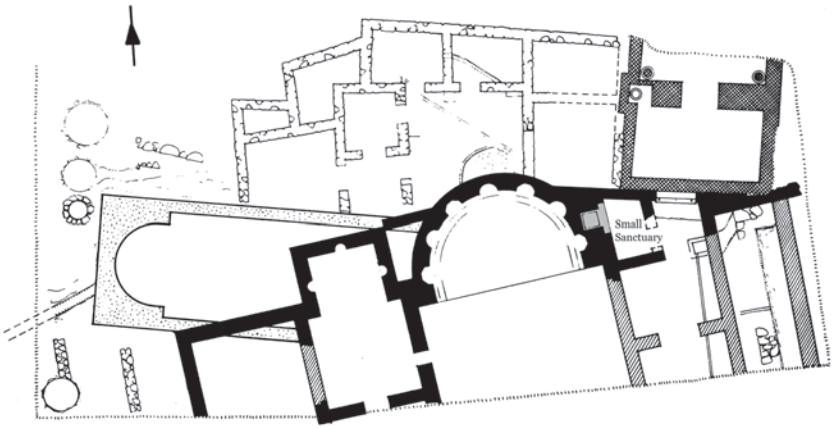


Figure 8. So-called House of Proclus (Athens), map of the northern excavated part of the house (I. Travlos; Meliades 1955, pl. 3a, by permission of the Archaeological Society of Athens).

On the south side of the Acropolis, between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Theatre of Dionysos, the northern part of a large house was excavated. This is the so-called House of Proclus, a building complex erected soon after the invasion by Alaric in AD 390.[84] The focal point of the house was a large room terminating at the northern end in an apse surrounded by smaller rooms (fig. 8). A fine head of a philosopher dating to the fifth century AD is connected with this area,[85] and the house yielded a fragment of another marble philosopher portrait, an inscription with an epigram, many late Roman terra-cotta lamps, and a fragment of a larger-than-life statue of Isis from the second quarter of the first century AD. The statue of Isis is carved from dark gray marble and exhibits high-quality workmanship. It was damaged (probably in AD 267) and recut to a bust, probably when it was used to adorn Proclus's house. It may have been the cult statue from the nearby sanctuary of Isis.[86] The statues were

84. Meliades 1955, 47–50, pls. 4–7; Daux 1956, 232–34, figs. 1–2; Frantz 1988, 44–47, pls. 27b, 44a–c; Baumer 2001, 60–61. The large room and the apse have a floor with geometric mosaics of the first quarter of the fifth century AD. In the late fifth century AD another building, house Σ, was added to the north. For a plan, see Baumer 2001, 61, fig. 1.
85. Frantz 1988, pl. 44c; Frantz 2001, 681–82.
86. Marble portrait: Frantz 1988, 37, 43–44, pl. 25b; epigram: Baumer 2001, 61; *SEG* 19, 234; head of Isis: Walker 1979, 243–57, pls. 30–32.

Figure 9. View of small shrine in the so-called House of Proclus (lower right), with reused statuette of Cybele in a naiskos (lower left), relief for Pankrates (upper left), and base from grave monument reused as an offering table (upper right) (photo of base: Hellner, DAI Neg. D-DAI-ATH-1976/504; other photos: Baumer 2001, pls. 23.1, 23. 4, 25.2, by permission).

possibly set up in the seven niches of the apse in the so-called House of Proclus. In the north wall of a small rectangular room measuring 2 x 3 m, behind the apse near an entrance, a private sanctuary was installed with reused pieces of sculpture. Set into one side of a small niche with stucco decoration were a small shrine of the Mother of the Gods/Cybele seated in a *naiskos* with a *tympanum* and a lion on her knees as well as a relief for Pankrates (fig. 9).[87] Both were vis-

87. Baumer 2001, 56–69, pl. 23, no. 4; 25 (NAM 11 Inv.1955).

ible from the entrance of the room. The relatively large shrine of Cybele is of high quality; the statue of Cybele is a work of the third quarter of the fourth century BC. The execution of the relief for Pankrates is not of the same quality: it shows a seated goddess on a throne with a *cornucopia* and originally a *phiale*. In front of the goddess are an altar and a sacrificial attendant with a sheep and two people (male and female?). Comparable reliefs of the late fourth or early third century BC came to light in the sanctuary of Pankrates near the Ilissos River.[88] According to Lorenz Baumer, the iconography and style of execution suggest that this Pankrates relief originally came from the sanctuary of Pankrates, which is located 1 km from the ancient town wall. The relief scene underlines the direct contact between god and donor, the preference of the pious Proclus according to his biographer Marinus. Like Cybele, the god Pankrates was a chthonic god, but a particularly Attic one, since his sanctuary has only been found in Athens. In front of the shrine and the relief a rectangular reused base from a fourth century BC grave monument was integrated into the niche. A former base for a marble *lekythos* or *loutrophoros* served as an offering table. The upper profile of the base was cut away and a new hole was worked into the top surface. The base and the two reliefs were erected during the building of the house; they are firmly integrated into it. Just one of the three relief sides of the base was visible: a young man sitting on a *klismos* shaking hands with a bearded man before him, flanked by three other bearded men.[89] The base was turned for the reuse because this scene was originally on the left side of the base. Thus, we can be sure that it was an intentional choice. Baumer argued it was now interpreted as a scene of philosophical conversation.[90] It could be a link with the two philosopher portraits; a house in Aphrodisias with tondi with philosopher portraits of the fifth century AD is also interpreted as a private Neoplatonic school.[91]

Because of the sanctuary with a shrine of Cybele and a sacrificial relief, an animal sacrifice discovered under one floor, and the house's extraordinary shape, scholars have connected it with the fifth-century philosopher Proclus, the third head of the Neoplatonic school at Athens.[92] Proclus's successor and student Marinus reported that the house was near the Asklepieion and that it

88. Vikela 1994, compare pl. 12 no. A14, pl. 13 no. A15, and pl. 15 no. A18.
89. Baumer 2001, 63, pls. 24.1, 24.3–4.
90. Baumer 2001, 63.
91. Smith 1990, 130, 153–55; Uytterhoeven 2009, 331.
92. For instance, Meliades 1955; Frantz 1988, 42–45, 48 (sacrifice); Baumer 2001, 66–68.

was visible from the Acropolis.[93] He described how Proclus had a special relationship with the Mother of the Gods and that he practiced rites of purification every month.[94] The Mother of the Gods had been worshipped privately from an early period on; she was introduced into the city in the fifth century BC.[95] In other Athenian houses of imperial or late Roman times there is evidence for the private cult of Cybele.[96]

One of the interesting aspects of the sculptural assemblage in the apse room and in the private shrine of the so-called House of Proclus is the date and provenance of the sculptures. There are pieces of the fourth century BC (Cybele shrine), of the third century BC (Pankrates relief; grave monument), of the first century BC (statue of Isis), and of the fifth century AD (portrait of a philosopher). Thus, sculptures from the classical to the late Roman period were used, from a period ranging over 750 years in the city's history. Stirling noticed that in comparison with other statue collections in late Roman houses in the Mediterranean world, Athens is distinct in its frequent reuse of classical reliefs and the rarity of contemporary sculpture.[97] This can thus be seen as a local way of handling the heritage of ancient sculpture. But we must also consider that most of the rich stock of Athenian sculpture would be from the classical period. Another local phenomenon is the reuse of sculpture from the immediate neighbourhood like in the case of the so-called sanctuary of Hecate, the Theatre of Dionysos, the Palace of the Giants, and some of the private houses.

## *Christian Responses to "Pagan" Sculpture in Athens*

The third and last part of this investigation provides a brief overview of the reuse of sculpture by Christians in late Roman Athens, particularly in the sixth century AD. There were profound changes in the development of the city dur-

93. Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29.
94. Marinus, *Vita Procli* 19, 45. On Proclus and theurgy, see Leppin 2002, 251–60.
95. Frantz 1988, 25, 58–59.
96. There is a shrine with three small statues of seated goddesses and two votive reliefs depicting Cybele in a villa in the National Garden, in a building phase dating from the late third century until end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century AD: Katakis 2012; Spatharis and Chatsiatis 1983, 22–25; Bouyia 2008, 220–21, fig. 20. Two Hellenistic reused Cybele reliefs, a fragment of a relief of a Hero from the late fourth century BC, and the head of a late classical relief figure were found in a Roman house in the street of Kecrops, nos. 7–9: Baumer 2001, 64 with n. 61. For another private shrine, see Bouyia 2008, 214, figs. 13–14.
97. Stirling 2005, 223.

ing this period. Because of new external threats in the first half of the sixth century AD, parts of the old town wall were rebuilt, and new large cisterns were installed on the Acropolis. Small industrial factories sprang up in the remaining open spaces surrounding public buildings. Buildings such as the Palace of the Giants were abandoned, and other parts of the town fell into ruin. New church buildings were constructed, but now through the occupation of old pagan sanctuaries. Along with the churches, graveyards also made their way inside the city, since Christians were buried in the vicinity of churches.[98]

Christianity first made its appearance in Athens not by means of buildings, but in the medium of pictures and symbols on lamps, on African and Eastern sigillata, on gravestones, and in graffiti.[99] Graffiti are difficult to date. Crosses and other symbols appear in Athens in public spaces, for instance, on the walls of the Propylaea and the columns in the Roman market place, and also on several ancient sculptures.

In the sixth century AD, the transformation of pagan sanctuaries into churches began:[100] the Hephaisteion, [101] the temple of Kronos and Rhea,[102] the temple in the Ilissos valley,[103] the sanctuary of Asklepios,[104] the Parthenon,[105] the Erechtheion,[106] and the eastern *parodos* of the Theatre of Dionysos were all converted.[107] But it is characteristic of Athens that some of the churches were

98. During the sixth century AD, with the closure of the philosophic schools (AD 527–65), the administrative reforms of Justinian and the financial burden of the expanding plague, Athens began to decline: Meier 2003, 234–340; Meier 2004, 71–84; Castrén 1999, 211–23.
99. The first Christian symbols in Athens appeared on lamps of the second half of the fourth century AD. It was not until the fifth century AD that Christian symbols became more common on lamps in Athens: Frantz 2001, 675; Perlzweig 1961, 23, 66. Christian symbols are not used until the middle of the fifth century AD on imported plates of African Red Slip Ware and on late Roman C Ware in Athens: Frantz 2001, 677; Hayes 1972, 323–70, figs. 78–79. For tombstones, see Frantz 2001, 677.
100. Frantz 1965, 185–205; Živkov 2003, 213–19.
101. Dinsmoor 1941, 6–15.
102. Soteriou 1916, 133–35; Schweitzer 1922, 256–57.
103. Skias 1897, 73–85, map 1; Travlos 1971, 113–18, figs. 154, 156, 159.
104. Karivieri 1995 (end of the fifth century AD). According to the description provided by Marinus (*Vita Procli* 29), the Asclepieion was used as a sanctuary until AD 485, when it was destroyed. Frantz (1988, 92–93) and Aleshire (1989, 19–20) argue that its transformation into a Christian sanctuary did not occur before AD 529.
105. The rebuilding of the Parthenon dates between AD 431 and AD 595. The polygonal apse could be evidence for its transformation into a church in the sixth century AD. The earliest graves beside the temple date to AD 527–65 on the basis of coins minted in the reign of Justinian. See Deichmann 1939, 127–39; C. Mango 1995, 201–3; Camp 2001, 238; Živkov 2000, 197–203. For graffiti and inscriptions: E. Breton 1862, 136–45; Pittakis 1856, 1435–39, nos. 2914–69.
106. Paton 1927, 223–24, 492–523, figs. 207–13, 215; Ousterhout 2005, 301. The crudeness of the new materials and the style of a carved chancel plaque suggest that the conversion came about only in the late sixth or seventh century AD.
107. Travlos 1953–54, 301–16; Travlos 1971, 538–39; Kastriotes 1914, 166 (gravestones).

integrated into the former temples without a radical modification of the exterior of the building. The peristyles of the Parthenon and the Hephaisteion and the row of columns on the east side of the Erechtheion remained untouched; even the apse was built behind the first row of columns. An ancient visitor, Christian or not, who saw the churches of Athens would have had no difficulty in recognizing them as classical Greek temples. The temples remained as *ornamenta* in the cityscape.[108] As with their decision on handling the cult buildings, the Christian inhabitants of Athens had to decide what they would do with the hundreds of statues in the sanctuaries and in the public spaces of the town.

The Christian written tradition presents varying views on pagan sculpture. One outlook was called the "intellectual view" by Cyril Mango and underlay the vilification of ancient (cult) statues; these views are clearly in line with skeptical "pagan" or philosophical comments about cult statues.[109] According to this view, these statues were just handmade works of art, made by humans from earthly material. They were short-lived, deaf, blind, and insensible. They did not produce any miracles, and there was no reason to worship them.[110] Some statues, such as the old Palladion, were made of abominable material such as human bones.[111] Athenian statues were known to Christian authors by sight or from written sources: two goddesses of Athens made by Skopas, and the cult statue of Athena Polias, a handmade sculpture of ivory and gold by Phidias.[112] The latter was allegedly a deity but not even the birds took notice of it, dirtying it instead.[113] Another more opposed attitude was the widely prevalent belief of early Christians that pagan statues were animated and inhabited by demons.[114] These statues of gods were impure, their motionlessness could be passed on to the viewer, they made people fall into sexual immorality, and figments of fantasy could flow into the beholders.[115] Therefore these statues had to be de-

108. For a positive attitude toward pagan monuments, see Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 47–61.
109. C. Mango 1963, 64–71. On varying Greek and Roman attitudes to cult statues, see Scheer 2000, 33–34, 143–46; Platt 2011, 114–23; Mylonopoulos 2010, 4.
110. Especially Euseb., *Vit. Const.* 1.3; 3.54.2; *Epistle to Diognetus* 2; Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.46–48; 4.58.1; 10.103.1; Aristides, *Apologia* 3.1–2; 8.1–5; 13.1–2 (see trans. by K. Julius, 1913); Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 2, 16 (third century AD); Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* 21; 29 (fourth century AD); Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.33 (third century AD).
111. Shoulder blade of Pelops: Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.47.6.
112. Statues by Skopas: Clem. Al., *Protr.* 4.47.3.
113. Clem. Al, *Protr.* 4.47.2; 4.52. 4. He confused the statue of Athena Polias with the statue of Athena Parthenos.
114. C. Mango 1963, 56, 59–60. Athenagoras, *Leg.* 23.26–27; Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 4.19; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 56; Trombley 2008, 146–48.
115. Athenagoras, *Leg.* 27; Gregory of Nyssa, *Cant. Hom.* 5 (*PG* 44.861); *Sapientia Salomonis* 13.5; 14.24–25; Paul's epistle to the Colossians, *Col.* 3.5.

stroyed, "cleaned," or moved to another place. Alternatively, some statues were amputated to lessen their power.[116]

Different methods of dealing with ancient sculptures are also visible in the archaeological material. Analogous to the known fear or caution of some Christian believers, but in contradiction to the more intellectual attitude and late Roman law, pagan and cult statues seem to have been a problem for Christians. Crosses were scratched on some statues, maybe against the demons that were believed to dwell inside statues.[117] There are different cross signs: deeply incised crosses over the eyes and mouth of the statue, sometimes destroying the whole face, but also small crosses on the forehead or back of a sculpture. The latter practice looks like a gentle treatment and proves the continued display of the statue. In Athens, there are a portrait of Augustus or a young boy from the Julio-Claudian family, a head of a herm, and a head of Aphrodite all with crosses on their foreheads, a colossal head of a goddess with a cross on the forehead, and a colossal statue of Athena with three small crosses on the shoulder blade.[118] Two marble portraits of Roman women, one of the late second and the other of the third quarter of the third century AD, were found in the Agora. Both heads had been cut off, blinded by the destruction of the eyes, and were built into two different Byzantine walls, placed with the eyes facing the ground.[119] Unfortunately, most examples of cross-marking are without context and undatable, but some finds from Ephesos show that the practice began before the sixth century AD.[120] The cross, as the symbol for the incarnation and redeeming death of Christ, was used in popular religion as an apotropaic sign against demons.[121] Just as Christ triumphs over death, he (or his sign) conquers the devil. According to Julian, it was common for some Christians in the middle of the fourth century AD to carve crosses on pagan statues and to perform other derogatory acts in front of them.[122]

Pagan sculpture lost its demonic power with the etching of a cross sign,

116. C. Mango 1963, 59–64; Baldini Lippolis 2009, 76–79; Kristensen 2009a, 224–50.
117. On cross-marking, see Kristensen 2012.
118. Kristensen 2012, 55, nos. A11–A13, 59, no. B11; Leonardou 1900, 111, pl. 5 (Aphrodite). For crosses carved on the bodies of herms and trapezophora, see Kristensen 2012, 59–60, nos. B12–16.
119. Camp and Mauzy 2009, 56, figs. 56–57. The destruction dates between the late fourth century and Byzantine times.
120. Kristensen 2012, 45.
121. Schneemelcher 1980, 381, 389; Rothaus 2000, 112–14; Jacobs 2010, 267–302; Jacobs 2013, 437 with n. 238.
122. Julian, *Ep.* 79.12–17, analyzed by Kristensen 2012, 36. However, the archaeological material shows that carving crosses was not as common as this source implies.

meaning that the pieces could be further used as an artistic *simulacrum.* Even so, we must underscore that there are few examples of purification by cross-marking within the very large body of surviving ancient sculpture from public places in Athens. Constantin Marinescu, who interpreted crosses on portraits as a sign of baptismal rites, emphasizes that it is a rare rite and it appears that such markings were reserved for real persons.[123] Ancient statues and reliefs could be also seen as works of art, without modifications of their external appearance. However, this outlook is not always easy to recognize in the archaeological finds and contexts.[124]

In looking at Christian responses to "pagan" statues, it is important to distinguish between public and private contexts. At Omega House near the Agora, there were some Christian solutions that were different from those observed in public areas. The new sixth-century AD inhabitants of the house destroyed some of the sculptures, put them in wells, cut off the face of Artemis in the Artemis relief, and beheaded a statue of Athena before using it face down as a step-block in the house. Some lamps with Christian crosses were found in the house, and the central panel in a mosaic floor was replaced by plain marble slabs arranged in the form of a cross; thus, the new inhabitants appear to have been Christian.[125] From among the common forms of statue destruction in Late Antiquity compiled by Stewart, this house contains toppling, mutilation, and refuse disposal (as building material).[126]

Another approach, as discussed above, was the new interpretation of older pieces of art, an *interpretatio Christiana*—with and without modification. The Parthenon's pediment sculptures were for the most part left intact until late Roman times. The frieze running along the inside of the peristyle was left in place, though when the temple was rebuilt as a church, new windows were installed at the same level of the frieze and some frieze blocks were removed. Perhaps at the same time the metope sculptures of the east, west, and north were defaced, a process that required enormous effort.[127] However, one of the metopes of the Parthenon, at the western corner at the north side, remains in a good state of

123. Marinescu 1996, 291.
124. There is no evidence for Athens for an "aestheticization" of religious sculpture such as we can detect in the written sources on the transfer of works of art to Constantinople under Constantine (Zos. 2, 31; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.54.2; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1, 16). For the concepts of "aestheticization" and "neutralization," see Leppin 2012, 259–65.
125. Camp 2001, 210; Rothaus 2000, 117.
126. Stewart 1999, 159–89.
127. Pollini 2007, 207–28, esp. 214.

preservation. It is visible to visitors approaching the building. The metope shows a figure of a woman, who seems to approach a seated and dignified female figure with a gesture of salutation. It is possible that this scene was left untouched because it could be understood as a scene of the Annunciation.[128] The scene of the Annunciation is one of the oldest motifs in Christian art; there are two examples in early Christian wall paintings in the catacombs of Rome.[129]

The damage to the metopes is less significant when viewed against the careful, restrained rebuilding of the temple as a church, which preserved the body of the temple and the view of the classical Athenian Acropolis. As in earlier periods, older marble reliefs were reused, mostly as building material. In the ambo of the church built into the former Parthenon, marble panels bearing sculptured crosses stood on a base built from elements taken from classical dedicatory monuments.[130]

The Christians of Athens had to find a way of dealing with hundreds of ancient statues, especially statues of pagan divinities, since they were an essential part in the celebration of pagan rites. Examples of Christian response to "pagan" sculpture in Athens show a wide spectrum of approaches, including reuse, reinterpretation, ritual banishment of demons, mutilation, partial demolition, and full-scale destruction.[131]

## *Conclusion*

In regard to sculpture and inscribed bases that are without a context, we can observe developments seen in other late antique towns, but with some Athenian characteristics: the production of sculpture declines, reuse is common (one workshop even specialized in recarving older portraits), public urban spaces were popular locations for display, and there are some private portraits and statue dedications for officials. In Athens there is also a group of portraits in the manner of philosophers. The inscriptions on statue bases often mention

128. Rhodenwaldt 1933, 401–6; Kaldellis 2009, 28, fig. 6; 40, fig. 11. Though this metope was also partially destroyed, Pollini (2007, 214–15) argues that the mutilation occurred during the period of Byzantine iconoclasm, when Christians destroyed their own images.
129. In the catacomb of Priscilla, second century AD, and in the catacomb of the Holy Pietro and Marcellino, chamber 54, third century AD: Wilpert 1903, 203.
130. Kaldellis 2009, 30, fig. 8.
131. Other forms of Christian response such as the public display of idols or transferral into a new context (Kristensen 2010, 158–75) are not identifiable at Athens in Late Antiquity.

the material of the statue, showing that the value of the material is still important, and they refer to the storied history of Athens—a practice particular to this ancient and famous city.

Sculpture from earlier centuries remained abundant in public places. Some statues, including the Athena Parthenos, the Athena Promachos, or the (probable) Athena of Endoios, remained visible on the Acropolis for 900 to 1,000 years, and continued to be part of the identity of Athens. The reuse of statues and bases in this manner was a good solution for the increasing volume of sculpture in sanctuaries and in other urban places. But the famous buildings of Athens could be used as a stage, creating the possibility for a statue, its dedicant, or the person honored to be included among and interrelated with the history and fame of Athens. Especially on the Acropolis, there was an ongoing discourse with the existing historical surroundings dating from the archaic to the late Roman period. Furthermore, the example of the reused sculpture in the so-called Palace of the Giants shows, in my opinion, the multifaceted meanings associated with the reuse. The sculptures with their older and original use and meaning have been manipulated, transformed, and creatively reused during Late Antiquity. They received a new framework in which they were endowed with a new meaning, making them links through time and history.

Concerning the reuse of statues in Athenian houses, there are special facilities in rooms for the presentation of statues, and for eight houses there is evidence for private sculptural collections, a phenomenon that was widespread throughout the Roman Empire in this period. In three cases the sculptural collection in the house also had a certain religious connotation. The Athenian houses contained sculpture from several eras, in some cases spanning more than 750 years. The preference for sculpture of the fourth century BC is possibly a local peculiarity. Among the known reused sculptures in Athens, there are few Archaic and Roman examples and more Classical and early Hellenistic objects. Alessandra Bravi suggested convincingly that such "Greek images as *ornamenta* carried with them a huge symbolic value, which they owed to their function as expressions of power. The aesthetic content of these works of art was contained in a use of forms which communicated victoriousness and virtus, and also individual charisma . . . and elements of a collective identity."[132]

The final section of this chapter examined the specifically Christian way of dealing with pagan statues in Athens, since we can observe a cautious transfor-

132. Bravi 2010, 291.

mation of temples into churches in Athens in the sixth century AD, as well as a preservation of the image of the classical town. Within the archaeological material we find a wide spectrum of methods of dealing with ancient sculpture. Crosses were scratched in a protective manner and as religious signs, but in view of the amount of ancient sculpture from different periods in Athenian public space, this seems to have been a limited phenomenon. We also find cases of mutilation, partial demolition, and full-scale destruction. Another form of reuse probably was the reinterpretation of older pieces of art without modification. This could occur in non-Christian contexts, as in the House of Proclus, but could also be a religious *interpretatio Christiana,* seen in the example of the Parthenon.

The selected examples show quite clearly the value of analyzing sculpture in late antique Athens through context, inscriptions, and the written tradition. There were differing ways of reusing and presenting statues in the urban space of Athens in Late Antiquity. Sculpture still played an important role in public spaces of the city, and even more so in the private sphere. Statues were implicated in social relations (through portraits) and were the acknowledged ornament of the urban environment, a reflection of their importance in city life. Reused or continuously used statues could provide a city with history, because they connected it with its own past and implicated continuity. The different examples show that for every reused statue several associations are possible. In many cases the embedding of a statue into the history of the town would have been the main focus of the dedicators—independent of a real or recently postulated historical continuity.

SIX

# Crosses, Noses, Walls, and Wells

## *Christianity and the Fate of Sculpture in Late Antique Corinth*

AMELIA R. BROWN

The sculpture collection of late antique Corinth numbered in the tens of thousands. Around the Forum of this re-Hellenized Roman colony, and in her temples, fountains, baths, stoas, houses, and roadways, once stood myriad carved and cast figures of greatly varying age and purpose. Provincial governors and local honorands lined roads, venerable cult statues were worshipped in sanctuaries with forests of votives, and ornamental pillars, pedimental figures, and funerary portraits all contributed to a late antique cityscape animated, and indeed crowded, with sculptures large and small.[1]

Most of what remains today of this urban sculptural ensemble was uncovered in over a century of excavations at Corinth by the American School of Classical Studies. Statuary has been recovered in widely varying states of preservation (though usually broken, and often headless), from late antique to Middle Byzantine walls, wells, drains, roads, and pavements, as well as from innumerable "deposits" of varying date, and from Corinth's central Forum (or

1. For what remains of the sculpture collection of ancient Corinth, see the publications under note 6 below. This chapter began as a presentation to a seminar given by John Pollini as Whitehead Professor at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and I thank him, Nancy Bookidis, the students in that course, the School, the editors, the anonymous reviewer, and especially the staff at Corinth for important support. All errors that remain are my own.

Agora) as well as adjacent and more far-flung areas of this intensively excavated ancient city. Most Corinthian sculpture seems to have been destroyed, buried, or reused as building material between the fifth and tenth centuries, with what remained intact by c. AD 1000 either inaccessible or in active reuse.

However, debate continues as to whether Christian iconoclasm, the hurried construction of new defensive structures, or more general economic imperatives were most to blame for the destruction of Corinthian sculpture. Some basic change in aesthetic values clearly came over the Corinthians in Late Antiquity, however, largely reversing the urban sculptural habits of the preceding millennium. From the sixth century BC through the fourth century AD, sculpture had been created and destroyed, stolen and repositioned, but always prominently displayed and used in the context of Corinthian religion, economic activity, and urban life. Yet from about the fifth century, creation of new work dropped off rapidly, preceded by a decline in technical ability and availability of raw materials, and closely followed by the defacement and then destruction of most of what existed in public and private contexts. Between the fifth and tenth centuries, the only new sculpture created at Corinth was in the form of architectural members or Christian reliefs for church decoration, while ancient sculpture of "pagan" or "secular" significance alike was steadily marked with crosses, defaced, cut up, reused, or melted down. This new attitude to sculpture was a fundamental change of Late Antiquity, as individually and collectively people both ceased to create new sculpture, and undertook the actual physical destruction of most of what existed.

This late antique change in attitude to sculpture happened all across the Roman Empire, and led both individuals and groups to behave toward the sculpted environment in new and hostile ways. As a contribution to understanding this change, and the afterlife of Classical sculpture in Late Antiquity, I consider in the following chapter the evidence from Corinth for how, when, and why ancient sculpture was marked with Christian symbols, otherwise defaced, and discarded in drains, wells, walls, collapsed buildings, and lime kilns. Finally, I try to use this raw material of statues and archaeological contexts critically, in order to assess what can and cannot be concluded from it about the likely causes for this new behavior toward sculpture in Late Antiquity.[2]

The drive to statue destruction impacted all ancient sculpture at Corinth,

2. For the shifting of attitudes to sculpture in Late Antiquity, and relevant primary textual sources, see Lepelley 1994; Hannestad 1999; Sauer 2003; Pollini 2007, 2008; Deligiannakis 2008; and Smith and Ward-Perkins 2016.

whether in wood, bronze, or stone; reliefs or freestanding; centuries-old or brand-new. But there are important disagreements about when this destruction took place, and whether it was primarily motivated by Christian antagonism toward graven images. While cult statues bear the brunt of Christian iconoclastic fervor in textual sources, it is portraits at Corinth that are most often found marked with crosses, with only a few examples of Greek gods. Both portraits and divine statuary are smashed, especially around the face and head, and recovered in this state from wells and drains of late fourth to early seventh century context pottery.

At Corinth, spolia walls of late antique, dark age, or middle Byzantine date contain portraits cut up and used alongside cult statues to renovate public buildings, or build new public or private buildings. At Rome, such walls have largely been dated in the fifth to seventh centuries, and there is evidence that at Corinth this date range (or slightly later) is appropriate too.[3] Additionally, Guy Sanders has pointed to the extensive new and renewed defensive walls built around Acrocorinth, around the town of Corinth, and across the Isthmus (the Hexamilion) in Late Antiquity (fifth-sixth centuries) as a major destination for sculpture and ancient architecture in the form of lime mortar and spolia.[4] However, the stylistic dating of portraits also suggests that Corinthians actively used statues as building material even while commissioning new portraits of the governors of Achaia in the fourth and fifth centuries, the last such new statues to appear.[5]

With one important exception, most study of ancient sculpture from Corinth has been concerned with formal analysis to establish style, date, and original context. Archaeological find context is used to estimate original display context, and, if possible, dates of creation, destruction, and deposition. Damage to figures is customarily described in neutral terms, and receives special attention only when it is notably "intentional" in nature (as in the marking of the Christian cross). Franklin P. Johnson compiled the catalogue of sculpture from Corinth found in the early (large-scale) excavations, while Brunilde Ridgway, Mary Sturgeon, Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool, and Lea Stirling have published important new finds and contributed to the study of Corinthian sculpture in Late Antiquity.[6]

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3. Coates-Stephens 2001, 2004, 2007.
4. Sanders 2003, 2005; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
5. A. R. Brown 2012, 2016.
6. Johnson 1931; Ridgway 1981; de Grazia (now Vanderpool) 1973; de Grazia Vanderpool 2003; Stur-

In his dissertation and ensuing monograph on late antique Corinth, however, Richard Rothaus gave a prominent place to sculptural evidence, proposing cross-marking, deliberate defacement, and watery disposal of sculpture as evidence for intense Christian hostility to traditional Corinthian polytheistic religion, and its "pagan" sculpture, in the fifth and sixth centuries.[7] However, his conclusions rest upon a highly selective, uncritical, and sometimes erroneous use of a limited amount of evidence for the figures marked with crosses, defaced, and discovered at Corinth. The full range of recovered sculpture reveals a much more complicated and longer story, with greater nuance in the balance between Christian iconoclasm and economic adjustment. Thus, in the following chapter I build upon previous work at Corinth to present an organized summary of the specific archaeological evidence for Christian cross-marking, deliberate defacement, and underground disposal of Corinthian sculpture in Late Antiquity.

The clearest material evidence for explicitly Christian treatment of sculpture at Corinth in Late Antiquity would seem to be the deliberate marking of statues with the Christian cross. Yet the potential to use such statuary in historical arguments is hampered by the difficulties of dating the actual act, and then understanding the reasons behind it. Five statues from Corinth engraved with crosses are known to me, two "pagan" figures and three human ones, with find contexts ranging from none, to "Byzantine walls," to a carefully studied deposit of the later sixth century. Thus, only the latter was certainly marked with a cross in Late Antiquity, while the others can be dated only broadly. However, there are enough examples to include Corinthians among the Christians who engraved statues elsewhere in Late Antiquity with crosses, to defeat or convert the power thought to reside in them.[8] Yet it is impossible to state just who made the crosses at Corinth, and how long a time elapsed between the marking of the cross and the disposal of the statue. What is clear in each case is the careful placement of the cross, the sixth- to tenth-century style of the crosses, and the fact that none of the crosses from Corinth actually "deface" the statue.

Two statues of "pagan" significance were discovered marked with crosses: a small herm and a figure of Artemis. The headless marble herm is broken at

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geon 1975, 1977, 1998, 2003, 2004; Stirling 2008.

7. Rothaus 1993, 102–29; Rothaus 2000, 105–25.

8. For the marking of crosses on ancient statuary as baptism, incorporation, or defacement, see Delivorrias 1991; Hjort 1993; Saradi 1997, 403; and Kristensen 2012.

back, neck, and just below the genitals, which are quite abraded (fig. 1).[9] Sometime before the herm entered the Corinth Museum in 1903, a cross was cut into the front of the shaft just above the genitals, about 7 cm square, with seriphed ends and crossbar slightly above center. Without a clear date for the cross, or a find context, it is not possible to connect this beheading and cross-marking with any specific era of Late Antiquity.[10]

Artemis, however, has a useful archaeological find context. A striding marble Artemis Rospigliosi was found headless, armless, and broken at the knees, with a square cross marked on the front of her left thigh, built into a "Byzantine" wall over the western end of the Central Shops in the Forum; her left leg was found in a nearby Forum Southwest "Byzantine" wall almost 60 years later, and reattached (fig. 2).[11] The head, arms, and right leg have never been recovered, but with them she would have stood about 1.5 meters high, and was possibly a cult statue. Charles H. Morgan first published this statue, dated it stylistically to the late first century AD, and commented, "the statue attracted the attention of the Early Christians, who incised a large cross upon the left thigh."[12] He thus assumed a late antique date, and somewhat exaggerated the size of the cross, which is positioned prominently on the front of the thigh, between folds of drapery, and no more than 10 x 10 cm in size. It is carefully cut and square, with seriphs at the end of each arm, perhaps indicating a seventh- to tenth-century date. Stirling also noted the cross, and its disputed meaning, in her publication of a group of small-scale statues from Corinth's Panagia Villa, which was destroyed in the late fourth century, and included limbs and a head from two small-scale adaptations of Artemis Rospigliosi figures.[13]

This cross-marked Artemis may have been a cult, votive, or decorative piece of sculpture set up in the Forum for four hundred years or more. The three-apsed north-facing chamber at the west end of the Central Shops, whose ruins lay below the "Byzantine" wall where her body was found, likely served as a shrine; it had an altar outside to the north in front of it, marble paving, and a

9. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-202.
10. *Pace* Rothaus 2000, 120, fig. 22. For discussion of this cross-marked herm, see Kristensen 2012, 60, cat. B18.
11. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-2392.
12. Morgan 1939, 266–67, fig. 9. See also for the type and this example: *LIMC* II, 1984, 646, no. 277, pl. 469, s.v. "Artemis" (L. Kahil). Rothaus (2000) does not cite this statue in his examination of statuary defacement.
13. Stirling 2008, 138, n. 153, for the cross, and 101–5, 113–19, for the small statues of Artemis (nos. 4 and 7). For discussion of this cross-marked Artemis, see also Kristensen 2012, 34–35, 60, fig. 2, cat. B20.

Fig. 1. Headless Herm, with cross on front of shaft (Corinth Museum S-202).

Fig. 2. Statue of Artemis with cross on front of left thigh (Corinth Museum S-2392).

number of tables, altars, or statue bases along its back wall.[14] Scranton placed some of Pausanias's *xoana* of Dionysos in it, as a hieron (or Dionysion), while Williams preferred to locate Pausanias's "bronze statue of Hermes in a temple" here. However, since it was not a traditional temple like the small Temple K at the west end of the Forum, I would put Hermes there and leave this apsidal chamber, along with other chambers in the South Stoa, Central Shops, and Northwest Shops, available for this Artemis with a cross, and some of Pausanias's other sculptures of divinities, particularly the wooden ones that must have been kept under shelter (and among which he notes an Ephesian Artemis).[15] These well-known statues of Artemis, however, were once accompanied by many other statues of this goddess found scattered about the Agora, and a shrine for her is also indicated by coins from Corinth.[16]

Aileen Ajootian gives the Central Shops' shrine as one of the possible original locations for a Hermes with the infant Dionysos trapezophoros (S-1993–2), the others being a predecessor of the Byzantine bath southwest of Temple E, or that Temple itself.[17] It was found built into a Byzantine monastery south of Temple E (southwest of the Forum), and Ajootian suggests it was saved by its resemblance to St. Christopher. However, Artemis was not saved, or given any special treatment, beyond the carving of the cross at some point in her history; otherwise, like so many other statues at Corinth, she was decapitated and trimmed of arms and legs to prepare her for use as "Byzantine" construction material. Though at least one leg was reused, her head and arms likely went into a lime kiln (like the vast majority of statue limbs at Corinth), and her torso was then ready to be used for building material. The date and meaning of the cross thus likely should be sandwiched between Artemis's cult use, perhaps through the fourth or fifth century, and the construction of the "Byzantine" walls, which predate the constructions of Frankish Corinth (and thus range from sixth to tenth century in date; I assume she was used in a wall only once).

Further context for the "Byzantine" walls of the cross-marked Artemis comes from other spolia-built "Byzantine" walls excavated just to the north, which seem to have been built to create a westward extension to the Northwest

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14. Central Shops Shrine with central hemicycle: Scranton 1951, 85, 89–90, 125; Roux 1958, 109; Williams and Fisher 1975, 28; Williams 1989; Williams and Zervos 1990, 351–56.
15. Pausanias 2.2.6–2.3.1.
16. Other Artemises from Corinth include coins in Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner 1964, 18, no. 12, fig. D:66–7, and statues in the Corinth Museum Inventory nos. S-1313 (Odeum), S-1628, S-1594 (Ridgway 1981, 446; Kahil 1984, 649, no. 325, pl. 472) and S-2408 (Sturgeon 2003, 363).
17. Ajootian 2000, 500–502, with references to other examples of sculptural reuse.

Shops, and went out of use before the twelfth-century construction of the Monastery of St. John on top of them.[18] Two of these spolia walls contained a monumental Artemis sawn in half (probably a cult statue), two nude youths (perhaps the Dioscuri), a small-scale Apollo and Thalia (Muse of Comedy), and two life-size late-antique governor portraits, probably of the later fourth or fifth century.[19] Without exception these pieces of sculpture were all beheaded before placement in the walls, and their use together points to their common availability, and a common disregard for "pagan" or secular status in the common process for converting statuary to building material, in the "Later" Late Antiquity of the sixth through the tenth centuries.

Three marble portrait statues from Corinth were also marked with crosses before reuse or disposal, all in very different fashion: on the left arm (under a wall), atop the head (in a wall), and on the forehead (down an access tunnel).

The hardest to date is the crude cross cut into the outside of the left arm on the battered remains of a togatus portrait (fig. 3).[20] An entire full-length life-size honorific portrait statue of a Roman citizen must have been broken up to yield this sculpture, which stretches only from left shoulder to waist, and is missing the left lower arm as well. It came from fill under "a late wall" in the area just north of the South Stoa's Bouleuterion chamber, where it likely once stood intact, and hosted a series of portrait heads from the second to perhaps the fourth century. De Grazia (now Vanderpool) dated its initial creation to the second century (from the coarse drill work), pointed to the slot for the insertion of separate portrait head(s), and concluded, "a rough cross was cut into the upper arm at a late date in the statue's history, disfigured by Christians."[21] She thus implicitly judged the cross to be negatively motivated, and close in time to its disposal underneath the wall (which is undated).

This is the sole example from Corinth to appear in Angelos Delivorrias's study of cross-marking, and the only one from the site marked so crudely, and with a "Latin" cross with high crossbar rather than a "Greek" square cross

18. For the context, see Scranton 1957, 61, plan VI (section I-3), and Corinth Excavation Notebooks.
19. For the monumental Artemis cult statue, see Johnson 1931, 15–19, no. 8; Ridgway 1981, 440; for Apollo (with wrong head reattached) and Thalia, see Johnson 1931, 22–24, nos. 12–13; for the pair of nude Youths, possibly the Dioscuri, see Johnson 1931, 33, nos. 26, 60–61, 94, and a horse head that may belong to them, in Johnson 1931, 98, no. 203; Ridgway, "Sculpture at Corinth" (1981) 441. For the late-antique chlamydatus governor portraits (Corinth Museum Inventory nos. S-819 and S-822), see A. R. Brown 2012, 150–52.
20. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-3361.
21. de Grazia (now Vanderpool) 1973, 261–62, no. 75, pl. 86.

Fig. 3. Fragment of left side of togatus portrait body, with cross on left arm (Corinth Museum S-3361).

(which probably indicates a later date, certainly after Late Antiquity).[22] Rothaus uses this piece to argue for a "Byzantine" date for the cross, and for both cross and placement under a "Byzantine" wall, or under its foundation, as symbolic of Christian defeat of the power of the statue.[23] He links it to a head and two other togati from Corinth that were unmarked, but also placed under walls, as well as examples of "ritually deposited sculpture from other sites."[24] However, he does not address the difficulty of date, or the crudeness of this cross. It does seem likely that the cross was applied for a reason, but whether before or after the breakup of the figure is open to question, as is its symbolic role in relationship to the wall. Rothaus also does not mention a second relevant Corinthian portrait body from a wall, where the head was marked with a cross and the whole body actually embedded into a wall standing up.

One of the most mysterious sculptures excavated at Corinth is this half life-size palliatus body, which was extracted in 1904 standing upright on the end of a "late" wall beside the medieval stairs in front of the West Shops, and bearing in its neckhole an unfinished life-size portrait head of later fifth century style (figs. 4a-c).[25] The head is of a familiar late antique type with short beard and brushed-forward hair, with features roughed out but not finished. On the top of the head is carved a neat square cross, with seriphs at each terminal, hitherto unpublished. Johnson began the trend of dividing study of the body from the head, and musing on the reasons for their union in the earth between the wall and ground level. He theorized that the unfinished late-antique head was placed on the too-small earlier body only "after Corinth became a ruined site."[26] One wonders what he meant, as the area of the discovery was occupied by standing buildings when archaeologists began digging there in 1896, and had to all evidence been continuously built over since Antiquity, including in the section about 1.5 meters below ground level with the wall containing this body and head at its end. De Grazia dated the head stylistically to the second half of the fifth century, and the smaller body to the third century, concluding that "the two pieces were apparently moved to this place after the building of the late wall, but for some reason they were not used as building material, unlike many

22. Delivorrias 1991, 112, no. 25, pl. 55B. For discussion of this cross-marked togatus, see also Kristensen 2012, 42, 60, cat. B19.
23. Rothaus 2000, 120–21, fig. 23.
24. Rothaus 2000, 120–21, mentions Corinth Museum Inventory nos. S-1445a, S-50, and S-51, along with examples from Merrifield 1987, 105–6.
25. Corinth Museum Inventory nos. S-696 (body) and S-697 (head).
26. Johnson 1931, 88, no. 170 (head), 96, no. 198 (body).

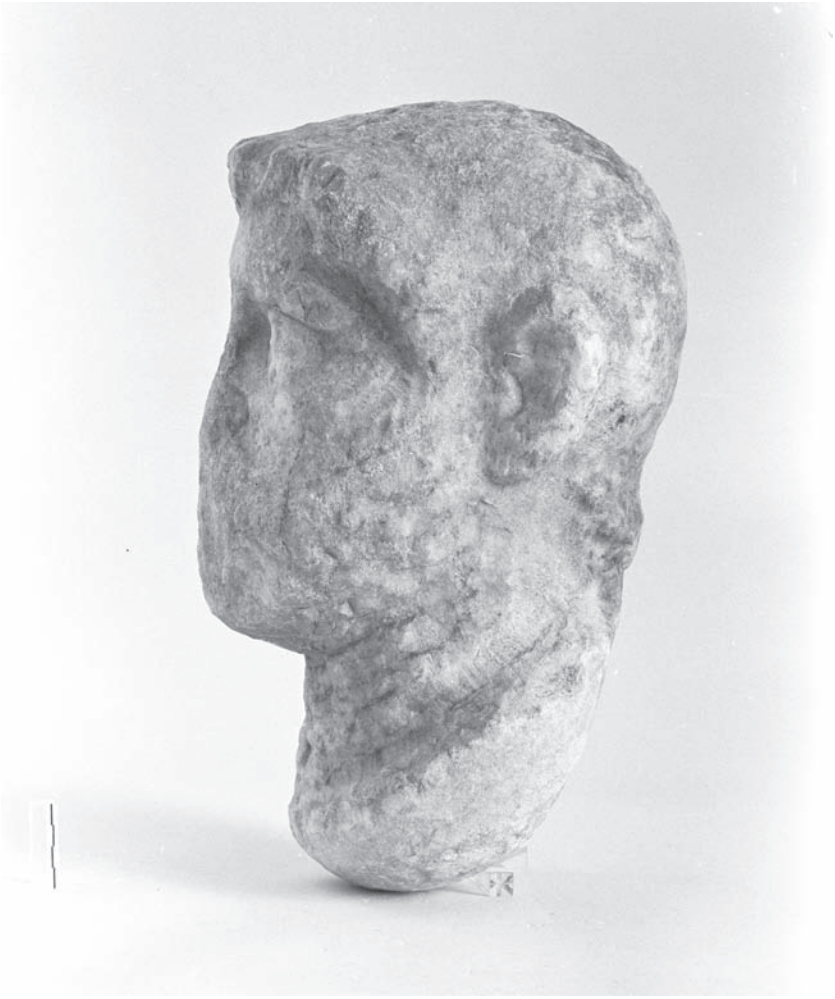

Fig. 4a. Left side of unfinished male portrait head (Corinth Museum S-697).

Fig. 4b. Top of unfinished male portrait head, with cross on top of head (Corinth Museum S-697) (photo by author).

finer specimens of Corinthian portrait sculpture."[27] Sturgeon then rightly included the head in evidence for sculpture workshops operating near the Forum far into Late Antiquity.[28]

One can only speculate, along with these scholars, as to why the unfinished head was placed on the smaller body, and both preserved from the lime kilns, apparently to form a decorative feature of the medieval wall beside the staircase at the west end of the Forum area. We must now also add the question as to whether the cross was cut into the top of the head when the wall was built, or

27. De Grazia 1973, 226–27, no. 55 (head), 279–280, no. 87 (body).
28. Sturgeon 2003, 362.

Fig. 4c. Palliatus portrait body that was found with unfinished head 4A-B set into it (Corinth Museum S-696).

before, and what purpose it served. This pattern of cross-marking atop the head is matched at Aphrodisias, where two heads bear the Christian inscription chi-mu-gamma (an abbreviation for "Christ born to Mary") on their upper surfaces, which would have been invisible to the viewer of the complete portrait statues due to their height. One is the portrait head of Oecumenius, governor of Caria, set up on a high statue base with a separate chlamydatus body circa 400, on the evidence of style and a second portrait from Cyprus.[29] The second is a head now in Brussels from Aphrodisias's Hadrianic Baths, with the chi-mu-gamma and the invocation "God Help" (*Th(e)e boêthe*).[30]

R.R.R. Smith interprets the inscriptions as the work of a Christian sculptor, made before the heads were set atop the bodies, for a blessing, a secret signature, or both. The portrait of Oecumenius came from the north portico of the North Agora at Aphrodisias, in front of the Bouleuterion, where he likely exercised his office as governor of Caria in his capital city. His religion, whether Christian or not, was not advertised, but only his office and capability for it, and the Christian invocation remained hidden as long as the portrait stood. The unfinished head from Corinth might also have been intended originally to represent a governor of Achaia, and to be set up in his capital city, although all the chlamydatus bodies from the site were carved with their heads attached, and a governor's portrait was unlikely to have been originally set atop the himation of private life. The identity of the unfinished portrait with the cross on the top of his head found in the smaller body remains a mystery.

The final cross I will examine marked on a portrait from Corinth is also the only one that was certainly made in Late Antiquity. It is a life-size marble portrait head of a young man, with a narrow face, brushed-forward hair, and a close-cropped beard (fig. 5).[31] He was first recovered from a northern approach to the Cyclopean basin of Peirene Fountain in 1908, and the simple square cross clearly engraved at the center of his forehead was judged by Johnson to be "nearly as old" as his date for the head (third century), and marked because the man was "an adherent, or possibly a conspicuous opponent, of the new religion."[32]

Subsequent study has down-dated the head itself to the latter half of the

29. Roueché 1989, 189–90, no. 31 (Oecumenius base); Smith 1999a, 162–65, fig. 6 (Oecumenius statue), 2002, 150–55, fig. 13.1–2 (top of Oecumenius's head).
30. Roueché 1989, no. 145 (second head inscription); Smith 2002, 150–55, fig. 24.2 (top of second head, now in Brussels).
31. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-919.
32. Johnson 1931, 91, no. 178.

Fig. 5. Male portrait head with cross on forehead (Corinth Museum S-919).

fifth century, and put the filling of the approach tunnel in the later sixth century.[33] Thus it is a fairly narrow window, for Corinth, of circa 500 to 600 when the portrait was created, erected, and accessible to then be marked with a cross on the forehead, separated from its body, smashed in the nose, and deposited in the fountain approach tunnel, most likely close to where it had previously been displayed. If a governor's portrait, it might belong to a chlamydatus body and inscribed base found nearby, but not enough of the neck remains to see if it was carved in one piece or separately, and no other copies of this man have been found.[34] There are several good parallels, however, for similar late antique cross-marking on the forehead, mainly on portraits before deposition as building material or disposal.[35]

The context of this cross-marked Corinthian head is indeed suggestive of wholesale disposal of portrait heads in watery contexts in sixth-century Corinth, along with the disposal of more limited amounts of "pagan" sculpture (on which more below). Rothaus, however, conflated too many separate contexts and imposed an unlikely cultic significance to them when treating this material. He makes the cross-marked portrait a philosopher, and puts him together not only with the two heads mentioned below that he certainly accompanied, but with portrait heads from entirely separate contexts and a head of Dionysos, in the attempt to create a cult group destroyed by Christians. He also then adds that these "images important to the cult" were displayed in public, or more likely in private, in the fifth- or sixth-century wealthy house excavated to the north of Peirene Fountain. Rothaus also adds, oddly, that his (artificial) "deposit" of six heads is then, "the only substantial evidence of sculpture used in cult activity in the late-antique period," and that although they were not all found together, the heads must have all been put in the drains in Late Antiquity,

33. de Grazia 1973, 229–34, no. 58, dated by comparison with a number of similar heads from Corinth and elsewhere, including the unfinished S-697. For the context and date of disposal, see below. For discussion of this cross-marked head, see also Kristensen 2012, 56, cat. A14.
34. See A. R. Brown 2012, 148–50, on the bases found nearby, and chlamydatus Corinth Museum Inventory no. 314.
35. The closest parallel and best dated context are the neat crosses marked on the foreheads of Augustus and Livia from Ephesus (Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979; Hjort 1993). Close too are Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 135–36, nos. 164–65, pl. 96, two female portraits from Ephesus created under Alexander Severus with similar small linear crosses on their foreheads, and a different type of cross at their 85–86, no. 62, pl. 39:1–2, a tetrarch from Afyon with a cut down nose, whose forehead cross has a longer shaft and seriphs at the terminals. Among divine portraits so marked, Johnson compared the Corinth head with a head of Aphrodite in the National Museum at Athens, though her nose and eyes were smashed, and the forehead cross is quite large and was applied with a point rather than engraved (Kastriotis 1900, 87–90, pl. 5).

and could be a "ritual disposal" of a "cultic group" of Dionysos with priests and priestesses active into the sixth century, disposed of by "hostile Christian activity."[36] Unfortunately, a large number of heads, many (but not all) from "drains" in the watery area around Peirene Fountain are conflated by him into one deposit, and their cultic significance overemphasized.[37]

Betsey Robinson has clarified these contexts in her recent publication of the Peirene Fountain, and her discussion should replace that of Rothaus when one considers the various deposits of heads in this area.[38] The head with the cross was found together with two other late antique portrait heads: a pagan priest broken at the neck (c. 350–400), and a bearded man with most of his face smashed (c. 450–500); all three were separated from their bodies, and placed in the fountain approach together in the later sixth century. Other drains in the area also contained single or grouped heads, largely from late antique portraits.[39] But a single act of Christian antagonism toward these men in particular seems less likely than a habit of treatment for accessible sculpted portrait heads in general. While their bodies were likely used for walls, or broken down for the lime kilns, portrait heads were preferentially placed underground, and not reused. A window into this process survives in the figure of a Nymph or Aphrodite with a ring of drill holes around her midriff from the Peirene Fountain reservoir.[40] Johnson oddly suggested the holes were for attachment of a gar-

36. Rothaus 2000, 119–25, fig. 24. He puts the cross-head and its two companions together with Corinth Museum Inventory nos. S-986 (a 6th c. lady) and S-987 (Bearded Dionysos, 2nd/3rd c.) from the "Great Drain" north of Peirene Fountain, and with S-1454 (bearded head, c. 450–500, from late blocking of door in Peribolos of Apollo) and S-909 (bearded head, from Peribolos "south trench"), and has all of these heads form a "ritual deposit . . . in a drain." All but Dionysos date to the fifth or sixth century, thus a god, a priest, and "an indication of Christian ire" (or exorcism, the cross) show they come from "a cult setting," probably "flourishing into this late period," after which in the second half of the sixth or even early seventh century this "part of a cult group" was "seized by Christians and disposed of." This chain of events does not accurately reflect the actual find contexts of the material, or seem likely in view of display and deposition habits in other cities.
37. It is worth suggesting that more portrait heads survive than "pagan" sculpture because the latter was preferentially melted down in lime kilns.
38. Robinson 2011.
39. Robinson 2011, 281–84, figs. 159–64, where the portraits from the drains come from the last "civic display" era (second half of fifth to early sixth century) of Peirene Fountain, the Peribolos of Apollo, and the eastern Lechaion Road (rather than any cultic context); the first three male heads come from "fill within approach to Cyclopean Fountain," the female head S-986 comes from the Peirene Fountain drain, and the "Hadrian" and Caesar come from the "Propylaia-Peirene bypass drain." New heads would likely be set in old bodies in Late Antiquity, with the bodies then used for walls, and the heads discarded in "one dumping, possibly more, in the Sixth century." See also further in her next chapter, and add also the find context of the "Barbarian General" head, Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1199.
40. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1024.

ment in a "degenerate" period, but Robinson more sensibly concludes that they derive from a process of cutting down the figure to fit into a lime kiln, stopped for unknown reasons before the piece was instead thrown into the west reservoir of Peirene Fountain.[41]

Thus, these five statues marked with crosses in Corinth form a disparate group, both in type of statue and in type of cross. Four of the crosses were clearly designed to be visible and prominent additions to the statue: the herm, Artemis, the togatus, and the Peirene Fountain head. But in none of these cases can we prove that the statue was actually exhibited with the cross before deposition, or if the cross was even added when the figures were still intact. The cross atop the unfinished head is the most conventional in its placement, but it would not have been visible if the head had been finished and placed on an appropriate body. One constant through all the cross-marked pieces, as well as most of the sculpture at Corinth, is the separation of heads from bodies. Heads were melted down, or placed underground, while bodies were used as building material, in or under "Byzantine" walls of the sixth to tenth centuries.

Beyond the cross-marked figures, however, two other groups of statues potentially cast light on the process of destruction of Corinthian sculpture in Late Antiquity. The first is the statues that may have suffered intentional "defacement" by Christians, and the second is the statues that were deposited in groups or otherwise "deliberately" discarded in a systematic way into wells and drains (rather than melted down for lime, or abandoned in place like the Panayia statuettes). We shall see, however, that in each case context and dating make the restoration of intentionality difficult. Enough remains, however, to conclude that there was deliberate defacement focused on the face and head in Late Antiquity, along with some deliberate destruction of whole statue groups together, especially of heads in wells and drains.

Before launching into a litany of smashed faces and slashed statue bodies from Late Antiquity, however, I offer three cautionary tales on find context. First, five years into the excavation of Corinth, in 1901, the director, Rufus B. Richardson, recorded the discovery of a small female head carved of local porous limestone, perhaps a Cnidian Aphrodite.[42] He wrote in his excavation notebook that it was found "with the face battered," between the Lechaion Road and the Forum, but "our man, Anastasios Kassimi probably battered the head."[43]

41. Johnson 1931, 39, no. 37; Robinson 2011.
42. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-310.
43. Richardson 1901, 13 (Corinth Excavations Notebook 10).

The workman was fired, but this clear evidence of modern defacement warns us to confirm in each case that statues were smashed in Late Antiquity rather than upon modern discovery. Both accidental and deliberate defacement upon discovery of statuary happened frequently in early modern Greece, but it is often glossed over in archaeological publications. Johnson's Corinth statue catalogue said only that this statue's "face is almost entirely destroyed by some tool," leaving it to Sturgeon to publish the specific information about Richardson's firing of the workman, and modern defacement as proof of Greek belief in the power of the "eyes of ancient gods" continuing into the twentieth century.[44]

At the other end of history, at least two pieces of sculpture from Corinth were defaced and destroyed long before Late Antiquity, perhaps just after the sack of 146 BC. Ancient literary sources give ample evidence for destruction of statuary for both symbolic or accidental reasons, in the sack itself, and afterward.[45] At Corinth, a small bust of Dionysos in red marble with its face broken off came from a Forum Well (1961–3) which was closed in the second century BC.[46] A statuette of Aphrodite from an adjacent well (1976–1) was even more notably damaged, deprived of head, arms, and legs, and slashed with a sharp point across her nude front (fig. 6).[47] Sturgeon suggests that the manhole of 1976–1 was closed only after the sack of 146 BC, so the goddess could have been blamed for not saving the city, and was abused and discarded.[48] In any case, both the Dionysos and the Aphrodite were clearly destroyed and thrown down wells, with intention, long before Late Antiquity.

We turn, then, to statues and reliefs with their faces destroyed that may date to Late Antiquity. Another Cnidian Aphrodite head, this time in more difficult-to-damage marble, came from the southmost shop on the west side of the Lechaion Road (fig. 7).[49] The center of her face is smashed in, while her hair and

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44. Johnson 1931, 70, no. 131; Sturgeon 2003, 363. Other examples are known from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of deliberate destruction of sculpture discovered in Greece for religious reasons.
45. Diodorus 32.26–27, Strabo 8.6.23 (381), Plutarch *Philopoemen* 21.5, Velleius Paterculus 1.13, Pliny *NH* 33.150, 34.36, Pausanias 7.16, from lost Polybius 38–39; Pollitt 1983; Purcell 1995.
46. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-2654. Rothaus (2000, 119–20) also mentions this piece as a warning on the importance of find context, and rightly says its deposit in a well in the second century BC shows Christians were not involved, but concludes that it could be "some sort of ritual defacement."
47. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1989–6. A note on the card says the find context is now dated to c. 100 BC, so the well was closed after the sack of Corinth. For the excavation context, see Williams and Fisher 1972, 155–63, pls. 24–27; Williams and Zervos 1991, 6, no. 1, pl. 1 (where the context is said to be the 320s BC), and for the statue as an emblem of Hellenistic art from Corinth, see Sturgeon 1998, 2, fig. 3 (where the context is called "Hellenistic").
48. Sturgeon 2003, 362–63, fig. 21.20.
49. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-313.

Fig. 6. Aphrodite figurine (Corinth Museum S-1989–6).

Fig. 7. Head of Aphrodite Cnidia (Corinth Museum S-313).

head is otherwise undamaged; the shops where she was found were used from Late Antiquity through the Middle Byzantine era, then filled and covered over. Richardson actually asked in his excavation notebook whether "face broken with malice?," while Johnson offered the typically drier "much of face lost."[50] Elsewhere in Greece, female heads of goddesses tend to be the most clearly defaced sculptures found, for example heads of Hera from Sparta and Rhodes with vigorous erasure of facial features and cross-marking of eyes, nose and mouth.[51] Rothaus does not cite these examples, but did use four other assorted pieces of "pagan" statuary from undated contexts to argue for Christian iconoclasm using chisels to destroy statuary at Corinth.[52] The problem is that all the statuary from Corinth recovered in excavation is damaged and out of original context in some way, and if it happened between the fifth and fifteenth centuries, then the people who did it were likely Christians. But how do we isolate the malicious from the practical, and the late antique from the later cases?

The relief sculptures used by Rothaus to demonstrate further late antique Christian defacement highlight these issues. While all have had the faces selectively removed, the date when this happened is unclear, as is the motive. He suggests two Classical "pagan" reliefs and one late antique tombstone all had their faces deliberately smashed in Late Antiquity, but they were brought in to the Corinth Museum, not excavated, and thus had been accessible in modern times as well as in Late Antiquity (and in between). One piece of Classical "Banqueter" relief with the heroine's face removed even had whitewash on it, probably from its use in a modern house; it was joined with a piece excavated from Byzantine or early modern levels north of the Peribolos of Apollo, which contained a horse head that was not defaced.[53]

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50. Richardson 1901, 25 (Corinth Excavations Notebook 10); Johnson 1931, 40–41, no. 39; Ridgway 1981, 442 (creation dated to the Antonine era).
51. For Hera from Sparta, see Tod and Wace 1906 (and Libanius, *Ep.* 1518.5 on destruction of statuary at Sparta), and for Hera from Rhodes, see Tataki 1994. Riccardi (1998) also suggested a bronze empress portrait from Sparta now in the National Museum may have suffered Christian face-smashing. A Dionysos from the same set of shops at Corinth also had the face smashed: Richardson 1904, 296.
52. Rothaus (2000, 120) includes a top of a head (not face) with wavy hair, perhaps Helios and/or Commodus, from the West Shops stairs, Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-889, Johnson 1931, 28, no. 20; part of a male torso (not a head), hacked down on all sides, perhaps Hermes, from north of the Peribolos of Apollo, Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1412; half of a ram's head found with the torso, Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1405; and a triple Hecate statuette, found in two pieces by the Bema, with the heads of all three figures broken off, Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-2270/2319. Another triple Hecate statuette from Corinth, unmentioned by Rothaus, also has all three heads removed, Corinth Inventory no. S-2302. However, in none of these cases is there a clearly dated context for when the heads were destroyed, or the Hermes and Ram hacked up (if the latter are a group).
53. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1200 is the right side of a Heroic Banqueter dedicatory or sepul-

Fig. 8. Grave stele of Apollonia Eouporia (Corinth Museum I-874).

The closest parallel for this sort of selective relief defacement is the Hermes and Nymphs relief from the Omega House on the north slope of the Areopagos in Athens, where the figures were all beheaded and the relief was reused face-down in the sixth century, when a number of other statues from the same house were thrown down its well.[54] Yet a very similar "Banqueter" relief was found totally intact at Corinth, and without any head damage to man, woman, or serving boy, when used face down as a wellhead in Frankish levels.[55] Finally, Rothaus also introduces a late antique gravestone inscribed for Apollonia Eouporia (*sic*) showing a reclining woman, a second seated figure, and a dog; only the reclining woman has her face chipped away (fig. 8). This piece was gathered along with other antiquities from the area west of Corinth in 1918, and the damage could date from any era since the erection of the tombstone c. AD 300.[56] These reliefs confirm the tendency of Christian (or Muslim) Corinthians to target the face and head of ancient relief sculptures, but do not locate this action solely in Late Antiquity.

When we turn, finally, from defaced statues to drain and well deposits, a good start has been made by Rothaus in identifying sculpture recovered from watery underground places at Corinth, mostly with context pottery of the later fourth to sixth centuries. These are largely closed deposits, clearly made in Late Antiquity, with no chance of later recovery of the statuary so placed. However, his groups, as in the case of the statues from around Peirene Fountain, often require correction or clarification.

Besides the Peirene Fountain area, the largest assemblage of sculpture placed underground in the Forum came from the "Northeast-Southwest Drain" under the west end of the Central Shops. This area lay under the Central Shops shrine mentioned before, and east of Temples G and F, generally identified as temples dedicated to Apollo and Aphrodite (Venus) on the basis of Pausanias and the inscription to Venus on the pediment of Temple F.[57] Excavation of the

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chral relief, showing Hermes, a boy, and the male banqueter, all with faces cut flat: Philadelpheus 1921, 1, no. 1; Ridgway 1981, 427–28, pl. 91:e; Rothaus 2000, 120, fig. 21. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1397/2812 is the left side of a Heroic Banqueter dedicatory or sepulchral relief (possibly the same one as S-1200, though they do not join), showing a horse head and the female banqueter (the section with the female heroine was brought in whitewashed): Rothaus 2000, 120.

54. Shear 1973, 161; Camp 1989, 54, fig. 19; Lawton 2005.
55. Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-2632; Robinson and Weinberg 1960, 235, n. 23, pl. 60a.
56. Corinth Museum Inventory no. I-874; Philadelpheus 1921, 7, no. 9; *SEG* I 65; Meritt 1931 (*Corinth* VIII.1), 90, no. 133; Rothaus 2000, 120; Erkki Sironen pers. comm. on the date.
57. Of the two small Roman temples right on the west side of the Forum itself, the southern one, Temple F, is the only one from the Forum/Agora itinerary of Pausanias (2.2.6–2.3.1) independently identifiable from epigraphic evidence. The dedication on the pediment to Venus ([V]ENERI) confirmed to

drain in the 1970s brought to light small-scale statuary and portrait heads in sixth-century fill, with several statuettes of Aphrodite, in particular, which likely came from Temple F (though Rothaus suggested a "domestic or commercial shrine").[58] However, the sculpture is all fragmentary, and not in any sense a deliberately hidden deposit; the assortment of types suggests rather a combination of accident and deliberate disposal of individual pieces into the drain in the sixth century. Three other wells and cisterns from this southwestern area of the Forum filled in the later fourth through early seventh centuries contained single heads from small-scale "pagan" statuary, likely votives; these single cases might involve ritual, but equally the simple decision in Late Antiquity to treat statuary as trash and dispose of it accordingly.[59]

Finally, the clearest candidate for a case of disposal of sculpture by Christians for religious reasons comes from the Sanctuary of Demeter, Kore, and the Fates on the slopes of Acrocorinth south of Corinth. Here, Well 1961–11 yielded at least three female heads along with other fragments of sculpture, including hands, feet, and marble tusks.[60] All the heads had been roughly chopped from

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Williams that Pausanias's statue of Aphrodite by Hermogenes of Cythera should be located inside, and I find his arguments convincing (Williams and Fisher 1975, 25–27). The immediately adjacent temple to the north, Temple G, should then be dedicated to Apollo Clarius, the site of his neighboring statue described by Pausanias.

58. Williams and Fisher 1972, 174, for the drain excavation. Rothaus 2000, 124, for the deposit as intentional and ritualized, citing Orr 1978, and Sturgeon 1975, the original publication of four sculptures from the drain, which included, all together: a gilded Aphrodite statuette head (Corinth Museum Inventory no. S-1972–18; Sturgeon 1975, 293–95, no. 4), a crouching Aphrodite statuette (S-1972–19; Ridgway 1981, 442), a head of Hermes or Perseus (S-1972–4; Sturgeon 1975, 281–90, no. 1), a clenched right female hand (S-1972–20) and a draped male leg (S-1972–21). Rothaus omitted the top half of a male portrait head (S-1972–22; Ridgway 1981, 435), a nude statuette, probably Herakles (S-1972–1; Sturgeon 1975, 295–99, no. 5), a section of a nude male right thigh and groin (S-1972–6), and a statuette of Apollo or Asclepius (S-1971–3, joined with S-2704 from outside the drain; Sturgeon 1975, 299–301, no. 6), yet he erroneously included a male portrait head from a nearby wall as part of the deposit (S-1972–5).

59. Rothaus (2000, 124) gives the examples of a Cnidian Aphrodite head from Well 1975–1, which might have come from Temple F, though he does not make that connection (S-1975–3; Sturgeon 2003, 358–59, fig. 21.12); a small bust of Herakles, from a cistern (S-1933); and a small red sandstone wreathed head (S-1977–16). His bearded male head (S-2621) came from a modern well west of the Forum, while a very worn Sarapis head (S-2625) and part of an imago clipeata shield-portrait (S-2624) came from a recently used cistern on the north side of the city (Baths of Aphrodite/Bey's Palace/property of D. Pallas).

60. For the Sanctuary and its Roman sculpture, and the archaeological evidence surrounding the well, see Stroud 1965, 20–21, pls. 10a–c; Bookidis and Fisher 1972, pl. 62a; Ridgway 1981, 436; Dunbabin 1990; Stroud 1993; Bookidis and Stroud 1997; de Grazia Vanderpool 2003; Slane 2008. Rothaus (2000, 123, n. 59) says cleanup from sanctuary destruction, or ritual deposit. The surviving statues are priestesses S-2666 and S-2667, Goddess S-2668, and marble fragments including S-2662 through 2665. The well was open between its discovery in 1961 and further digging in 1962, and there is some evidence that further priestess heads were removed and sold to the art market during this time (Nancy Bookidis pers. comm.). For the raid of Alaric, see A. R. Brown 2011.

bodies; two represented child priestesses, with their mouths and noses smashed, and the third head was undoubtedly a cult statue, Kore-Persephone or syncretized Isis, with her nose and mouth battered, and inset eyes roughly removed. Further sections of this head's hair and neck found outside the well in Building A testified to the deliberate chopping up of the neck. While the well might indeed have served for "cleanup" after the raid of Alaric in the late fourth century, as the excavators suggest, and defacement is clear, it also seems likely that either the raiders or those conducting the cleanup, or both, targeted the heads of the statues, both mortal and divine, for destruction and permanent disposal. A comparison with the Persian sack of the Acropolis at Athens, and the Athenian cleanup of the Korai there, shows that something had indeed changed with the fourth and fifth century advent of Christianity, as well as with the increasing political and economic uncertainty of Late Antiquity, at Corinth and across Greece. The sculpture collection of the city of Corinth, both portrait and "pagan" in nature, and especially the heads of mortals and gods alike, seats of reason and understanding, formed the chief victim of these changes.

SEVEN

# The Reuse of Funerary Statues in Late Antique Prestige Buildings at Ostia

CRISTINA MURER

When discussing the original context of antique statues we must always take into account the important issue of mobility.[1] The statues of Ostia Antica illustrate how complex the analysis of original contexts can be, both in regard to their specific conversions and their reuses. In some cases the transformation of the contexts can be connected to urban change. When these two factors—original context and reuse—are considered together, not only the functional change of the statues but also urban transformations can be understood to a greater extent.[2]

This chapter examines three case studies of sculptural and inscriptional finds within prestigious public and private late antique buildings in Ostia: a late antique modified bath complex known as the "Terme dei Cisiarii," and two spaces identified as late antique residences (i.e., domus), the "Aula di Marte e Venere" and the "Sede degli Augustali," all of which are situated in close proximity to the decumanus maximus of Regio II and V (fig. 1).[3] These three case

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1. Stewart 2003, 148–54.
2. Such studies have been carried out by Bauer 2003a, 46–50; Gering 2004, 299–382; Witschel 2007, 138.
3. On the importance of the decumanus maximus in Late Antiquity: Gering 2004, 313–17.

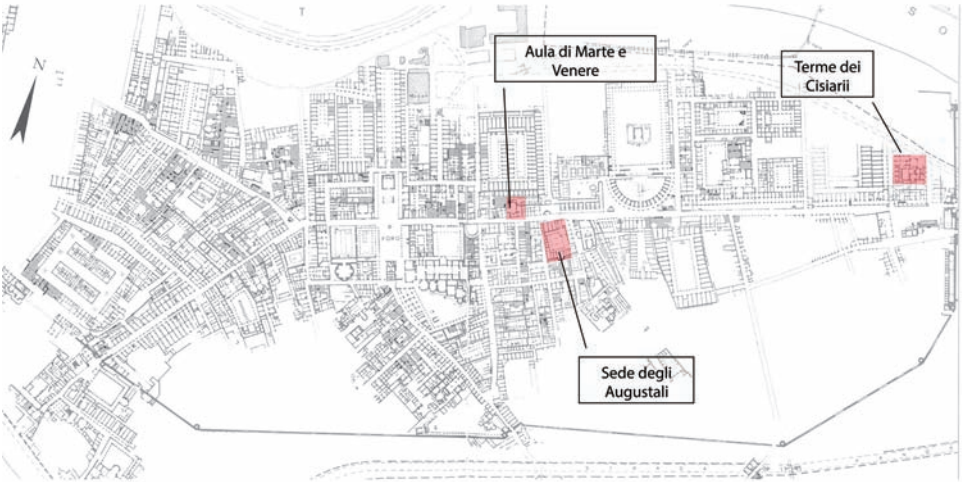


Fig. 1. Plan of Ostia (C. Murer after A. Gering 2004, fig. 1, based on I. I. Gismondi in Calza et al. 1953, pls. 1–14, by permission).

studies were chosen because all of these buildings underwent transformations from the late third century onward and a large amount of funerary material was found. Although earlier research has explained the presence of funerary material in these buildings as a result of the medieval lime burning, for which funeral material was displaced from the graves into the city and deposited within these buildings, this chapter argues that from the late third century onward the richly decorated interiors of graves from the imperial period were plundered to reuse material. Grave inscriptions, altars, sarcophagus lids, and especially grave statues were reused for the redecoration of prestigious late antique private and public buildings.

From the late third century onward, but especially in the fourth century, civic life in Ostia blossomed once more. This was not reflected in a monumentalization of the city as in the high imperial period, but in a radical transformation, reutilization, and reshaping of the nucleus of the city center. Richly decorated late antique domus were erected upon existing structures.[4] Nymphaea and fountains lined the primary street axes, baths were refurbished and restored, and generously planned basilica buildings were built outside the city

4. Pavolini 1986, 239–98.

center.[5] The extensive spoliation of marble fittings in the abandoned buildings in Ostia indicates just how much marble was taken.[6] Furthermore, the intensive transformation and modification of statues, statue bases, and portraits from the earlier periods is evidence of the significant reuse of statues in an altered function. In this context, the sculptural decoration of public places in Ostia, which has in the past been interpreted as belonging to the city's image of the high imperial period, must be critically revaluated because, too often, the sculptural finds have been wrongly used as indicators of a building's function.[7]

Paolo Lenzi claimed that many sculptural finds from public buildings should be interpreted as material destined for medieval lime burning, as the kilns themselves were found in close proximity.[8] In Lenzi's eyes, this explained why statues and portraits with no apparent chronological order or similarity were found together, as for example the statue finds from the Sede degli Augustali (fig. 2).[9] He argued that it also explains the strikingly high presence of funeral material in the city center, which was displaced in medieval times from the graves into the city.[10] Recently, however, Lea Stirling observed that, in the case of Ostia, no consistent proximity of lime kilns and deposited material could be ascertained.[11] Furthermore, the grave materials (funerary statues, sarcophagus lids, and funerary inscriptions) were not necessarily transported only for lime burning into the city center.[12] Finally, as early as 1949, G. Becatti observed that many funerary inscriptions were reused for the opus sectile floors of the late antique living quarters and bath compounds.[13] As the following discussion of sculptural and inscriptional finds from the Aula di Marte e Venere, the Sede degli Augustali, and the Terme dei Cisiarii shows, the reuse of grave material is much more extensive than previously noted. A large quantity of fu-

5. Schmölder-Veith 2010, 109–19; Gering 2011a, 409–509.
6. Gering 2004, 328; Pensabene 2007, 433–70; Gering 2011b, 308.
7. For example: Valeri 1998, 19–60; Bollmann 1998, 257–344, nos. A27-A45. Many of the collegia identified at Ostia by B. Bollmann should thus be reevaluated.
8. No exact dates are known for the medieval lime kilns: L. Paroli (1993, 170) dates them to around the ninth century; Lenzi from the sixth to the eighth century AD (Lenzi 1998, 251–52). On late antique and medieval lime kilns, see Munro (this volume).
9. Lenzi 1998, 258.
10. "Le innumerevoli iscrizioni funerari e gli altrettanto numerosi frammenti di sarcofagi rinvenuti dentro la città si muovono dale necropolis lungo direttrici che quasi sempre finiscono in mucchi di materiali rinvenuti presso una o più calcare": Lenzi 1998, 250, n. 22.
11. Stirling 2005, 169, n. 31.
12. As early as 1933, L. Wickert (1933, 821) observed that a large amount of grave inscriptions and sarcophagus fragments came from the city center of Ostia Antica.
13. Becatti 1949, 29–30; Gering 2011a, 424, 473. Also on the "Foro della Statua Eroica" a piece of a strigillated sarcophagus was reused for the floor covering in the fifth century: Gering 2011a, 435. For more reused grave material reused in public spaces in late antiquity: Gering forthcoming.

Fig. 2. Statues found in the Sede degli Augustali. Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Special per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma, sede di Ostia, by permission.

nerary sculpture (especially portrait statues and sarcophagi but also grave altars) was reused for the late antique decoration of domus and public monuments—but in a new context, as *ornamenta*.[14]

## *Late Antique Domus*

The so-called Aula di Marte e Venere (II, IX, 3) lies directly on the decumanus maximus, in close proximity to the crossroad with the Via dei Molini.[15] The newly designed premises dating to the fourth century are situated between the northern side of the decumanus maximus and the large horrea (II, IX, 7) but lie atop Hadrianic structures (fig. 3).[16] The vestibule, itself a transformed taberna, which can be accessed from the street, leads into a large rectangular hall (14.3 x 6.25 m) that was enlarged in the late third or early fourth century by two apses facing one another. The larger of the two, the northern apse, was fitted with niches and must have served as a nymphaeum.[17] To the east of the hall a raised room accessed by four steps was fitted with an opus sectile floor and could have served as triclinium.[18]

The two apses, the opus sectile floor, and the nymphaeum are characteristic for late antique domus in Ostia and Rome.[19] Interpretations of the building as an ecclesiastical building[20] or as a collegial building (based on a false interpretation of the finds) should thus be discarded.[21]

In the western part of the hall (fig. 3, no. S1), an over-life-size statue group (2.26 m), depicting a couple as Mars and Venus, was discovered (fig. 4).[22] The

14. Pagan statues are transformed into *ornamenta*: Prudent. *C. Symm.* 1, 502–5. On the meaning of *ornamenta*, see Lepelley 1994, 5–15; Witschel 2007, 116–17; Ambrogi 2011, 518.
15. Moretti 1920, 41–45; Meiggs 1973, 396.
16. Moretti 1920, 41–45; Heres 1982, 458–63; Hermansen 1982, 78–79; Pavolini 1986, 286, fig. 1.
17. Water tubes were found: Hermansen 1982, 78; Heres 1982, 463; Gering 2004, 341, n. 107; Bollmann 1998, 300; Pensabene 2007, 577.
18. S. P. Ellis 1997, 45; Gering 2004.
19. Becatti 1949, 3–56; Guidobaldi 1986, 207–18; S. P. Ellis 1997, 45. A staircase suggests that the first floor served as the actual living quarters of the domus: Bollmann 1998, 301–2.
20. Moretti 1920, 41–42; Kousser 2007, 677. This interpretation was criticized already by Meiggs (1973, 396) and Bauer 2003a, 44.
21. The interpretation as a collegial building was made by B. Bollmann (1998, 303–4, no. A35) because of an altar found in the building that was dedicated by a *Sevir Augustalis quinquennalis*. P. Pensabene (2007, 577) described it as a domus used for corporation purposes.
22. Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 108522: Moretti 1920, 51, no. 14, fig. 11; Felletti Maj 1953, 119–220, no. 236; Wrede 1971, 159; R. Calza 1978, 19–20, no. 16, pls. 11–12; Wrede 1981, no. 134; Fittschen 1999, 99–100, no. 124, pl. 186; Kousser 2007, 677–78, fig. 1. On the female private portrait, see Fittschen 1982, 80, n. 44. On the male private portrait, see H. J. Kruse 1975, 382–83, no. D104.

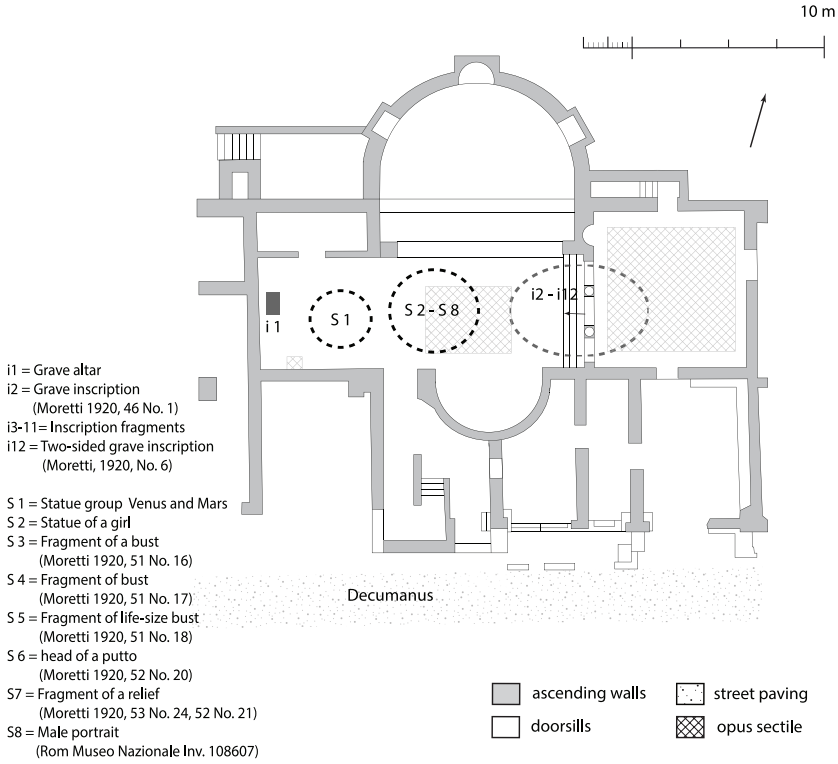


Fig. 3. Plan of the Aula di Marte e Venere showing findspots of statuary, by Anja Schwarz and author.

statue bodies point to a late Antonine date of production. The two portraits, however, were reworked at a later date.[23] The altar, which stands in the immediate vicinity (fig. 3, no. i1), is a reused grave altar from the early imperial period erected in remembrance to a *sevir augustalis quinquennalis* in memory of Livius Agathangelus.[24] As parts of the monumental statue group were discovered lying in pieces in front of this altar, there is a distinct possibility that the altar

23. H. J. Kruse (1975, 382, no. D104) goes so far as to suggest that the female head was a later addition and he thinks the male portrait was modified from a head of Mars into a private portrait. The long chin, the disproportionate lips, and the traces of a chipped away beard are, however, evidence that the sculptor tried to transform a bearded male portrait into a head of Mars.
24. H 0.80 m, W 0.70 m; D 0.45 m. Its garland decorations were partially worked off. Moretti 1920, 48–49, no. 12, fig. 3.

once served as a base for the group itself.[25] Nearby, further grave inscriptions were found in the great hall and in the triclinium. They had been reused for the floor covering (fig. 3, nos. i2-i12),[26] as is known from other late antique domus.[27] Furthermore, Moretti's excavation notes explain that a 0.60 m high headless statue of a girl wearing a belted, sleeveless chiton, and leaning against a pilaster, on which a bird is seated (fig. 3, no. S2), was found in the great hall. It may have originally stood in one of the niches of the nymphaeum.[28]

In addition, three fragments of headless busts (now missing) were also recovered in the hall.[29] Moretti's diary also mentions a portrait head (fig. 3, no. S8)—with no corresponding bust—that came from a basin, which functioned as a water reservoir. The high-quality, under-life-size male private portrait, which has been dated to the middle of the third century AD, could be part of the interior of the late antique domus.[30]

The reuse of funerary material for the decoration of this late antique domus is proven not only by the grave inscriptions reused for the floor covering but especially by the monumental Mars and Venus group (fig. 4) from the Antonine period, which may have stood on the grave altar (fig. 3, no. i1). The group depicts not an imperial couple,[31] but a private couple, and originally stood in a grave elsewhere.[32] Furthermore, a find of another Mars-Venus statue group from a late antique domus with aulae and a water feature on the Quirinal in Rome suggests that this statue type may have been commonly used for the decoration of late antique domus.[33]

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25. Bollmann's interpretation as an altar for a corporation cult is implausible: Bollmann 1998, 300–305, no. A35.
26. At least six reused grave inscription fragments for the opus sectile fitting: Moretti 1920, 46, no. 1; 47 no. 5–6; 48, no. 8, 10–11.
27. Domus sul Decumano, Domus della Fortuna Annonaria, Domus del Protiro: Becatti 1949, 9–13, n. 6–7, 25, n. 18 and 22.
28. H of niche: 0.63m: Moretti 1920, 51, no. 15, fig. 6.
29. Note also a late antique head of a putto: Moretti 1920, 51, nos. 16–18.
30. Rome Museo Nazionale inv. 108607: Moretti 1920, 53, no. 26, fig. 8. Severan date: Fittschen, Zanker and Cain 2011, no. 136, n. 5b. Gallienic date: Bergmann 1977, 67, n. 235, pl. 20, nos. 3–4. The bust does not belong.
31. The portraits were often wrongly claimed to represent Faustina Minor and Marcus Aurelius, for example, Pensabene 2007, 519, 577.
32. A similar statue group (Rome, Museo Capitolino 34, Inv. 652) combining the same types—"Ares Borghese" and "Venus of Capua"—was found within the Isola Sacra necropolis and also probably represents a private couple. For the discussion of the portraits, see Fittschen 1982, 46, no. 7; Fittschen and Zanker 1994, 69–70, no. 64; Alexandridis 2004, 194, no. 203, n. 1. Both of these statue groups derive from the temple tomb types from the necropoleis of Ostia, which had been plundered. Heinzelmann 2000, 82–84.
33. It was found in the so-called domus of C. Fulvius Plautianus on the Quirinal. "Tra il material mobile rinvenuto, statue acefale di Fortuna, die Artemide e il gruppo di due personaggi, probabilmente

Fig. 4. Statue Group of Mars and Venus (Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 108522) from the Aula die Marte e Venere.

Slightly to the east, also directly on the decumanus maximus, is the entrance of the so-called Sede degli Augustali (V, VII, 1–2) (fig. 2). This large building was also completely renovated in the late third century AD;[34] it, too, is based on a Hadrianic predecessor, whose central peristyle could, in turn, be even older.[35] Around the latter are grouped various late antique additions. At

imperiali, rappresentati nello schema di Marte e Venere." Lissi-Caronna 1985, 360–65. Only the upper part of the female portrait from the Mars-Venus group is preserved (Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 1781). On Mars and Venus in late antique domus, see Hannestad 1994, 114; Kousser 2007, 678.

34. G. Calza 1941, 196–209; Heres 1982, 554–58; Meiggs 1973, 220–21; Bollmann 1998, 335–40, no. A44. Late third/early fourth century: Pavolini 2011, 1044–45.

35. G. Calza 1941, 202; Hermansen 1982, 112; Heres 1982, 554.

the southeast, a large apse, originally fitted with an opus sectile floor, opens onto the peristyle. A fountain occupies the center of the peristyle (fig. 5). Large parts of the walls must once have been encrusted with marble revetment. The rooms to the east of the apse were furnished with rich polychrome mosaic floors and painted walls, all dating to the late third or early fourth century.[36]

The sumptuous fittings of the complex, the apse, and the opus sectile floors all point to the fact that this building was used as a domus from the third century onward.[37] The earlier identification of the building as a collegium of augustales[38] goes back to the find of a headless togatus of an augustalis from the middle of the second century,[39] and an unpublished inscription dating to the second century mentioning an augustalis.[40] The inscription turned out to be a grave epitaph that was, together with other funeral inscriptions (fig. 5, nos. i5-i6), reused for the floor covering in the beginning of the third century and therefore has nothing to do with the function of the building.

As was the case for the Aula di Marte e Venere, the reused interior decoration within the Sede degli Augustali includes funerary inscriptions (fig. 5, nos. i1-i4), as well as sculpture from funerary contexts. In addition to the statue of the sevir augustalis, several other statues were found with it at the same northeast corner of the peristyle (fig. 5, nos. S1-S9) and interpreted as material intended for medieval lime burning.[41]

A portrait statue of an unknown woman dating to the Hadrianic period exhibits similarities to Sabina in hairstyle and facial traits and is depicted in the Aphrodite Louvre-Neapel type (fig. 6).[42] This high-quality private portrait statue *in formam deorum* might originate from a funerary context, since all private portrait images in the Aphrodite Louvre-Naples type were found in burial contexts, as exemplified by the Ostia funerary relief.[43] Furthermore, a

36. Laird 2000, 70–73. In the apsidal room the marble on the wall is still preserved: Laird 2000, 70.
37. For a new interpretation as a late antique domus: Pavolini 2011, 1025–26, 1045.
38. G. Calza 1941, 196–209; Heres 1982, 554–58; Meiggs 1973, 220–21; Bollmann 1998, 335–40, no. A4.
39. Museo Ostiense inv. 1146. Thanks to the preserved inscription the statue can be identified to represent A. Livius Chryseros, a sevir augustalis. G. Calza 1941, 203–4. Trajanic-Hadrianic, according to Laird 2000, 62. Antonine: Bollmann 1998, 367, n. 635.
40. Found in the rooms to the east of the apse. Ostia Magazzini inv. 7338. G. Calza 1941, 205, nos. 1–3; the inscription was identified as a grave epitaph by F. Zevi. Laird 2000, 51–53, n. 78–80.
41. G. Calza 1941, 203; Lenzi 1998, 250–51, n. 23, 258, nos. 7–8; Laird 2000, 44, n. 11, 63.
42. Museo Ostiense inv. 25: De Chirico 1941, 230–33, figs. 7–9; R. Calza 1964, no. 124; H. J. Kruse 1975, 342, no. D30.
43. Antonine grave relief (H 1.70 m) of a couple from the Zona Pianabella (currently displayed in the Palazzo Valentini). R. Calza 1978, 29–30, no. 32. Furthermore, an inscription from a sarcophagus lid from Ostia (CIL XIV 610) reads that a statue to Arria Maximina was erected in the form of Venus. H. Wrede (1981, 72, n. 40) has recognized that private women were frequently shown in the Aphro-

ascending walls
doorsills
street paving
inscription
sculpture
windows
limekiln

S1 = Statue of Venus Genetrix
S2 = Statue of Pudicitia
S3 = Togatus of "Maxentius"
S4 = Artemis torso
S5 = Statue of Livius Chryseros
S6 = Fragment of a toga statue
S7 = Himiation statue
S8 = Himiation statue
S9 = Male portrait
S10 = Nereid or Nymph
S11 = Republican portrait

i1 = Inv. no. 11247
i2 = Inv. no. 6558
i3 = Inv. no. 6354
i4 = Inv. no. 7338
i5-i6 = Inv. No. 11274, 11296

S12-S13 = Reused sarcophagus lids

Fig. 5. Plan of the the Sede degli Augustali showing findspots of statuary, by Anja Schwarz and author.

Fig. 6. Statue of a woman as Venus from the Sede degli Augustali.

torso devoid of all limbs belonging to an Artemis statue dating to the late second century AD also might originally derive from a burial context and was probably reused as decoration for this late antique domus.[44] A girl's head dating from the same period and reworked in the late third or early fourth century was found in the vicinity of the so-called Sede degli Augustali and may have belonged to this torso.[45]

Additional sculptures found in the same corner of the courtyard include a high-quality portrait head of a bearded man modified from an Antonine/Severan portrait;[46] a female portrait statue from the Hadrianic period, also retouched in the late third/early fourth century and belonging to the Pudicitia type;[47] and a larger than life-size complete statue of a togatus capite velato holding a patera. The last dates to the second century, but the portrait was modified in the Constantinian period.[48] As all these portraits seem to have been reworked in the same time period as the conversion of the compound—that is, the late third or fourth century—perhaps we can conclude that they are connected to the decoration of this late antique domus.[49]

Along with these finds from the northeastern corner of the courtyard, other sculpture recovered from the entrance to the domus includes a late Republican portrait head.[50] Furthermore, a statue of a reclining Nereid or Nymph was

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dite Louvre-Naples type on grave reliefs. For the statue type reused primarily on private representations in funerary context: Murer 2013; Murer forthcoming.

44. Museo Ostiense inv. 1107: De Chirico 1941, 241–45, figs. 17–18; Laird 2000, 62, n. 151. For the portrayal of young women or girls as Artemis/Diana in funerary context: Wrede 1981, 222–30, nos. 82–103; D'Ambra 2006, 171–81; Murer 2013, 145–47; Murer forthcoming. Moreover, other late antique domus in Ostia show that Artemis statues from earlier periods were a common decorative feature, for example, the Artemis (Museo Ostiense inv. 437) from the Domus delle Colonne (Becatti 1949, 18, 29) and a repaired statue of Artemis from the Domus Fortuna Annonaria (Hannestad 1994, 102–4, figs. 65–66).
45. The portrait of a girl with a band in her hair was found next to the domus in the Via degli Augustali: Museo Ostiense inv. 276; See the Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA) database, LSA-2590 (J. Lenaghan).
46. Museo Ostiense inv. 39: De Chirico 1941, 239–41, figs. 15–16.
47. Museo Ostiense inv. 22: De Chirico 1941, 234–37, figs. 10–12; Fittschen and Zanker 1983, 63, no. 86, n. f; Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA), LSA-1556 (J. Lenaghan).
48. H 2.15 m. Museo Ostiense inv. 51: De Chirico 1941, 222–30, figs. 3–5; Laird 2000, 59–61. Hadrianic: Goette 1990, 133 no. Bb58. The portrait was wrongly identified as Maxentius, most recently Pensabene 2007, 569; dating into the late third–early forth century: Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA), LSA-1555 (J. Lenaghan).
49. In addition, three headless statues of unknown origin were found. A togate statue (Museo Ostiense inv. 1145), of which only the upper body was preserved: R. Calza 1964, 104, no. 176 (Trajanic); Goette 1990, 126. no. Ba280 (late Claudian-Neronian). Two almost identical-looking under-life-size himation statues of the Antonine period (Museo Ostiense inv. 1144 and inv. 1147): De Chirico 1941, 218–22, fig. 2; Laird 2000, 60–61, fig. 14, 44–45, fig. 13.
50. Museo Ostiense inv. 71: De Chirico 1941, 238–39, figs. 13–14; R. Calza 1964, 26–27, no. 22; Fittschen, Zanker, and Cain 2011, 24, n. 7 (late Republican).

Fig. 7. Sarcophagus lid reused as fountain nymph from the Sede degli Augustali (De Chirico 1941, 245–46, fig. 19).

found in the fountain of the peristyle (fig. 5, no. S10);[51] on closer inspection, this turns out to be a reused lid belonging to a klinê sarcophagus (fig. 7),[52] and shows—along with other reused sarcophagus lids—how grave sculpture was reused for the fittings (i.e., for door and windowsills) of this late antique domus (fig. 5, nos. S12-S13).[53]

The concentration of so much sculpture in this one corner of the peristyle is puzzling. As the missing marble decoration of the floors and walls demonstrates, some of the fittings from the domus will have landed in the medieval lime kilns that were found in close proximity to the so-called Sede degli Augustali (fig. 5, LK).[54] When the floors were disturbed, the sculptures in this room were shifted, moved aside, to gain access to the opus sectile floors and smaller fittings. This would explain how the sculptures ended up piled up together in a single corner: they were not the initial target for the lime burning, as Lenzi proposed. They were not, as often claimed, deliberately transported here only in the medieval period with the explicit purpose of being placed in the lime

51. Museo Ostiense inv. 1106: De Chirico 1941, 245–46, fig. 19; Laird 2000, 63–64, 45, n. 21.
52. This was a complete oversight on Laird's part: Laird 2000, 64. For comparison, see the lids of the klinê sarcophagus with nymphs (second century) in the Copenhagen Glyptothek (inv. 2378) and in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Florence (inv. 13728).
53. Laird 2000, 51.
54. Laird 2000, 46–48.

kiln.[55] Rather, lime burners seeking access to the marble paving of the floor must have moved them to this corner to be out of the way. A closer inspection and comparison with other finds from the so-called Sede degli Augustali shows instead that most of these statues were brought into this building for the purpose of decorating this late antique domus.

## *Late Antique Baths*

The high imperial bath compounds of Ostia were also refurbished and used into the fourth century.[56] Along with the Terme Marittime, the Terme del Foro, and the Terme di Nettuno, the considerably smaller Terme dei Cisiarii (II, II, 3) should also be included. These baths are located in the immediate vicinity of the Porta Romana, to the north of the decumanus maximus (fig. 1).[57] They cannot be accessed directly from the street, as they are situated behind the so-called Republican *magazzini* (II, II, 1–2) but instead can be entered from the north (from the river) or from the east (fig. 8).[58] The building structures and the mosaics found therein point to a Hadrianic date for the core structure,[59] although restoration traces show the bath was refurbished in the course of the third century and stayed in use at least until the fourth century.[60] Some of the sculpture within the baths may belong to its initial phase, but other pieces clearly do not and are later additions. Large parts of the marble fittings of the baths (wall and floor covering) seem to have fallen victim to the medieval lime kilns that were installed in the compound's former water pools, as is the case in the southeastern rooms and in the frigidarium (fig. 8, no. LK1).[61]

Directly next to the kiln in the frigidarium a statue of Bacchus,[62] a second-

55. The interpretation of the finds as a material depot cannot be fully discounted. The depot may also contain statues that come from the immediate vicinity of the compound (not from the necropoleis) and then were deposited in these buildings. This could explain the large amount of male robed statues found in the Sede degli Augustali.
56. Poccardi 2006, 166–86.
57. Nielsen 1990, 5, no. C23; these may have served as the baths of the drivers. Meiggs 1973, 419; Bollmann 1998, 434, n. 278.
58. Gering 2004, 316.
59. The mosaic in the frigidarium is Hadrianic: Pavolini 1983, 50–51.
60. Heres 1982, 94; Bedello-Tata and Fogagnolo 2005, 182–95; Poccardi 2006, 170, pl. 1; DeLaine 2006, 339.
61. Lenzi 1998, 356, no. 2; 357, figs. 8–9. No inscriptions were found.
62. Museo Ostiense inv. 1376 (H 0.95 m): G. Calza 1922, 91–94, fig. 2.

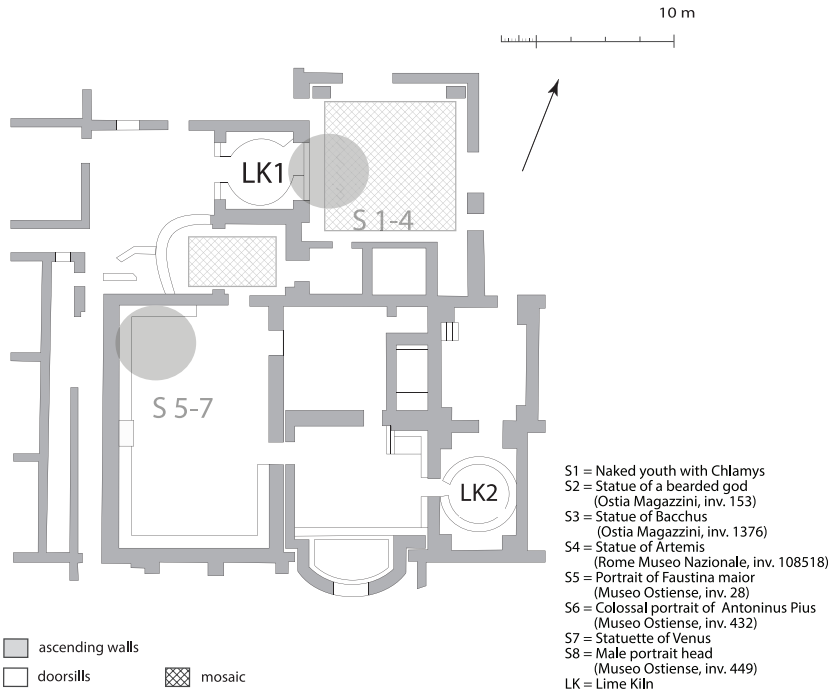


Fig. 8. Plan of the Terme dei Cisiarii showing findspots of statuary, by Anja Schwarz and author.

century headless torso of a youth wearing a chlamys,[63] and a statue of a bearded god of the third century (fig. 8, nos. S1-S4) were found.[64] Furthermore, a high-quality statue of Artemis/Diana was found (fig. 8, no. S4), together with the adjoining Flavian portrait head of a girl with hair tied back and strongly idealized facial features (fig. 9).[65] As mentioned above, the use of portrait statues as Artemis is restricted to funerary contexts and so we can surmise that the statue was taken from a funerary context into the compound and reused as an *ornamentum.* As was seen in the domus, the portrait statues *in formam deorum* (in

63. From the second or third century: G. Calza 1922, 93–94, fig. 4.
64. Museo Ostiense inv. 153 (H 0.69 m); possibly Silvanus "é un Prodotto di arte tarda e scandente": G. Calza 1922, 94, fig. 3.
65. Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 108518 (H 1.5 m): G. Calza 1922, 87–91; R. Calza 1964, 38–39, no. 46, pls. 27–28; Wrede 1981, 223, no. 83.

this case Artemis/Diana) were also appropriate for the late antique redecoration of the Terme dei Cisiarii. It was not simply transferred in to the bath compound for the medieval lime kilns,[66] from which it was spared.

A long room to the southwest of the frigidarium was adorned with a central fountain basin and stucco decoration in the third century.[67] Belonging to this renovation in the third century are several sculptures of second- and third-century date (fig. 8, nos. S5-S8): a high-quality portrait of Faustina maior;[68] a fragment of a colossal statue of Antoninus Pius;[69] a statuette of Venus;[70] and a male private portrait.[71]

This material of the complex, which at first sight seems heterogeneous (imperial portraits, portraits of citizens from times gone by, and headless statues of gods), can be compared with sculpture found in other bath buildings of Ostia that were still in use in the fourth century.[72]

## *Conclusion*

Recent research into late antique Ostia by Axel Gering has shown that during the period of radical transformation, reutilization and reshaping of the city center in the late third and fourth centuries, statues from abandoned buildings—especially from temples and meeting places of collegia—were reused in an altered function for redecorating central squares (i.e., the Forum or the so-called Foro della Statua Eroica) and the newly built nymphaea that lined the primary streets (especially along the decumanus maximus).[73] As the contexts discussed above exemplify, funerary sculpture was also integral to the decoration of prestigious late antique buildings in Ostia. In addition to the grave inscriptions (mostly reused for opus sectile floors), whole funerary statues, grave altars, and sarcophagus lids were deliberately installed in late antique domus and bath

66. As argued by G. Calza 1922, 88; Lenzi 1998, 256; Valeri 1998, 24.
67. G. Calza 1922, 95.
68. Museo Ostiense inv. 28 (H 0.36 m): G. Calza 1922, 93–96, figs. 6–7; R. Calza 1964, 90–91, no. 144, pls. 85–86.
69. Ostia Magazzini inv. 432 (H 0.22 m): G. Calza 1922, 92, fig. 5b; R. Calza 1964, 88, no. 140.
70. G. Calza 1922, 95.
71. Museo Ostiense inv. 449 (H 0.20 m): G. Calza 1922, 95–96, fig. 5a; Bergmann 1977, 131, n. 515; Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA), LSA-890 (J. Lenaghan).
72. For the Terme di Nettuno, see Manderscheid 1981, 77–79, nos. 83–98. For the Terme del Foro, see Manderscheid 1981, 76–77, nos. 71–82.
73. Gering 2011a, 442–45, 456–57, 475–76, 504–5; Gering 2011b, 311–13, 315; Gering forthcoming.

Fig. 9. Statue of a girl as Artemis/Diana (Rome, Museo Nazionale, Inv. No. 108518).

compounds. The imperial-era funerary statues *in formam deorum* (assimilated to Artemis/Diana, Venus, Mars, or Nymph/Nereid) in particular seem to have been integrated into late antique domus and bath, but in an altered function[74]—as *ornamenta.*[75]

Together with the two examples of late antique domus discussed here (the so-called Sede degli Augustali and the Aula di Marte e Venere), the finds from other late antique domus in Ostia (namely the sculptural decoration of the Domus del Protiro or the Domus della Fortuna Annonaria) offer proof that funerary material was reused for late antique sculptural decoration.[76] Likewise, the grave inscriptions and sculpture in the Terme del Foro[77]and the Terme del Nettuno,[78] which were in use till the fourth century, indicate that at least some of the finds in these other bath compounds originate from funeral contexts, as was true for the Terme dei Cisiarii.[79]

The late antique reuse of these grave sculptures explains in part why most of the high imperial tombs from the necropoleis at Ostia were found completely bereft of their sculptural decoration.[80] Larger than life-sized funerary statues *in formam deorum* must once have been displayed inside the chambers of temple type tombs dating from the second and early third century (mostly located at the Porta Romana necropolis).[81] As the finds discussed above demonstrate, the sculptural decoration of these tombs were not plundered during the medieval period, as argued by Lenzi,[82] but had already been removed from the middle of the third century onward. One reason why it may have been possible to reuse this grave material was a shift of demographics in mid-third-century Ostia,

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74. Murer 2013; Murer forthcoming. The depictions of Artemis, Nymphs, Nereids, and Venus are components of late antique domestic decorative programs: Hannestad 1994, 156. See also the trousseau of the Christian Projecta from Rome: Veyne 2009, 106.
75. For grave material reused as *ornamenta,* see *Cod. Theod.* 9, 17, 4.
76. On the houses and the reuse of grave inscriptions, see Becatti 1949, 21–25.
77. Becatti 1949, 46–47; Gering 2011a, 424.
78. Lanciani 1888, 737–45; Manderscheid 1981, 14; Lenzi 1998, 256, no. 5.
79. For example, a torso of a Hygieia (Ostia Museo inv. 1251) found in the Terme del Foro, recently discussed by Valeri (1998, 40, fig. 10), might be a reused funerary statue too.
80. As medieval lime kilns had been found at the Porta Romana necropolis, Lenzi suggests (1998, 256, no. 1.) that some of the sculptural decorations must have been destroyed during the medieval lime burning.
81. Heinzelmann 2000, 77–82, 82–84, 120. Furthermore, M. Heinzelmann (2000, 121) observed that, from the middle of the third century onward, no new tombs were built at the Porta Romana necropolis, although a definite end of the use of the necropolis cannot be determined. Only in the fourth century does there seem to be a shift in funeral activity to the extraurban Christian basilicas: Heinzelmann 2000, 38.
82. Lenzi 1998, 250.

which led to a drop in population.[83] This change might have led to families relocating and abandoning family tombs.

The aforementioned finds from Ostia provide evidence that funerary sculpture was not only used for private buildings (domus) but was also integral to the redecoration of public buildings, such as bath compounds, from the third century onward. The reuse of grave material was not an entirely private enterprise taking place without official sanction, but rather an officially endorsed endeavor. In late antique Ostia, the *procurator annonae* was responsible for the rearrangement of statues and the refurbishing of public places and buildings.[84] His responsibilities included renovation of the baths, and therefore oversight of the material used for these structures.[85] A reused statue base inscription from the fourth century set up for the *procurator annonae* in the forum in Ostia states that statues from desolate places (*ex sordentibus locis*) had been recycled for the forum complex.[86] The phrase raises the question of which neglected, remote places were actually meant: Was it the material depots in the secluded urban districts, as previously supposed, or maybe also the tombs and burial sites that had fallen out of use?[87]

The reuse of grave material, however, was not an uncommon habit in Late Antiquity. As graves were plundered and material was reused (frequently for building material), imperial edicts were issued in the middle of the fourth century AD in Milan and Rome to try to stamp out the practice and prevent the all too frequent destruction of tombs.[88] This reuse of funerary statues for late antique buildings cannot therefore be regarded as a phenomenon restricted to Ostia.[89] As a number of archaeological records attest, funerary sculpture was reused for the decoration of nymphaea and baths in other cities in Latium and Campania in Late Antiquity.[90]

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83. Gering 2011b, 301–15. Similar processes are already observed in the second century AD. Heinzelmann 2001, 374–82; Heinzelmann 2002, 120–21.
84. Gering 2004, 360–68, 372–73, n. 163; Witschel 2007, 138–39.
85. Becatti 1949, 46–49.
86. CIL XIV 4721 "Translatam ex sor/ dentibus locis / ad ornatum fori / et ad faciem publicam / curante P(ublio) Attio / Clementino v(iro) c(larissimo) / praef(ecto) ann(onae)" after Witschel 2007, 139, no. 12.
87. Witschel 2007, 122–23, 137–38; Brandenburg 1989, 235–37; Smith 2007, 215, n. 49.
88. *Cod. Theod.* 9, 17, 1; 9, 17, 3–4. On the plundering of tombs in Late Antiquity: Niquet 2000, 108–9; Schnapp 2009, 92–97.
89. Also in the eastern parts oft the Mediterranean, for example in Antioch, tombs were plundered to reuse the grave material for rebuilding houses: *Cod. Theod.* 9, 17, 5.
90. A reused Severan sarcophagus lid representing a reclining couple was found in the Bacucco Bath near Viterbo. It does not illustrate the patrons of the bath, as argued by H. Wrede (1981, 232–33, no. 106), who assumed that the headrest carved in the form of a river god was contemporaneous. Rather,

In sum, the deliberate reuse of the funerary sculpture of Ostia calls into question the established notion that it was transported into the city center solely for use in the early medieval lime kilns, and stored there temporarily in material depots. This does not mean that all statues and portraits escaped the lime kilns; the cut-off limbs from some of the statues suggest that smaller parts may sometimes have been hurled into the lime kilns.[91] But in the contexts discussed here—especially the Sede degli Augustali—the marble wall fittings and the floors were of initial interest and not the sculpture,[92] which was shifted to the corner in order to facilitate access to the floor coverings. Why these statues and portraits did not fall victim to any further destruction and no further social function could be found for them is still unclear, especially considering the fact that parts of Ostia continued to be inhabited into the ninth century.[93] Here at Ostia, as elsewhere, statues and portraits remained untouched and fell into oblivion. It is possible that further investigations into the contexts of their neglect may yield new and interesting conclusions about the mentality of early medieval societies in Italy concerning the treatment of their past.[94]

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the presence of the river god is the result of a later recarving. During the modification, a hole for a lead pipe was inserted into the mouth to serve as a fountain for the bath. H. Jucker (1966, 501, fig. 9) recognized it as a reused sarcophagus lid.

91. I would like to thank Prof. J. DeLaine for this piece of advice. The removing of limbs in order to facilitate transport, as argued by M. Laird (2000, 64), should therefore be reconsidered.
92. The deposited marble fragments for lime burning found at the southeastern end of the forum by A. Gering during the excavation campaign in 2014 consisted mainly of fragments from the marble floor covering of the forum: Gering forthcoming.
93. Only specific areas were inhabited (such as the theater). Paroli 1993, 153–70. The end of Ostia probably coincides with the refounding of Gregoriopolis by Gregorio IV in the ninth century AD: Paroli 1993, 153; Pavolini 1986, 279–80; Bauer and Heinzelmann 2001, 281–82.
94. This is the subject of my habilitation, which is under way. G. Duby has successfully shown that only studies in the sense of the *longue durée* can go on to show essential relations between sculpture and society in the sense of the history of *mentalité*. There is a shift of aesthetic ideas in sculpture in the Middle Ages. Duby 2010, 247–48.

EIGHT

# Germans, Christians, and Rituals of Closure

## *The Agents of Cult Image Destruction in Roman Germany*

PHILIP KIERNAN

Sculpted images played a major role in the construction of public space in the Roman world. Reliefs and statues adorned public buildings and spaces both in the centers of cities as well as on funerary monuments on their outskirts. Religious sites could incorporate both statues that were true "idols"—that is, objects that were the focus of religious activity and which temples were built to house—and subsidiary decorative sculpture and votive offerings. For the purposes of this chapter, all of these sculpted images found in religious settings might be broadly grouped together as cult images or religious sculpture.[1] Toward the end of their functional lives, most ancient cult images were intentionally smashed or damaged before entering the archaeological record, often by means of being dumped in wells, pits, or bodies of water. Essentially three parties have been identified as the agents of cult image destruction: Christians, barbarian invaders, and, more recently, pagans engaging in what might be

I would like to express my thanks to Troels M. Kristensen and Lea Stirling for their invitation to speak in Aarhus, as well as their patience and careful editing of the manuscript. I am also indebted to Erin Warford for proofreading the text and creating the map in figure 1. Any remaining errors are entirely my own.

1. I am aware that the distinction between different types of cult image is disputed, especially in terms of Greek and Latin terminology. The topic is only of passing relevance here, but see Estienne (2001, 2010) and Rüpke (2010) with further bibliography. On distinctions between cult images and other images more generally, see Mylonopoulos 2010.

termed "rituals of closure." In at least the first two instances, there has been a strong tendency within scholarship to try and connect individual image destructions with historical events, notably dated barbarian invasions and the passing of antipagan legislation in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Using the historical and archaeological evidence from the western provinces of the Roman Empire as a case study, this chapter explores the culpability of these three suspects, looking especially hard at the idea of rituals of closure. On the whole, it seems most likely that multiple agents of cult image destruction were responsible for acts of destruction and deposition at differing periods and in different locations.

## *Cult Images in the Western Provinces*

For the purposes of this discussion, Roman Germany consists of Germania Superior, Germania Inferior, and Gallia Belgica, provinces that can be considered exemplary of the Romano-Celtic world as a whole (fig. 1). Most sculpture from Roman Germany is of a much lower artistic quality than that found in the Mediterranean world, and it is usually made of local stones (e.g., sandstone) instead of marble. The iconography of provincial cult images is often influenced by purely native (Germanic and Celtic) ideas, though purely classical iconography is equally common. By the Flavian period, the practice of erecting votive sculptures and inscriptions had been become widespread in these provinces, and would remain so until the middle of the third century AD.[2] As in Italy and Rome, cult images and dedications were usually placed in or around temples, whether of the Roman podium type or in the more common Romano-Celtic sanctuary complex. The latter typically consisted of an enclosed area containing one or several stone cellae in which multiple gods were venerated.[3] The scholarship of provincial art as a whole, especially religious art, has focused almost exclusively on the combination of native and Roman religious forms and, more recently, on the question of a provincial style.[4] Perhaps the greatest value of the material from this region, however, is the availability of good information on

2. See Spickermann 2003, 216–57 and 365–84.
3. On the origins and form of the Romano-Celtic temple, see Fauduet 2010, 99–120; Derks 1998, 145–58.
4. The question of provincial style was the topic of a conference in Cologne in 2001, see Noelke 2003.

Fig. 1. Sites mentioned (map by Erin Warford).

the context and placement of sculpture that is seldom to be had in more central parts of the Roman world.

Most Roman sculpture from Italy was uncovered in the Renaissance or early modern period, with little or no attention paid to either the findspot or context. It is only comparatively recently that Classical archaeology has started to treat sculpture as part of the ancient built environment and not just as art. Naturally, the same lack of context is true for some provincial sculptures as well, and, as one might expect, many excavated temple sites contain no trace of the sculpted images that they must have originally contained.[5] The development and widespread adoption of archaeological recording methods in western Europe in the nineteenth century, however, has resulted in the availability of more and better data for the placement of statues in sanctuaries in the periphery of the Roman Empire than at its center. In the Roman west we not only have information about the location of finds of Roman sculpture but also detailed accounts of excavations, site plans, drawings, and photographs from numerous temple sites. This information is, of course, critical in reconstructing the final stages in the life cycle of pagan statuary—its destruction and its subsequent afterlife.

## *The Germans Did It*

Germanic invaders of the third and fourth century AD have long been considered the prime suspects for cult image destruction in Rome's western provinces. A trend of identifying foreign enemies, external forces, or marginal and oppressed groups as the agents of image destruction can be found in the scholarly literature for many periods, places, and cultures of the ancient world.[6] In AD 233, and again in AD 260, and throughout the course of the fourth century AD, bands of Franks and Allemanni crossed the *limes,* Rhine and Danube, penetrating deep into Roman territory in search of plunder. These were not coordinated military campaigns of conquest, but sporadic movements of tribal groups who took advantage of Roman disorganization and civil war. The incursions of 260 eventually resulted in the permanent loss of the territory between the *limes* and

5. For the nature of provincial archaeology and the nature of the evidence, see also Stirling 2005, 15–28.
6. For instance, Nylander (1980) shows how the mutilation of the eyes and nose of a bust of Sargon found at Nineveh corresponds to the mutilations recorded in historical inscriptions as being inflicted by Darius on a rebellious king. Nylander (1988) went on to explain the mutilation of images as a means of identifying the "other side of the story" from repressed or minority groups.

the Rhine, and the river effectively became the new border between Roman and German territory.[7] The archaeological evidence for these violent incursions can be found in the destruction of villas, settlements, and temples, in trails of contemporary coin hoards, and in the spectacular finds of lost German plunder in the Rhine River, though dating these phenomenon to a particular year within this turbulent period is often impossible.[8] These same barbarian hordes have often been identified as the culprits behind the destruction of cult images in the western provinces, most recently by Peter Noelke, who looked at the case of the Jupiter-Giant columns.[9]

Jupiter-Giant columns are a form of monumental sculpture that is specific to the western provinces and the German provinces in particular. Over 1,200 of them are known from settlements, temple complexes, villas, and cities, with the highest concentrations occurring in Germania Superior. The earliest columns date to the first century AD, and come from the Mainz area, but most of the columns were constructed in the late second and early third centuries.[10] Though there is a good deal of variation among individual Jupiter-Giant columns, all share certain characteristics. Because of its find circumstances and completeness, the Jupiter-Giant column that was found (in pieces) in a well in Ladenburg (Lopodunum) in 1973 provides a superb example of the type (fig. 2).

The base of the 4.1 m high sandstone monument essentially consists of a rectangular socle, with a relief depiction of a divinity (Juno, Minerva, Hercules, and Mercury) on each of its four sides. Between this base and the column shaft is a square intermediary block that bears an inscription: *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) / I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Iunoni / Regin(a)e / Novanius / Augustus / in suo r(estituit)*—"In honor of the house of the gods, for Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina, Novianus Augustus restored (this column) with his own funds." The text is secondary, and was added after another dedication was filed away below it. Below the last line of the visible inscription, the final formulaic line of the monument's previous dedication is still legible: *[—-] / V(otum)*

7. For a summary, see Bernhard 2006 and Heimberg 2006. On later developments in the fourth century and the ethnogenesis of the Allemanni, see Drinkwater 2007, esp. 43–79.
8. On coin hoards and invasions, see Bernhard 2006. The most celebrated collections of lost Germanic booty are those of Hagenbach (Bernhard et al. 1990) and Neupotz (Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer 2006), both of which were lost by returning Germans in the invasions of the 260s and contain metal objects from as far away as Gallia Aquitania.
9. Noelke (2007), with an older bibliography, drawing the same conclusion that extends well back into the nineteenth century.
10. Noelke 2007, 179–82, with further literature updating the first comprehensive study of the monuments: Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981.

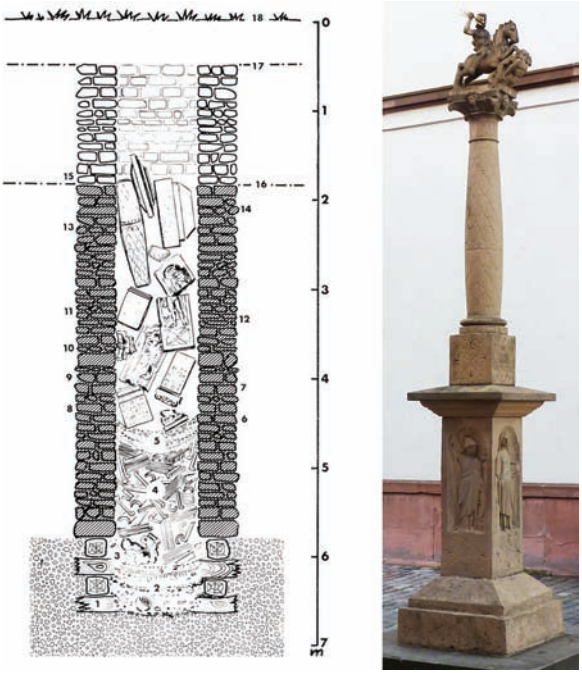

Fig. 2. The Jupiter-giant column from Ladenburg reproduced and reconstructed (right) and as discovered (left) (both images are reproduced with the permission of the Lobdengau Museum, photo by author, drawing by Heukemes).

*S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*—". . . fulfilled the vow freely and deservedly."[11] The surface of the column itself is decorated with scales, and terminates in a capital depicting the seasons. The capital is surmounted by a statue of Jupiter on horseback riding over a giant and hurling a thunderbolt from his right hand. The head of Jupiter and the giant over which he is riding were damaged prior to deposition, though whether this was intentional or the result of falling off of the column is unclear. Certainly the faces of many figures on other Jupiter-Giant columns, both in the capital group and on the socle below, were intentionally slashed or chipped away prior to their deposition.[12] The well at Ladenburg also contained an inscribed altar that was originally placed next to the column. Altars next to the columns were a standard part of the Jupiter-Giant column ensemble, and show that these provincial monuments were the focal point of cult

11. Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981, 156, no. 250.
12. Noelke 2007, 349, no. 19, fig. 8; Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981, 155, nos. 249–252. The excavator, Heukemes (1975, 42), saw the damage as a result of a fall.

acts, that is, sacrifice, rather than mere decorative elements of urban and country space. Finally, at the very bottom of the well, below a layer of building debris, was a second damaged capital group (fig. 2a).[13]

The origins and meaning of the Jupiter-Giant columns are disputed. They certainly include both Celtic and Roman iconographic elements. The image of Jupiter defeating a giant can be read as a symbol of the civilizing force of Rome conquering the barbarian inhabitants of the Celtic and Germanic provinces, much like the gigantomachies that appear in Classical and Hellenistic Greek art, or as a derivation of the imagery of the imperial cult, in which a mounted emperor tramples down barbarian foes. It is uncertain whether the form and iconography of the columns were derived from a pre-Roman Celtic tradition or were purely inventions of the Roman period.[14] The status of Jupiter-Giant columns as cult images is not in question, and for our purposes it is their context and treatment, as seen at Ladenburg, that are most important to understanding the end phase of cult image use in the west. The Ladenburg column is one of at least 51 cases in which a column has been deposited in a well after having been intentionally damaged.[15] This phenomenon of damaged Jupiter-Giant columns in wells, and sometimes pits, is central to Noelke's case that German invaders were the authors of cult image destruction.[16]

By examining the accompanying pottery and coins found in the wells with Jupiter-Giant columns, the known destruction dates of entire sites to which they belonged, third century "restoration" inscriptions like that of the Ladenburg column, and noting the fact that most of Jupiter-Giant columns in wells are from the *agri decumates,* the region east of the Rhine that that was lost to Roman control after 260, Noelke connected the columns' destruction and the Germanic invasions of the third century. Noelke further saw the presence of burned building rubble in many wells with columns, as well as the occasional appearance of human and animal bodies, as further evidence that the columns were felled by German invaders.[17] The Roman settlement at Ladenburg, in which the column had been erected, survived the early third-century Germanic incursions, but

13. Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981, 156, no. 253. The altar's inscription reads: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / aram / Augustus / posuit / l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).*—"To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Augustus placed this altar, freely, gladly and deservedly."
14. Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981, 391–406; Spickermann 2003, 384–89. Woolf 2001.
15. Noelke 2007, 277.
16. Noelke 2007.
17. Noelke 2007, 291–307. See also Kousser 2010, 127.

was entirely destroyed in 260. The settlement remained more or less abandoned from that point on, until a burgus was built in its ruins as part of a new policy of fortifying Rome's western frontier initiated by Valentinian in 369.[18]

In the eyes of the excavator of the Ladenburg well, the damaged capital group at the very bottom of the well once crowned the Jupiter-Giant column that was restored by Novianus Augustus. Certainly, this sculptural fragment corresponds perfectly in proportion to the other elements from the top of the well, and may well have once belonged to the same group.[19] Thus, we should imagine the Ladenburg Jupiter-Giant column being damaged at some point in the third century AD, perhaps by the invasions that failed to destroy the city in 233/35, or some smaller unrecorded catastrophe, with the monument's crowning element ending up in the bottom of the well below other destruction debris. When order was restored to the town, the monument was restored by Novanius Augustus, whose repairs included the creation of a new capital group and the recarving of the monument's inscription. Unfortunately, not long after its restoration, the Jupiter-Giant column would be torn down once again, probably in the course of the invasions of AD 260 that destroyed the city.[20] At some point after that, the fragments entered the well, which must have remained half-filled and unused for some time. If we accept the coincidence of dates of associated filling material in the wells, and site destructions at Ladenburg and elsewhere in the *agri decumates* as conclusive evidence for German destruction of the Jupiter-giant columns, we are left with two important questions. Why did Germanic invaders target monuments such as the Jupiter-Giant columns? And when and why did the various fragments end up in the wells?

It was once thought that the Germans resented the very symbolism of the columns, which they understood as depicting the defeat of barbarians (Germans and Celts) by the Roman Empire. Similarly, it has been proposed that the columns were the victims of a resentful local native population, who destroyed them when the yoke of Roman oppression was lifted in Late Antiquity.[21] Both interpretations of the damage of Jupiter-Giant columns suggest responses by oppressed groups to the symbolic power of the monuments. Such responses have been convincingly identified in the destruction of Assyrian monuments,

18. Rabold 2005, 161–68.
19. Heukemes 1975. For this information, my thanks to Andreas Hensen, director of the Lobdengau Museum.
20. Noelke 2007, 291 and 349; Heukemes 1975, 43.
21. Steidl 2005, 150.

or in the *damnatio memoriae* practiced by the Romans.[22] But neither explanation is particularly satisfying, since other cult images and altars were also attacked, including dedications to and depictions of purely native (i.e., Celtic and Germanic) divinities such as Epona and Herecura.[23] The idea of the columns being destroyed as an act of vengeance by angry oppressed natives as late as the third century AD flies in the face of the most current thoughts on provincial identity, which suggest that the population would by this point have long since identified themselves primarily as Romans rather than as Celts or Germans.[24] It is more likely that the goal of this destruction was to instill fear in the enemy, and to render the gods powerless to help the Romans through the destruction of their images.[25] The Germans certainly took prisoners, presumably as slaves, back to Germany, and these destructive acts against religious sculpture may have served an important psychological purpose in intimidating them.[26] In this sense, cult image destruction was comparable to the murder, torture, and dismemberment attested at villa and vicus sites like Regensburg-Harting, where the skeletal remains of thirteen individuals were found in two wells. The bones, especially the skulls, showed traces of violent blows.[27] Brutalized, and with their homes and native gods destroyed, prisoners taken by the invading Germans had nothing to hope for or flee to.

Though the toppling and damaging of cult images and Jupiter-Giant columns need not have taken a very long time, their deposition in wells would have been more work. It is possible that the intention of the German invaders was to render wells unusable to returning Romans, but the presence of the columns would hardly have been a major hindrance, and this suggests a much grander common strategy on the part of the Germans than was likely the case. The act of throwing the cult images in wells may also have been another form of degradation, comparable to the smashing of the faces of the images, but, as Noelke has rightly observed, the key issue is one of chronology. The authors of

22. Nylander 1998.
23. Noelke 2007, 306.
24. The seminal work remains Woolf (2002), but see also Mattingly (2011) for further developments and a new postcolonialist take on Roman provincial identity ("discrepant identities").
25. Noelke 2007, 307. Noelke notes that this practice was conducted by the Romans themselves, including the destruction of the sanctuary of the German goddess Tanfana in AD 14 (Tac. Ann. 1.51), and the sacred grove of the druids in Mona in AD 60 (Tac. Ann. 14.30).
26. Hanemann 2006. The Augsburg Victory altar (Bakker 2005) describes the rescue of thousands of Italian prisoners from the Iunthungi and Semones. On slavery and the Allemanni see Drinkwater 2007, 136–42.
27. Schröter 1985.

the felling and defacing of the Jupiter-Giant columns need not have been the same people who placed them in wells and pits. In Noelke's view, the various pieces of Jupiter-Giant columns mostly entered wells in rebuilding phases, long after their initial destruction and in an epoch when Roman interest in the sort of public religion that the columns represented had reached an all-time low. He argues that the fragments of the columns were simply used to fill holes in the landscape that had become a danger to men and animals.[28] Some evidence to support this interpretation can be found in the weathering patterns of the breaks on fragments from Rommerskirchen-Evinghoven (just outside of Cologne) and Heddernheim, which suggest that the damaged monuments had been broken and exposed to the elements for some time prior to entering wells.[29]

Given the third century dating for the destruction of many of the Jupiter-Giant columns established by Noelke, it must be accepted that the Germans were at least sometimes to blame. But if the monuments had become mere building waste that cluttered up fields and villages, why were they not reused as building material? The *agri decumates* include quarries, but good stone was hardly abundant or easily available at sites like Ladenburg, and was certainly not cheap. This point will be returned to later. Noelke's idea that destruction and deposition were two separate events, conducted by different people at different times, is a very positive step toward building up a more accurate and more sophisticated picture of cult image destruction in the Roman west.

## *Blaming It on the Christians*

The second prime suspect for the destruction of cult images in the late antique west, as in other parts of the empire, is the Christian iconoclast. Christians were certainly present along the Rhine and in Gaul as early as the second century AD, but it is most unlikely that they were involved in any significant cult image destruction until the mid-fourth century, when their faith became the dominant and state-supported religion.[30] Starting in the reign of Constantine, a series of laws attacked pagan property and cult images. By 392, an edict of Theo-

28. Noelke 2007, 308–17.
29. Noelke 2007, 308, cat. nos. 45–46 and 15.
30. Warland 2005; Ghetta 2008, 265–77.

dosius demanded the closure of pagan temples throughout the empire.[31] Around the same time, the hagiographies of Christian monks, hermits, and bishops began to appear and with them stories of how these holy men brought about the destruction of cult images, usually in the pagan countryside. Such admissions can be found in the deeds of fourth to sixth century saints in both the Latin and Greek speaking world, from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean all the way through to the western provinces. In the west, one of the most famous of these saints was Martin of Tours, whose life was documented by Sulpicius Severus. Martin destroyed numerous idols over the course of his career, and one example is sufficient for our purposes:

> Martin was prepared to throw down a pillar of immense size, on the top of which an idol stood, but there was no means by which effect could be given to this design. Well, according to his usual practice, he betakes himself to prayer. It is undoubted that then a column, to a certain degree like the other, rushed down from heaven, and falling upon the idol it crushed to powder the whole seemingly indestructible mass.
>
> (Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 9.1–4, trans. A. Roberts)

The column and idol can hardly have been anything other than a Jupiter-Giant column, as we have no other traditions of columns bearing statues in Roman Germany. Other western saints were similarly unforgiving when it came to cult images—throwing them into lakes and grinding them into dust.[32] Was this a universal approach? Stirling has noted that the main target of antipagan legislation was images that received active sacrifice, while decorative or even religious statues of artistically high quality could survive. This explains the continued use of mythological statuary in fourth-century Gallic villas.[33] In general, the hagiographic texts seem to make no obvious distinction between votive monuments, decorations, and the central idols found within temples. Tertullian's polemic *de idolatria* condemned carved images of virtually all kinds in all contexts.[34] Eberhard Sauer has suggested that by the later sixth century,

31. *CTh.* 16.10.12; see also Stirling 2005, 158–63, and P. Brown 1998. The relevant legal texts are collected in *CTh.* 16.10, esp. *CTh.* 16.10.10–21.
32. Walahfridus Strabo, *Vita sancti galli*, 1.6; Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 8.15.
33. Stirling (2005, 156–64) notes instances of imperial legislation where pagan buildings and images are actually protected. E.g., *C.Th.* 16.10.8 and *C.Th.* 16.10.15, seem to actually protect works of art, while *C.Th.* 16.10.18 is concerned with empty temple buildings.
34. E.g., Tert., *de idol.* 8. The Old Testament condemnation of graven images usually formed part of the

western Christian iconoclasm had become less discriminating, as the distinctions between different types of cult images were forgotten or misunderstood.[35] Christian attitudes toward cult images were probably varied and changed over time, as we shall see below, and doubtless a local bishop or monk could do much to influence policy toward older cult images within his jurisdiction.

Another critical question is whether the destructions of cult images described in hagiographies, which are frequently achieved through miraculous means, were merely part of a literary trope or accounts of actual historical events and attitudes. Could it be that the cult image destructions described in western texts are simply mirrors of those that appear in the Greek texts, forming a necessary ingredient in a set hagiographic recipe? On the whole, this seems unlikely. In a recent examination of the reuse of pagan temples in Greek hagiographic texts from the fourth to sixth centuries, Helen Saradi concluded that at the very least the texts represent an accurate broad social history, in which the relationship between the saints and pagans in different periods reflects the waning strength of paganism, even if the exact details of the stories were not true.[36] The same point is likely valid in the west, and it is safe to assume that Christians were behind the destruction of many cult images.

One of the most recent proponents of Christian iconoclasm in the west has been Eberhard Sauer. His two studies of Mithraic sculpture and sanctuaries raised a number of points in favour of Christian agency in the destruction of cult images. Among other things, Sauer observed that many of the best preserved examples of Mithraic sculpture, such as the massive reliefs from Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Ladenburg, or Heidelberg-Neuenheim, were found in the territory between the Rhine and the limes (the *agri decumates*) that was lost to the Romans after AD 260.[37] The end phases of these Mithraea are stark contrasts to the Königshofen and Sarrebourg Mithraea on the west (Roman) side of the Rhine, where monumental reliefs were smashed to pieces, probably between the end of the fourth and early fifth century AD.[38]

While a Jupiter-Giant column could be pulled down and defaced in a matter of minutes, the sort of extensive destruction seen in the breaking of sculpture seen at the Königshofen (fig. 3) and Sarrebourg speaks for a long period of sys-

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discourse against pagan idols, e.g., Tert. *de idol.* 5; Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 2.9.

35. Sauer 2003, 82–83.
36. Saradi 2008.
37. Vermaseren 1960, 110, no. 1275; 65–66, no. 1083; 114, no. 1283.
38. Sauer 2003, 79–88. On Königshofen: Forrer 1915, 75–79; Espérandieu 1918, 164–70, nos. 5530–39; on Sarrebourg: Vermaseren 1960, 129–39; Fisenne 1896, 159–61.

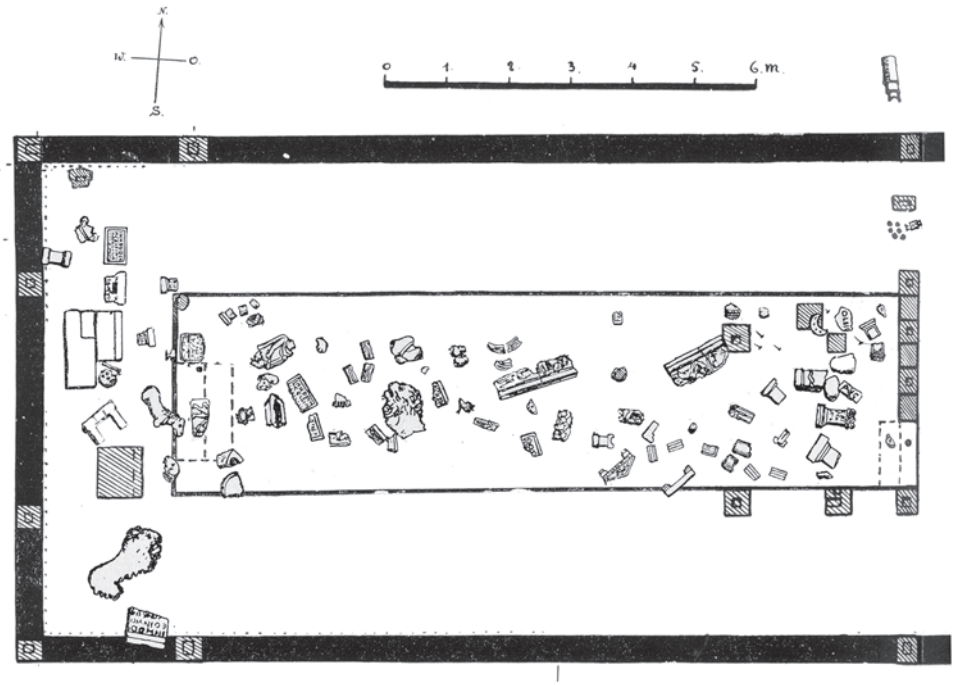


Fig. 3. Plan of the destruction of the cult image at Strasbourg Königshofen. The location of the sculptural fragments have been lifted from the excavation plan and superimposed on the reconstructed plan of the building. The finds are not quite to scale. (Based on Forrer 1915, plates 1 and 3).

tematic work. At both sites, the fragments of the central bull slaying relief were found scattered in dozens of pieces throughout the ruined Mithraea, while subsidiary statues, such as representations of the Mithraic rock-birth or the Mithraic helpers Cautes and Cautopates, were only partially damaged, or even left alone.[39] The pattern is one of selective destruction, in which the main focus of cult worship, an enormous Mithraic tauroctone, was afforded the most extensive and destructive treatment. The same sort of destruction does not seem to have been applied at many Mithraea across the Rhine in the *agri decumates* until much later. With German invaders and settlers largely ignoring them, the Mithraea of the *agri decumates* simply fell into disrepair, eventually collapsing and preserv-

39. Sauer 2003, 79–82 (figs. 42 and 43); Forrer 1915, 79.

ing many Mithraic sculptures intact for posterity. It was not until the much later Christianization of this region, in the sixth and seventh centuries AD, that serious and methodical image destruction of old pagan temples began.[40]

Christian destruction of cult images can also explain their deposition. If Christians viewed cult images as demon-infested idols, then it is not surprising that they carefully threw them into wells and pits when they came across them in the countryside or in temples that had been long since abandoned. It is important to note that this kind of violent destruction of cult images seems to have been necessary only in the first few centuries of Christianity; in the very late Roman and medieval period, when paganism no longer represented a threat, images were treated somewhat differently. Before returning to this point, another theoretical explanation for the destruction and deposition of cult images needs to be considered.

## *Rituals of Closure and Termination*

As noted above, Noelke argued that the smashed and fallen Jupiter-Giant columns, along with other cult images, were deposited in wells as mere waste, with both the monuments and public pagan religion suffering from general *neglegentia* in the third century AD. But if the fragments were devoid of meaning, why were they not reused as building rubble? Christians may have seen cult images or their fragments as dangerous, and treated them in the same way we might deal with toxic waste, by placing them in an unreachable location. The opposite, however, is also conceivable. The deposition of the monuments may have been a form of honorific treatment. Clauss Hüssen has suggested that the sinking of Jupiter-Giant columns in wells around Heilbronn was actually meant to protect them from Germanic invaders, or to preempt their destruction at the hands of barbarians.[41] The idea of dumping Jupiter-Giant columns in wells as a ritual act of burial or abandonment has been advocated by Rachel Kousser, who saw the practice as an act of sacrifice. She imagined the bones found in some wells with columns as the remains of sacrificed animals, which in turn polluted the well water, rendering the well itself another part of

40. Sauer 2003, 23–46.
41. Hüssen 2000, 72; cf. Noelke 2007, 307, and Bauchhenß and Noelke 1981, 25–26.

the ritual. Thus the monument, animals, and water source were all victims of the same sacrificial act.[42]

Western textual evidence for such attitudes seems to be lacking, but in fifth century Egypt there is at least one recorded example of pagans protecting religious sculpture from Christian iconoclasts by hiding them in cisterns.[43] In Roman Britain, Ralph Merrifield suggested that complete or fragmentary religious sculptures found in rivers and wells paralleled the places in which votive offerings were left by pagans, that is, in liminal contexts perceived of as accessible to the gods. In the Christian period, Merrifield argued that these liminal places became the conceptual equivalent of a Christian hell, and the placement of the statuary fragments was essentially an act of returning demons to whence they came.[44] The theory is certainly plausible, but can we not also see sculptural fragments in rivers, pits, and wells as a direct equivalent of votive offerings, or as the equivalent of *favissae,* the pits in which sacred waste was stored? If sculptural fragments were not viewed as meaningless rubble, but as material sacred to the gods, then treatment comparable to that of old votive offerings, that is, by burial in a *favissa*-like setting, is certainly a possibility.

In a study of sculptural fragments from temple sites in Roman Britain, Ben Croxford has noted that many of the fragments come from what might be termed "structured deposits"—archaeological contexts suggestive of ritual deposition rather than simple abandonment.[45] By studying the actual numbers of the fragments, he noted that particular parts of statues were systematically selected for special treatment or reuse, while others were rejected.[46] He noted the intentional burial of damaged sculptural fragments below a floor of the Walbrook Mithraeum, which remained a functional pagan temple even after the

42. Kousser 2010, 123–27. Her suggestion that most of the wells with Jupiter Giant columns are ritual burials is perhaps open to question. For example, Kousser (2010, 127) interprets the animals from a well with a Jupiter-Giant column from a villa site at Köln-Widdersdorf as sacrificial victims. The excavation report, however, more convincingly saw the presence of light traces of burning on otherwise uncooked bones, the completeness of the skeletons, and the lack of butchering marks as indicative of a group of animals that had perished in a barn fire during the destruction of the villa where the well and column were located (Berke 2002).
43. P. Brown 1998, 649–50; Dioscorus of Alexandria, *A Panegyric on Macarius*, 5.11. The date of the Coptic text is disputed. Purportedly from the mid-fifth century AD, it may be as late as the 630s: Johnson 1980, 8–11.
44. Merrifield 1987, 99–100.
45. Croxford 2003, 81–83.
46. Croxford 2003, 84–90.

images had been buried in the mid-third century AD.[47] Croxford concluded that the intentional fragmentation of cult images in Roman Britain could be due to a change in a sculpture's function and meaning rather than ill-meant destruction by Christian iconoclasts.

The idea that objects can undergo "rituals of termination," or "rituals of closure," in which they are intentionally destroyed or removed from circulation by the same people who created them, has been considered extensively in other periods and cultures, and it is surprising that the concept has been neglected in the field of Classical archaeology. To give a few examples, rituals of closure have been identified in the regular burning and rebuilding of Neolithic longhouses in southeast Europe; in the destruction of cult furniture, and the sealing and burying of entire temple complexes, in the ancient Near East; and in the cyclical destruction of images, objects, and religious sites in the Mayan world.[48] In all cases, the destruction of sacred images and objects is willful and conducted by internal agencies rather than external enemies or adherents of a different religion. If we assume the same hypothesis for the fragmentation, mutilation, and disposal of cult images in wells and pits in the Roman west, then a host of interesting possibilities arise. Was the mutilation of sculpted faces, especially eyes, intended to prevent the divinities from witnessing the desecration of their temples, or the horror of barbarian invasions? Or was it a practical means of decommissioning them, of rendering them powerless after their useful lifespan had run out? Both the damage inflicted to the sculpture and the act of deposition signaled the end of a cult image's veneration, but also prevented it from receiving further petitions, prayers, and sacrifices from worshippers. In the longer term, the act prevented the reuse of the cult image, at least in the exact same way for which it was originally intended. In effect, both fragmentation and deposition may have been a method of showing that a given cult image was essentially closed for business. The chief difficulty in recognizing rituals of closure lies in the similarity of both ritual and violent destruction in the archaeological record.

A marble acrolithic statue found below the floor of the capitolium at Avenches in an excavation in 1972 seems to be a good candidate for an object that has undergone a ritual of closure conducted by pagans, inasmuch as the statue was deposited intact and seemingly undamaged (fig. 5c). It was found in

47. Croxford 2003, 91–92, Shepherd 1998, 228–29.
48. Stevanović 1997; Zuckerman 2007; Mock 1998; Joyce 2003.

a walled rectangular enclosure (3.9 x 2.1 m) that had been built below the floor of the capitolium in insula 23, in the middle of the ancient city. The 56 cm high helmeted bust was accompanied by a marble arm, hands, feet, and an aegis, and probably the disassembled wooden and cloth elements as well. When standing, the statue would have been 2.65–2.8 m high, and was surely one of the three central images worshipped in the temple. Like the temple in which it was found, the features and style of the bust suggest an early Trajanic date of manufacture.[49] The date of the temple's destruction is unknown. Avenches itself would experience a decline in the third century AD, but continued to be occupied until at least the sixth. We might imagine the statue being replaced by a bronze or marble statue at a later point in the temple's history, perhaps when the building underwent a general renovation, necessitating a careful decommissioning and disposal of the older work. Alternatively, the acrolith may have been accidentally damaged by fire or otherwise contaminated and was therefore replaced. This might explain the absence of two comparable burials of a Jupiter and Juno below the floors of the other two partitions of the temple. In any case, it is hard to see this deposit in a sarcophagus-like container as anything other than a respectful burial.

Another example of a structured deposit can be found in the well at Schierstein near Wiesbaden, which became the last resting place of a Jupiter-Giant column. The well was excavated by the landowner in 1889, but the circumstances of the deposit were recorded in detail. The well, which had a diameter of 2.5 m and was lined with slate, was covered by a large square slab of red sandstone on top of which large quartz stones had been piled to form a pyramid. Below this cap the well was filled with intermittent layers of stone packing and earth to a depth of more than six meters. Two meters down, a small box-like niche of slate was found on the northwest side of the well wall that contained a fragment of a deer antler. At the bottom of the well, the upside-down base of the Jupiter-Giant formed a cap for the rest of the monument, which had been carefully placed below and around it. The gaps between the sculptural fragments had been filled with stones and slate, sealing them firmly in place. The very bottom of the well, which was covered by a wooden lining, was filled with small fragments of terra sigillata, pieces of iron, deer bones and antlers, a

49. Bögli 1975; Bogli 1996, 38–39, fig. 40; Bossert 1983, 22–27, no. 9, pls. 9–14; 1998, 203, pl. 41; Trunk 1991, 173–75. The interpretation of the temple as a capitolium is disputed. It has also been viewed as a temple to Minerva alone, or possibly as a curia with a niche containing the acrolith. For further bibliography, see Spickermann 2003, 166–67.

small iron axe-head, a lead sling bullet, and the skull of a deer with one antler still attached. The figures on the base of the column, as well as those of the rider group, had been damaged prior to its deposition.[50]

The remarkable find at Schierstein can be interpreted in one of two ways. Either the column was damaged by Christians or Germans, and then given a ritual burial, or it was intentionally put out of commission by its owners and then given this honorary send-off. If it was buried by Christians, then presumably the layers of careful stone packing that filled the well were meant to prevent the demons inhabiting the idol from escaping, while the stones marking the location of the deposit served as a kind of warning. If it is a pagan burial, then stones at the top were a funerary monument, and the packed layers a form of protection. The niche in the well's wall and the deer antlers placed inside it recall the offering niches of later Roman inhumation burials, and the presence of antlers around the monument are surely suggestive of pagan rather than Christian ritual.

Similar examples of packing damaged sculptures into a single area can be found on sanctuary sites as well. In the early twentieth-century excavation of the sanctuary complex of Mars Lenus, just outside of Trier, two small cellae were found to be filled with damaged marble votive offerings, altars, and statue bases that must have originally been displayed in the surrounding area (fig. 4). When the monuments were packed into the two cellae, the buildings' interiors were already in a bad state, and the stone floor of one had been removed. After this, the statues seem to have sat unmolested until the temples eventually burned down, collapsed, and were covered by earth that slid over them from the hill behind them.[51] In the recently published sanctuary complex at Thun-Allmendingen, one of the site's seven cellae had already fallen into a state of ruin by the time the remaining images in the sanctuary were systematically smashed into more than 200 pieces and buried in a pit dug in the middle of one of them. The pieces in the pit were predominantly faces, fingers, arms, and legs, with body fragments suspiciously absent.[52] This is clearly the same sort of selective fragmentation that Croxford has envisaged at British temple sites.

Though I can offer no complete statistical analysis here, the predominance of particular body parts are striking in the corpus of religious sculpture of Roman Germany, and seem to reflect the sort of selective deposition indicative of rituals of closure. Perhaps most notable are instances of isolated heads from

50. Florschütz 1890, 132–34; Noelke 2007, 351–52, cat. no. 24; Czysz 1994, 230–32.
51. Gose 1955, 24, 33.
52. Martin-Kilcher 2009, 220–22; Bossert 2000.

Fig. 4. One of the two cellae at the Mars Lenus sanctuary at Trier, found filled with sculpture, statue bases, and altars (photo courtesy Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier).

cult statues. The bronze bust of Rosmerta found at Mainz-Finthen in 1844 and the over-life-sized bust of Mercury found in a well in the temple complex at Tawern in 1986 are good examples (figs. 5a-b).

The life-sized bronze bust of Rosmerta was found in a well, while other pits and wells from the same site contained altars dedicated to Mercury.[53] When complete, the statue must have been enormously valuable on the basis of its metal content alone. Even the bust would have had a high value. The fact that the head was kept from the melting pot and deposited in a well is surely significant. The limestone bust from Tawern was found halfway down a 15 m deep well in the course of a proper excavation of the site in 1986. The same well held two smaller reliefs, one of which depicts Isis and Serapis, the other the indigenous goddess Epona. The well also contained an altar and a fragmentary inscription. On stylistic grounds, the limestone head of Mercury has been dated to the late first or early second century AD, though it must have entered the well

53. Klein 2003, 114–16, fig. 15; Espérandieu 1918, 372–73, no. 5881.

Fig. 5. The Bronze bust of Rosmerta from Mainz Finthen, H. 32 cm (Landesmuseum Mainz, Inv. Nr. R631 © GDKE—Landesmuseum Mainz [Ursula Rudischer]), and the limestone bust of Mercury from Tawern, H. 34 cm (photo T. Zühmer, courtesy Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier), and the marble bust from an acrolith of Minerva from *insula 23* at Avenches, H. 56 cm (Musée d'Avenches, Inv. Nr. 72/1a; AVENTICUM—Site et Musée romains d'Avenches, photo P. Lutz).

in the late fourth century at the earliest to go by the coins found in the well's filling. In the eyes of the excavator, these sculptural fragments represented the most characteristic parts of the cult images, and were selected for deposition as part of a late antique Christian program of image destruction.[54] The broken nose and slash mark across the face certainly seem to confirm that the statue of Mercury experienced a violent attack, but the head and other objects may also have been selected for deposition by pagans returning to a damaged site and enacting rituals of closure. If the head was simple rubble used to fill the well, then the absence of other body parts in the same deposit at Tawern is puzzling.

Even intentional damage to sculpture can be viewed in a nonnegative light. A sandstone statue of Mercury and Rosmerta from Sulz am Neckar had the head of Rosmerta knocked off, and the lower part of Mercury's face damaged. Mercury's neck shows clear slash marks from the axe that was used to attack the sculpture. This damage has been attributed to Germanic invaders and could

54. Faust 2002.

equally be attributed to Christian iconoclasm.[55] But can we think of the slash marks on the neck in terms of sacrifice, or even judicial execution? In both the Hellenistic Greek and central Roman worlds, statues of gods who had failed individuals or communities could be physically punished or thrown into bodies of water. Pausanias describes the whipping of the statue of an athlete on Thasos that was subsequently thrown into the sea, while in Rome the emperor Tiberius had the cult statue of Isis thrown in the sea because of the immorality of the god's priests.[56] Why could such acts of ritual punishment not occur in the temples and sanctuaries of Rome's western provinces as well?

Of course, there is no need to assume that all damaged religious sculptures are cases of ritual closure, just as there is no need to assume that all cult image destruction can be blamed on Christians or Germans alone. Probably the most interesting point brought up by this new theory is the idea that the function and meaning of religious sculpture could change over time. The life cycle of a cult image was not static. It is not necessary to look for historically documented events to hang the damage and deposition of sculpture on, when numerous reasons exist why sculpture in sanctuaries might become damaged and need to be disposed of, ranging from fires, floods, and landslides to barbarian attacks. They might also simply become redundant when new cults and forms of worship became more popular, as was likely the case when the mystery cults pushed state and public religion into the background of Roman religious practice. In some cases, however, cult images found radically new meanings at the very end of Late Antiquity, a topic to which we now turn.

## *Recycling and Reinterpretation*

The fact that attitudes toward religious sculpture changed over time is illustrated by examples of the reuse or reinterpretation of cult images in Late Antiquity. While evidence for the destruction and reuse of statues as building material in Roman Germany is fairly widespread, instances of its reinterpretation are rare. For example, so far as the author is aware, the practice of Christianizing or exorcizing sculpture by engraving crosses on it, which is found in Greece and the

55. Steidl 2005, 150, fig. 164.
56. Paus. 6.11.6–8, Ios., *Ant. Iud.* 18, 65–80. For further examples, see *ThesCRA* 2.5:494–9, s.v., "cult images" (Icard-Gianolio and Szabados 2004).

eastern Mediterranean world, is unknown in Roman Germany and rare in the western Roman Empire as a whole.[57] The use of mutilated votive monuments in the foundation and inner filling of walls at churches of St. Ursula in Cologne, the Bonner Münster, and the church of St. Georg in Alzey have certainly been interpreted as a form of reinterpretation and conquest of pagan monuments.[58] But one must be cautious, as in each case the spolia elements were not placed in visible parts of the church, but were buried inside walls or in foundations.

A cautionary tale of overinterpreting the meaning of spolia in late antique churches can be found in the case of the cloister of St. Michael on top of the Heiligenberg in Heidelberg. The cloister and its church ruins contained various sculptures, altars, and bases dedicated to Mercury, as well as fragments of Jupiter-Giant columns. It was once thought that these spolia elements had been intentionally dragged from the Roman settlement in Heidelberg-Neuenheim at the base of the hill, some 300 m in elevation below, as a form of intentional degradation and as a sign of Christian triumph over monuments of the pagan past. It was not until 1983 that the excavation of the cloister revealed a Romano-Celtic temple complex immediately below it, which was a far more likely source for the reused stones. Moreover, between the construction of the earliest cloister in the ninth century AD and the end phase of the temple complex in the third or fourth, a Frankish settlement was established on the same spot, probably occupying the abandoned Roman temple buildings.[59] At the time of the cloister's construction, the inscribed stones were probably deemed convenient building material rather than being selected as part of a programmed message about the conquest of paganism.

But there are at least two clear-cut examples of reinterpretation of Roman sculpture in the west that can be said to represent a true "afterlife" of western cult images. The first is the celebrated Tomb of the Secundinii, which still stands to this day in the little village of Igel on the Mosel. The tower-like monument largely owes its intact survival to a misinterpretation, dating at least as far back as the thirteenth century, that the figures represented on the monument's southern face are none other than Constantius Chlorus, his family, and his sainted wife Helena.[60] The latter was the mother of Constantine, the first Chris-

57. Kristensen (2012) discusses the topic in general. Western examples include his catalogue nos. A19, A20, B23 (Italy), and B26 (Spain). See also the chapters of Burkhardt and Brown in this volume.
58. Kousser 2010, 130–33.
59. Ludwig and Marzolff 2008, 43–54.
60. Dragendorff and Krüger 1924, 7.

tian emperor, and supposed finder of the true cross. Edith Wightmann has suggested that the zodiac motifs and ascension of Hercules shown in the upper registers would also have appealed to Christian sentiment and concepts of the ascension of the soul.[61] Certainly the ascension of Elijah and Christ are similarly depicted in early Christian catacomb paintings. In this case, the reinterpretation of a pagan monument left it with the protection of the church, and sent it to a sort of heavenly afterlife for ancient sculpture.

If the afterlife of the Igel column is to be perceived of as heaven, then a marble statue of Venus Genetrix from Trier must be considered as having landed a unique place in hell. Now in the Landesmuseum in Trier, it was once displayed on top of a base fronted by a sixteenth-century verse inscription in Latin and German in the church of St. Matthias (fig. 6). The Latin inscription on the base appears to be corrupted and makes no sense, but the German reads:

> Wollt ihr wissen was ich bin.
> Ich bin gewessen ein Abgottin
> Da S. Eucharius zu Trier kam,
> Er mich zerbrach, mein Ehr abnam.
> Ich war geehret als ein Got.
> Jetz stehen ich hie(r) der Welt zu spot.
>
> Im Jahr 50 nach Christi geburt sein die
> 3 H. Bischoffe von Rom zu Trier komen.
> Euch(harius) Val(erius), Mat(ernus).
>
> What am I? You want to know?
> Once I was a false god, though
> When Saint Eucharius to Trier came
> He broke my body and good name.
> Thus I, once honored as a god,
> Now stand here for all to prod.
>
> In the year 50 after Christ's birth the three holy bishops of Rome came to Trier: Eucharius, Valerius, and Maternus.[62]

61. Wightman 1970, 239.
62. Author's translation. The Latin version reads: *Me pridem Treviris colvit / Profanis aris iam truncus / sacrilegi numinis prostrata / spernor inanis et dum Petrus / piscator legat Eucharium / Valerium Ma-*

Fig. 6. The marble Venus from St. Matthias in Trier (center) and the sixteenth-century inscription from the base on which it stood (top) are now displayed in the Rheinlandesmuseum in Trier (photo by author, courtesy Rheinsches Landesmuseum Trier).

As late as 1811, it was still traditional for pilgrims visiting the church to hurl stones at the image. This tradition, and the reuse of the statue, is obviously later than the date on the base of AD 50, but is almost certainly earlier than the sixteenth-century date of the inscription itself. At whatever point this tradition began, attitudes toward pagan images had obviously changed greatly by this time. Neither total nor partial destruction seems to have been necessary, nor was there any fear of contamination from the demon-possessed stone. By this

*ternum Tunc / (Huius Superstitionis) tollitur error / Ao post Christum natu romamissias: Petro / Treveros venerunt Euch. Vals: Mat. 50* (author's reading based on the photograph above). Though the gist of the garbled text seems to be comparable to that of the German, no translation is really possible.

time, the use of idols no longer invoked fear and hatred, but mere mockery of a long past superstitious practice.[63] With Christianity now established as the dominant world religion, pagan superstitions became merely funny.

## *Multiple Actors and a Varied Chronology in Cult Image Destruction*

Fairly good evidence can be presented for the culpability all three of the main suspects identified as the agents of religious image destruction in Roman Germany. While the focus of this volume is on the final use and afterlife of ancient statuary, this represents only the final phase in the life cycle of ancient cult images. They also had a birth and adulthood, in which their function and meaning changed over time, and occasionally an afterlife. The working life of a cult image as an object of veneration was long. Thus Pausanias could find very old statues still on display in Greek temples, and cult statues captured or adopted in Rome's earliest days were still on display in temples by the imperial period.[64] The same was true of cult images in the empire's western provinces as finds like the head from Tawern demonstrate. During the course of their active lives, cult images could be accidentally damaged, fall out of fashion or popularity, or be replaced by bigger and better images. All of these events could provide cause for the disposal or relocation of a statue or its fragments, without the need to resort to historically attested cases of Christian iconoclasm or barbarian incursions. Even at the end of antiquity, attitudes and approaches toward pagan images varied over time.

The scholarship of cult image destruction in the west has been particularly focused on connecting destructions to historical events, whether barbarian invasions or the events and legislation of fourth-century Christianity. This obsession makes identifying a single culprit a particularly difficult task, since each of the various suspects, Christians, Germans, and pagans, were active in overlapping intervals in both the third and fourth centuries AD. Moreover, we run the risk of assuming that all three suspect groups reacted to cult images in much the same way at all times. This is most unlikely. Some Christians may have pre-

63. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier 1984, 203–4, fig. 91a (statue) and 91b (base). Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek, and Schwinden 1988, 165, no. 333, pl. 81 (statue).
64. On Rome's earliest cult images, their origins, and their status in the late Republican and early imperial periods, see Martin 1987, 11–50.

ferred to ignore pagan idols, while some barbarians may not have bothered to smash images in the villages and cities they burned and plundered. Some pagans may have undertaken rituals of closure, while others may simply have abandoned their idols. The most likely explanation is that all three suspects actively engaged in the destruction and deposition of cult images in different times and places and to different degrees.

I will conclude with a final supporting example, albeit not from Roman Germany. In the early sixth century AD, St. Benedict arrived at Cassinum (Monte Cassino) in southern Latium, where he decided to found a monastery. At the time, the site was occupied by a temple to Apollo and a sacred grove that were still being used by the locals for pagan worship. The saint smashed the statue of Apollo, overturned his altar, and cut down the grove, but his troubles with the site's pagan history did not stop there.[65] While his monks were constructing the monastery, they came across a large stone in the ground. In spite of all their efforts, the stone could not be moved until Benedict's prayers caused an invisible demon (which had been sitting on it) to depart. Below the stone, Benedict commanded the monks to dig, and there, at a considerable depth, they uncovered a bronze idol. The idol was then casually placed in the monastery's kitchen, which, as soon as the monks resumed their construction work, burst into flames. Once again, the conflagration was defeated by Benedict's prayers, though the fate of the idol is not recorded.[66] Note the fact that the pagan sanctuary was actively in use prior to Benedict's arrival, and yet at some point even earlier the idol had been buried beneath a stone. Whether its burial was a ritual of closure, or whether it had been buried by some previous Christian holy man, we cannot tell. It is clear, however, that the sanctuary of Apollo at Cassinum suffered at least two separate instances of cult image destruction (or deposition) separated by considerable intervals and in which different approaches seem to have been employed. This is an example of mixed chronology and agency that seems to be very much confirmed by the archaeological evidence of Roman Germany.

65. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues,* 2.8.10–11.
66. Gregory the Great, *Dialogues,* 2.9.1 and 2.10.1.

NINE

# The Fate of Classical Statues in Late Antique and Byzantine Sicily

## *The Cases of Catania and Agrigento*

DENIS SAMI

Sicily's geographical centrality and agricultural wealth made the island a key province first within the late Roman Empire and later in the Byzantine dominions.[1] The wealth of Sicilian urban society in the Roman period is reflected by public monuments such as temples, theaters, amphitheaters, and *fora* documented in all the main urban centers[2] that made these civic spaces busy, elaborate, and decorated landscapes. Statuary was a famed and major element in this monumental embellishment. Unfortunately, despite the importance of Sicilian Roman sculpture we still know of very few examples. Biagio Pace summarized Roman statuary in the third volume of his *Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica,*[3] Vincenzo Tusa worked on the sarcophagi,[4] and Nicola Bonacasa on Hellenistic and Roman portraits.[5] However, despite these efforts a lot of work remains to be done and a comprehensive study on the subject is still missing. A conse-

1. This chapter develops a section from my Art and Humanity Research Councilfunded PhD thesis presented in Leicester in 2010. I would like to thank for their help and advice Neil Christie, Salvatore Cosentino, Bryan Ward–Perkins, Anna Booth, Antonino Crisà, and Maria Luisa Famà. I am also particularly grateful to R. J. A. Wilson for his suggestions, and Lea Stirling and Troels Myrup Kristensen for the opportunity given to me of presenting this chapter.
2. R. J. A. Wilson 1990, 57–87.
3. Pace 1949.
4. Tusa 1995.
5. N. Bonacasa 1964.

quence of this gap is therefore a lack of information concerning intentional damage to Sicilian sculptures.

This essay focuses on the destruction and reuse of images, exploring the reasons for, and meanings of, such actions. Thus, we may ask the question, what happened to the statues of Sicilian cities when Christianity took hold? Were the mythological and religious meanings of these images lost or did they endure into Byzantine and, later, Islamic society?

To answer these questions and to evaluate the potential contribution of Sicily to the wider discussion, three case studies that are informed by textual and published archaeological evidence will be explored. First, we will investigate a group of statues representing the Pii Fratres and displayed in Catania since the Hellenistic period. Their material fate and symbolic connotations represent an unusual example in the late antique reuse of statues. We shall see below how the overlap between myth and civic identity determined their survival.

A second case study, for which we possess only a short written source, concerns a different ideological and chronological context that sheds light on the involvement of Classical statues in the conversion of pagan temples. At the end of the sixth century, Bishop Gregory performed a ceremony in the temple of Concordia in Agrigento in which pagan idols were involved. Since the main routes through which Sicilian statuary has previously been explored are iconography and iconology,[6] the example of Agrigento offers us scope for understanding, on the one hand, the Church's contradictions in considering idols as simply manmade objects and, on the other hand, the possible role statues played in these rituals.

The final case study analyzes the appearance of a reused Roman statue from late antique and Byzantine contexts in Arab legends. Specifically, we shall consider an elephant statue still displayed today in Catania, its role, and its enduring acceptance (see map of Sicily, fig.1).

As we shall discuss, the Pii Fratres, the pulling down of idols in the temple of Concordia, and the Elephant are emblematic of their contemporary cultural contexts, having different interpretations and values reflecting their current social expectations and political ideology. It is, however, legitimate to wonder how far these examples represent the entirety of Sicilian attitudes toward pagan images. Although three cases are not enough to describe an entire regional pattern, in the conclusions some points of discussion are offered.

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6. See, for example, R. J. A. Wilson 1990, 339–46.

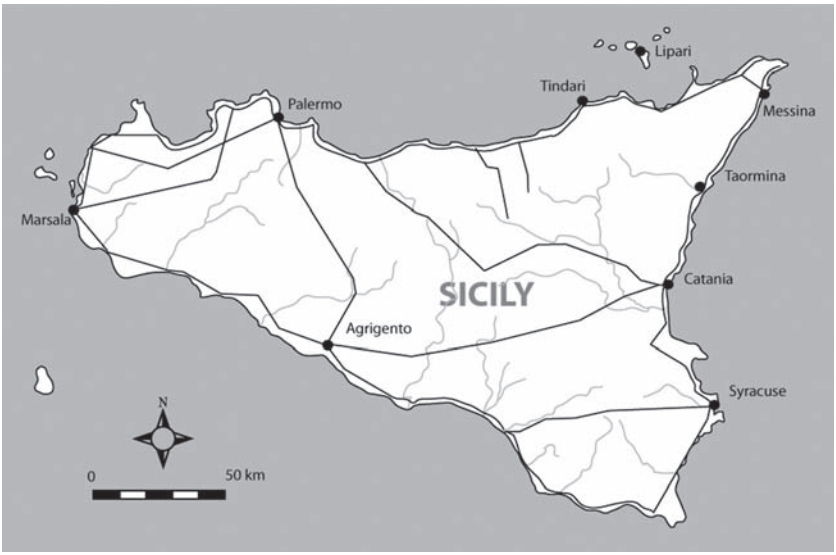


Fig. 1. Map of Sicily showing places mentioned in the text (drawing by author).

In terms of documentation, the Elephant of Catania is the only surviving example discussed here, and so inevitably our discussion depends chiefly on indirect sources, comprising ancient texts and spanning geographical reports, poems, historical accounts, and hagiographies. Iconography also provides material for debate, and coins minted in Rome for Sicily in the Roman republican and imperial periods depicting the statues of the Pii Fratres are of great importance.[7] The numismatic representation of the Pii Fratres is reduced to its minimum and what we observe is the symbolic meaning of these statues, but when numismatic iconography is compared with textual sources similarities emerge.

## *The Pii Fratres of Catania*

The Pii Fratres were two legendary brothers, Amphinomos and Anapias, who rescued their parents from the advance of a lava flow from Mount Etna. The myth has a Hellenistic origin and it was celebrated by several authors, such as

7. Zarrow 2003, 123–35.

Lycurgos, Seneca, and Ausonius, and around the end of the fourth century or beginning of the fifth century AD by Claudian.[8] Across this time period and, as we shall see below, probably throughout the entire Byzantine time, the story of Amphinomos and Anapias was so intimately associated with Catania that the legend became synonymous with the city. Ausonius, in fact, describing the most famous cities of the empire, offers an idea of the strict relation between Catania and the Pii Fratres:[9]

> Who would keep quiet about Catania? Who about the four districts of Syracuse?—the former famous for the devotion of the fire-scorched brothers, the latter embracing a miraculous fountain and river.

The Pii Fratres were universally known as an *exemplum pietatis*[10] in Mediterranean culture and as symbols of civic virtue and urban identity. They assumed a more pragmatic (although mythological) meaning in popular tradition by contrast. Amphinomos and Anapias, in fact, were considered as talismans and guardians to the city. We get a sense of this magical implication from the comment in Olympiodorus's historical account as preserved in the ninth century by Photius:[11]

> Alaric wanted to cross to Sicily but was restrained; he [Olympiodorus] reports that a votive statue stood there and prevented the crossing. It had been dedicated, according to his story, by the ancients as means of averting the lava from Etna and the incursions of barbarians by sea.

It can be argued that Photius does not specifically mention Catania or the Pii Fratres, but we should bear in mind that he wrote much later and was summarizing Olympiodorus's text and was not specifically interested in the subject we are analyzing so carefully. In addition, the lava from Etna flowed only to the southern flank of the volcano, affecting particularly the area of Catania; therefore, why would there be a statue offering protection from the volcano in Messina or Taormina if such centers never suffered from lava damage?

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8. Lycurg., *Leoc.* 95; Sen., *Ben.* 3.37.2; Auson., *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 16 (Catina); Claud., *De piis fratribus et de statuis eorum quae sunt apud Catinam (On the Statues of the Two Dutiful Brothers at Catina)*, *Carm. min.* XVII, trans. Platnauer 1922. Other ancient authors are mentioned in Franzoni 1995, 209–10.
9. Auson., *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 14 (Catina), trans. R. J. A. Wilson.
10. Franzoni 1995, 212–16.
11. Phot., *Bibl.,* cod. 80 (*PG* vol. 103, col. 261). For an English translation, see N. Wilson 1994, 83.

Fig. 2. a) Silver denarius of M. Herennius (108–107 BC), showing one of the Pii Fratres (photo courtesy Solidus Numismatik, Pecunem.com Auction 25, Lot number: 32); b) Silver denarius of Sextus Pompeius representing Amphinomos and Anapias (ca. 42–40 BC) (photo courtesy Gemini Numismatic Auctions, geminiauction.com, Auction 12, Lot number: 325).

Unfortunately, the once-famous statues of Amphinomos and Anapias have been lost, probably, as will be suggested, since the eighth century, and consequently the only way of reconstructing their iconography is through indirect sources. So far the only visual representation of the two brothers comes from some coins minted between the second and the first century BC (fig. 2).[12] Amphinomos and Anapias are represented carrying their parents on their shoul-

12. Zarrow 2003, pl. 24, figs. 7–8; Franzoni 1995, 212–22, and fig. vii.

ders and running from the fire and lava. A silver *denarius* adds the image of Neptune (fig. 2b) to the depiction of the statues, which may be connected with the representation of Pompey the Great,[13] and it is most likely that this additional element was related to an associated monumental complex.

It is, however, from texts that we gain a more vivid description of the decorative complex. Claudian, who might have seen the statues of Amphinomos and Anapias in person in around 397,[14] recounts their imagery with these words:[15]

> Seizing their parents they set them upon their shoulders and with eyes raised to heaven hasten their steps. . . . See the old man points to the cruel flames; the aged mother's trembling lips call upon the gods for help. Fear has set their hair on end, the bronze is terror-stricken and a pale shiver runs over all the metal. . . . The wind has blown back their cloaks. One raises his right hand; his left is enough to sustain his aged sire. But the other needs must clasp his burden with both arms taking greater care for that it is his mother.

Claudian's eyewitness account reveals the dramatic and heroic scene, detailing the appearance of the subjects and iconographical elements, such as the raised hand of the father or the blowing cloaks that appear in Sicilian coins.

Photius provides further information when he says how a "perpetual flame burned on one of its feet, from the other came a continuous jet of water."[16] Combining these sources we might picture the Pii Fratres as the centerpiece of an articulated decorative complex, probably connected with the aqueduct and most likely forming a nymphaeum.

During archaeological excavations undertaken at the theater of Catania in the 1950s, an inscription mentioning the Pii Fratres was uncovered. The text reads: "*[fl]am[i] fugas fratre[s]/pietatis maxima dona/ quod tulit hostilit[as]/ reddidit hos Merulus [v.c.]/ et spectabilis consul[aris]/ [p]rovinciae siciliae*."[17] On the basis of both style and text, Santo Mazzarino dated the inscription to the

13. Zarrow 2003, 124.
14. A. Cameron 1970, 392–93.
15. Claud., *De piis fratribus.*
16. *Bibl.,* codex 80 (*PG* vol. ciii, col. 261).
17. "(The statues of the) Flame–fleeing Brother, whom an act of hostility carried off, have been restored—very fine gifts—by Merulus, [*v*(*ir*) *c*(*clarissimus*)] *et spectabilis*, governor (*consula*(*ris*)) of the province of Sicily"; *AE* 1956: 259, trans. by R. J. A. Wilson 1990, 332; see also fig. 283.

reign of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric (493–526), a chronology that is generally accepted.[18]

Hence, we know that the statues were damaged by a *hostilitas*, but then restored and redisplayed to the city's population by the most important Sicilian imperial officer, the *vir clarissimus consularis*. The inscription raises several crucial questions. Who damaged the statues and why? When did the destruction happen? Subsequently, why were the Pii Fratres statues restored and redisplayed? What does this act, celebrated by an imperial representative, tell us about local and wider meanings and attitudes toward these particular images?

In the opinion of Mazzarino, the term *hostilitas* refers to Vandal raids.[19] Incursions by Vandals periodically targeted Sicily, especially on the western and southern coasts. Lilybaeum was taken by Genseric in 440, Palermo was besieged in 440/41, and other attacks on the south coast are documented in 456, 460, and 468.[20] Around 456, Vandals went further by targeting Brutium, therefore sailing through the Ionian Sea along the eastern coast of Sicily.[21] A tax exemption granted by Valentinian III to Sicily in 438–42[22] leads some scholars to suppose that Vandals also attacked eastern Sicily with success.[23] However, while we have some archaeological proof of Vandal violence in the western and southern part of the island,[24] we lack clear evidence on the east coast, where coastal settlements continued to flourish through the whole fifth century.[25] In addition, Syracuse and Catania were important cities and were most probably well defended,[26] and if such centers were besieged or occupied, surely written sources would have mentioned it. Fifth- and sixth-century authors such as Hydatius[27] and Isidore of Seville[28] in fact report the capture of Lilybaeum, the siege of Palermo, and the defeat of Vandals by Count Marcellinus near Agrigento in 465.[29] The lack of data regarding direct attacks on Catania or Syracuse is probably due to the absence of such raids and sieges.

18. Korhonen 2003, 156; Mazzarino 1980, 355–61.
19. Mazzarino 1980, 355–61.
20. Courtois 1964, 191; Merrills and Miles 2010, 130.
21. Courtois 1964, 191, n. 2.
22. *Nov. Valent.* i, 2, 1, trans. Pharr 1952, 515.
23. Courtois 1964, 191, n. 2; R .J. A. Wilson 1990, 331–32, and 418, n. 13.
24. R. J. A. Wilson 1983, 11–35.
25. Cacciaguerra 2008, 427–52.
26. Sami 2010, 126–43.
27. *Chron.* 120, trans. Burgess 1993.
28. *Hist. Vand.* 75.
29. Hydatius, *Chron.* 227

If Mazzarino pointed to Vandals as the cause of the Pii Fratres destruction, Andreas Goltz[30] identifies the army of Count Marcellinus as the possible reason for the word *hostilitas*.

These hypotheses might have plausibility, but Photius offers a final answer:

> When it [the statue] was later knocked down Sicily suffered damages from Etna's eruptions and the barbarians. It was Asklepios, the administrator appointed to look after the property of Constantius and Placidia in Sicily, who pulled down the statue.[31]

The Pii Fratres were thus destroyed not by Vandals nor by Marcellinus, but by an imperial officer in the first decades of the fifth century. Asklepios is described by Photius as *dioiketes katastas,*[32] an administrator of the imperial properties on the island and thus an officer of considerable power and not less influential than a *consularis.*

If Asklepios held office under Constantius III and Galla Placidia, the pulling down of the statues might have occurred between 417, the year of their marriage, and 421, the date of Constantius's death—therefore, well before the Vandals arrived in the Mediterranean. But why did Asklepios destroy or remove the Pii Fratres? And why did the later *consularis* Merulus refer to this action as one of *hostilitas*?

Studies on late antique Sicily usually explore the Christian element of society, generally neglecting the non-Christian component.[33] Furthermore, it is taken for granted that there was a quick and peaceful process of conversion, almost completed by the mid-fifth century.[34] This picture, however, seems a little oversimplified. It is suspicious that Christian texts never mention any form of resistance from the pagan or nonorthodox Christian component of Sicilian society, despite the fact that there are elements that reveal a more complicated and articulated religious and social context during the fourth and fifth centuries.[35]

Thus, during the second half of the fourth century, in the *Praefatio in lib. IV*

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30. Goltz 1997–98, 227.
31. *Bibl.*, codex 80 (*PG* vol. ciii, col. 261), trans. N. Wilson 1994, 83.
32. διοικητης καταστας (*Bibl.*, codex 80; *PG* vol. ciii, col. 261).
33. The recent work by Francesco P. Rizzo (2005–6a and 2005–6b), in spite of exploring early Sicilian Christianity in detail, dedicates very little space to debate and analysis of the later aspects of paganism.
34. Otranto 1991, 45–79.
35. Greco 1999.

*Jeremiae,* St. Jerome condemned a little known, but apparently successful, Sicilian doctrine named *impeccantia.*[36] Later, in 414, Ilarius, a Syracusan landowner, sent a letter to St. Augustine stating his concerns about the presence of Pelagius in the island and Augustine's reply to this concern was the anti-Pelagian treatise *De natura et gratia.*[37]

From an archaeological perspective, Rosario Greco[38] has clearly demonstrated the high degree of syncretism in Syracusan funerary areas in the late fourth and early fifth century, while Rosa Maria Carra Bonacasa[39] has highlighted the continuity of pagan customs in Christian necropoleis through the fourth and fifth centuries. Also the late fifth-century Greek inscription of Proba, found in the necropolis of Lipari, with its reference to the Catholic faith, indirectly attests to the presence of non-Catholic followers.[40] Finally, probably spanning the fourth and sixth centuries are the lead tablets containing magical formulae uncovered in the rural areas of Camarina and Cefalù[41] that reveal latent superstition rooted in pagan traditions. Hence, in Sicily, archaeology shows for the fourth and the fifth centuries a more heterogeneous religious and cultural background, where coexistence between different groups might not have been always peaceful.

The urban landscape, in particular, was notoriously a setting for disorders and uprisings between city factions and opposing religious groups.[42] Despite this, so far we lack material evidence to prove a similar degree of violence within Sicilian urban centers. However, if we consider the archaeological and textual sources already mentioned, we can observe elements suggesting that social tensions existed also on the island.[43] Thus, we should consider the idea that the removal of the Pii Fratres was actually a consequence of urban riots, perhaps between pagans and Christians, although other reasons within the local community cannot be excluded. Religious uprisings, especially in the urban context, were more frequent than Christian texts tell us and the material impacts of these disorders are often traceable through damage to sculptures.[44]

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36. Rizzo 2005–6b, 2, i: 126, 272. Latin text in Rizzo 2005–6b, 2, i: 126 and 2, ii: 272.
37. Rizzo 2005–6b, 2, i: 148–52.
38. Greco 1999, 79–126.
39. R.M. Carra Bonacasa 2008, 219–35.
40. Agnello 1998, 83–103.
41. Cordaro 1997–98, 293–97; Cordaro 1997–98, 607–12; Manganaro 1989, 13–41; R. J. A. Wilson 1990, 310–11.
42. Whitby 2006, 441–61.
43. Rizzo 1998.
44. Kristensen 2009b, 158–75.

It remains to be explained why almost a century later *consularis* Merulus, in restoring the statues, referred to their destruction as *hostilitas*. The inscription celebrating the redisplay of the statues might be read on the one hand as a social reconciliation with past policy and the reestablishment of the social order. The idea of *Taxis*,[45] the concept of harmonious and correct order, is central to the ideology of late antique imperial power and was constantly displayed to the public through ceremonies and monument decorations; the restoration of the statues may fit into this concept. Theodoric's policies toward provincial *curiales* and urban autonomy was more generous than those of late Roman emperors, and the restoration of the city's symbol of identity might have been a clear act of reconciliation with Sicilian elites.[46]

Popular superstition might have also played a notable role in the redisplay of the statues. Seeking to keep social peace and to counter unrest, Merulus must have negotiated after a pressing demand from the lower classes. This popular feeling should not be underestimated as it appears again in the late Byzantine and Islamic periods. From a Christian perspective, once the early religious fervor had disappeared, the regional Church might have negotiated between the demands of social peace, popular traditions, and Christian doctrine; in the end, the *exemplum pietatis* of Amphinomos and Anapias was viewed as acceptable for a Christian society. We observe, however, the effort of the Church in replacing the pagan myth with the cult of St. Agatha, as evident from the *Agathae passio,*[47] where we find the account of how the display of St. Agatha's veil was used to stop the lava coming from Mount Etna to protect the city from the volcano.

At least one of the two Pii Fratres was probably still displayed in the eighth century when the Church continued its replacement of the ancient myth. From the hagiography of St. Leo of Catania, written in the mid-eighth century, we know that the wizard Heliodorus induced the local inhabitants to worship a *xoanon*, an idol that was a sort of urban amulet that had power over the wind and protected the city from the fire of the nearby Mount Etna.[48] According to this source, Heliodorus (and, with him, local superstition) was finally defeated and burned at the stake by Bishop Leo, but material evidence, as we will see, offers a different story.

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45. Auzépy 2005.
46. About Theodoric's politics, see Vitiello 2004, 73–120.
47. Latin text in Rizzo 2005–6, 2, ii, 21–26.
48. Acconcia Longo 1989, 6, 15–18, 30–32.

Finally, given their ideological importance for the identity of Catania, a central and highly visible position for the display of Amphinomos, Anapias, and their parents is certain. Claudian wrote that the statues were *apud Catinam,* that is, near Catania; Conon in his *diegeseis* (again from Photius) tells how marble statues of the two brothers were erected in a place called *xoros ensebon* (*campus piorum*) where the two brothers were spared by the lava.[49] Kalle Korhonen[50] instead suggests the forum, while Mazzarino[51] prefers the theater. The inscription celebrating the statutes was in fact found in the theater and we know that between the fourth and the fifth century the *cavea* was modified to host water displays.[52] As we have seen, the decorative complex was connected with a water system and for this reason a display at the theater seems plausible.

The case of Amphinomos and Anapias offers scope to speculate about the role these statues had in the construction of the late antique and Byzantine urban memory of Catania. Recently, Lucia Arcifa proposed the cult of St. Agatha and the display of the statue of the Elephant as the two subjects around which the city's identity was set in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period.[53] The cult of St. Agatha was without doubt important to the religious and cultural life of Catania, as attested by funerary inscriptions and monuments.[54] However, as I have proposed here, during the fifth century, in terms of urban memory, the myth of Amphinomos and Anapias played a more cohesive social function. But did this endure? Evidence concerning the perception of the Pii Fratres within the urban population in the Byzantine period is scanty and any attempt to investigate this topic remains at the moment premature. It is possible, however, to suggest that their symbolic meaning was maintained until the eight century, since the *Life of Bishop Leo* confirms the existence of a statue protecting the city in his time. It appears also that the statues continued to embody some sort of magical implication revealing the complicated and uncertain relationship between superstition and Christianity.

The spatial setting of the display of statues is of primary importance to help recognize the space where "power" was celebrated. Discussing the fifth century reuse of statues in the Forum Romanum, Carlos Machado observes how in this period inscriptions concentrated around structures connected with old urban

49. Phot., *Bibl.,* cod. 186 (*PG* 103, col. 581–2).
50. Korhonen 2003, 156.
51. Mazzarino 1980, 356.
52. R.J.A. Wilson 1990, 69–70.
53. Arcifa 2007, 355–86.
54. Rizza 1964, 593–612.

glories and commemorated civic life emphasizing senatorial space.[55] In the commemoration of civic virtues, the local aristocracy was also responsible for moving and redisplaying old statues, thereby denoting the elaboration of a new attitude toward the past and the material capacity of preserving this memory.[56] We do not know if the Pii Fratres were first displayed outside the city walls, later in the Forum, and finally repositioned in the theater, although the discovery of the inscriptions of Merulus and Munatidius (probably a second reused statue in the mid-fifth century[57]) may indicate that the theater was, in this period, one of the principal places where power was celebrated. Recent excavations at the theater have revealed how the public monument was converted into a macellum from the late sixth or early seventh century, a more pragmatic use of the monument, but one that nonetheless still signifies a certain degree of public access and visibility.[58]

The twofold attitude of the Church regarding statues oscillated between recognizing idols as only manmade objects and merely a consequence of superstition while, on the other hand, depicting statues as the refuge of spirits. Troels Myrup Kristensen, arguing about the display of mutilated statues in Caesarea, focuses his analysis on the religious aspect of such initiatives and how they might have been perceived by contemporary viewers. From this point, mutilated or restored statues did not merely embody nostalgic or antiquarian sentiments or a new civic and secular meaning, but rather also exhibited the triumph of Christianity through defeated or inert idols.[59] The case of the Pii Fratres would appear to be distant from a merely religious perspective since their restoration and redisplay had more to do with a pragmatic political design.

## *The Idols of Eber and Raps in the Temple of Concordia*

One of the purposes of smashing idols was to prove the lifelessness and emptiness of those images created by superstition.[60] Damage and mutilation of stat-

55. Machado 2006, 187.
56. Machado 2006, 187.
57. CIL X 7014; Korhonen 2003, 147–149. Text: *Vernantibus/ saeculis ddd(ominorum) nnn(ostrorum trium)/ Genio splendidae urbis/ Catinae/ Facundus Porfyrius/ Munatidius v(ir) c(larissimus),/ cons(ularis)* (?) *eiusdem.*
58. Branciforti and Pagano 2008.
59. Kristensen 2010, 272.
60. Kristensen 2010, 272.

ues often occurred during more or less planned urban clashes between factions, while in other circumstances mutilations were part of religious ceremonies.[61]

This second case study concerns a ritual performed by Bishop Gregory of Agrigento in converting the Temple of Concordia in 596. Our source this time is the *Life of Gregory of Agrigento* written in Sicily in the first half of the seventh century by Abbot Leontius. We hear that on the same day that Gregory returned from a journey to Rome and Constantinople with money for the construction of the new cathedral, he erected his tent facing the ancient monument, and

> he was there all night with people, making a likeness of the holy table. And then he raised high the honoured and life-giving crucifix. After that he prayed to God and put to flight the Devil there, those lurking in the idols of Eber and Raps. And built the new church most beautiful to look at, and dedicated it in the honour of the holy princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul.[62]

The identity of the two idols can only be conjectured and is not essential to this discussion; what is important here, however, is the perception of the two statues and the organization of the ritual of rededication.

Although the official position of the Church stated that images were nothing more than inanimate objects, in Sicily there persisted the feeling that idols were related to demons and magic. Pope Gregory the Great, writing to Bishop Eutychius of Tyndaris, complained about idol worshipers in his parish,[63] and in Catania, as we have seen, the wizard Heliodorus, helped by a demon, induced the population to idolatry. The idea of idols inhabited by spirits was, therefore, clearly well rooted in the region.

Certainly the documented fight between a bishop and demons was designed to celebrate the power of the Church and more specifically that of the victorious bishop. In this view, the honoring of Bishop Gregory increased both his own personal prestige and that of the Church of Agrigento, at that time troubled by tensions between pretenders to the position of bishop. On the other hand, these texts say much about how the audience believed in the strict correlation between spirits and statues.

The ritual performed by Bishop Gregory offers some clues regarding the

61. See discussion concerning different theories in Whitby 2006, 441–61; see also Sauer 2003.
62. Martyn 2004a, 91.
63. Gregory the Great, *Letters* iii.59, trans. Martyn 2004b, 279.

ceremony involving statuary. In fact, the rite closely recalls the last days of Jesus in a symbolic magical-imitative practice. In particular, the raising up of a crucifix is a common element shared with other episodes of the destruction of images. A wooden statue taken from the temple of Cronus in 325 was broken and transformed into a crucifix in Alexandria.[64] A further example of such practice is offered by the fifth-century inscription of Demeas found in Ephesus.[65] This text records how Demeas knocked down the statue of Artemis, honored the true God, and raised a cross that drove away idols.

The two statues hosted in the Temple of Concordia must have been knocked down after the performance, which started with prayers, reached its climax with the defeat of the spirits and their replacement with a cross, signaling the final conversion of the temple. The case of Agrigento is not isolated in Sicily and a similar ceremony was later performed by Bishop Leo of Catania who, after praying, destroyed an idol that had been worshipped in an old building and replaced it with a crucifix.[66]

The conversion of the temple of Concordia in Agrigento brings us to a different and more common approach to statues: that of hostility from the Church. In contrast to the events in Catania, the two idols at Agrigento were easily pulled down by the bishop because they represented only the old cult and did not have any persisting meaning for the local urban identity.

## *The Elephant of Catania*

The statue of the Elephant displayed in Piazza Duomo in Catania is probably one of the most famous monuments of the city and it holds a particular significance for citizens. It is, in fact, still thought that this volcanic stone image protects Catania from the nearby volcano, just as the Pii Fratres were supposed to do. Today the statue—whose carving may have required very good skills as volcanic stone is a difficult material to work—forms part, together with an Egyptian-style obelisk, of an eighteenth-century fountain built by architect Giovanni Battista Vaccarini (1702–68).[67]

64. Kristensen 2009b, 163.
65. Horsley 1987, 256–57.
66. Acconcia Longo 1989, 9.
67. Spina 2007.

Specific iconographic research on the Elephant has not yet been done and we therefore possess little information concerning its origin. For example, its chronology is still disputed, but seems to span from the Hellenistic and Roman periods to Byzantine times.[68] The original function and its location of exhibition remain controversial. Today, it is presumed that the Elephant was initially displayed in the circus of Catania, probably as part of the spina decorations. The twelfth-century Arab geographer Idrîsî, describing Catania and the Elephant, wrote "Il s'élevait autrefois au sommet d'une construction; on l'a transporté depuis à l'intérieur de la ville et place dans l'église des moines."[69] Therefore, there are elements in Idrîsî's text that seem to confirm the provenance as the circus located outside the city walls.[70]

Exactly when the Elephant was moved to an intramural position remains disputed. We do not have any reference to the statue in late Roman and Byzantine sources, but it is noteworthy that Islamic Catania was known as *madinat al–fil* (the city of the elephant), clearly referring to this statue.[71] Lucia Arcifa, on the basis of Arab texts, suggests that the statue was relocated in the late Byzantine period, between the seventh and eighth centuries, to the top of the *castrum,*[72] while Henri Bresc proposes an Islamic date for its new display.[73] In any case, if the statue was moved inside the defended space in the Byzantine period, this might have been after the late eighth century when the hagiography of Bishop Leo was written and when at least one of the Pii Fratres statues was still present to protect the city from the nearby volcano; in fact, there is no mention of the Elephant in Leo's text. Data are unfortunately slight overall and the reasons for the redisplay of the Elephant can only be subject to speculation. What is important here is to highlight the relevance and the involvement of Catanian society with superstition and the evident need for a symbol of protection. The Byzantine, Islamic, Norman, and Catholic Spanish government of the city could not eradicate this popular feeling toward the Elephant, which is still today physically celebrated together with the cult of St. Agatha. In this regard,

68. Pace 1949, 48, 416.
69. (the Elephant) stayed on top of a building. It was later moved within the city and placed in the church of the monks. Idrîsî, *La première géographie de l'Occident,* trans. P. A. Jaubert; see Bresc and Nef 1999, 314.
70. Tortorici 2008, 98–104.
71. De Simone, 1995.
72. Arcifa 2007, 86.
73. Bresc 1992, 67–76.

it is worth noting how the cult of Agatha and the tradition of the Elephant negotiate their coexistence in the representation carved in the eighteenth-century white marble saddle added to the Elephant (see fig. 3).

## *Conclusions*

Just as the architectural decorations of the Arch of Constantine and the stones taken from the amphitheater of Catania to rebuild the urban walls fit into the general label of spolia so too does the reuse of statues.[74] However, while there is much discussion between the apparently opposing approaches, emphasizing, on the one hand, the "ideology," and, on the other hand, the "pragmatism" of spolia,[75] the reuse of statues was essentially connected to the display of ideology. The communication of power through redisplayed images might have been shared between the cultured elite, but to ordinary people born hundreds of years after the celebrated subject of the sculpture, the significance was surely quite different. In this later case, ideology was communicated fundamentally through the economic capacity of elites of monumentalize the urban landscape.

However, there might be exceptions to this general pattern and the case of Catania is probably one of these. As proposed above, the removal of the decorative complex of the Pii Fratres was the consequence of some sort of social instability connected to religious tension or to unrest between political factions. In the same period, I argue, the Church, coordinating with the imperial administration through the provincial *consularis,* attempted to replace the myth and the magical function embodied by Amphinomos and Anapias with the cult of St. Agatha. Ultimately, neither action was particularly successful. In fact, Merulus in c. AD 500 restored the statues and the Church had to negotiate or accommodate the miracles of St. Agatha, first with the myth of the Pii Fratres and later with the statue of the Elephant. Thus, the actions of *consularis* Merulus were a pragmatic political move directed, on the one hand, to gain support from the urban population, and, on the other, to communicate an ideological message of reconciliation between urban factions and confirmation of Catanian urban identity and memory through the celebration of its traditional symbol. He also manifested his personal political and economic power and role by being able to

74. For the use of stones from the amphitheater of Catania to build the city walls, see Cassiod., *Var.* iii–49.
75. Ward–Perkins 1999.

Fig. 3. Fountain with stone statue of an elephant in the Piazza Duomo, Catania (photo courtesy R. J. A. Wilson).

access, restore, and redisplay such important representations. Merulus's choice needs to be contextualized within the politics of pacification and relative autonomy for the Sicilian urban elites that was inaugurated under King Theodoric, autonomy that was later held against Sicilians by Totila.[76]

The Church also appears to have been pragmatically tolerant in Catania or at least was forced to be tolerant, although the hagiographies of St. Agatha and St. Leo document periodic attempts to eradicate the myth of Amphinomos and Anapias. Less flexibility was perhaps applied to the remaining hundreds of statues decorating Sicilian cities.

The three examples selected are chronologically distant from each other, covering almost five hundred years of Sicilian history. To what extent these case studies represent the whole Sicilian Christian response to pagan statuary is still too premature to determine, and more examples are needed to trace a regional pattern. However, what emerges here is that the fate of statues in Sicilian urban contexts needs to be understood within the local background of traditions, sentiments of urban identity, and politics. The lack of data regarding the fortunes of other Sicilian statues might indicate that their pulling down was carried out without particular concern from the local population, but we also have to be aware that the Church did not have any interest in preserving the memory of resistance to the Christianization of the urban landscape. Therefore, the silence of the contemporary textual sources cannot be used as evidence of an easy and rapid disappearance of classical statuary in Sicily.

Detailed analysis of the Sicilian urban institutions in the fifth century could illuminate the role played by a possible loss of power of the *curiales* and the consequent rising authority of the *consularis* or other imperial officers in making decisions in urban politics also related to statuary. Thus, did the knocking down of the Pii Fratres in the early fifth century aim to annihilate the urban identity and autonomy of the local elite? Did the aristocracy of Catania at the end of the century gain more voice and power under Merulus? These are some of the questions that future research should explore to reconstruct the political and ideological background that lay behind the destruction or restoration of Sicilian statues. In conclusion, a more "material" approach to the study of statues today displayed in Sicilian museums is sure to reveal and add further data to the regional debate.

For instance, does the statue of Venus (fig. 4), uncovered in 2004 in Marsala

76. Cracco Ruggini 1980, 498. Procop., *Goth.* xvi, 15–26.

Fig. 4. Mutilated statue of Venus unearthed near the church of San Giovanni al Boeo, Marsala (photo courtesy of R. Giglio).

(ancient Lilybaeum) in the area of the late antique funerary space around the church of San Giovanni al Boeo, present signs of intentional mutilation? Was its display connected with the Grotta della Sibilla shrine and was its destruction due to the conversion of the Grotta into a church?[77] Furthermore, the recent excavations at the saggio VI in the area of Capo Boeo unearthed a monumental marble torso of Isis showing clear signs of intentional mutilation, suggesting that a phase of systematic pulling down of pagan statues occurred in the city between the fourth and fifth centuries.[78] The two statues of Marsala may therefore represent a further attitude to pagan statues that we need to understand in more detail by looking at the context in which these images were found.

Only a well-planned and systematic research project will provide answers to these questions; however, I hope that these three case studies will stimulate future research into this intriguing topic in a fascinating province, Sicily.

77. Caruso and Tusa 2004, 187–94; Giglio 2004.
78. Giglio et al. 2012, 231.

TEN

# The Fate of Sculpture on the Lower Danube in Late Antiquity

## *Preliminary Observations*

CRISTINA-GEORGETA ALEXANDRESCU

From the first century BC onward, the territories along the Lower Danube became of great interest to the Roman Empire, starting with the northern part of the region (today's historic region of Dobrudja, Romania), better known as Moesia inferior and, later, Scythia minor, meaning the area between the Danube and the Black Sea (fig. 1).[1] Scythia minor continued to exist, under various administrative changes, until the early seventh century AD. Within this broad region, different influences and patterns of settlement are evident. Greek poleis flourishing on the shores of the Black Sea since the seventh century BC (Orgame, Istros, Tomi, Kallatis) influenced not only the pre-Roman population in the area, but also Roman settlements and their hinterland. In the eastern part of the region, along the Danube River there was a strong Roman influence, in which the military played a significant role. The Christian element was a further significant actor in the history of the region.[2]

At the beginning of the second century AD, the territories north of the Danube were conquered by Trajan. They became the province of Dacia, which lasted less than 170 years under Roman rule (making it one of the shortest-lived

1. For a short overview on the history and historiography of the region, see A. Barnea 1990; Suceveanu and A. Barnea 1991; Sâmpetru 1994; Wilkes 2005; Zahariade 2006.
2. Oppermann (2010) provides the most recent synthesis on the matter; see also Pippidi 1969.

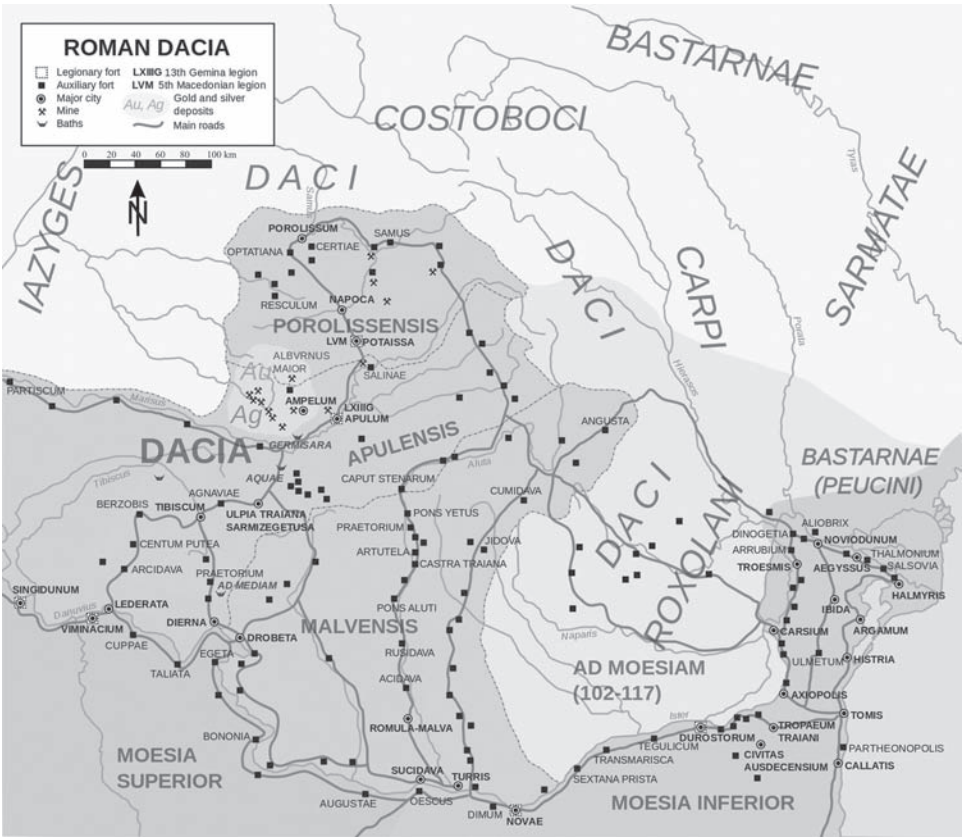


Fig. 1. Map of the region on the Lower Danube showing the main sites discussed in the text (map by author, adapted from image by A. Nacu at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_province_of_Dacia_(106_-_271_AD).svg).

Roman provinces). The final phase of the province (at the end of the third century AD) is conventionally considered to be the end of "civilization," that is, of urban life and Roman structures.[3] Events from the third century onward in the territories of the former province are not yet clear. It is rather the outcome of the following centuries—the creation of the Romanian people—that was considered for a long time to be of importance for research, as the population outside the province came into the abandoned territories, mixed with the Romanized Daco-Romans, with additions from the invading populations known to

3. For an overview on the history of the province and bibliography, see Hanson and Haynes 2004; Oltean 2007. On the end phase of the province, see Hügel 2003.

have passed through or settled down here (based on written sources corroborated with archaeological observations). The long-term results were Romanization and the wide dissemination of the Christian religion in which the region of Dobroudja also played an important role, through missionaries and bishops. With the occupation of military camps, urban life ceased to exist, but not life in the former cities and fortifications.[4] Although garrisons left military camps and traditional urban life dwindled, there continued to be habitation in former cities and fortifications.

Sculpture from this area is not well understood. The quantity of monuments, either imported or locally made, is not large. Information about sculpture comes not only from the sculptures themselves but also from bases and inscriptions bearing relevant details about statues that no longer exist.[5] Little is known about the artists and their workshops, about the materials used, or the commissioners. Despite the importance of this category of finds, there are very few studies on sculpture, and interest in their display and afterlife is practically absent.[6]

The main evidence for the afterlife of sculpture is limited to the reuse of stone buildings for dwelling and protection by the provincial population left in the region and the newcomers from outside their borders (different Dacian populations, Goths, and so on), a process that implied the reuse of stone monuments (architectural decoration, altars, bases, funerary monuments, votive reliefs, statues).[7] The practice of reusing blocks bearing inscriptions, with or without images, as building material, is a common and very frequent feature especially prior to the end of the province, as the cities and camps had to deal with invasions, requiring quick fortification work.[8] The practical reason for using these blocks is their regular shape, which required little or no preparation before reuse.[9]

The rich epigraphic material, on the other hand, has been extensively stud-

4. In the middle of the third century AD there were at least 16 *coloniae* and municipia in Dacia and Moesia inferior. Life in urban settlements has been investigated only in exceptional cases, especially in the sites that continued to be used in later periods: L. Ellis 1998; Bounegru and Adumitroaei 2005–6; Madgearu 2011.
5. For detailed investigation of the display of statues from the forum of the capital of Dacia, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, see Piso 2006, 202–7; Diaconescu and Bota 2009.
6. One important contribution of A. Diaconescu (Diaconescu 2005) has been published in only a few copies and circulates unofficially as a pdf in different versions, making it difficult to quote and properly use and discuss. Sauer (2003, 14–17) observes the lack of interest in these topics in other regions of the empire and points out how new studies on sculptures can mislead through not understanding the circumstances of destruction and discovery.
7. The most recent synthetic studies are Hügel 2003; Benea and Hica 2004.
8. Hügel 2003.
9. See also the study for Carnuntum: Kremer 2012b, 367–71.

ied during the last two centuries. In many cases, archival research carried out on findspots of the inscriptions brought rich information.[10] For sculpture this step is still to be taken. Nor have the published inscriptions always been discussed with regard to their shape and the provenance of the stone.[11]

It has been assumed that some former pagan sanctuaries were reshaped and reorganized as churches, especially starting with the reign of Theodosius I (379–95).[12] The basis for discussion in our region is still quite thin, mainly because research has been confined to the late Roman-Byzantine buildings in many sites (in Scythia minor and southern Dacia) or because the excavations have not been (completely) published. In a few cases the existence of Christian cult places in former military camps has been assumed.[13] The arguments are, however, not properly published in order to allow evaluation. In fact, while there are identifiable Christian finds, there is little evidence of Christian buildings.[14] Further, in the current state of research, the nature of the Christian threat and its possible results (violence or destruction of cultic images in the form of statues and reliefs or of only the shrines that housed them) in our area are far from being clarified. The reuse of stone slabs from older funerary monuments (some bearing inscriptions or images) for funerary cistae is attested in several cases,[15] although the reuse is usually undatable.

Synthetic studies on specific problems such as the use or destruction of

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10. I refer here to the preparatory work for the epigraphic corpora of Dacia and Scythia minor, *IDR* and *ISM*.
11. We started this at the end of 2010 within the ArheoMedia-project, a national research project dedicated to the study of ancient stone monuments bearing depiction from Romania—CNCSIS TE113/2010—www.arheomedia.ro.
12. Sauer 1996; I. Barnea 1982–83, 259–60.
13. Benea 2008, 115–16 (Tibiscum, Porolissum, Slăveni, Drobeta, Sucidava, Gornea); D. Benea, in Benea and Hica 2004, 46. For Scythia minor, see Bogdan Cătăniciu 2006, 239–41; Oppermann 2010, 177–78.
14. For an overview of archaeological finds with Christian connotation, see Gudea and Ghiurco 1988, esp. 35–77, 99–110, 119–20 (on the so-called Christian sanctuaries in Porolissum and Slăveni). They propose a distinction between the period of the Roman province (second-third century AD) and the fourth century: in the earlier period there are small finds and objects of personal use bearing Christian symbols concentrated in cities and a few larger military camps (Porolissum, Micia), while in the second period Christianity reached a variety of fields of everyday life, including the "Christianization" of older stone monuments (mainly funerary). In the second period, finds come both from former cities and from several rural settlements within the former borders of the Roman province. For stone monuments from Gilău and Turda reused in a Christian context, see Bărbulescu 1982, 68. The most eloquent overview of Christian finds of the third to sixth centuries AD from the region remains I. Barnea 1979a.
15. I. Hica in Benea and Hica 2004, 112–53. One example for the region of Moesia inferior is the necropolis of Callatis: Preda 1980. Further, despite the misinterpretation in the first publication of the find, the example in Montana: Aleksandrov 1970, 44–45, no. 4, fig. 3; Conrad 2004, cat. no. 492.

previous buildings and especially of their ornaments and inventory, or behavior toward works of art or other monuments for the period of the fourth to the seventh century, have hardly been formulated in the research of our area.[16] Such research questions necessitate a complex investigation not just of the monuments themselves (including details about material and techniques) but, more important, the search for further information on their find contexts in excavation reports, private archives, antiquarian publications, and the like. The need for such exacting research is one of the reasons this very interesting topic has not been approached more often.

Due to the undeveloped state of research, the usual approach of following the sequence of production, display, destruction, and reuse for the area in focus is rather impossible. We have only snapshots that, on the one hand, attest the existence of sculpture, both imported and locally carved, and, on the other hand, confirm the written information on the various populations that settled the region, coming from all over the Roman Empire.

Research on the sculpture of this region has been characterized by a lack of interest in its function and original display.[17] This narrow approach becomes especially misleading in cases of accidental discovery of more or less well-preserved monuments, as scholars "reconstructed" presumed temples and cult communities.[18]

## *Find Context*

Finds of Roman sculpture in their original context in Dacia and Moesia are rather rare, with most of the material coming from old collections or accidental discoveries. One of the exceptions is a Mithras temple in Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, found and published in the nineteenth century, with a very rich inventory of statues, reliefs, and epigraphic material.[19]

One potentially very valuable find for our discussion, but with an unfortunate research history, was made in Cioroiu Nou (Dolj County), in Dacia Mal-

16. A significant exception is Benea and Hica 2004.
17. For various reasons, publications are reduced to catalogues and antiquarian analysis of monuments: Alicu, Pop, and Wollmann 1979; Țeposu Marinescu 1982; Alexandrescu Vianu 2000; Covacef 2002; Diaconescu 2005; Ciongradi 2007; Ciongradi 2009.
18. For instance, temples for Mithras (Pintilie 1999–2000); temples in the city of Tomis (Covacef 2005–6).
19. Király 1886; Vermaseren 1960, nos. 1935–2005; Rusu-Pescaru and Alicu 2000, 81–84.

vensis. Starting at the end of the nineteenth century several fragments of marble and limestone statues and statuettes were recovered during agricultural work in the vicinity of a Roman camp.[20] Based on the fragmentary state of the monuments, the archaeologist who carried out excavations in 1960–61 concluded that there was an intentional deposition of previously destroyed monuments, without being able to formulate a more precise interpretation of either the kind of deposition or the relationship of this "pit with sculptures" to the temples of this important settlement of Roman Dacia.

With few exceptions, the funerary monuments from the region are fragmentarily preserved and come from secondary use or uncertain contexts.[21] For a long time, depending on the era and author of the report, not even the fragments used as building material in fortification works were properly documented, especially if the block or fragment did not bear an inscription.[22] The better-preserved examples of statues from Dacia come from undocumented circumstances and went into private collections (e.g., the Hecate statue[23] and the statue of the seated Iupiter, both in the Brukental Museum in Sibiu, Sibiu County). Funerary statues and portraits of emperors are mostly unprovenanced. Such monuments can be investigated only on the basis of the information embodied in the sculpture itself.

The situation is different in the case of a few ancient sites with long-term systematic archaeological investigations, such as Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Apulum in Dacia and Histria in Moesia inferior.[24] Even there, however, the results have not always been properly and completely published.[25]

Additional problems concerning findspots of sculptural monuments arise from the methods of interpretation (one relief or fragment of statue could determine the interpretation of a building) and imprecise dating methods ("Ro-

20. Tudor 1965; Bondoc 2010, 132, 146–48, nos. 11, 14, and 16.
21. This reality reduces many monuments to their antiquarian and esthetic values. In Romanian archaeological monographs or history books from the twentieth century, statuary is usually presented in chapters on cultural or spiritual life and arts. No differentiation is made between reuse and the original display and use of the statues (in temples, private houses, public buildings or places).
22. For the use of a well-documented find, see the case of Gorsium: Ertel 1999, 7–9. A survey of the published findspots for spolia in the areas of Dacia and Scythia minor is given by Benea and Hica 2004. See also Zahariade and C.-G. Alexandrescu 2011, 17–19.
23. Stoian Symonds 2006.
24. Piso 2006; Diaconescu and Bota 2009; Schäfer and Diaconescu 1997; Alexandrescu Vianu 2000.
25. The problem of studies dedicated to one category of archaeological material without clarifying the find context is valid for these sites as well. This is simply the result of the way the archive and the finds of the site are organized, especially when several teams are working at the same time. Sometimes information on the provenance is limited to phrases such as "excavations before 1942" or the "area of the sacred zone."

man period" covers the second to third century AD). Misleading conclusions become especially dangerous for finds made a century ago whose state of preservation has now changed. Insufficient or erroneous data from the first publication is often perpetuated in subsequent literature, without reconsideration of the documentation or even of the monuments themselves.[26]

## *Production and Materials*

Funerary monuments of various kinds make up the majority of the Roman sculpture in the region under consideration, followed by architectural decoration and votive/cultic reliefs. The workshops have been conventionally identified according to the material they used, such as the "Bucova workshop,"[27] named after the local marble from the Bucova quarry, or for their iconography, craftsmanship, or stylistic features (Micia, Apulum, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Tomis). Provenance studies of materials and stylistic investigations regarding the artisans of the sculpture in the provinces of Dacia and Moesia inferior have already offered preliminary results.[28] The role played by Asia Minor through its export of marble and, more important, through the artisans that worked in local stone as well or had apprentices is becoming more and more evident.[29] In the last century, dedicated studies of funerary monuments and of the architectural and monumental decoration of the main cities of Roman Dacia, Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, have provided indirect information on workshops.[30]

Large-scale bronze statues are in a different situation.[31] Besides the process of *damnatio memoriae,* usually invoked as the cause of destruction or at least for the removal of the head, the bronze, being valuable as raw material, was collected for reuse. Only in a few cases is the identification of the subject depicted possible. The moment of destruction cannot be identified since it could have occurred both during and after the existence of the Roman province. Examples

26. Rusu-Pescaru and Alicu (2000) make a clear differentiation between temples identified from proper archaeological evidence and temples attested only epigraphically.
27. Diaconescu and Bota 2009, 287–99.
28. Alicu, Pop, and Căţănaş 1976; Covacef 2002; Conrad 2004; Alexandrescu Vianu 2007; Alexandrescu Vianu 2008–9; Müller et al. 2013.
29. Müller et al. 1997; Diaconescu and Bota 2009, 288–89.
30. Ţeposu-Marinescu 1982; Bianchi 1985; Ciongradi 2007; Diaconescu and Bota 2009.
31. For an overview of finds from Dacia, see Pop 2003.

elsewhere in the empire show that the third-century invaders were also interested in collecting this precious material.[32]

The local limestone and Turonian rocks from Dobrudja seem to have been well known,[33] but the functioning of the quarries in antiquity is not well understood, especially regarding quarries that remain in use in modern times. The late Roman and Byzantine fortifications on the main roads along the Danube (e.g., Sacidava, Capidava, Halmyris) in particular reused large blocks from which second-century stelae had been cut in their foundations and gates.[34]

## *Hiding, Destruction, and Reuse*

Even if the evidence from our region is poor, it is important to investigate the motivation behind acts of deposition, in order to clarify whether the deposition had as its purpose the protection of the monuments (a positive deposition) or their destruction (a negative deposition). Not surprisingly, the state of research described above sometimes makes this differentiation or interpretation even more problematic. Further, it must also be accepted as a fact that the reuse of building material in antiquity in this region probably often had simple economical motivations without any additional intended message (such as an antipagan one).

### Hiding

For the first category we have one example in the so-called hoard of sculptures from Tomis.[35] The city was one of the main Greek colonies, the main harbor and commercial point, the capital of the province of Scythia minor, and, later, the residence of the bishop of Tomis and the archbishop of Scythia minor. The

32. For instance, Künzl 2008.
33. Within the ArheoMedia-project (see note 11) monuments and materials from several sites in Dobrudja were investigated by geologist A. Baltres (National Geological Institute of Romania). His previous analyses enriched the information and allow conclusions on the use and choice of local stone material for different specific purposes (e.g., building, sculpture, inscription). For preliminary results, see Baltres 2007; Baltres 2011, 107–13, with figs. 217–29; Baltres and Stanciu 2011.
34. Sucidava: *IDR* II, nos. 188–90, 194–97 (esp. tower C—fourth century). Drobeta: *IDR* II, no. 13, 29, 38–39, 41–47; see also no. 21. Ulmetum: *ISM* V, nos. 57–93. Sacidava: Scorpan 1980, 203–19. Capidava: Florescu et al. 1958; Opriş 2004–5. Halmyris: Zahariade and C.-G. Alexandrescu 2011.
35. Canarache et al. 1963a, 1963b; Alexandrescu Vianu 2009. See also Donderer 1991–92, 239, cat. I 22, fig. 10; Anghel 2007, 354.

hoard, consisting of 24 monuments (2 statues, 6 statuettes, 14 reliefs, 1 bust, and a small altar without readable letters), was discovered by accident in April 1962, in an area outside the late Roman city wall, under a sixth-century building located 30 m east of a fifth- to sixth-century basilica (the "basilica mare").[36] The monuments depict or are dedicated to Graeco-Roman deities (Dionysos-2, the Dioscuri-1, Aesculapius-1, Selene-1, Nemesis-1, Fortuna and Pontos-1, Mercury-1, Diana-1, Hecate-5, the Three Graces-1), oriental deities (Isis-1, Cybele-1, Glycon-1, Mithras-1), and the Thracian Rider (4). Scholars still argue about the character of the hoard: Was it a collection of cult and votive statues and reliefs from several temples of the city, hidden for the purpose of protection,[37] or was it the inventory of a single temple of mystery cults (with the same motivation)?[38] The fact that the sculptures were cautiously deposited in a protected and specially made hiding place and were carefully arranged, with some of the statues used as a support for others, proves that it was an intentional collection and deposition with the purpose of protection (fig. 2).[39] It can be observed that one of the monuments (an *aedicula* with two statuettes of Nemesis) was dismantled and all its elements (gable, back panel, statuettes) were placed in hiding (fig. 3). At the time of excavation the area surrounding the pit of the hoard had already been disturbed by nineteenth-century building activities. A few ceramic sherds dated by the archaeologists in the third-fourth century AD are reported from the fill around the hoard.[40] They were never published. The attempt to date the pit with the hoard is therefore limited to this mention of the ceramics and the date of later buildings in the area, from the fifth and sixth century.

One further find was made in the territory of Tomis, in the "La Adam" cave (near Târguşor, Constanța County), where two reliefs depicting the Taurochtony, two altars, and one "cult table" (plaque of 89.5 x 52.11 cm) attributed to the cult of Mithras were accidentally found in 1957. Inscriptions mention the donor, Flavius Orimos (who had the status of *pater* in the religious community), and the artisan of one of the reliefs, Phoibos from Nikomedia.[41] Whether it was a hiding place for protection for the Mithraic monuments or an impro-

36. Canarache et al. 1963a, 11. For the Christian *basilicae* in Tomis, see Oppermann 2010, 57–62; for the "basilica mare," see esp. 57–58 and pls. 1 and 2.
37. Canarache et al. 1963a.
38. Alexandrescu Vianu 2009.
39. Pippidi 1969, 307; Canarache et al. 1963a, 11, 114–16; Alexandrescu Vianu 2009.
40. Canarache et al. 1963a, 13–14.
41. Pippidi 1969, 307–9; Pippidi 1971; *ISM* I, 374–77.

Fig. 2. The "hoard of sculptures" from Tomis in situ (after Canarache et al. 1963a, fig. 1).

vised *spelaeum* is not clear.[42] The usual elements of such a sanctuary have not been observed. Furthermore, the so-called cave is not a real one, but rather a natural fissure within the mountain, with an open ceiling.[43] The finds were originally displayed in one location (the inscriptions mention the same donor), which was a hidden cult place (*ISM* I, 374—"a secret grove").

## Destruction

Examples of negatively motivated deposition of stone monuments are difficult to identify due to superficial documentation of find contexts or late publication

42. The publication of the reliefs (Vermaseren 1960, nos. 2303–09) mentions the thesis of the *spelaeum*. However, the author was not fully aware of the finding circumstances, see Pipiddi 1971, 143–44.
43. Pippidi 1971, 144–45; *ISM* I, p. 487.

Fig. 3. Marble aedicula dedicated to Nemesis by Caius Herennius Charito (reassembled), Museum of National History and Archaeology Constanța, inv. 2004 (photo by author).

of excavation reports, sometimes by a scholar different from the archaeologist who conducted the excavation. There are two examples from Dacia of stone monuments, or rather fragments of stone monuments, found in wells,[44] and two sacred areas with evidence for intentional destruction.

The first well is from the camp of Drobeta, which has archaeological evidence from the first up to the sixth century AD. The latest fortification work there seems to date from the time of Constantine, without repairs or rebuilding under Justinian. Quite large fragments of a funerary altar and a gravestone dated in the second century AD (respectively 2.2 m and 1.1 m high) were found in a fountain. The gravestone seems to have had a depiction of the deceased, while the altar only had vegetal decoration.[45] The dating of the fountain is, however, not clear; publications describe it as either "late" or "medieval."

Equally uncertain is a second find, which consists of an ensemble of reliefs, statues, and votive inscriptions from a fountain in the temple area for Aesculapius and Hygieia at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa.[46] There has not been a full publication of the find context. Scholars have studied the finds in isolation, mentioning the find context only as "a well in the enclosure of the complex of temples devoted to Aesculapius and Hygieia into which Christians had thrown the monuments in the third century AD."[47] The monuments are thought to have been damaged before being deposited; the heads or the upper parts of reliefs with the heads were broken. The missing fragments were not recovered from the well.

For Dacia there are at least two further finds of sacred areas interpreted as cases of intended destruction, with or without reutilization of the fragments as building material. These are in Porolissum and Praetorium. The sculptural ensemble of a temple of Iupiter Dolichenus in the civil settlement of Porolissum (northern Dacia, Moigrad, Sălaj County) was published more than a decade ago,[48] after the archaeological investigation of a building on the northeast side of the road leading to the *castrum*. The building, identified as a taberna, was first excavated in the 1940s, without proper publication. The extension of the excavated area to the northeast brought to light further

44. On the issues and methods for interpreting sculpture found in wells, see Sauer 1996, 45–46; Sauer 2003, 41.
45. *IDR* II, nos. 36 and 61. The excavation report is still unpublished. Both fragments have been published due to their inscriptions.
46. Rusu-Pescaru and Alicu 2000, 32–42; Benea and Hica 2004, 49–50.
47. Alicu, Pop, and Wollmann 1979, 12, cat. nos. 1, 8, and 12.
48. Gudea and Tamba 2001.

rooms, one with a rich sculptural and epigraphic inventory (29 pieces of marble, tufa, and bronze) that made the archaeologists identify it as a sanctuary of Iupiter Dolichenus.

There are 11 more monuments related to Dolichenus (votive reliefs and statuettes) that come from the Porolissum area, but lack an archaeological context.[49] The area was destroyed by fire and dating hints based on numismatic evidence place this moment in the middle of the third century AD.[50] The circumstances are unclear. However, for this particular cult, votives of silver, besides those in bronze, are common. Silver finds are completely missing in Porolissum, and we can only ask if this may hint at the plundering of the cult place, given the evidence of the written sources indicating that temples were considered a "quarry" both for metals (bronze as well as precious ones) and stone.[51]

One cult building in the military vicus from Praetorium (Mehadia, Caraş-Severin County) was identified as a temple of Apollo with the later addition of the cult of Iupiter Dolichenus.[52] The later use of the building as a church (third-fourth century AD), for which the inventory of the former sanctuaries had been reused as building material, concludes the history of the edifice. However, what is different here is the way the monuments were reused in the second half of the fourth century.[53] Altars, columns, and statuettes were fragmented and reused for the pavement of the inner court of the building, so the figural decoration was found facing down.[54]

In the "traditional" interpretation of such finds, the main role in hiding the "pagan" reliefs and statues is attributed to Christian communities, starting with the fourth century.[55] However, evidence of Christian com-

49. Gudea and Tamba 2001, 43–46.
50. Gudea and Tamba 2001, 64.
51. One of the best known and published inventories of this kind is the one from Mauer an der Url (Noll 1980). For the third century and later the sources mention this kind of dispositions of emperors, governors, or bishops, e.g., *Cod. Theod.* 15, 1, 36 (Arcadius and Honorius).
52. Benea 2008, 106–11.
53. Benea 2008, 114.
54. Benea 2008, 81–98. The interpretation of the face-down orientation of the depiction is dual: for desacralization (which might have been already solved by the destruction of the relief), but also for a practical purpose, aiming to achieve a flat surface for the pavement. A similar situation is also recognized at Gorsium (Ertel 1999, 7). One further example of reuse of older stone monuments for pavements in Moesia inferior, at Novae, is not entirely similar, for there only gravestones were used (Kolendo 1999, 20). Recently the reuse of early Roman stone monuments has also been analyzed for Carnuntum: Kremer 2012a, 2012b.
55. Benea and Hica 2004, 155. Throughout this study the authors overinterpret the intentions and mentalities of the fourth century AD (based on the written evidence). They categorically see all examples of reuse or deposition as the outcome of desacralization by Christians and the *damnatio memoriae* of all non-Christian monuments. Methodologically, this endeavor is disputable, even more so for the

munities is rather scarce, if not entirely missing, in some sites of former Dacia.[56]

In Alburnus Maior, for instance, we have no evidence of the powerful Christian community assumed to be the cause of the destruction of pagan temples and sacred areas in the settlements of miners or of the administration staff of the gold mines.[57] The fall of altars from their so-called bases (seen as the main argument for the desacralization of the sacred area) might have been caused (at least for the 11 altars from "Valea Nanului"–Dalea property) by the kind of stone used for the bases: a kind of soft schist, which quickly cleaved.[58] The actual altars were made from different materials (sandstone and tufa).

Jerome mentions an episode from 363, the last year of the reign of Julian the Apostate, in Durostorum, where a Christian priest Aemilianus was burnt by the vicarius because he had overturned pagan altars.[59] Overturning altars cannot be considered a common practice during this period and thus is an unlikely explanation for finds of collapsed altars, especially in a region like Alburnus Maior, which seems to have been deserted in the late third century after the mines ceased working.

Fresh examination of monuments will possibly provide arguments for or against the thesis postulated by Doina Benea and Ioana Hica on the "rules" followed for destruction and desacralization in Porolissum (Moigrad) and Praetorium (Mehadia), destruction that the authors relate to Christian iconoclasm.[60]

## Reuse

The late Roman period marked the region along the Danube and of Moesia inferior and Scythia minor with intense building activity, making necessary the

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area under discussion. The different examples of archaeological find contexts presented in this chapter—with their problems and characteristics—provide arguments for the need for reevaluation of individual cases prior to and independently from the considerations of the history of (religious) mentalities in Late Antiquity.

56. Gudea and Ghiurco 1988, 99. For discussion on the identification of a possible fourth-century Christian chapel in the amphitheater of Porolissum, see Benea 2005–6 (with prior bibliography).
57. Benea and Hica 2004, 46–49. The inventory of Gudea and Ghiurco (1988) mentions only one probable oil lamp with a Christian symbol on the disc, considered to come from Roșia Montana (Gudea and Ghiurco 1988, 156–57, cat. no. A.f.d.4, pl. IX).
58. The first and only report on the excavation is Zirra et al. 2003. For the characteristics of the cult places in rural milieu, see Schäfer 2009.
59. Jerome, *Chronicle* 243a.
60. Benea and Hica (2004, 51–57) argue that there was destruction of the inventory of pagan temples and destruction of the faces of statues and figural representations, especially of animals and acolytes of pagan gods. However, the date of the destruction levels seems to be rather late and the authors themselves recognize that this interpretation is speculative, based on analogies from other provinces.

supply of building materials. The need for building materials is common to fortifications and cities and affected both funerary and religious monuments from the earlier settlements. In several cases, monuments found in secondary use are the only source of information on the earlier settlements, especially if they bear inscriptions (e.g., Halmyris and Troesmis).[61]

The use of earlier monuments as stone blocks for repairs in the third century after destruction or deterioration is well attested in Dacia and cannot be generally explained by anything other than practical reasons.[62] Exceptions can be established only in the case of detailed documentation of the find context and circumstances. For Dacia the reuse of earlier monuments as building material is considered to have been caused mainly by the hasty execution of fortification work during the invasions in the third century AD.[63]

The reuse of elements of funerary monuments is also attested in former Dacia, at Napoca (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County), in one of the fourth-century AD necropoleis. Stone elements of funerary buildings of the second century were reused for building cistae or sarcophagi for late Roman graves.[64]

The practice of reusing earlier stone funerary monuments is well known in other Roman provinces (including Pannonia, Noricum, and Gallia) and also in Dacia and Moesia inferior.[65] The moral and functional depreciation of some monuments (funerary or votive) in the course of decades or even a century might have played an important role in deciding to reuse the stone blocks for practical purposes like a fortification or a new public building.[66] Description of the precise place and manner of the reuse (whether inscriptions or depictions are placed to be visible or facing down) is often missing. For situations known thus far we cannot consider this behavior to be an intended and emphasized desacralization.[67]

Detailed observations on the use of spolia for these building activities are rare. When available they offer insight into what one may call "work flow" in the third century AD and later. At the northern gate of the Halmyris fortress, funerary monuments were placed on the threshold and the interior faces of the

61. E.g., Halmyris: Zahariade and C.-G. Alexandrescu 2011. Troesmis: ISM V 158–59 and no. 134–222; Doruțiu-Boilă 1972.
62. Gudea and Tamba 2001, 64. Benea (2008, 112–13) considers that the blocks positioned with the decorated or inscribed sides visible are a genuine indication of the desacralizing purpose of the reuse. See also Benea and Hica 2004, 32–40.
63. Bărbulescu 1994, 155, 173; Hügel 2003.
64. Benea and Hica 2004, 112–53.
65. Bărbulescu 1994, 90; I. Hica in Benea and Hica 2004, 127–28; Preda 1980.
66. On this, see Ertel 1999, 5–49.
67. This is one of the theses of Benea and Hica 2004, 74.

U-shaped towers, while altars were walled in on both sides of the inner gate.[68] The most plausible explanation for the different uses is the source of stone, the shape of the blocks, and the progress of the building activity. All recycled monuments seem to have been at least a century old by the time of their reuse. For the southern side of the eastern fortress and for the gate and towers of the western fortress in Troesmis, votive altars and gravestones from the earlier settlements (legionary fortress, civil and military vici, municipium, and so forth) were used.[69]

Examples of reuse are numerous; one can say that every building from the fourth-sixth century AD used available materials either from previous buildings or from the necropolis outside the precinct.[70] This happened in our region not only for city walls but also for buildings inside the late Roman city, such as baths, *basilicae,* or private houses.[71]

However, it is rare for finds of monuments in reuse, other than the ones bearing inscriptions, to have been properly documented. Of interest is the observation that spolia were in use both for the initial construction in the fourth-sixth century, as well as for transformations afterward (e.g., closing up doorways with walls).[72]

Reuse of older monuments in construction was a normal and common behavior all over the empire, including at Rome, and was usual in earlier times as well.[73] The traditional generalized interpretation of the phenomenon for the region under study, relating the Christians to the reuse of "pagan" monuments (with the purpose of desacralization) and to all the damages observed on sculptures with broken heads and other body parts, has been overemphasized.[74] For

68. Zahariade and C.-G. Alexandrescu 2011, 17–18.
69. *ISM* V, no. 135–217.
70. Pârvan 1915–16; G. Florescu in Condurachi 1954, 229; Suceveanu 2007, 90–94.
71. For instance, at buildings in Tropaeum Traiani: the early fortified precinct (third century) (I. Bogdan Cătăniciu in I. Barnea 1979b, 53); basilica A (I. Barnea 1978); fourth-sixth century building no. 3 on via principalis ("sector A") (A. Barnea in I. Barnea 1979b, 83–84, with figs. 70/1–2). See also Histria (Suceveanu 2007, 145–53; Achim 2012); Dinogetia (Oppermann 2010, 90).
72. Suceveanu 2007, 48. 94.
73. A good overview on the topic (for Rome) as well as on the terminology of *spolia* is given by Kinney 1997. In order to make evident the extent of the phenomenon, she uses expressions such as "Roman recycling," "public storage," and "sculpture recycling centers."
74. The examples investigated by Sauer (1996) provide analogies. However, the missing (and most probably unrecoverable) details in our region make precise interpretation almost impossible. The frequently invoked legislation that punished grave plundering and theft of stones from pagan graves should not be taken out of context; for instance, Benea and Hica (2004, 128–29) assume that this legislation applied in the region north of the Danube. Situations vary, and the legal protection of ordinary graves and their markers, after a century or longer, cannot just be assumed as a fact of late antique reality.

the time being, evidence for the recognition of aesthetic or historical value in antique or pagan sculpture during and after the late Roman period (as observed, for instance, in the eastern Mediterranean) is missing here.[75]

## *Conclusions*

The fate of sculpture from the better investigated sites such as Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, and Tropaeum Traiani seems to have been the usual one: reuse for repairs and fortification in the third-fourth century AD, but also burning in lime kilns. The most fortunate outcome was their reuse in a "reinterpretation" in new buildings, mostly churches and manors in Transylvania, as the examples of the small churches in the Hațeg area can illustrate (for instance, the twelfth-fourteenth century church in Densuș, fig. 4).[76] Besides the documentation of spolia, it would be of great interest to look for information on the possible thinking behind the choice of materials and the location of spolia within the church.[77] For instance, statues of Roman funerary lions acquired new meanings for Christians, for whom the lion was the symbol of the evangelist Mark.[78]

An interesting monument in Dobroudja is the Tropaeum Traiani, the monument raised up to celebrate the victory of Trajan, at the beginning of the second century AD, on the Adamclisi hill near the Roman city bearing the same name. The complex consisting of a monument, altar, and commemorative grave must have received the same importance as the city nearby during the reign of Constantine, especially considering this emperor's special interest in Trajan and his achievements. The sculptural decoration was discovered in the nineteenth century (mainly in its last quarter) on-site and in the nearby villages (48 of the original 54 metopes, additional blocks with friezes and further figured architectural ornaments, and so forth). It seems to have been of interest and plundered for reuse only in modern times. There is no mention of intentional

75. On Asia Minor, see Jacobs 2009.
76. Wollmann 1975; Mărgineanu Cârstoiu et al. 2004–2005; Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Apostol, and Bâlici 2009; Diaconescu and Bota 2009; Mărgineanu Cârstoiu 2013. For an example of display of a reused base with inscription, found in one of the churches in the area of Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, see Piso 2006, 157–58 and 238–40.
77. See esp. Mărgineanu Cârstoiu, Apostol, and Bâlici (2009) for the church in Ostrov where the round precinct was built exclusively from reused Roman monuments. For observations regarding the differences in time and practice when collecting stone material, see also Ertel 1999, 44–45.
78. For the same behavior in the eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity, see Jacobs 2009, 208.

Fig. 4. The twelfth–fourteenth century church in Densuș (Hunedoara County) using spolia from the nearby Roman settlements and Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (photo by author).

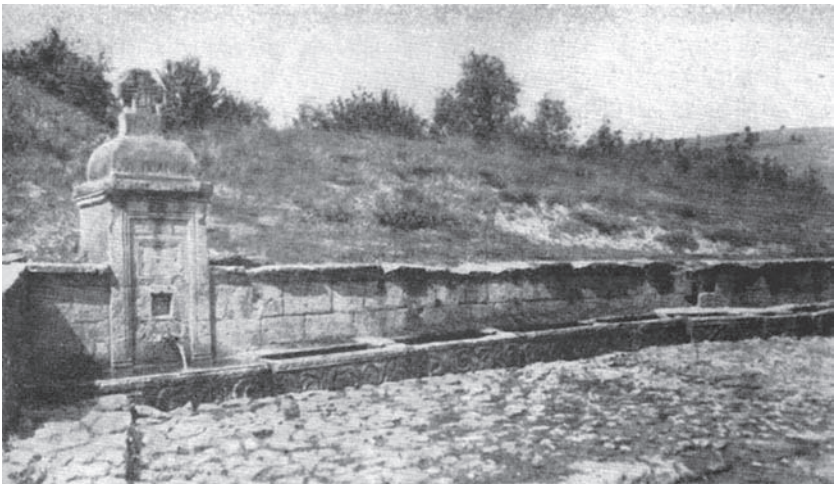

Fig. 5 Frieze blocks from Tropaeum Traiani reused for a fountain in the nearby village of Rariştea, photograph taken in 1960 (after Bobu Florescu 1961, figs. 8–9). The blocks are now on display in the museum in Adamclisi, Constanța County.

Fig. 6. Detail of frieze blocks from Tropaeum Traiani used in the fountain at Rariştea.

damage to the figures in the excavation reports, and only a few of the cases of reuse in the villages nearby (for building fountains, figs. 5–6, and cemeteries) were documented before the fragments were recovered.[79]

The historical development of the region during and after the reign of Constantine the Great is still under debate.[80] What is certain is that there was construction of bridges and strongholds on the northern border of the Danube and fortification or restoration activity at sites in the territory of Moesia inferior and Scythia minor. Legislation ordering the destruction of elements of pagan cults (temples, altars, statues) is frequently invoked as an explanation for reuse or destruction in our area as well.[81] However, closer study of archaeological evidence and archaeological contexts is needed to modify this text-based and very general interpretation and arrive at a fuller understanding of the fate of Greek and Roman sculpture in our region. In certain cases this information is lost, which can only be an impetus for future research to properly document and publish the new finds but also to try to recover valuable details from old research.

79. Tocilescu, Benndorf, and Niemann 1895. Bobu Florescu (1961, 6, 22–24, 50–61) mentions the fact that 90.7 percent of the metopes and 92.3 percent of the architectural ornamentation of the monuments are preserved.
80. Especially debated are questions related to the end of the province of Dacia, the fortifications still maintained by the Romans, and the inclusion of territories north to the Danube under the administrative jurisdiction of the provinces south of the river (Moesia prima and Dacia ripensis). See Benea 1996.
81. For instance, *Cod. Theod.* 16 10, 2; 10, 6; 10, 19, 1.

# PART III
# Grand Narratives

ELEVEN

# Shifting Use of a Genre

## *A Comparison of Statuary Décor in Homes and Baths of the Late Roman West*

LEA STIRLING

Two of the largest assemblages of statuary surviving from antiquity are found at the West Baths of Cherchel in Algeria and the late Roman villa of Chiragan in southwest France. These findspots reflect the fact that both baths and villas remained locales for the display of statuary in Late Antiquity, just as they had been in the high empire. Though the assemblages at Cherchel and Chiragan are grander than most, each one demonstrates the main features that characterize the two types of collection in Late Antiquity.

The West Baths at Cherchel were built in the late second or early third century, then underwent renovations at some later point, possibly in the Theodosian period.[1] Excavated from the mid-nineteenth century on, the baths have yielded some fifty statues. Some of them were found still standing on pedestals

A draft of this paper was presented at the "Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity" conference in Ottawa in 2013, and members of the audience provided thoughtful critiques. I especially want to thank my coeditor Troels Myrup Kristensen for opening my eyes to ideological destruction and also for helpful feedback on this chapter. Jakob Munk Højte gave valuable insight on statue bases. The opinions expressed here and any errors in judgment are my own. This research was undertaken, in part, thanks to funding from the Canada Research Chairs program, through the Canada Research Chair in Roman Archaeology.

1. For an inventory of the sculptures from the baths, see Manderscheid 1981, 125–31, nos. 502–59. For comprehensive analysis of individual pieces, see appropriate entries in Landwehr 1993, 2006, 2008, 2009.

or in niches, so it is evident that this collection represents the décor of the baths in their latest phase.[2] The assemblage includes at least 20 statues of Bacchus or his retinue, three of Venus, and depictions of assorted other divinities. There are a number of private portraits. Certain statues, such as portraits of the last Mauretanian kings, predate the construction of the baths and must have been moved there from a different location at an unknown time. Inscriptions on four blocks (statue bases or altars) specifically state, in late letter forms, that they had been "moved out of squalid places" (*translata de sordentibus locis*: fig. 1).[3] Relocation of statues from elsewhere may account for the unusually large assemblage. One statue of Bacchus that is otherwise in fairly good condition appears to have been chiseled around the eyes and genitals.[4] The collection at the West Baths of Cherchel is typical in displaying a combination of portraiture and ideal statuary and reflects the traditional bath décor of divinities related to pleasure, healing, or water. Inscriptions and findspots indicate that statuary remained an expected feature of decoration in baths.[5] It is not unusual for late antique baths to host statues from other locations.

The vast villa of Chiragan in southwest Gaul is both unusual and controversial.[6] Initially built perhaps in the first century, it remained a luxurious villa in the late fourth and early fifth century. About a hundred statues found at the site now survive in the Musée Saint-Raymond in Toulouse, and clearly much more has been lost (scholars typically estimate about 200 statues from the site). Such a volume of statuary is unparalleled at other sites, but Chiragan is similar to other villa sites in including sculptures of varying date, subject, material, and scale. There are private and imperial portraits, statues, statuettes, and reliefs. Some were heirlooms by Late Antiquity, but there are also freshly carved pieces

2. Gsell 1901, 216.
3. *CIL* 8.20963, 8.20965, 8.21078, 8.21079. See further discussion and figs. 4–5 below.
4. Landwehr 2006, 1–4, no. 176, pls. 1–3; mutilation observed by Hannestad (2013).
5. Stirling 2012 with earlier bibliography.
6. The original publication for Chiragan is Joulin 1901. For catalogues of portraits, see Balty and Cazes 2005, 2008; Balty, Cazes, and Rosso 2012. There is much recent bibliography on Chiragan and considerable disagreement about the dates of the nonportraits in the collection. Daniel Cazes (1999) dates most of them to the second and third centuries. For arguments in favour of fourth-century dates for the Hercules panels, tondi of gods, and other items, see Hannestad 1994, 135–41; 2013, 97–100; Bergmann 1999, 33, 35–36, 58–60. Balty (2008a, 2008b) argues from portraiture, iconography, and nomenclature that the estate was an imperial holding eventually occupied by the tetrarch Maximian, who installed the Hercules panels. Marianne Bergmann (2007) argues that the villa belonged to an influential family with connections to Italy (two private portraits at Chiragan show the same individuals as portraits found in Italy), and that family accreted private and imperial portraiture steadily over time. Niels Hannestad (1994, 133; 2013, 99) proposes that the imperial portraits were acquired all at once in late antiquity from decommissioned public buildings.

Fig. 1. Altar or statue base carrying the inscription *translata de sordentibus lopis* (*sic*; moved from squalid places) found in the West Baths at Cherchel (*CIL* 8.21079). It was found in the same room as the *Herculi* base in figure 4 (photo Philippe Leveau, by permission).

of the late fourth century, including a striking series of reliefs of the Labours of Hercules and a set of tondi showing busts of gods.

Many villas and baths throughout the empire continued to display statuary in Late Antiquity, albeit usually on a lesser scale than at Chiragan and Cherchel. Broadly speaking, both types of buildings were created by the same people: wealthy local elites, either acting as a group on town councils, or as individuals sponsoring bath renovations and decorating their homes. The audience and accessibility of these buildings varied, however. While public baths were widely accessible to the town's inhabitants of many ranks, access to a villa was controlled by the owner. Thus, comparison of the statuary collections in these two venues should shed light on the relationship of upper classes to classical culture over a period of social change.

Specific areas for comparison are the subject matter of assemblages, the sources for statuary, and the physical treatment of statuary in either venue. Evidence relevant to this topic is not evenly distributed across the empire: aristocratic villas with statuary decoration were more prevalent in the west, while classical bathing culture (and urbanism) lasted longer in the eastern empire.[7] In order to increase the convergence of data and the coexistence of these building forms, I will largely emphasize the western empire during the fourth and earlier fifth century. Eastern evidence will also be important as comparison.

## *Background: Villas and Baths in Late Antiquity*

Before we evaluate aspects of the afterlife of statuary in late antique villas and baths, it is useful to rehearse some background information about both settings. Ownership of vast country estates was the basis of the wealth of the governing classes in the Roman Empire. From the second century BC on, elites also built increasingly luxurious rural mansions with expensive décor on their properties. Latin writers such as Cicero and Pliny, echoed three centuries later by Ausonius in late antique Gaul, wrote about the literary and philosophical pleasures of leisure (*otium*) in their villas. Villas first emerged in the western provinces in the first and second centuries, with a second wave of new con-

7. After the reign of Theodosius I (379–95), the eastern and western halves of the empire followed different trajectories, with many western provinces lost to the emperor's rule in the early fifth century. In the east, Roman-style urbanism and high levels of population remained strong into the mid-sixth century, and some cities and institutions lasted considerably longer.

struction (or extravagant renovation) in Late Antiquity, mainly in regions along the great communication routes of the empire. Villa growth in the north of Italy in Late Antiquity may reflect the shifting of court activity to northern cities such as Milan and Ravenna. In southwest Gaul, there were two late antique upsurges of construction and renovation, one around AD 400, the second sometime in the later fifth or sixth centuries. By contrast, in northern Gaul, villas were falling into disuse by 350. The Iberian provinces saw a wave of villa construction or renovation in the fourth century. The fourth century was the heyday of villa life in Roman Britain, as attested artistically through mosaics. In North Africa, mosaics showing elaborate country estates were popular in the fourth century, though archaeological remains of corresponding structures are elusive. Elites in the eastern empire mostly preferred luxurious townhouses over country estates. Reception rooms, triclinia, and bathing suites were focal points for display in villas. Apsidal forms proliferated, especially in dining rooms and baths. Late antique homes were vividly decorated with colored marbles, mosaic floors, and sometimes statuary.[8]

Public bathing was a hallmark of Roman culture during the high empire. The heyday of construction of large public baths (*thermae*), often decorated with statuary, was the second century, with many fewer new constructions in the third and fourth century.[9] There is, of course, variation between cities and regions, but the overall trend of diminishing investment in public bathing facilities is evident. A major factor in this change was surely cost. Town councils and the individuals who comprised them became less willing to pay the high costs of heating and maintenance. Indeed, Inge Nielsen shows how the heated sections of baths became steadily smaller and demonumentalized in comparison to the cold sections.[10] In the west, many public baths experienced disuse and even demolition from the third century onward (though in Rome, Africa, and parts of Italy, public bathing remained vibrant for longer).[11] Some large

8. On late antique housing generally, see the collected essays and bibliography in Lavan, Özgenel, and Sarantis 2007; Bowes 2010; P. Brown 2012, 185–207. Spain: Chavarria Arnau 2005, 519; Gaul: Balmelle 2001, 115–18. Northern Gaul: Wickham 2005, 179. Britain: Scott 2000, 79. North Africa: Dunbabin 1978, 118–23; Nevett 2010, 119–41, esp. 138. Eastern Mediterranean: Whittaker and Garnsey 1998, 303–4. Statuary décor: Neudecker 1988; Stirling 2005.
9. For views on bathing during the high empire (often contradictory), see Dunbabin 1989; Fagan 1999, 176–88; Yegül 1992, 31–33, 40–43.
10. Nielsen 1990, 115–17, for features and regional distribution of late antique and early Byzantine baths.
11. Esmonde Cleary 2013, 115–17. See also Fernández Ochoa and Zarzalejos Prieto 2001, 29–30; Fernández Ochoa et al. 2004; Bouet 2003, vol. 1, 333–45.

public baths did remain in use, and smaller, irregular bathing facilities (*balneae*) are also attested. Urban prosperity and, with it, traditions of bathing, lasted much longer in the eastern empire, where the majority of preserved baths (mostly *balneae*) date from the third to sixth centuries. *Thermae* also remained in use in many eastern cities, particularly in Asia Minor, although the palaestras of the hybrid bath-gymnasia of the region lost their function over the third and fourth centuries.[12] Indeed, many of the specific bath complexes discussed below are found in the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, construction of private baths was on the rise, and may reflect changing outlooks of aristocrats who were now "starting to put physical and social distance between themselves and their social inferiors."[13] Sumptuous bathing suites remained a component of imperial complexes and episcopal residences.[14] Thus, the elites clearly continued to value the luxury of bathing even if they no longer wanted to do it in the company of the wider public (or to support the costs of public baths for fellow citizens).

## *Contents of Statuary Assemblages in Late Antique Baths and Villas*

In a broad sense, both villas and baths saw continuity in the subject matter of their statuary assemblages. In the high and late empire, villa collections represented the culture and education of a patron through evocations of philosophy and leisure.[15] Portraits are found frequently in late antique villas and houses. Venus, Dionysos, Hercules, and Artemis were popular mythological subjects, with regional variations in the particular configuration of assemblages. Late antique collections are usually smaller than earlier ones and matched groups of statues within them are less common. The statuary itself is often under life-sized. As for display, findspots indicate that some statues and busts appeared in courts where they were visible to all visitors. The majority of provenanced pieces, however, derive from more intimate reception areas such as inner peristyles, triclinia, nymphaea, or gardens.

12. Yegül, 1992, 315, 321.
13. Esmonde Cleary 2013, 116. See also Kulikowski 2004, 101–2. Bowes (2010, 38–46) disputes this broad interpretation of late antique aristocrats, arguing that earlier studies have focused on the super-rich elites and have overlooked the considerable evidence for "more modest elites" (quote, 39).
14. Yegül 1992, 319–20.
15. Neudecker 1988; Stirling 2005.

Fig. 2. Head of female statuette found in the baths of a villa at Andilly-en-Bassigny (Haute-Marne) (photo courtesy of Conseil Général 52).

Private baths, often set a short distance away from the main compound, were a frequent component of late antique villas.[16] Villa baths received polychrome mosaics (often figural), marble paneling, and occasionally statuary, such as a statuette of a goddess or nymph with a crown of flowers found in the marble-lined baths of a villa at Andilly-en-Bassigny north of Dijon (fig. 2).[17] The rounded but mannered facial features, brow line, and treatment of the hair

16. Esmonde Cleary 2013, 116–17; Kulikowski 2004, 101–2.
17. Serrano and Groetembril 2011, 34–39. Some further examples of late antique villas where statue fragments are attested in bath buildings: La-Garenne-de-Nérac (Stirling 2005, 66); Chiragan (Stirling 2005, 54); Pisões (Gonçalves 2007, 253–55, no. 109); Milreu (Gonçalves 2007, 178–80, no. 58, 229–31, no. 93); Balazote (Koppel 2004, 348; Sarabia Bautista 2012, 274–86).

all suggest a date in the late fourth or early fifth century for the piece. Given the emphasis on prestige décor in baths, it is perhaps surprising not to find evidence of sculpture from private baths more frequently.[18] Statuary related to water features in villas is more likely to be associated with nymphaea or pools in the main complex of the villa; in Spain, statuary at villas is most often found lying in decorative pools within the main villa, though this location may reflect postvilla practices of reclamation, as discussed by Beth Munro.[19]

In public baths, Hubertus Manderscheid has shown that preferred mythological themes for decoration in the high empire included gods, heroes, and figures related to water and health. The divinities Asklepios, Bacchus, and Venus formed a common core within sculptural decoration, which could otherwise be quite diverse. Alongside divinities and heroes were local benefactors, athletes, and the emperor.[20]

Although there are often difficulties in distinguishing which statues found in a bath building pertain specifically to its late antique phases, it is evident that many late antique sculptural assemblages from baths show broad continuity in the core themes identified by Manderscheid.[21] For instance, statues found in the area of the frigidarium of the Summer Baths at Thuburbo Maius (Tunisia) appear to have been in situ at the time of the baths' abandonment (at an undetermined date), and encompass all of Manderscheid's core themes (fig. 3). Built around 170, these baths were refurbished in 361.[22] Likewise, all of the core themes are represented at the West Baths of Cherchel. At the Baths of Caracalla at Rome, Asklepios and two Venuses were among the statues that remained on view through the fourth century.[23] Other heroes and divinities likewise appeared there. Portraits of benefactors and emperors, attested by statues and bases, remained components of display at many baths. Overall, then, there was broad continuity in the decoration of baths.

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18. No statuary appears in the private baths of Roman or late Roman Asia Minor: Uytterhoeven 2011, 319.
19. Stirling 2007, 315–16. For an eastern example of statuary in a nymphaeum, see Chaisemartin and Örgen 1984; see also Bergmann 1999, 17–18. For "recycling" of statuary and other materials from Roman villas, see Munro (this volume; Munro 2012).
20. Manderscheid 1981, 21–23, 28–45.
21. It is often unclear which statues remained on display in later phases of a bath building. Interpretation is complicated by the fact that statuary was moved around, broken up, reused, burned, or collected from other locations for display or recycling. For further discussion of these difficulties, see Stirling 2012, 69–71; Manderscheid 1981, 14, 20.
22. *ILAfr* 273.A and B, *AE* 1916.87 and 88 (renovation). Manderscheid 1981, 110–13, nos. 351–76; concerning location, see Leone 2013, 154 and n. 141.
23. Manderscheid cat. nos. 46, 49, 50; Marvin 1983, 348.

Fig. 3. Statue of Hercules found in the frigidarium of the Summer Baths at Thuburbo Maius. The statue was apparently still in its display location at the time of excavation. Bardo Museum, Tunis, inv. C 1352. Kopperman, Neg. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 63.385, by permission.

Within that broad continuity, important changes in specifics can be discerned at some baths, all located in the eastern empire. Results from recent excavations under the opus sectile floors of the Gymnasium of Vedius (with bathing facilities) in Ephesus show that the sculptural program was markedly changed after renovations of the early fifth century.[24] Some older statuary was broken up and used as fill under these floors. The revised sculptural program contained no nude female statuary, but fragments of four Aphrodites were found under the floor. A nude statue of Antinoos as Androklos (the legendary founder of Ephesus) was evidently left on display with its genitals removed, as were some herms. Statues that were castrated but seemingly still on display appear at Salamis on Cyprus and Perge as well.[25] Mutilated statues including ones of Aphrodite and Dionysos were evidently still on display in the Eastern Bathhouse at Scythopolis (Bet Shean, Israel) until the early sixth century, when the building was abandoned and its components discarded or reused.[26] In many bath buildings, the remaining evidence or the archaeological recording does not allow us to distinguish changes in décor as vividly as at Ephesus, but it is possible that similar changes occurred elsewhere.

## *Sources of Statuary*

Let us turn to the sources of statuary. For both baths and villas of Late Antiquity, there are three main possible sources of statuary to consider: continued use of accreted or inherited objects from the past, acquisition of used statues from other locations, and purchase of brand-new statuary.[27] In most late antique assemblages of statuary, accreted holdings already existing in a building account for the vast majority of the artworks on display. For instance, a dozen second-century statues and statuettes at the villa of Desenzano in northern Italy were probably acquired when the villa was first constructed in the second century.[28] There are two statues of Hercules and several others depict Dionysiac themes, all standard decorative fare for villas of the high empire. In the later

24. Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 243–48; Auinger 2011; Jacobs 2010, 293, also mentions crosses.
25. Perge: Hannestad 2001.
26. Tsafrir 2003, 283; Kristensen 2013b, 222–25.
27. See also Stirling 2015, 137–42.
28. Scagliarini Corlàita et al. 1994.

fourth century, a small-scale Apollo was added.[29] The statues appear to have remained in use until being deposited in a cistern in the mid-fifth century. The continued display of older statuary suggests continuity in values and perhaps a prestige value for heirloom sculptures.

In late antique baths likewise, the majority of the statues on view dated to the original construction and decorating of the building. The Baths of Caracalla at Rome offer an outstanding example of longevity of use, with the statuary installed in the Severan age still on display in the fourth century. Baths continued to receive statuary, usually portraits rather than mythological subjects.[30] In some cases it can be shown that the original statuary was edited or moved around in some fashion in Late Antiquity. For instance, at Aix-les-Bains (France), there is extensive recutting in the back of a statue of a muse; this may reflect a new positioning for the statue after renovations.[31] Here too the retention of earlier sculptural programs reflects continuity in sensibilities about appropriate décor for bath buildings.

The second possible source of sculpture for late antique baths and villas is statuary relocated from another place. Reused statuary can sometimes be distinguished from accreted statuary if the scale, subject matter, or placement is discrepant with the rest of the assemblage in some fashion. Sometimes statues were altered to accommodate the new placement in a bath or villa. It is plain that numerous late antique baths received statuary that had once stood in other locations.[32] The clearest evidence for relocated statuary comes from bases stating that the statue had been moved. At Cherchel, we have seen that four blocks carried inscriptions stating that they were transferred there from "squalid places" (*translata de sordentibus locis*).[33] These blocks are variously described as bases or altars; without a close look at the top surface, the function remains a little unclear. Elsewhere, inscriptions with the same wording in the inscription do further specify that statues have been moved.[34] One base at Cherchel named Hercules in the dative (*Herculi*) and had the *translata*

29. Stirling 2005, 177–78, fig. 60; Sperti 2011, 373–74.
30. As Valeri (1998, 52) shows for the baths of Ostia.
31. Slavazzi 1996, 76–78; Stirling 2012, 72–73.
32. Manderscheid (1981, 14–15) discusses secondary arrangements and added statuary.
33. *CIL* 8.20963, 8.20965, 8.21078, 8.21079. I am grateful to Philippe Leveau for sharing images of these bases with me and for discussing them with me.
34. For instance, *CIL* 9.1563 from Beneventum.

phrase on the side (fig. 4).[35] The shallow recess at the top of the block suggests it was originally an altar; if so, it was evidently repurposed for a statue. Two statues of Hercules are known from the baths, a colossal one and a miniature one.[36] The colossal one is clearly unsuitable for a base measuring 0.62 x 0.57 m, but the statuette, which would have stood about 0.70 tall (perhaps with a further plinth below that), would have fit nicely on this base. The statuette shows a heavily muscled, wreathed Hercules sitting down with one arm outstretched (fig. 5). The workmanship is careful and sure, and Christa Landwehr dates it in the later second century. A high-quality statuette such as this might have been selected for redisplay in a new venue. An octagonal base found in the same room reads simply *translata de sordentibus lopis* (sic) (fig. 1).[37] Breakage on the top surface of this piece suggests that it may originally have belonged to a column, but perhaps it was used as a statue base in its afterlife in the baths. Similar inscriptions about statuary specifically moved into baths appear at Liternum and Beneventum in Italy.[38] These bases belong to a genre of late antique inscriptions describing transferals of statuary out of ruined or sordid places to fora, baths, or unspecified locations.[39] Some inscriptions about late renovations at other bath buildings specify that the decoration included statues; these seem likely to have been moved from other public locations. Bath buildings, then, could become repositories for statuary from elsewhere in the public sphere.

Even when there are no inscriptions describing a move, some aspect of the statuary itself, such as its scale or genre, may make it evident that it was originally commissioned for a different purpose, as with limestone votive reliefs in the Barbarathermen at Trier.[40] Or statuary may predate the baths in which it is found. The West Baths at Cherchel (built in the second century) contained numerous statues predating the bath, including two portraits of Mauretanian kings and a colossal Hercules.[41] In the Hadrianic baths of Aphrodisias, it is clear

35. *CIL* 8.20963 (Hercules), *CIL* 8.21079; Waille 1887, 63.
36. Landwehr 2000, 46–53, nos. 94, 95. The colossal Hercules (no. 94) stands 2.45 m tall and dates to the era of the Mauretanian kings. The preserved portion of the statuette (no. 95) is 0.50 m tall.
37. *CIL* 8.21079. Still another transferred base carried a *pro salute* formula dedicated to Juno Regina (*CIL* 8.20965). On the fourth block (*CIL* 8.21078), the primary inscription had been hacked away before the *translata* inscription was carved over it.
38. *CIL* 10.3714, *CIL* 10.1588.
39. Lepelley 1994, 10–12; Curran 1994.
40. Binsfeld, Goethert-Polaschek, and Schwinden 1988, 49, no. 82A, pl. 124 (relief of genius); 236–37, no. 511, pl. 118 (torso of a youth).
41. Landwehr 2000, 28, no. 79 (Juba as Diomedes); 28–33, no. 80 (Diomedes torso that may have carried a portrait of Ptolemy); 46–51, no. 94 (Hercules).

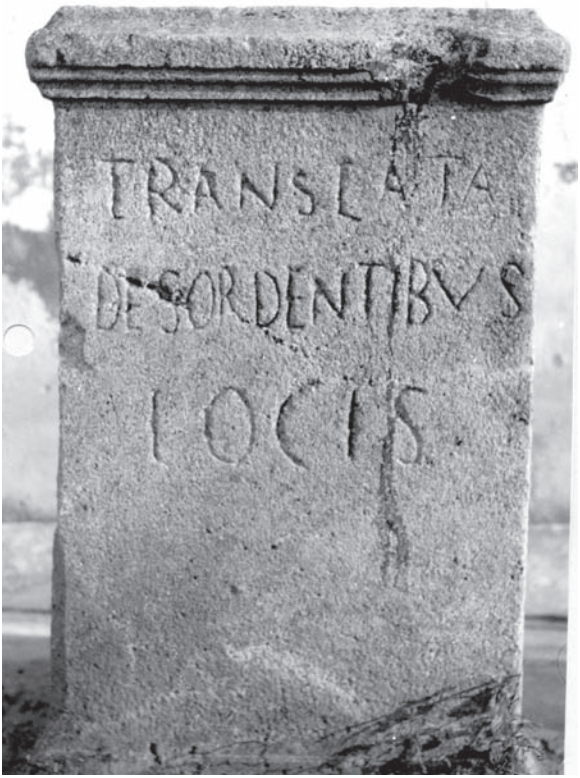


Fig. 4. Statue base with inscription *translata de sordentibus lopis* (*sic*; moved from squalid places) found in the West Baths at Cherchel (*CIL* 8.20963). Rough breakage on the top surface could show where a statue plinth had been attached, although no subject is named. It was found in the same room as the base in figure 1. Photo Philippe Leveau, by permission.

that most of the statuary visible in the latest phase, including a group of Achilles and Penthesilea and several over-life-sized heroic nudes, had been moved in from other locations.[42] The Hadrianic baths at Lepcis Magna held matching pairs of bases from honorific statues that were reused in the third or fourth century to carry ideal statues.[43]

Reused statuary can sometimes be identified in villa assemblages as well. Statues predating the construction of a villa must have been acquired as antiques. For instance, at the villa of Balazote (also referred to as Camino Veijo), life-sized statuary carved in the second century AD (Asklepios, Hygieia, and a diademed head possibly showing Faustina Minor) adorned baths built in the third or fourth century, and were found lying atop late antique mosaics.[44] What

42. Smith 2007, 215–17.
43. Tantillo and Bigi 2010, 273, 278–79.
44. Noguera Celdrán 1994, 47–75; Koppel 2004, 348; Sarabia Bautista 2012, 274–86.

Fig. 5. Statuette of seated Hercules found in a northern room of the East Baths of Cherchel (www.arachne.uni-koeln.de, file FA508–08_4269,03.tif, by permission).

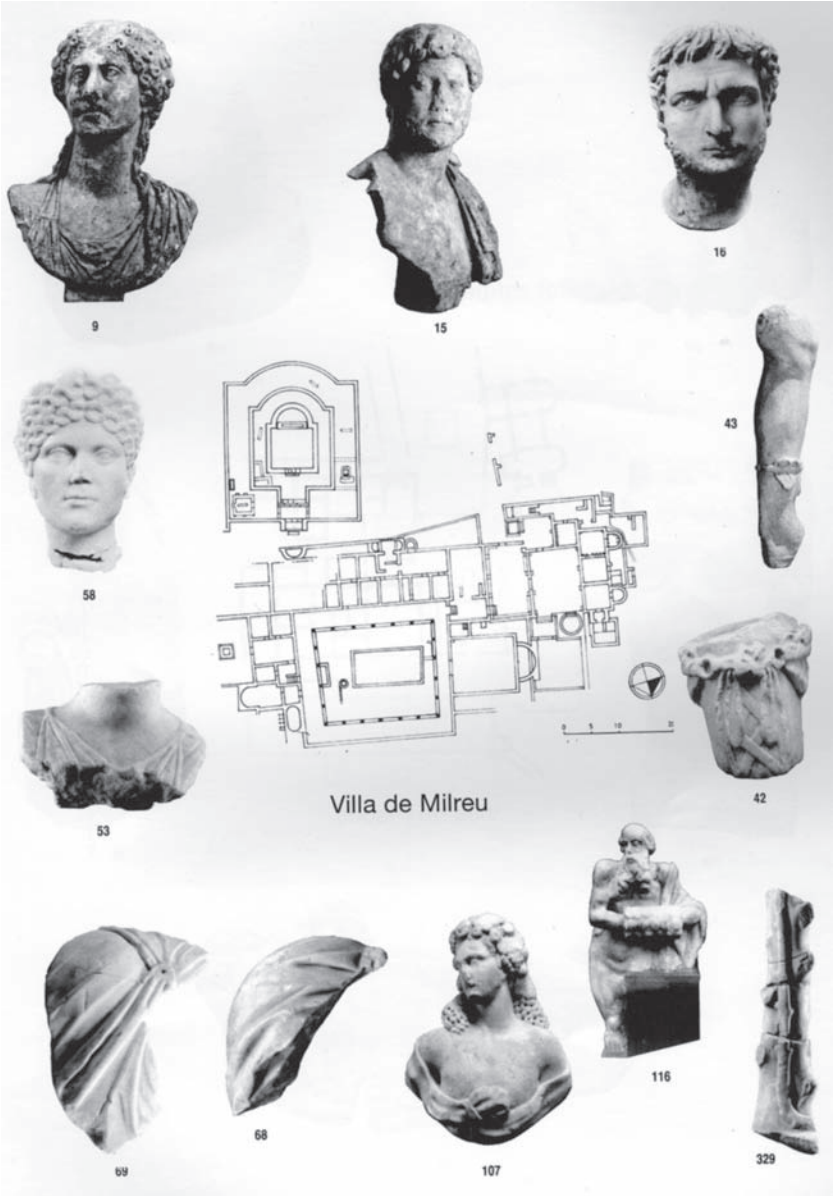


Fig. 6. Plan of late antique villa at Milreu showing statuary found at the villa (Gonçalves 2007, plate 15, by permission).

was the source of these antiques? Purchase from other homeowners is a possibility, as is acquiring them in some fashion from decommissioned public buildings (see below). Statuary from a public context might stand out from a villa assemblage by its subject, scale, or format.[45]

For instance, the unusual profile of the statuary assemblage at the villa of Milreu (Portugal) has caused debate about the source of statuary there (fig. 6).[46] The villa was in use from the first to fourth centuries, with extensive renovations in the middle of the fourth century. Some elements in the assemblage are conventional: three broadly Dionysiac pieces and an Eros on a dolphin. There is a female portrait of Trajanic date and fragments of four more headless but high-quality private portraits (assigned stylistic dates ranging from mid-first century to late second century). Private portraits appear in villas throughout the empire, though they are relatively uncommon in the Iberian Peninsula, and a cluster of five stands out by its volume. More remarkable are three imperial portraits (Agrippina Minor, Hadrian, Gallienus) identified by Walter Trillmich and Klaus Fittschen as products of workshops in the city of Rome.[47] Moreover, there are leg fragments from two different over-life-sized cuirassed statues (surely emperors). The workmanship on one of these suggests a Trajanic date; the other is too small for a stylistic judgment. Cuirassed statuary is very surprising in a villa setting; more typically it appears in public settings such as fora, theaters, or baths. Thus, the assemblage at Milreu contains several pieces whose quality, scale, or subject matter stand out from those of typical villa décor.

Let us consider different possibilities for the late antique assemblage at Milreu: accumulation over time (heirlooms) or late antique collecting.[48] If the imperial portraits were indeed accumulated over time, then there must have been a series of very highly placed owners with access to high-quality metropolitan

45. Yvon Lemoine (2013, xxxvi) argues that a portrait of Commodus and two fragments of over-life-sized statues found in the domestic quarter of Forum Julii (Fréjus) must have been brought there from public locations. The transfer must have occurred in antiquity, as the area was abandoned after the fourth century AD and not built over.
46. Chronology of the villa: Teichner 1997, 141–53. For the overall assemblage of statuary, see Gonçalves 2007, vol. 1, 88–90, no. 9 (Agrippina Minor); 100–103, no. 15 (Hadrian); 103–7, no. 16 (Gallienus); 152–53, no. 42 (military boot from over-life-sized figure); 153–54, no. 43 (leg from over-life-sized military figure); 173, no. 53 (fragment of female portrait); 178–80, no. 58 (female portrait); 191–92, no. 67 (headless female bust); 192, no. 68 (fragment of bust in paludamentum); 192–93, no. 69 (fragment of bust in paludamentum); 229–31, no. 93 (Eros on a dolphin); 250–52, no. 107 (bust of Dionysos); 265, no. 116 (statuette of Silenus); 507, no. 329 (*lagobolon*). For a plan of the villa with images of 12 of the 14 statues, see vol. 2, 191, fig. 25. See also Gonçalves 2010, 410, no. 3.
47. Trillmich 1974; Fittschen 1984; 1993.
48. As discussed by Gonçalves 2007, 90; 2010, 414.

portraits of the imperial family. The three imperial busts span two centuries, suggesting that a family or successive owners must have remained influential, at least in bursts, over many generations. The presence of high-quality private portraits in a range of dates could support an interpretation of ongoing high status for the family.

An alternative explanation for the presence of such unusual pieces in the collection is that they were moved to the villa from an original public context(s) at some point, perhaps during Late Antiquity. Other Iberian portraits of these imperial figures all come from public settings, mostly cult buildings. The private portraits could be heirlooms or late acquisitions. Late antique affluence is attested through the construction of a large water sanctuary and an imposing new façade in the mid-fourth century.

If sculptures at Milreu or elsewhere indeed came from a public setting, how might a person have acquired statuary or other decorative materials that originated in a public building?[49] Public buildings and their contents belonged to the emperor, who did, however, create a mechanism for selling them at auction. A law of 378 addressed to the count of the sacred largesses (*comes sacrarum largitionum*) declares that "those buildings which have been allowed to fall into ruins by the worthlessness of the procurators and the negligence of the fiscal representatives" are to be sold at auction.[50] Arcadius and Honorius likewise announced a plan for auctioning public buildings in 398.[51] Perhaps public auctions of buildings and their contents allowed some public statuary to pass into private hands. At Aphrodisias, R. R. R. Smith interprets certain markings on statue bases as numbering from a municipally controlled inventory.[52] Anna Leone argues that deposition patterns of statuary in derelict public buildings in North Africa result from reclaiming activity and warehousing organized by municipal authorities.[53] At a more basic level, the existence of recarved statues in Late Antiquity implies availability of earlier statues to be reworked. It is also not impossible that some powerful individuals simply appropriated materials from a civic source.

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49. Murer (this volume) shows that funerary sculpture came to be reused in houses of late antique Ostia.
50. *C.Th.* 10.2.1, trans. Pharr 1952, 269. Buildings too large or luxurious for private usage are to be converted into residences for the provincial governors.
51. *C.Th.* 10.20.2 (Pharr 1952, 269), addressed to the count of the sacred Imperial largesses. Such auctions bring to mind the controversy in Detroit about the proposal to sell the holdings of the Detroit Institute of Art as part of the city's bankruptcy proceedings ("Should Detroit Sell Its Art?," *Economist,* 6 July 2013).
52. Smith et al. 2006, 60.
53. Leone 2013, 130–33, 144–59.

Contemporary artworks, that is, brand-new statues, were the least common element in the statuary assemblages of either late antique baths or villas. There are records of statues of emperors set up in baths. These may have been new or reused statues. Contemporary portraits also appear in some baths, such as the Forum Baths at Ostia and the Hadrianic Baths at Aphrodisias.[54] Contemporary portraits are quite rare in late antique villas, and contemporary imperial portraits are very unusual indeed. I only know of two examples of a late antique emperor found in a late antique house, a Constantine from a domus in Messene (Greece) and a portrait identified as Honorius found in the villa of Pedrulha (Portugal).[55] As production of fresh portraits dwindled, perhaps public settings were a preferred location to deploy them.[56]

At a few villas and houses, owners purchased new statuettes of mythological figures made in workshops in Asia Minor. Measuring up to about 75 cm, and weighing around 45 kg, these statuettes were relatively easy to transport and they appear in a number of late antique villas around the empire. The villa of Saint-Georges-de-Montagne in southwest Gaul and the villa of Quinta das Longas in Lusitania particularly stand out for their assemblages of late mythological statuettes.[57] Even grander commissions of mythological statuary appear at Chiragan (tondi showing gods and panels showing the labors of Hercules) and at Valdetorres de Jarama in Spain (a series of snaky-legged giants and several statuettes).[58] Late mythological statuettes in Luna marble must have been carved in workshops in the city of Rome, workshops that also created life-sized statuary and tondi.[59] Attic workshops produced classicizing statuettes, probably down to the early fourth century, and some of these appear in a suburban domus at Corinth.[60] Later Attic workshops produced a Cybele that appeared in

54. Valeri 1998, 35, 48, fig. 19; Smith 2007, 218–19.
55. Deligiannakis 2005, 393–99; Gonçalves 2007, 199–201, no. 77, 658.
56. Benjamin Anderson (this volume) explores underlying factors for the overall waning production of imperial portraiture.
57. Stirling 1996; 2005, 30–37 (Saint-Georges-de-Montagne); Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004 (Quinta das Longas). For further villa collections with late mythological statuettes, see Stirling 2005, 29–90, 165–227. Further examples of statuettes from Asian workshops include a large assemblage at the villa of Quinta das Longas in Portugal (Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004), a female head at the villa of Estacíon in Spain (Romero, Mañas, and Bargas 2006, 252–53, fig. 9), and a female head from a villa at Andilly-en-Bassigny in France (fig. 3; Serrano and Groetembril 2011, 34–39, figs. 10–11). Hannestad (2012) evaluates the possibility of many further regional workshops in places such as Dokimeion, Sidon, and Bordeaux.
58. Chiragan: Hannestad 1994, 135–41; Bergmann 1999, 33, 35–36, 58–60. Valdetorres: Bergmann 1999, 20–21.
59. Vorster 2012–13, 460 (Luna marble).
60. Stirling 2008, 147–50 (dating). Brown (this volume) discusses the fate of statuary in late antique

a shrine in a house under the National Gardens in Athens (fig. 7).[61] Workshops in northern Italy and elsewhere likewise carved mythological pieces modeled on eastern works.[62]

Freshly made ideal sculpture is much rarer in bath buildings. Thus, it seems that when late antique patrons were purchasing or commissioning newly-carved statues, they were more likely to buy portraits to place in a bath building, but mythological statuary for a domestic setting.

## *Treatment of Statuary*

My final area of comparison is the treatment of statuary, that is, ways that people curated, restored, moved, altered, or discarded statuary. This is where there is the biggest divergence between villas and baths. Statuary in baths underwent more changes that seem linked to changing values about nudity or "pagan" art.

Over time, the eclectic assemblages in villas and houses were displayed, repaired, and moved around.[63] Statues from villas are rarely found in situ; typically they are found in the destruction levels of villas, indicating that they remained in use in the villa's final phase, even if the findspots may not reflect the locale of usage. They are often fragmentary, a condition that probably reflects salvage and recycling of elements of villas after they had gone out of use.[64] At some sites, such as Mediana (Serbia) and Quinta das Longas (Portugal), broken statues had been left tumbled together in a pile.[65] These statues were clearly out of use and may have been waiting for lime kilns. When owners of villas tired of statuary, they could simply remove it from view, and perhaps recycle the materials.[66] Alterna-

Corinth. Statuettes found at Inatos on Crete most likely belonged to a seaside villa (Stirling 2008, 142–43).

61. Katakis 2012. On statuary in public settings of late antique Athens, see Burkhardt, this volume.
62. Sperti 2011. Hannestad (2012) proposes further workshops for mythological statuettes in the western Mediterranean.
63. Examples of repair include a late mythological statuette of Ganymede from the House of the Greek Charioteers in Carthage (Gazda 1981, 130) and patching and repair on a Diana from the House of Fortuna Annonaria at Ostia (Becatti 1949, 23–25).
64. Munro 2012 and article in this volume.
65. At Quinta das Longas, the statuary fragments lay over an opus sectile floor in a grand apsidal room (Nogales Basarrate, Carvalho, and Almeida 2004, 117, fig. 4). At the Villa of the Peristyle at Mediana (Serbia), a large cluster of statuary lay in a room facing onto the central peristyle: Petrović 1994, 86, fig. 19. A head and feet from a Venus were later found in different rooms further north (Vasić and Gavrilović 2012, 137–49).
66. Indeed, Beth Munro (this volume) shows that the findspots of statuary fragments in several Gallic villas are probably related to transport for lime kilns.

Fig. 7. Statuette of Cybele found in a late antique house under the National Gardens in Athens (Third Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, inv. M 2549, by permission).

tively, they might place it in a less visible location, as seems to have occurred at the Panayia Domus in Corinth. A group of statuettes—relatively complete in preservation but missing all metal attachments—was found in a small room with frescos showing simple garlands.[67] This room perhaps served as a domestic shrine at a time when open worship of pagan divinities was no longer feasible. Did villa owners come to view nude or mythological statuary differently from portraits or draped statuary? Where portraits exist at villas, they are generally discarded in the same fashion as other (mythological) statuary, suggesting that mythological statuary had not been singled out for some different or earlier disposal.

In many instances, only one or two fragments remain from what was clearly a much larger statue; the rest of the statue seems to have been removed for reuse of some sort. Thus, the fragments are indicative more of practical breakage than ideological destruction. Most statuary in domestic contexts does not show obvious malicious treatment, and I am not aware of castrated statuary found in domestic contexts.[68]

By contrast, assemblages in baths received a mixed reception. There is one example of a cross-marked statue found in a bath building, an Archaic lion found in the Baths of Faustina at Miletos.[69] At Baelo Claudia in Lusitania, a statue of the Doryphoros apparently remained on view until the abandonment of the baths in the mid-fifth century, when its genitals were forcefully chiseled away, possibly causing the fracturing of the statue.[70] The fragments were then tossed in the swimming pool below its niche. As we have seen, some baths that continued in use edited out nude statuary at some point. At the baths of Salamis on Cyprus, a statue of Venus Anadyomene was mutilated and discarded in the

67. Stirling 2008, 130–31.
68. There are a few examples of deliberate damage to domestic statuary. At Aphrodisias, the heads of the tondi of philosophers from the Atrium House were deliberately broken off (Smith 1990, 155). In houses on the Areopagus in Athens, a statue of Athena was reused face-down as a threshold stone and there was selective mutilation on certain reused Classical reliefs before they were discarded in wells (Stirling 2005, 204–6). At Sardis, a statuette of Dionysos in the House of Bronzes that appeared to have intentional damage on its face was found standing in the corner of a basement room (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 82, 85–86, 151 no. 225, fig. 390). At some point after an earthquake in 617, male and female portraits (both headless) "were apparently put down on the ground and covered with earth for some unknown reason and were thus well preserved" (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 81, 89 no. 59, 91–92, no. 67). It does appear, however, that the statues had remained on view in some place before this disposal.
69. Dally et al. 2009, 135, 152, fig. 9; Kristensen 2012, 59, no. B8. See also Jacobs 2013, 437–38. Many cross-marked statues do not have a specific findspot or were found in much later fills.
70. Bernal et al. 2013, 137–42, fig. 21. For identification of the statue, see Bernal Casasola and Roda de Llanza 2014.

fifth century AD, and some statues were reused as construction material. Even so, statues of Asklepios, Dionysos, and other divinities evidently remained on display until the seventh century, when they were discarded in pools.[71] Several nude male statues appear to have remained on display with their genitals mutilated. Other baths, mostly in Asia Minor, likewise displayed castrated statuary, such as a group of the Three Graces from Perge.[72] It is, of course, impossible to date the moment of mutilation. These disfigured statues reflect a tension between valuing the traditional decoration of the classical city and growing unease with nudity. Nonetheless, in some of these baths the defaced statuary seemingly remained visible for a very long time. If nudity alone were the major concern, it does seem that the statuary could have been removed (eventually) or even covered with clothing. The choice to expose the damaged statuary makes a much stronger statement about control and disempowerment of the symbols of the supplanted religion.[73]

## *Comparison and Conclusions*

As we have seen, there are broad similarities in both the contents and sources for statuary in the sculptural assemblages from late antique baths and villas, whereas greater differences appear in the treatment of statuary. In both venues, the subject matter remained broadly similar to that chosen during the high empire, although the Vedius Gymnasium at Ephesus lost its nude statuary in a renovation of the early fifth century. The continuity reflects the fact that many statuary assemblages of the high empire simply remained in use. Such continuity must also reflect enduring cultural values on the part of the patrons, and also on the part of the viewers (at least for a time).[74] Statuary in both types of location was fairly eclectic in subject, scale, and material. Such mixed statuary, especially in villas, may reflect diminished selection of available materials for purchase (either secondhand goods or contemporary statuary). Patrons of both types of sculptural display drew on the same broad sources: existing accreted statuary (the major source), "used" statuary from other locations, and some freshly commissioned products.

Within these broad continuities and similarities, some changes and distinc-

71. Karageorghis and Vermeule 1964, 14, no. 5; 33, no. 26; 35–36, no. 32.
72. Hannestad 2001; Karageorghis and Vermeule 1964, 4.
73. Kristensen 2010, 275–81, with earlier bibliography.
74. For similar arguments, see Boin 2013a, 263–69; Curran 1994, 55.

tions may be noted. Life-sized statuary was less common in late antique villas than it had been in those of the high empire. The types of contemporary statues that were favored differed between baths and villas. Patrons continued to add portraits to bath buildings, but newly carved mythological statuary is not attested. Sometimes mythological statuary was relocated into baths from other places, however. Among the portraits, some might be newly carved; others were recarved or rededicated portraits of earlier eras. Thus, although divinities of water and health retained a symbolic importance in public baths, new pieces usually emphasized prominent individuals in the city or the imperial regime.

By contrast, in villas, late antique mythological statuettes appear more frequently than do contemporary portraits (which are really quite rare in villas). Late antique mythological statuettes are quite widely if thinly distributed around the empire. Most appear as single examples, but there are a few instances of larger purchases, most spectacularly at Chiragan. Newly made mythological statuary was largely destined for homes rather than civic spaces.

The greatest difference between statuary assemblages in villas and baths lies in the treatment of statuary. In some baths, mainly in the east, the genitals of nude statues were removed or mutilated, with the statues evidently left on display. Statuary from domestic contexts rarely shows traces of hostile treatment (as opposed to practical forms of discard or reuse). Most of these differences relate to mythological statuary. Evidently, although mythological statuary still held cultural value in a public venue, it also evoked more hostility and unease in public baths than it did in the more controlled environment of a villa. Let us further examine this hostility.

As Christianity became mainstream and predominant over the fourth century, both public bathing and statuary decoration came under criticism. Although the church never formally forbade bathing, many patristic sources express disapproval about it for a variety of reasons.[75] The unclothed body became a source of shame and was feared as an incitement to lust. Injunctions against mixed bathing became ever stronger. Pampering the body was felt to be unnecessary, even injurious to the soul; instead, there was a growing admiration for ascetic practices of denying the body. Pleasure and luxury, the enjoyments provided by public baths, were distractions from true devotion and were dangerous to the soul. Variations of these sentiments appear in many Christian sources, even though we may also note examples of bishops or other Christian figures using baths.

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75. For patristic writings on bathing, see Yegül, 1992, 315–20; Hannestad 2001.

Statues in any location were thought by some Christians to house dangerous demons; statues set in an environment redolent with sensuality and sin might attract them still more.[76] A well-known anecdote from early fifth-century Carthage reflects the dangers that some people feared from statuary in the baths. The bishop Quodvultdeus describes a young girl who saw a statue of "Venus impudica" in the baths, imitated its pose, and was possessed by a demon. Eventually the demon was exorcised and the statue destroyed.[77] Fears of statuary in baths or pollution from worship going on in baths are expressed by some contemporary writers.[78]

Public baths were thus a contested location where traditional civic values of benevolence and a culture of stimulating the senses through luxury met Christian values of humility and disdain for pampering the body. Statuary housed in bath buildings provided a physical symbol where these conflicting values could be expressed. On the one hand, there was pressure to retain the statues as symbols of luxury, or culture, or an element that generally glorified the status of a city. On the other hand, religious pressure or concern could be strong enough to cause modifications to décor (mutilation or expulsion of nude figures). It is important to note that both reactions are found simultaneously within baths. It is also important to note that all classes of society might use public baths. Viewed by a mixed clientele, the décor of bath buildings needed to respond to a wide range of concerns and values.

Apart from examples at Agnano (Italy), Cherchel (Algeria), and Baelo Claudia (Spain), documented cases of removal or mutilation of nude statuary are mainly found in the east, where public bathing also continued for longer than it did in the west. As we have seen, large public bath buildings declined in Gaul in the third century, and in Spain over the fourth. In Italy and North Africa, some public baths still operated in the fifth century.[79] By contrast, in the east, bathing on some scale lasted into the sixth century in many cities. Thus, in the west there was less opportunity for Christians to critique bathing from a position of strength. The later history of the West Baths at Cherchel is obscure, but the baths at Agnano (near Naples) received restoration down to the sixth

76. C. Mango 1963, 56; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990, 55–57. For baths, see Dunbabin 1989, 36–37. In medieval times nude statues were strongly associated with paganism and nudity was part of the artistic shorthand for scenes of idolatry: Schmidt 2003, 219.
77. For a text and translation of the passage, see Picard 1986, 59–62, with further discussion; Lepelley 1994, 5.
78. Stirling 2012, 78–79; Boin 2013a, 269–70.
79. Leone 2007, 140–41; Yegül 1992, 322–23.

century, and those at Baelo Claudia went out of use in the second half of the fifth century.[80] This comparative approach suggests that mutilation of statuary more broadly was a phenomenon not of the fourth century, but of the fifth century and later.[81]

The social conditions of villas and houses were rather different from those of baths. The owners controlled access to these buildings to a much greater degree. Most visitors to a villa would not have been invited to the luxurious interior suites where statuary formed part of the décor. Such rooms were reserved for high-status guests, most of whom shared a social background that valued markers of the past, literary education, and the expressive power of mythology.[82] Findspots suggest that portraits were sometimes displayed in courtyards, a more accessible location. Portraits evoked political connections and high social status without the same emphasis on traditional culture. Moreover, when a villa owner no longer valued statuary, he or she could simply remove it. At some villas, statues are found dumped into pits, cisterns, or pools; elsewhere, small preserved fragments suggest breakage for lime kilns.[83] There was no conflicting pressure to retain statuary once the owner no longer valued its cultural associations.[84] Nor would an attack on statuary there be visible to as wide an audience.

To conclude, investigating the assemblages from late antique villas and baths shows that their statuary retained value through the fourth century and sometimes into the fifth. Sculptural décor expressed largely traditional messages about civic culture, *luxuria,* or education. There is greater evidence for shifting statuary patterns in bath buildings than in villas, with nude statuary becoming problematic. The public venue, mixed viewers, and associations with idolatry and luxury all created a conflicted environment for statues in bath buildings. Looking at the two venues together has shown how damage to statuary was not an automatic choice, and indeed the choice to display damaged statuary appears generally in the fifth century and later.

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80. Hannestad 2001; Manderscheid, 1981, 81–82, nos. 116–24.
81. In the sixth century, headless statues were displayed in a main street and prominent building of Caesarea Maritima: Troels Myrup Kristensen (2010, 275–82) argues for a triumphal significance to the display.
82. Stirling 2005, 139–48.
83. In the Iberian Peninsula, the majority of statues from villas are found in the decorative pools of the peristyle: Stirling 2007, 315–16.
84. Esmonde Cleary (2013, 477) argues that over the fifth century, elite self-image and display in the west moved away from *paideia* and cultural commonalities to a militarized identity.

TWELVE

# The Disappearing Imperial Statue

## *Toward a Social Approach*

BENJAMIN ANDERSON

The declining production of sculpture in the round during late antiquity can be traced both in the archaeological and in the literary record. Only rarely, however, can it be quantified. The best-studied subset of late antique sculptural production is the corpus of attested imperial statues. Already in 1982, a catalog of literary and epigraphic attestations of imperial statues from AD 364 to 609 was published by Rudolf Stichel.[1] On the basis of Stichel's catalog, R. R. R. Smith produced a striking visual representation of the apparent decline in production over this 250-year period, which has become the standard visual shorthand for "the end of the statue habit."[2] Smith's graph counts individual imperial statues, thus producing especially high numbers for the fourth and early fifth centuries, when monuments frequently honored multiple co-emperors. Still, even if one follows Stichel's catalog in counting monuments, not statues, the resulting picture of a precipitous numerical decline between the later fourth and later fifth centuries is unmistakable, as is the end of imperial statue monuments in the early seventh (fig. 1).

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My thanks to Anthony Kaldellis, Paolo Liverani, and Rolf Schneider for directing me to useful bibliography sources.

1. Stichel 1982, 75–115. Stichel's catalog could be updated with discoveries made in the intervening decades (e.g., Alpi 2011), but these would not change the overall picture significantly.
2. Smith 1985, fig. 1, reproduced by, e.g., Bauer and Witschel 2007a. At 217 Smith argues for a correlation between the number of statues attested in the literary and epigraphic record and the actual production of statues, against Stichel's more cautious assessment of the sources: Stichel 1982, 18–19.

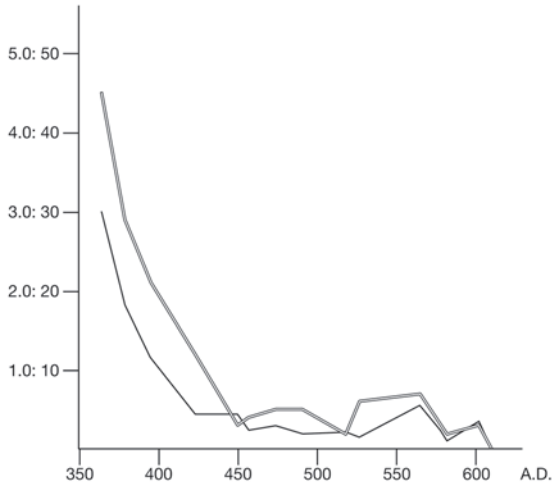


Fig. 1. Statue monuments to emperors and their families, 364–610, after Stichel 1982. The solid line tracks number of monuments per year in a regnal period, and the hollow line tracks the total number of statues in a regnal period, plotted against the first year of the given period. Drawing by the author.

## *I. State of the Question*

Such a phenomenon calls for an explanation; but what kind of explanation might be deemed sufficient? It can be assumed that the production of imperial statues was not an entirely autonomous realm, detached from other cultural and social phenomena. Thus the first question is whether imperial statues should primarily be considered as a subset of statues in general, or as a subset of imperial images in general. An implicit answer lies behind each of the two major accounts that have been offered for the decline in production. The first account provides an aesthetic explanation of the phenomenon, according to which statues of the emperor were replaced by images in various two-dimensional media, especially painting and mosaic. The decline in the production of imperial statues is therefore seen as a result of the broader decline in the production of statues in general. The second account provides an iconographic explanation of the phenomenon, according to which late Roman imperial statues no longer represented individual emperors, but supraindividual aspects of the imperial office, so that the production of new statues became redundant. The decline in the production of imperial statues is therefore seen as a result of declining demand for imperial images in general.

Both approaches, the aesthetic and the iconographic, identify important aspects of the late Roman reception of statuary. Nevertheless, serious objec-

tions may be raised against both. Let us begin with the aesthetic argument, according to which the continuing production of imperial statues into the seventh century represented the conservative retention of an artistic genre, sculpture in the round, which had already become obsolete by the middle of the sixth century. Its eventual abandonment was thus inevitable.[3] The emperor did not, however, disappear from the urban landscape, but was rather represented in different media and contexts, especially in paintings or mosaics within churches.[4]

The increasing significance of two-dimensional media in late antique artistic production is an undeniable and highly significant phenomenon, and there is no doubt that it affected the representation of the emperor as well.[5] Constantinopolitan examples include the Forum of Leo I (457–74), in which that emperor's accession was represented in mosaic; the mosaics of the Chalke of Justinian I (527–65); and the Portico of Maurice (582–602), whose paintings represented the emperor's youth.[6] Nevertheless, if two-dimensional media were to be understood as having *replaced* the imperial statue, we would require attested examples of monumental two-dimensional imperial portraits in the century following the disappearance of the statue, and it is precisely here that the aesthetic argument runs into trouble.[7]

The last epigraphically attested imperial statue dates to the reign of Phokas (602–10), for whom additional monuments are attested in the literary record.[8] Not only is it impossible to identify any imperial *statues* erected in honor of the remaining seventh-century emperors, but public imperial images of any sort become extremely scarce. None are attested from the reign of Herakleios (610–41).[9] The mosaic in Sant'Apollinare in Classe depicting four emperors alongside

3. Thus, esp. Stichel 1982, 31–35. Cf. Smith 1985, 217.
4. See esp. Bauer 2003b, 510: "Ursächlich war nicht das abklingende Bedürfnis nach Präsenz hoher Würdenträger oder des Kaisers im Stadtbild, da an die Stelle dreidimensionaler Statuen gemalte Bildnisse oder solche in Mosaik traten, wie sie sich an den Pfeilern der Demetriosbasilika in Thessaloniki erhalten haben."
5. See, recently, Muth 2007, and the contribution of Paolo Liverani in this volume.
6. The references for these three monuments are assembled by Bauer 1996, 322–23. Recently on the Forum of Leo, see Dark and Harris 2008. For the rich textual dossier on imperial portraits in mosaic from late antique Ravenna, see Malmberg 2014, 171–78. For a mosaic of Theoderic in Naples, see Procopius, *De bellis* V.xxiv.22–27; ed. Haury, II.120–21. For honorific paintings of nonimperial individuals, see C. Mango 1986b.
7. For an account of "imperial art" in this period, see M. M. Mango 1994.
8. For Phokas we have the epigraphically attested statue on the Forum Romanum (*CIL* VI.1200), as well as literary attestations of a statue in Constantinople, and a further column in Constantinople perhaps intended to carry a statue: see Stichel 1982, 114–15, for the sources.
9. Speck 1974, 98–99, n. 44, suggests that a reference in the *Patria* and the *Suda* to an ἕξαμον of Herak-

the archbishop of Ravenna probably dates to the reign of Constans II (641–68) and depicts the grant of autocephaly to the see of Ravenna (fig. 2). It can thus hardly be considered an imperial commission, but rather represents a local, Ravennate boast regarding the city's new independence from Rome.[10] No independent portrait monuments of Constans's successor, Constantine IV (668–85), are attested. The case of Justinian II (685–95 and 705–11) is more complicated. Some scholars have seen an image of Justinian in the figure of a rider depicted on a fragmentary fresco on the south wall of the basilica of Hagios Demetrios in Thessaloniki, but the figure may be more plausibly interpreted as a high-ranking official.[11] Descriptions of statues of Justinian in Constantinople preserved in medieval Byzantine texts are clearly reinterpretations of older, nonimperial monuments.[12]

Indeed, it is only with Philippikos (711–13) that we can speak of a concerted reentry of the emperor into the public sphere. From his brief reign we have two attested public portraits in Constantinople, one, probably a painting, in the Baths of Zeuxippos, and the other, probably a mosaic, in the vault of the Milion.[13] This trend seems to have continued in the following century. We hear of monumental paintings depicting the deeds of the first two Isaurian emperors, Leo III (717–41) and Constantine V (741–75).[14] And while public portraits of Constantine VI (780–97) and Irene (797–802) described in medieval sources may be misattributions, there is no reason to doubt the report of mosaics depicting mother and son in the Church of the Virgin of the Source in Constantinople.[15]

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leios in the Basilica might represent a corruption of ἔξωμον (statue). More convincing is Albrecht Berger's interpretation as "standard measure" (*Normalmaß*): Berger 1988, 419–20. An intriguing capital in the collection of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Inv. 942 T), reportedly found in Beyazıt and inscribed with an acclamation of the "Despot Herakleios," is too small to have carried a statue: see Mendel 1912, II.553–55 (cat. no. 755).

10. For a recent summary, see Deliyannis 2010, 271–73; for the most extensive treatment, see Deichmann 1976, 273–80. For ecclesiastical politics in this period, see T. S. Brown 1979; discussion of the mosaic at 21–22. Kent 1950 interprets a reused and inscribed altar from Corinth as a base for a statue of Constans II.
11. Bauer 2013, 242–47, with references to the extensive earlier literature.
12. Thus already Stichel 1982, 25–27. The reattributions were intended to mock the unpopular emperor: see Anderson 2011, 8–9.
13. For the painting in Zeuxippos, see *Parastaseis* 82 (Preger 1901–7, I.71), with Stichel 1982, 23. For the image in the vault of the Milion, of Philippikos together with the Patriarch Sergios, see the account of Agathon the Deacon, in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum*, XII.193–96. On the curious reign of Philippikos, see now Herrin 2007.
14. For the sources, see Magdalino 2007, 7.
15. For public portraits, and skepticism, see Stichel 1982, 24–25; to the sources assembled there add *Patria* III.202 (Preger 1901–7, II.278). For the mosaics, see the Anonymous Miracles of the Pege, chap. 8 (Talbot and Johnson 2012, 222–23).

Fig. 2. Mosaic depicting the grant of autocephaly to the see of Ravenna. Sant'Apollinare, Classe. Photo: George Tatge for Alinari. Reproduced with the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Alinari Archives, Florence.

By the turn of the ninth century, then, we have arrived safely at the standard mode of representation of medieval Byzantine emperors, namely, the installation of mosaic portraits in churches. Nevertheless, for one whole century, between 610 and 711, we have no attested imperial portraits in Constantinople, and only one solidly attested monumental portrait in the entire empire: that in Ravenna, which is clearly tied to local politics. The same pattern is reflected in the literary evidence for the sending of imperial portraits from Constantinople to Rome, which is last attested under Phokas, exhibits a century-long lacuna, and reemerges under Philippikos and Leo III.[16] On the basis of the evidence, then, it cannot be argued that imperial statue monuments were "replaced" by monumental portraits in other media.

Like the aesthetic argument, the iconographic argument takes its cue from a real and significant development in late antique art. A prominent strand in modern scholarship has argued that late antique imperial portraits no longer attempted to represent the individual, physical characteristics of specific emperors, as portraits of officials continued to do, but rather developed a stereotyped iconography of imperial rule, emphasizing such elements as the insignia of rule and placid, symmetrical faces removed from worldly cares.[17] On the basis of this observation, it has further been argued that the de-individualization of the imperial statue rendered the production of new imperial statues unnecessary: first, because older statues could be continuously reinterpreted as statues of the new emperor, or of the imperial office in general; and second, because new genres of monuments, such as crosses set atop columns, could serve the same purpose of representing the supraindividual aspects of imperial rule.[18]

Despite its appeal as a logical deduction from recognized phenomena in late antique art, this iconographic argument finds no support in the textual or archaeological record from the period following the abandonment of imperial statues. Indeed, it would seem to be directly contradicted by two important observations. The first is the marked resurgence in individualized portraiture on the gold solidi of the seventh and early eighth centuries. The shift from the stereotyped numismatic portraits of the sixth century to a more individualized

16. H. Kruse 1934, 32–34.
17. See esp. Zanker 1988; Bauer 1996, 339–49; Smith 1999a, 160–61; Bergmann 2000; Gehn 2012, 293–316; Kovacs 2014.
18. For the argument for the reinterpretation of old statues, see Bauer 1996, 339 and 343–45, and Deckers 2007, 97. For the argument for the replacement of statue monuments by cross monuments, see Bauer 1996, 360–62.

Fig. 3. Solidus of Constantine IV (668–85), minted 681–685, Constantinople. Dumbarton Oaks Museum, BZC.1948.17.2013. © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington, DC.

portraiture begins in the reign of Phokas and continues until the reign of Tiberios II (698–705) (e.g., fig. 3).[19] Thus, precisely at the moment when the triumph of a thoroughly conventional imperial portrait is supposed to have rendered the erection of new statue monuments obsolete, we see in fact the emergence of a highly individualized portraiture in the most widely distributed of media. The new portraits would have made it easy to differentiate between a ruling emperor and older portrait monuments.

The second objection against the iconographic argument may be raised on the basis of the textual record. In the works of the early eighth-century historians, we find multiple mentions of late antique imperial statues damaged in earthquakes, which routinely identify the specific late antique emperors whom the monuments honored.[20] This suggests that the late antique statues were not, in fact, reinterpreted as images of ruling emperors or as symbols of a supraindividual imperial office, but rather continued to be perceived as historical monuments.

In subjecting these two explanatory models to analysis and criticism, I do

19. See, fundamentally, Grierson 1968, I.88–94. Cf. Restle 1964.
20. E.g., Nikephoros, *Short History*, chap. 63; ed. and tr. C. Mango, 132–33. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 412; tr. C. Mango and Scott, 572.

not wish to suggest that they are invalid. Historical phenomena as complex as the abandonment of artistic genres are not susceptible to monocausal explanations. Thus explanatory models of all types remain useful in the construction of nuanced, multicausal accounts. Nevertheless, I do believe that the currently available explanations for the abandonment of imperial statuary are *insufficient,* insofar as they fail to account for certain phenomena in the art of the seventh and early eighth centuries. These phenomena may be summarized as follows: first, the disappearance of nearly all public imperial portraits, not just of statues; and second, a simultaneous resurgence in individualized portraiture in the one medium in which emperors were still represented, namely the numismatic. In the remainder of this paper I wish to propose an additional explanatory model that might accommodate these phenomena.

## *II. Toward a Social Approach*

The following model begins with the assumption that public imperial portrait monuments are not simply objects of art, or inert representations of a given person or institution. They are rather dynamic sites through which a variety of social relationships are defined and mediated. Two such relationships are of primary importance: first, the relationship between the dedicator of the monument and the person whom it represents, the emperor; and second, the relationship between the emperor and the viewer of the monument, the subject of imperial rule. In both relationships we may further distinguish between the levels of intent and reception, between the ideal relationship that a monument was meant to facilitate and the actual relationship that is expressed through the reception of the monument. Some divergence between intent and reception is to be expected in the case of all monuments, but a radical divergence between intent and reception is an indication that the monument is no longer capable of serving its intended function.

Let us first consider the imperial portrait monument as the expression of a relationship between donor and emperor. Between the fourth and the seventh centuries, most donors of imperial monuments in Rome and in Constantinople were urban prefects, while the praetorian prefects also played a role in Constantinople.[21] From the epigraphic and literary records, it is possible to identify

21. For Rome, see Bauer 1996, 327.

18 individual donors and one corporate donor of Constantinopolitan imperial monuments between the reigns of Theodosios I (379–95) and Phokas. Eight were urban prefects and three were praetorian prefects (table 1). This would seem to indicate that the dedication of imperial statues had become an official procedure primarily entrusted to the prefectures.[22]

Such a standardized procedure should not, however, lead to the interpretation of the monuments as perfunctory gestures lacking in actual substance. As Emanuel Mayer has emphasized, imperial monuments expressed a set of values and expectations shared by elites and emperors and thereby facilitated a discourse regarding the nature of the imperial office.[23] By the fourth century this discourse no longer aimed at a broad social consensus, as had been attempted in the high imperial period. The senatorial class ceased to dedicate imperial

Table 1. Attested Donors of Imperial Portrait Monuments in Constantinople, 390–605

| MONUMENT | HONOREE | DONOR |
|---|---|---|
| Obelisk base, 390 | Theodosios I. | **PVC** (PLRE I, Proculus 6) |
| Statue, 390 | Theodosios I. | **Scrinarii** |
| Statue, 403 | Eudoxia | **PVC** (PLRE II, Simplicius 4) |
| Portraits, 414–15 | Honorius, Theodosios II, and Pulcheria | **PPO** (PLRE I, Aurelianus 3) |
| Statue, 414? | Theodosios II | **PSC** (PLRE II, Musellius 1) |
| Statue, 421 | Arkadios (posthumous) | **Emperor** (Theodosios II) |
| Statue, 443–50 | Theodosios II | **Spatharius** (PLRE II, Chrysaphius) |
| Statue, 450–52 | Marcian | **PVC** (PLRE II, Tatianus 1) |
| Forum, 471 | Leo | **PPO** (PLRE II, Constantinus 8) |
| Statues, 474–91 | Zeno and Ariadne | **PVC** (PLRE II, Iulianus 12) |
| Statue, 506? | Anastasios | **CSL** (PLRE II, Ioannes 45) |
| Bath, ca. 518 | Justin I | **Chartularius** (PLRE II, Marinus 7) |
| Statue, 530–31 | Justinian | **PVC** (PLRE III, Eustathius 1) |
| Statue, 530–31 | Justinian | **PPO** (PLRE III, Iulianus 4) |
| Statues, 565–66 | Justin II and Sophia | **PVC** (PLRE III, Iulianus 15) |
| Statues, 565–78 | Justin II and Sophia | **PVC** (PLRE III, Domninus 2) |
| Statues, 580 | Tiberios and Anastasia | **PVC** (PLRE III, Iulianus 20) |
| Portraits, 604/5 | Phokas, Domentzia, and Priskos | **Demarch** (PLRE III, Theophanes 3) |
| Portraits, 604/5 | Phokas, Domentzia, and Priskos | **Demarch** (PLRE III, Pamphilius 2) |

22. Similarly Bauer 1996, 328: "In dieser Übernahme des Stifterwesens durch die Person des Stadtpräfekten ist sicherlich ein Ausdruck einer zunehmenden Systematisierung der Statuenweihungen zu sehen: Die planmäßige Ausstattung der Stadt mit Kaiserbildern wurde dem Stadtpräfekten anvertraut und als Amtshandlung dem Bereich der privaten Beliebigkeit entzogen." On the urban prefecture of Constantinople, see Guilland 1969.

23. Mayer 2002, esp. at 5–6.

monuments, which accordingly came to constitute a far more restricted conversation between emperors and imperial functionaries.[24] Nevertheless, in the late fourth century it was still possible for groups outside of the immediate imperial milieu to intervene in this conversation and to erect "successful" monuments that met with the desired response from the emperor. Thus, in 390 the *scrinarii,* the imperial accountants, set up a silver statue of Theodosios in Constantinople in gratitude for their elevation in status within the administrative hierarchy.[25]

By the sixth and seventh centuries, however, attempts by persons outside of the prefectures to dedicate imperial portrait monuments were as likely to meet with incomprehension or outright condemnation from the emperors, as is attested by two examples. The first concerns the *chartularius* Marinus of Apamea, the patron of a set of paintings in a public bath that depicted the early life of Emperor Justin I (518–27): "the entire story of his entry into Constantinople, and how he proceeded from one rank to the next until he became emperor." When these paintings became controversial, he defended himself by explaining that he intended to illustrate how God can elevate men of lowly origin to rule, just as he can bring down those of noble birth.[26] It seems clear that Marinus, a provincial in the imperial service, wished to celebrate the rise of another provincial, Justin, to the imperial office.[27] However, as his commission fell outside of the standardized canon of public portrait monuments, it met with incomprehension, and was probably perceived as a jibe at the emperor's humble background.

The second incident, far more drastic in nature, followed the marriage of the daughter of the emperor Phokas, Domentzia, to one of his patricians, Priskos. The emperor ordered chariot races to be held in celebration, and the demarchs (leaders of the circus factions) set up portraits of the newlyweds alongside the imperial portraits in the Hippodrome. This so enraged Phokas that he ordered the beheading of the two demarchs, who protested that they were following custom. They were saved only by the crowd's demands for mercy.[28] It

24. As demonstrated by Mayer 2002; see esp. the summaries at 18–27 and 234–36, with the notable shift in the content of imperial monuments attributed to "die Genese eines neuen panegyrischen Milieus in den neuen Residentzstädten" (236). See also Fejfer 2008, 389–90.
25. John Lydus, *De magistratibus*, III.35; ed. Bandy, 186–88. For the date, see Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, s.a. 390; tr. Croke, 4. Also on this statue, which was probably located in the Augustaion, see Bauer 1996, 159.
26. Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor VIII.1; tr. Phenix and Horn, 279.
27. For Marinus, see PLRE II, Marinus 7; and recently Meier 2007a.
28. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor 294; tr. C. Mango and Scott, 423; and cf. John of Antioch, *Fragmenta*, ed. Roberto, fragment 319, p. 550. See further the discussion by Olster 1993, 73–74.

may no longer be possible to reconstruct the precise source of the conflict, but the monument probably represented an innocent attempt on the part of the demarchs to celebrate the marriage, which was misinterpreted by Phokas as a symbolic usurpation of his claim to sole rule.[29]

Thus, by the sixth and seventh centuries the erection of imperial portrait monuments had not only become a standard duty of the urban prefect, but attempts by persons outside the prefectures to erect honorific monuments were met by suspicion on the part of the emperors. This represents a radical restriction of the circle of potential donors, and thus simultaneously a radical restriction of the discourse regarding imperial rule that might be enabled by such monuments.

This restriction provides the necessary background for understanding the second relationship represented by imperial portrait monuments, namely, that between emperor and subject. In the ideal scenario, as intended by donors and imperial recipients, public portrait monuments provided an opportunity for subjects to express their admiration for the emperor. This is clearly attested by the ceremonies that accompanied the dedication of a newly erected monument.[30] Thus, in the year 403 the erection of a silver statue of the empress Eudoxia was accompanied by acclamations and performances by dancers and mimes, "as was normal in those days at the dedication of imperial statues."[31] The dedication of statues of Justinian and Theodora was likewise accompanied by the acclamations of the circus partisans.[32] These acclamations presumably constituted "the traditional rites" whose performance are attested in the inscriptions on the late fourth-century bases of imperial statues from Side and Aphrodisias.[33] A poem of Dioscorus of Aphrodito greeting the arrival of an

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Priskos is said to have been badly insulted by the removal of his image, and as a result actively supported the rebellion of Herakleios against Phokas: Nikephoros, *Short History*, chap. 1; ed. and tr. C. Mango, 34–37.

29. So too Cameron 1976, 253. Olster 1993, 74, speculates that the demarchs might have "implied that Priskos was heir or even co-emperor"; this seems at least to be a reasonable reconstruction of Phokas's own understanding of the monument. Similarly H. Kruse 1934, 40–41.
30. On the dedication of imperial statues in the high imperial era, see Pekáry 1985, 107–15. On acclamations of imperial images in late antiquity, see also H. Kruse 1934, 34–40.
31. Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica* VIII.20; ed. Bidez, 376–77.
32. *Parastaseis* 81 (Preger 1901–7, I.70).
33. Side: Nollé 1993, no. 52, 329–31, on a monument honoring Valentinian, Theodosios, Arkadios, and Honorius. Aphrodisias: Roueché 1989, no. 25, 47, on a monument honoring Honorius. The "pagan" inclinations of the dedicator of both monuments, the Praetorian Prefect Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus, has led some commentators to suggest a "pagan" overtone to the formula τῇ συνήθει καθοσιώσει: thus, to varying degrees, the commentaries of Nollé and Roueché; also Chaniotis 2002, 101. In light of the evidence for continuing dedication ceremonies into the fifth and sixth centuries, however, this seems unnecessary. Compare also Codex Justinianus 12.63.2.

image of Justin II (565–78) in Antinoë gives us an idea of the elaborate rhetoric that was deemed suitable on such occasions.[34] The official nature of such celebrations is attested by a law issued in 425 declaring that a judge (*iudex*) should be present on the occasion of the erection of an imperial statue.[35]

If, however, statues were primarily intended to enable the adulation of the emperor by his subjects, they could also be employed as sites for the expression of discontent with the ruling emperor, as when imperial statues were overturned in the course of urban riots.[36] The most dramatic recorded instance of this occurred in Antioch in 387.[37] The people, enraged by the imposition of a new tax, threw stones at the painted imperial portraits, and then turned on the bronze statues of Theodosios and his family. These were hauled to the ground with ropes and some were chopped to bits while others were dragged through the streets.[38] As Glanville Downey remarked, this marked the moment when "the mob's action . . . passed from disorder into revolution," and once order was restored a number of the rioters, including children, were swiftly executed.[39] The Antiocheans were gripped with fear that Theodosios would order their city's "total destruction by fire and sword and its extirpation from the surface of the earth," and his eventual grant of clemency was met with public celebration.[40]

The severity of the initial punishments and the extravagant fears of the population both suggest that the assault on the statues was unprecedented.[41] Libanius, attempting to find a precedent, could think of only two: the abuse of a statue of Constantius (337–61) which, however, he associated with a Syrian festival tradition "applied to all emperors alike" and even to gods; and a vaguely remembered attack on statues of Vespasian (69–79).[42] Mass violence against imperial statues in urban settings did not, however, remain a unicum. In 491, shortly after the accession of the emperor Anastasios I (491–518), a dispute

34. Text, translation, and commentary in MacCoull 1984.
35. Codex Theodosianus 15.4.1.
36. For an excellent survey of urban riots in late antiquity, see Liebeschuetz 2001, 249–83.
37. The best brief account of the riots of 387 is Downey 1961, 426–33. A meticulous evaluation of the sources is presented by Paverd 1991, 15–159.
38. See esp. Libanius, *Orationes* XXII.7–9; ed. Foerster, II.474–75; tr. Norman, II.379–81. Paverd 1991, 22–23.
39. Downey 1961, 429.
40. For fears of total destruction, see Paverd 1991, 39.
41. Thus also Pekáry 1985, 141: "Man darf wohl davon ausgehen, daß es nicht an unserer lückenhaften Überlieferung liegt, daß wir nur von vereinzelten Fällen dieser Art Kenntnis haben. Die Folgen solchen Verhaltens konnten tödlich sein." One might, however, compare the removal of imperial images from military standards in the course of revolts, which is attested in the earlier imperial period; see, e.g., H. Kruse 1934, 14–16.
42. Libanius, *Orationes* XX.27–32; ed. Foerster, II.433–36; tr. Norman, II.331–35. Further on the statue of Constantius, see *Orationes* XIX.48–49; ed. Foerster, II.406–7; tr. Norman, II.299–301.

arose during the chariot races regarding the character of the urban prefect, Julian, which culminated when the people "pulled down the bronze statues of the emperors from their pedestals and inflicted upon them every kind of abuse, as if they were insulting them in person." Anastasios's response was restrained; not wishing to celebrate "a triumph over his own people," he capitulated and relieved Julian of his post.[43] Not two years later we hear of another riot, its causes not reported, in which "statues of the emperor and empress were bound with ropes and dragged through the city."[44] The third reported incident from the reign of Anastasios dates to the year 512, when, following the introduction of monophysite elements into the liturgy at Hagia Sophia, "statues and images of Anastasios were hurled on the ground."[45]

Thus by the early sixth century the imperial statues seem to have become standard loci for the expression of discontent with the ruling emperor. The contrast between the riot of 387 and the events of the reign of Anastasios is striking: while the destruction of the statues of Theodosios and his family called forth four speeches by Libanius, 21 sermons by John Chrysostom, and fears of the absolute destruction of the city of Antioch, the three separate attacks on the statues of Anastasios merit little more than summary mention in the chronicles. It is tempting to conclude that assaults on the imperial image had become a standard component of the riots that so marked urban life in the sixth century. Thus, in a theological treatise, Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523), searching for a metaphor for rebellion against God, lights upon the example of urban riots in which the inhabitants of a city destroy the statues of the emperor and burn his images.[46]

Admittedly, in the sources for the reigns of Justinian and his successors, explicit mentions of violence against the imperial image are scarce, although some may be found. For example, the acts of a church council held in Constantinople in 536 accuse a monk named Isaac the Persian of publicly striking and burning a painted image of Justinian, and a statue of Phokas was cast from the gate of the Egyptian city of Nikiu during the civil war of 609–10.[47] However, the

43. John of Antioch, *Fragmenta*, ed. Mariev, fr. 239, pp. 446–48; ed. Roberto, fr. 308, pp. 528–30. Cf. Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, s.a. 491; ed. Croke, 30. For the date, see PLRE II s.v. Iulianus 14. Most recently on the riot and its (uncertain) causes, see Meier 2009, 80–81.
44. Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, s.a. 493; ed. Croke, 30. Briefly Meier 2009, 88–89.
45. Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicle*, s.a. 512; ed. Croke, 36. On the revolt of 512, see now the exhaustive study of Meier 2007b.
46. Edited and translated in Tanghe 1960, 47 and 62–63.
47. For the painted image, see *Collectio Sabbaitica*, V.68; ed. Schwartz, 137; with Ehlich 1983, 126. For the statue, see John of Nikiu, *Chronicle*, trans. Charles, 12 and 171.

sources on the Nika Riot of 532, to take one example, report that the entire monumental core of Constantinople was destroyed, an area encompassing many of the favored locations for the erection of imperial statues.[48] It is hard to believe that no statues were attacked. If indeed such attacks occurred, however, they are not mentioned in the sources—perhaps simply because they had become an unremarkable feature of urban riots.

The material record might contribute to a more thorough account of late antique violence against the imperial image, despite the inherent difficulty of interpreting any given case of archaeologically attested destruction.[49] For example, one hypothesis plausibly associates the destruction of the imperial statues of the Augusteum in Narona, which is dated to the late fourth century, with anti-imperial protests of the sort textually attested for Antioch.[50] A fourth-century date has also been proposed for the burial of four headless statues (one cuirassed emperor, possibly Hadrian, and three second-century elites) discovered in Amasra, although in this case the excavators proposed a relationship to urban conflict between adherents of different religions.[51]

The destruction of imperial statues during urban riots is the most dramatic example of the increasing, and certainly unintended, role of public portrait monuments as loci for criticism of the emperor. But destruction was not the only means of criticism employed. Equally significant was the posting of satiric epigrams on imperial monuments.[52] Two examples have been preserved in the sources. The first, a set of four elegiac couplets posted on a statue of Anastasios in the Hippodrome, has been transmitted independently in the Anthologia Palatina and in the *De magistratibus* of John Lydus.[53] The following is a composite version:

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48. Explicitly named are the Chalke, the Hagia Sophia, the portico of the Baths of Zeuxippos, the Octagon, and the portico of the Forum of Constantine: see esp. John Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Thurn, 396; tr. Jeffreys et al., 276; and *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 621–23; tr. Whitby and Whitby, 117–20.
49. For useful, and cautionary, case studies, see the contributions to part 1 of this volume. Note Croxford's discussion of the head of a Julio-Claudian emperor found in the River Alde, and Munro's discussion of imperial busts discovered in a well on Pantelleria. These two cases alone serve to indicate both the breadth of available evidence and the difficulties of interpretation. Needless to say, no attempt is made here to provide a comprehensive survey of the deposition of imperial portraits in late antique contexts.
50. Liverani 2004, 2007.
51. Ateşoğulları and Şimşek 1995.
52. For some precedents to the cases discussed here, see Gleason 1986, esp. at 115–16.
53. Ant. Pal. XI.270–71 (Beckby, *Anthologia*, III.676–78); Lydus, *De magistratibus*, III.46; ed. Bandy, 204. The ample differences between the two versions, for which see, e.g., the apparatus to Beckby's edition of the Anthology, seem to indicate independent transmission (i.e., that the version of the Anthology has not been simply lifted from Lydus). The Anthology transmits the text as two separate epigrams, but it is clear that they were posted on the same statue, and that they are thematically consistent. For

They dedicated this iron statue to you, world-destroying Emperor, as it is cheaper than bronze, in return for murder, ruinous poverty, famine, and also anger, which destroys everything, because of your fondness for money.

As a destructive Charybdis, neighbor of Scylla, they set up this savage, brutal Anastasios. You, too, Scylla, should fear in your heart lest he devour you as well, turning a bronze demon into coins.

The first four lines of the poem represent a play on a common trope of late antique epigrams on statues, according to which the material of a statue (usually gold or silver) should reflect the accomplishments and virtues of the dedicant.[54] The poet inverts the standard subjects of praise in imperial epigrams; thus, instead of securing the safety and well-being of his subjects, Anastasios has brought murder, poverty, and anger, and therefore only deserves a statue of iron, in itself an absurdity (the actual statue was presumably silver). The second half of the poem plays on the monument's proximity to a famous statue of Scylla, also displayed on the spina of the Hippodrome.[55] Such topographic references are also known from earlier imperial epigrams; thus the epigram on the statue of Eudoxia referred to its proximity to the Senate.[56] The poet jokes that Anastasios forms a fitting counterpart to Scylla, as he is himself an all-devouring whirlpool like Charybdis; and further that Scylla should take care, lest Anastasios devour *her* and melt her down for coin. This is a reference to the reform of the copper coinage carried out by Anastasios's *comites sacrarum largitionum,* John the Paphlagonian, who is also reported to have melted down bronze statues from the Plateia and used them to fashion a new statue of Anastasios.[57]

This is, in short, a sophisticated satire, composed in proper metrical verses,

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this reason I treat the poem as a single epigram, as also Lydus. See further Cameron 1973, 184–85, n. 3. Iliev 2011 sees XI.270–271 as "variations" on XI.269.

54. For a masterful analysis of this epigram as a play on the conventions of the genre, see Cameron 1973, 219–20: "Our parodist was clearly steeped in the formulas of the genre as a whole." More generally on references to the material of statues in metrical epigrams, see Cameron 1973, 216–19. Compare also Ant. Plan. 70 and 71 (Beckby 1957–58, IV.338), "official" epigrams on statues of Tiberios and Anastasia (see Cameron 1977, 48–56), emphasizing their use of gold.
55. For the statue of Scylla, see Bassett 2004, 227–30, to which add the sources cited by Cameron 1973, 185 n. 3. For a later case of its use in *Kaiserkritik*, this time interpreted as a depiction of Justinian II, see Anderson 2011, 9.
56. The Greek epigram is given at *CIL* III.736.
57. PLRE II, Ioannes 45. For the reform of the coinage under Anastasios, see Hendy 1985, 475–78; further, Pribylovskiĭ 1986 on this epigram at 197. Curiously, Lydus does not comment on the clearly monetary thrust of the epigram, remarking more generically that it referred to the rapacity of Anastasios and of his *chartularius,* Marinus (he of the bath paintings).

and exhibiting familiarity with the standard tropes of imperial epigrams, with Homer, and with the administrative reforms of Anastasios. John writes that it was "published in the Hippodrome by the populace (*tou demou*)," but it was clearly the handiwork of a highly educated and highly placed figure, presumably an imperial functionary. It cannot have remained in public view for long, but its independent transmission by John and by the Anthology suggests that it circulated widely in manuscript form.[58] In one sense we are far removed from the spontaneous destruction of imperial statues during periods of urban revolt, but the Anastasian epigram may be compared with the statue riots of his reign insofar as both exploited imperial statues as loci for the expression of discontent with the ruling emperor.

A second case of the composition of satirical epigrams on imperial monuments is attested in the *Ecclesiastical History* of John of Ephesus. According to John, the emperor Justin II constructed a pillar on the shore of the Bosporus, with a staircase within. As it neared completion, "some of the city wits wrote a doggerel inscription, and fixed it upon a tablet there, as follows:

> Build, build aloft thy pillar
> And raise it vast and high
> Then mount and stand upon it,
> Soaring proudly in the sky:
> Eastward, south, and north, and westward,
> Wherever thou shalt gaze,
> Nought thou'lt see but desolations,
> The work of thy own days.

Justin died before the construction of the pillar was complete, and his successor, Tiberios I (578–82), refused to finish the pillar, even when it was suggested that his statue could be placed atop it in place of Justin's. Indeed, "he vowed that his statue should stand neither upon [the pillar] nor anywhere else." Thus, he had the pillar taken down, and used the stones for the construction of his own Church of the Forty Martyrs.[59]

Although the language of John's History, Syriac, does not allow us to assess the metrical qualities of this epigram, an inversion of the topoi of imperial epigrams is once more evident. The statue of Justin, which the poets clearly ex-

58. On the independent circulation of statue epigrams in late antiquity, see Bauer 2007.
59. John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.24; ed. Brooks, 151–52; tr. Payne Smith, 205–6.

pected to be set atop the pillar, is imagined as surveying the extent of his kingdom from this great height.[60] However, instead of seeing a prosperous land and the submission of his enemies, he sees nothing but the destruction that he himself has wrought.

Of equal interest is the report of Tiberios's reaction. Both the posting of the epigram itself and Tiberios's refusal to complete the pillar or to place his own statue upon it suggest that the column monument had, in the course of the generation following Justinian's rule, come to seem an extravagant, or indeed a tyrannical, gesture. A more fitting imperial monument is a church, and that is what Tiberios constructs out of the stones of his predecessor's folly.[61] Tiberios's vow to allow no statues of himself to be erected is probably a literary device: two epigrams preserved in the Planudean Appendix have been plausibly associated with statues of Tiberios and the Augusta Anastasia, and an eighth-century source indicates that a statue of Tiberios was erected on the Chalke.[62] Nevertheless, it is significant in and of itself that imperial disavowal of honorific monuments had, by the late sixth century, become a plausible literary construct.

Thus, taken together with the reports of attacks on imperial statues in the course of urban riots, these two epigrams demonstrate that, by the sixth century, imperial monuments had become convenient loci for the criticism of the ruling emperor. This represents a complete inversion of their intended role as sites where the populace could express their admiration of the emperor. With this in mind it is instructive to consider the location of two of the last attested imperial statues of Constantinople, those of Tiberios's successors, Maurice and Phokas.[63] In 596, Maurice built a circular terrace to the west of the Magnaura, in whose central court he installed an arsenal and a statue of himself.[64] This enclosed (and heavily defended!) location provides a marked contrast to the open, public squares that earlier emperors favored for the display of their statues. Some 13 years later, however, Phokas followed his lead, and erected a statue of his own on a masonry column to the *east* of the Magnaura, thus in a still more inaccessible location, which was likewise accompanied by an arsenal.[65]

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60. Compare, e.g., Ant. Plan. 65 (Beckby, *Anthologia*, IV.336), on a statue of Theodosios, imagined as a "second sun," with the oceans and the boundless land at his feet; and Ant. Plan. 62 (Beckby 1957–58, IV.334), on a statue of Justinian, which contrasts the height of the emperor's *kratos* to the submission of the Medes and the Scythians, who lie enchained on the ground.
61. On Tiberios's Church of the Forty Martyrs, see Janin 1953, 499–500.
62. Cameron 1977, 48–56; *Parastaseis* 44a (Preger 1901–7, 52).
63. Stichel 1982, 114, nos. 142 and 143.
64. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor, 274; tr. C. Mango and Scott, 398. For the location of the terrace, see Guilland 1980, I.142 and 148 n. 24.
65. For the sources, see Stichel 1982, 114, no. 143; and see the comment of Guilland 1980, 114.

This column of Phokas is the last securely attested imperial statue erected in Constantinople until the thirteenth century, and it presents us with a striking image.[66] No longer set in an open plaza, where people might meet and discuss, it was rather erected in a distant corner of the imperial palace complex, far removed from daily traffic, and set in the middle of an arsenal. Nevertheless, it was raised upon a column, presumably so that it might still be visible from the monumental core of the city. It is tempting to see this increasingly withdrawn positioning of imperial statues in the last twenty years of their history as an attempt to avoid their use in the public critique of the emperor.

Let us summarize the foregoing. Between the fourth and the seventh centuries the erection of imperial portrait monuments became the province of an increasingly restricted group of individuals, primarily the urban prefects and occasionally the praetorian prefects. Attempts by individuals outside the immediate circle of the emperor to erect such monuments could be met with distrust and even with the threat of execution. In this sense the imperial monument was stripped of the function that it had served in the earlier empire, namely, as an element in a discourse between senatorial elites and emperors regarding the nature of imperial power.

At the same time that the circle of donors was restricted, however, the imperial statue began to serve as a potential locus for the expression of discontent with the reigning emperor. The destruction of imperial statues in urban riots, which in the late fourth century was perceived as an unprecedented and shocking event, had become commonplace by the reign of Anastasios. At the same time, under Anastasios, we have our first attestation of a more subtle use of late antique statue moments as loci for criticism, namely, through the posting of highly literate epigrams satirizing the conventions of panegyric. By the late sixth century a historian, John of Ephesus, could imagine an emperor, Tiberios, completely disavowing his representation in public monuments. Tiberios's successors, Maurice and Phokas, appear to have preferred closed-off and heavily defended locations for the display of their statues, the last two attested imperial statues in Constantinople.

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66. It is presumed that the column erected by Phokas in the area of the Artopoleion, for which see Stichel 1982, 114–15, no. 144, was intended to carry a statue of the emperor, but this is not related in the sources, and in the event it was completed by Herakleios, not with a statue, but with a monumental cross. On the statue of Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259–82), see Thomov 1998; Talbot 1993, 258–60; and Hilsdale 2014, 107–51. This monument should be viewed in the context of a pan-Mediterranean revival in statues of rulers in the thirteenth century, as also the statue of Frederick II in Capua and the statue of Charles of Anjou on the Capitoline. Compare Herklotz (2006) on the context of this Italian revival.

It is tempting to draw a connection between the restriction of the circle of donors of imperial statues and the emerging role of statues as loci for the critique of the reigning emperor. As the imperial statue lost its traditional role as a mediator of discourse between elites and emperors, it was simultaneously reclaimed as a medium of political expression: no longer, however, in the form of a discourse moderated by notions of decorum, but rather as a vehicle for violence and scorn. It has long been recognized that late imperial monuments expressed an increasingly autocratic conception of the Roman state.[67] However, this autocratic image was not passively accepted by the viewers of monuments, but was met with active resistance. The imperial statue underwent a radical revaluation between the fourth and the seventh centuries. Once a symbol of imperial victory and generosity, the public portrait monument became a symbol of disaster and greed; once an agent of social discourse, it ended as an unwelcome symptom of tyranny.

## *III. Conclusion*

This account of the changing social function of the imperial statue in late antiquity may accommodate the phenomena that, I have suggested, the aesthetic and iconographic arguments cannot. The first phenomenon is the apparent disappearance of portrait monuments from public spaces in the seventh century. This becomes understandable if indeed public monuments had become loci for the criticism of the reigning emperor, and thus more of a liability than an effective element in the representation of rule. The second phenomenon is the resurgence of individualized portraiture in the imperial coinage of the seventh century. This is a remarkable and little-discussed development for which the social model advanced here cannot offer a robust explanation, unless we suppose that the emperors of the seventh century wished to distance themselves from a discredited, stereotyped imperial image that had developed in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries. But at least the resurgence of individualized portraiture does not directly contradict the social model, as it would appear to contradict the iconographic.

At the beginning of this chapter I proposed that an explanatory model for the end of the imperial statue will necessarily consider imperial statues either as

67. Thus already L'Orange 1965.

a subset of statues in general or of imperial images in general. I have considered it primarily in the latter sense, since the abandonment of imperial statue monuments seems to have been accompanied by the abandonment of public imperial portrait monuments in all media. Nevertheless, the argument advanced here is not without significance for the broader question of the end of the production of statues in general. The retention of the statue as a medium for the representation of the emperor had a conservative, retrograde character, since, seen from the point of view of developing aesthetic preferences for two-dimensionality, sculpture in the round had already become an outmoded genre by the sixth century.[68] It was probably the traditional association between imperial portraiture and sculpture in the round that, as it were, artificially maintained the production of statues into the seventh century. Thus, while the ultimate disappearance of the imperial statue from the public spaces of the empire might primarily be considered as a social development, it simultaneously marked the final death knell for the production of sculpture in the round.

68. Stichel 1982, esp. at 34–35.

THIRTEEN

# The Sunset of 3D

PAOLO LIVERANI

Only in recent years have researchers begun to analyze a phenomenon that—precisely because of its macroscopic clarity—was considered too obvious to merit any consideration. I refer to the disappearance of three-dimensional sculpture.[1] But what is at stake is a development that marks a cultural change of great historical and social importance and merits all the attention we can muster.

As is well known, between the fifth and sixth century AD, large-scale sculpture gradually disappeared, leaving room for other forms of two-dimensional expression. The dynamics of the phenomenon are still being discussed and show variations that depend on the region, on the type of representation, and on the varieties of social status. Various explanations have been invoked: without claiming to give an exhaustive account of the state of the question, we can list the main factors that have been identified as responsible for this evolution. Some scholars have been satisfied to give a rather generic explanation, attributing the phenomenon to a change of taste and fashion.[2] But more traditional is the identification of economic and technical causes: in the past, these justifications were tied to a negative assessment of the artistic and technical qualities of the late antique period, but even today some elements maintain an objective weight that is not negligible. One thinks here of the imperial constitution of 444 that assigned the costs for erection of an honorary statue to the honoree

For the translation of my Italian text I am indebted to Bernard Frischer.

1. In the following notes I do not consider architectural sculpture or reliefs, which are more related to two-dimensional representations.
2. Hannestad 1999.

himself,[3] or of the gradual crisis of the system of high-cost imperial marbles along with the entire distribution network associated with them.[4]

Others have examined religious causation: one current of Christian thought, following in the wake of the Old Testament, held a negative view of images.[5] Mythological and honorific representations retained a pagan or civil connotation.[6] Finally, it has been held that a greater spirituality of the representations would have been better expressed by more abstract figures, a tendency that would have favored two-dimensional images.[7] A different, and in my opinion more interesting, view holds that, as compared to honorary statues, great cycles of frescoes or of pavement and wall mosaics are better able to make a communicative impact on the viewer and to provoke his or her emotional involvement.[8]

Among the various explanations, the most convincing is that held by scholars who emphasize social factors: sculpture and, in particular, honorary statues no longer fulfilled civic functions characteristic of the ancient city because the very concept of citizenship had changed and with it the ways of participating in public life, of self-affirmation, and celebration.[9]

Some of these motivations have been criticized in ways that throw their validity into question. Concerning economic aspects, it has been observed that economic distress and a reduction in the number of patrons did not prevent some large investments being made in building projects and in mosaic and fresco cycles in preference to sculpture. As to the pagan and civic connotations of sculpture, one can object that there also existed numerous two-dimensional portraits of emperors[10] and a whole vast production of what Thomas Mathews calls "pagan icons."[11]

Finally, the greater spirituality of two-dimensional images is an assumption that seems vitiated by the projection of modern concepts onto the ancient mentality. One risks falling into what we could call the "naturalistic fallacy." If we read the descriptions of late antique and Byzantine images in contemporary sources, we note how the most common form of praise is precisely their natu-

3. *Cod. Just.* 1.24.4. See Horster 1998, 57, but see also Machado 2010, 250–51.
4. Coates-Stephens 2007, 184.
5. Brenk 2010.
6. Kiilerich 1993.
7. Kiilerich 1993; Ćurčić 2011, 69–71.
8. Muth 2007.
9. Smith 1985, 215–19; Witschel 2007; Anderson 2008, and this volume; Machado 2010.
10. Belting 1990, 1117–30.
11. Mathews 2001; Marsengill 2011.

ralistic vividness.[12] This could, of course, be considered a literary *topos* inherited from classical models, but the fact should in any case raise the suspicion that today's concept of realism—based on stylistic parameters of classical Greco-Roman art and of Western art from Giotto to the nineteenth century—may not be a universally valid paradigm.

In saying this, I do not wish to claim that the arguments I have listed do not contain a great deal of truth; but it seems to me that something is still lacking to complete the picture. Taking these arguments to their logical conclusion, one might claim that artistic development was solely the result of a mechanical reflex of external conditioning, as if figurative language did not have its own dynamic of development, adaptation, and response when confronted with the constraints set by new social, economic, or religious needs. If we can use a hermeneutical terminology, we must distinguish between explanation and comprehension. The identification of economic, social, and cultural constraints that make a change in artistic activity necessary is part of the explanation but does not exhaust the comprehension. Confronted with these same constraints (for example, technical and economic) different responses may arise, or two similar responses can be invested with different meanings.

Without presuming to solve all the problems raised here, I would now like to try to bridge this gap, at least in part, by examining some independently verifiable processes of the civil or religious connotations of images. Only later I will consider some peculiarities of art that are specifically Christian.

First, it seems necessary to underline some opposing features that are clearly manifested in the late period and which differentiate at least some of the statues from the mosaic cycles. As is well known, the recipients of honorific sculpture became fewer and fewer until they were limited to just the emperor and a few members of his circle.[13] At the same time some types of honorary statues were dramatically emphasized—such as the statue set atop a column—exploiting to the hilt what I would call the potentiality of *autonomous focus.*[14] One thinks—to cite just a few examples—of the imperial statues on columns in the Diocletianic remodeling of the Roman Forum (fig. 1) and in particular of the statue that rose on the column that later was used to honor the emperor Phokas (fig. 2). This column is not integrated with the surrounding architecture

12. C. Mango 1986b; Kazhdan and Maguire 1991, 4–7.
13. See Anderson, this volume.
14. This period saw a particular florescence of imperial honorary statues on the top of columns, on *tetrapyla* and *tetrakiona*: Jordan-Ruwe 1995; Thiel 2002, 2006.

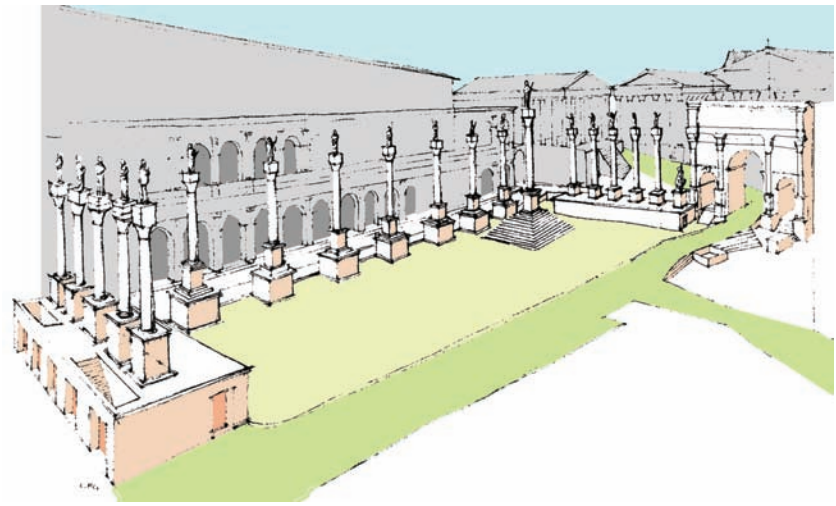

Fig. 1. Roman Forum in the age of Diocletian (revised from Giuliani and Verduchi 1987).

but, to the contrary, constitutes the focus of the two principal axes of the monumental center of the ancient capital (fig. 3): it is the lynchpin between the axis of the Forum Romanum and that of the Forum Transitorium.[15] If we switch to Constantinople, what comes to mind is the equestrian statue of Justinian on the column in the plaza of the Augusteion. This statue was so famous as to make views of Constantinople with it immediately recognizable.[16]

Contemporaneous with this exaltation of the three-dimensional qualities of sculpture, one may note, in contrast, a strong increment of two-dimensional panel portraits, which compensates for the rareness of new honorary statues. Thus, the portrait of the emperor was always present when magistrates pronounced their judgments or functionaries acted as the emperor's representatives.[17] Some miniatures also reflect this usage: one may cite the imperial portraits shown on the throne and on the shoulders of Pilate as he judges Christ in

15. Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 148–77, 185–87.
16. Papadaki-Oekland 1990.
17. Lyd., *Mag.* II.17 (ed. A. C. Bandy [Philadelphia 1983], 111): the imperial portrait was one of the insignia of the praetorian prefect, of the *magistri milites praesentales*, *equitum*, *officiorum*, of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, of the *comes rerum privatarum*, of the *comes domesticorum equitum et peditum*, of the *comes Orientis*, of the *praefectus Augustalis,* of the *praefectus praetorio per Illyricum*. Seeck 1876.

Fig. 2. Column of Phokas in the Roman Forum (photo by author).

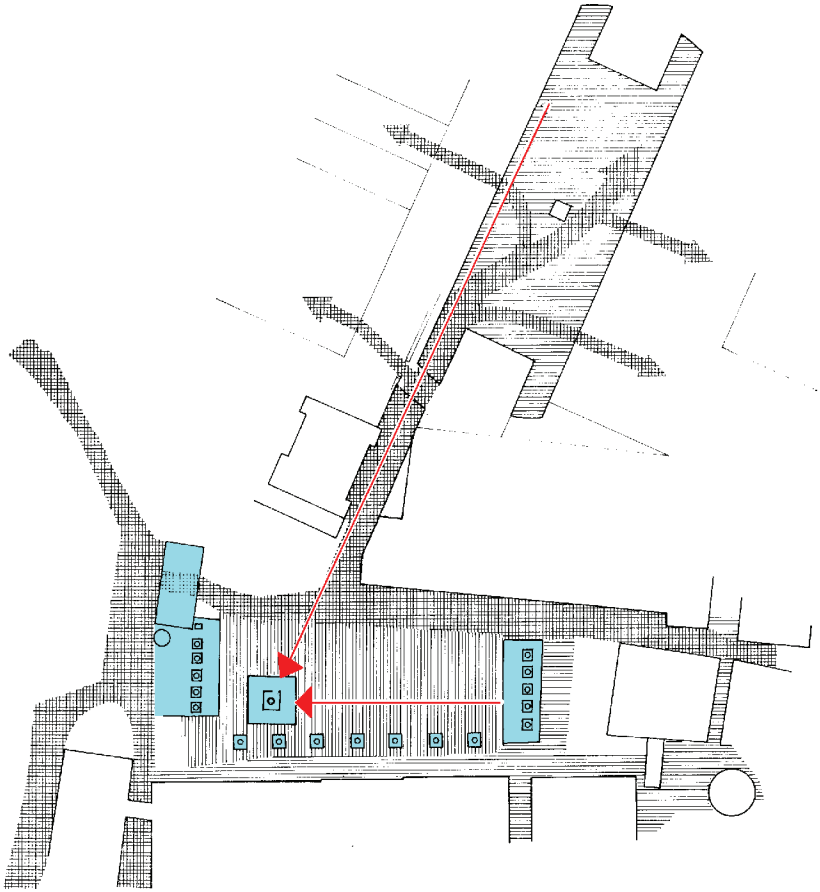

Fig. 3. The axes of the Roman Forum and of the Forum Transitorium (Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, by permission).

the Rossano Gospels (fig. 4).[18] But it is interesting to note how a portrait of the same type is already found on a Florentine paleo-Christian sarcophagus (fig. 5) showing the Assyrian king Nebuchadnezzar as he tries to force the three Hebrew boys to accept the pagan cult: the bust of the king was replaced in this example by a painted panel, where, not surprisingly, the picture has been plastically raised in bas relief.[19] A small number of similar sarcophagi—not so well preserved—is also known from Rome, Saint-Gilles, and a collection in Luxembourg.[20] In a literary context we have interesting attestations in the homilies and catecheses of John Chrysostom, where he gives the example of the painting process of imperial portraits, something he considers the norm.[21] In the Latin versions of the apocryphal Acts of Thomas—texts of the late fourth century—the apostle also addresses the Indian king by taking it for granted that his portrait was created on a panel.[22] The arrival of the image of the emperor Anthemius in Constantinople in 467 and that of the emperor Phokas and of his wife in Rome in 603 are famous.[23]

The use of two-dimensional portraits also extends to the honorary portrait, and Cyril Mango has already isolated a group of epigrams transmitted in the

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18. *Cod. Purpureus Rossanensis*, fol. 8v; Bisconti 2000, pl. LIV b.
19. Dresken-Weiland 1998, 3–4, no. 10, tavv. 3.2, 4.1.
20. Deichmann 1967, 162 n. 324, pl. 62; Dresken-Weiland 1998, 78, n. 222, fig. 3; Wilpert 1932, pl. 202.3; see also Koch 2000, 148–49. On older periods, Blanck 1968.
21. Joh. Chrysost., *Catech.* II.3 (*PG* 49, c. 235: [οἱ ζωγράφοι] τὰς σανίδας προθέντες, καὶ λευκὰς περιάγοντες γραμμὰς, καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑπογράφοντες εἰκόνας ("[the painters] put forth their boards and trace white lines all round, and sketch the images of emperors." Trans. C. Mango 1986a, 47); Joh. Chrysost., *Hom. in apostolicum dictum, Nolo vos ignorare* 4 (*PG* 51, c. 247): Φέρε, τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰς εἰκόνας ἀγάγωμεν, ἃς οἱ ζωγράφοι γράφουσι. Εἶδες πολλάκις εἰκόνα βασλικὴν κυανῷ κατακεχρωσμένην χρώματι, εἶτα τὸν ζωγράφον λευκὰς περιάγοντα γραμμὰς, καὶ ποιοῦντα βασιλέα, καὶ θρόνον βασιλικὸν, καὶ ἵππους παρεστῶτας, καὶ δορυφόρους, και πολεμίους δεδεμένους καὶ ὑποκειμένους ("Come, let us consider the images that painters delineate. You have often seen an imperial image covered with blue colour. Then the painter traces white lines and makes an emperor, an imperial throne, horses standing by, a bodyguard, and fettered enemies lying underneath." Trans. C. Mango 1986a, 47). Cf. also Ioh. Chrysost., *Hom. in inscr. altaris* 3 (*PG* 51, c. 71); *Hist.Aug., Maximini* 29.4: *ut videret urbs in pictura vel in veritate, qualis esset iunior Maximinus in purpura*; *Cod. Theod.* 13.4.4 (AD 374).
22. *Passio sancti Thomae apostoli* 55 (ed. Zelzer 1977, 37 = *De miraculis beati Thomae apostoli* 55, ed. Zelzer 1977, 62): *Dic mihi Rex: quis est melior inter te et imaginem tuam? Non dubito: quin prestantior tu sis quam pictura tua* ("Tell me King: who is better, you or your own image? I have no doubts: because you are more lively than your painted portrait").
23. Const. Porph., *De cerimoniis*, II.87, ed. Reiske 395 B-C; Greg. M., *Ep., App.* VIII: *Corpus Christianorum* 140A, 1101 (= *MGH, Epist.* II.3, 365): *venit autem icona suprascriptorum Focae et Leontiae Augustorum Romae septimo Kalendarum Maiarum, et acclamatum est eis in Lateranis, in basilica Vigilii ab omni clero vel senatu: "Exaudi Christe! Focae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita!" Tunc iussit ipsam iconam domnus beatissimus et apostolicus Gregorius papa reponi eum in oratorio sancti Cesarii intra Palatio*. For the lectio *basilica Vigilii* instead of *basilica Iulii*, cf. Liverani 1999, 537; Liverani 2012, 127.

Fig. 4. *Codex purpureus Rossanensis* fol. 8v: Christ before Pilatus (WikiMedia Commons).

Fig. 5. Early Christian sarcophagus: King Nebuchadnezzar and the three Hebrew boys, Florence, S. Lorenzo (author).

Greek Anthology relative to honorary two-dimensional images in the eastern part of the empire.[24] I will cite only that of Heraclammon,[25] which shows that

24. C. Mango 1986a, 117–119; C. Mango 1986b.
25. Agathias, *AP* XVI.36:

Τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ μύθων τε καὶ εὐτροκάλοιο μελίσσης
εἰκόνας ἱλήκοις δηρὸν ὀφειλόμενος·
νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ ἱδρώτων τε καὶ ἀστυόχοιο μερίμνης
τῇδέ σε τῇ γραφίδι στήσαμεν, Ἡράκλαμον.
Εἰ δ' ὀλίγον τὸ γέρας, μὴ μέμφεο· τοῖσδε γὰρ ἡμεῖς
αἰεὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀμειβόμεθα.

("Forgive our delay in offering the portrait long due to you on account of your discourses and well running, honeyed speech; but now, Heraclammon, we have set up this picture of you in return for

for cultured people in Pergamon the dedication of a painting had become the norm toward the middle of the sixth century. It would be valuable to collect in one corpus all the attestations of this practice,[26] but I will restrict myself to citing a few others that permit us to make some additional points.

Perhaps the oldest source is the apocryphal Acts of John,[27] edited in Asia Minor sometime between the middle of the second and the third century AD. In this text we hear how John was hosted at Ephesus by Lycomedes, who, having converted to Christianity, had the portrait of the apostle painted secretly and then hung it in his bedroom. The saint, "when he had seen himself in the mirror and looked earnestly at the portrait, . . . said: 'As the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, the portrait is like me: yet not like me, child, but like my fleshly image.'"[28] We also find here the literary *topos* of the adequacy of the portrait in relation to the truth of the person, which in a Christian context touches on specific moral and spiritual values. What is more interesting, however, is the normality and the ease with which such a portrait is created and placed in the house. Another later apocryphal writing, the *Actus Silvestri,*[29] considers the existence of painted portraits of saints as natural. In this case the saints are Peter and Paul. They are shown by Pope Sylvester to Constantine who, struck by the perfect similarity, recognizes in them the personages who appeared to him in a dream. On the other hand Eusebius of Caesarea earlier records (and condemns) the custom of painting portraits of Peter, Paul, and the Saviour,[30] which he considers to be a continuation of a pagan tradition.

Famous, too, are the portraits of Martin of Tours and of Paulinus of Nola

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your labours and care for the city's weal. If the gift be little, blame us not; for with such gifts we ever reward good men." Trans. Paton).

26. Add for example an epigram of the fourth century for a professor in Berytus: Heitsch 1963–64, frg. 30 A18–24; Agosti 2004–5, 353.
27. *Acta Johannis* 26–28, ed. Bonnet 1898, 165–66.
28. *Ibid.* 28: καὶ ἰδὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ κατόπτρῳ καὶ ἀτενίσας τῇ εἰκόνι εἶπε· Ζῇ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁμοία μοι ἡ εἰκών· οὐκ ἐμοὶ δὲ τέκνον ἀλλὰ τῷ σαρκικῷ μου εἰδώλῳ. Trans. James 1924.
29. *Actus Silvestri*, ed. Mombritius p. 512, ll. 13–17: *Tunc sanctus Sylvester iussit diacono suo ut imaginem apostolorum exhiberet, quem imperator aspiciens cum ingenti clamore coepit dicere: nihil inferius hac imagine in eorum effigie quorum vultus in visione conspexi* ("St. Sylvester ordered his deacon to show the pictures of the Apostles: as the emperor saw them, with great voice he began to say: 'In nothing this image is inferior to the aspect of them, whose faces appeared to me in vision'"). For the date, see Canella 2006; Liverani 2008. For the development of this topos, see Dagron 1991, 30–31. Cf. also Amphilochus of Iconium, Alexander 1953, 61, Frg. 22.
30. Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* VII.18.4: καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, και αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σῳζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν ("The images of the apostles Paul and Peter and indeed of Christ Himself preserved in painting." Trans. C. Mango 1986a, 16); Euseb., *Ep.* II *ad Constantiam Augustam, PG* 20, 1548 C: γύναιόν τι μετὰ χεῖράς ποτε δύο τινὰς φέρουσα καταγεγραμμένους, ὡς ἂν φιλοσόφους, ἀπέῤῥιψε λόγον, ὡς ἂν εἶεν Παύλου καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· ("A women brought me in her hands a picture of two men in the guise of philosophers and let fall the statement that they were Paul and the Saviour." Trans. C. Mango 1986a, 18).

that Sulpicius Severus wanted to place in the baptistery of Primuliacum.[31] Initially Paulinus refused to send his own portrait to his friend,[32] but later he agreed on the condition that two inscriptions were added to the portraits to avoid any misunderstanding. According to the texts proposed by Paulinus, Saint Martin represented the image of the heavenly man (in the celebrated expression of Saint Paul),[33] while Paulinus, in contrast, represented the penitent sinner, the old earthly man. "The venerable portrait of the man bears witness to Martin / the second image shows the humble Paulinus."[34] Here the word "humble" is understood in its etymological sense: from *humus,* thus still tied to the earth. In other words, Paulinus feared that the juxtaposition of the portrait of a saint such as Martin and his own portrait might lead to an equivalence between the two and could lead someone to direct his prayers to the bishop who is still alive instead of to the saint. This passage, too, allows us to make some interesting deductions to which we will return in a moment. For now it is enough to emphasize how the portrait of Paulinus had to serve as a model for the creation of an image that was probably bigger, suitable for the baptistery, perhaps in fresco or mosaic. Indeed, we know of numerous cases of portraits of bishops in paleo-Christian basilicas—especially in mosaics, which survived more readily than frescoes.

The Christian phenomenon shares a general tendency of late antique culture to pass from the three-dimensional portrait to one that was two-dimensional. Let us note, in passing, that this fact makes it unlikely that the process of spiritualization of images had a necessary link to bidimensionality. The peculiar character of the Christian preference for two dimensions seems to lie elsewhere. Indeed, we know of very few cases of sculpture in an ecclesiastical context. The most famous at Rome is the *Fastigium* of Constantine in the Lateran Basilica (fig. 6).[35] Its reconstruction has been debated, but it appears to have been a kind of *pergula* at the end of the main nave. The top was decorated by a silver group of Christ between the Apostles (fig. 7) on the side toward the nave, and of Christ between four angels on the opposite side.[36] It is not clear

31. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* XXXII, 2–3. Lehmann 1997.
32. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* XXX.
33. Paul., *I Cor.* 15.49.
34. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* XXXII, 3: *Martinum veneranda viri testatur imago / altera Paulinum forma refert humilem.*
35. Nilgen 1977; Blaauw 1994, 117–26; Liverani 1992–93; Sannibale 1992–93; Engemann 1993; Blaauw 1996; Blaauw 2001; Geertman 2004.
36. *Lib. Pont.* 34,9–10.

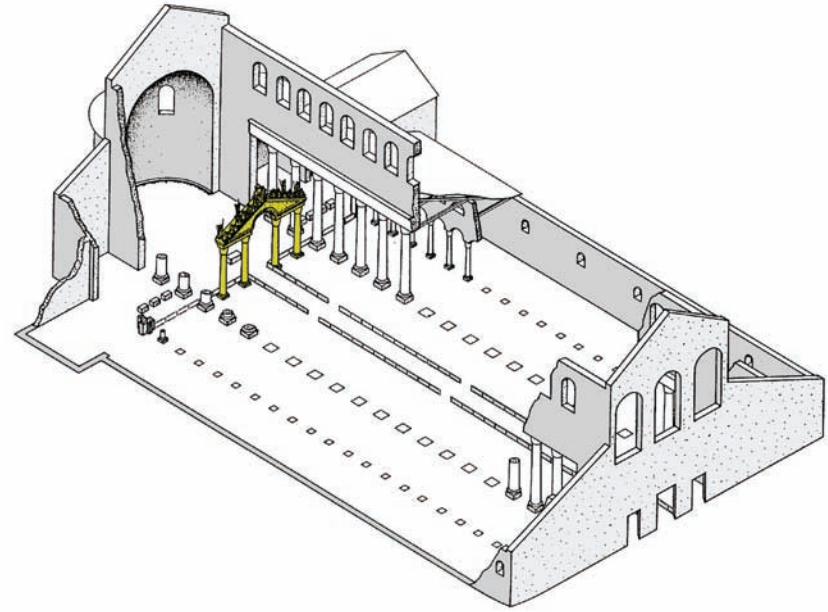

Fig. 6. *Fastigium* in the Lateran basilica (Blaauw 1994).

whether these were statues or a bas-relief: in any case, after the removal of the silver by the Goths under Alaric in 410, the *Fastigium* was newly decorated by Valentinian III (fig. 8), but only in the architectural part. Valentinian did not replace the figural decoration, which appears to have been considered inappropriate to the ecclesiastical context.[37] A few other cases are attested, almost all Constantinian. Among these was the Lateran Baptistery, with the statue of the Saviour in silver between a gold lamb from which water poured out and the silver statue of St. John the Baptist, completed by seven statues of deer who also poured out water.[38] Debated examples are the fountains of Constantinople, with the gilded bronze statues of the Good Shepherd and of Daniel among the lions.[39] Among the few later exceptions are deer, rather smaller than those in

37. *Lib. Pont.* 46.4; see Liverani 2013, 279.
38. *Lib. Pont.* 35.13.
39. Euseb., *Vit. Const.* 3.49; Eusebius 1999, 298; Bauer and Witschel 2007a, 14. The interpretation of the group of Paneas as Christ with the hemorrhaging woman (Euseb., *Hist. eccl.* VII.18.2–3; Sozom., *Hist eccl.* V.21; Philostr., *Hist. eccl.* VII.3) is probably due to the misunderstanding of a reused statue; see Leclercq 1907, 248–51; Weber 1996; J. Wilson 2004, 41–42, 90–103; Stewart 2007, 32–33 (with fur-

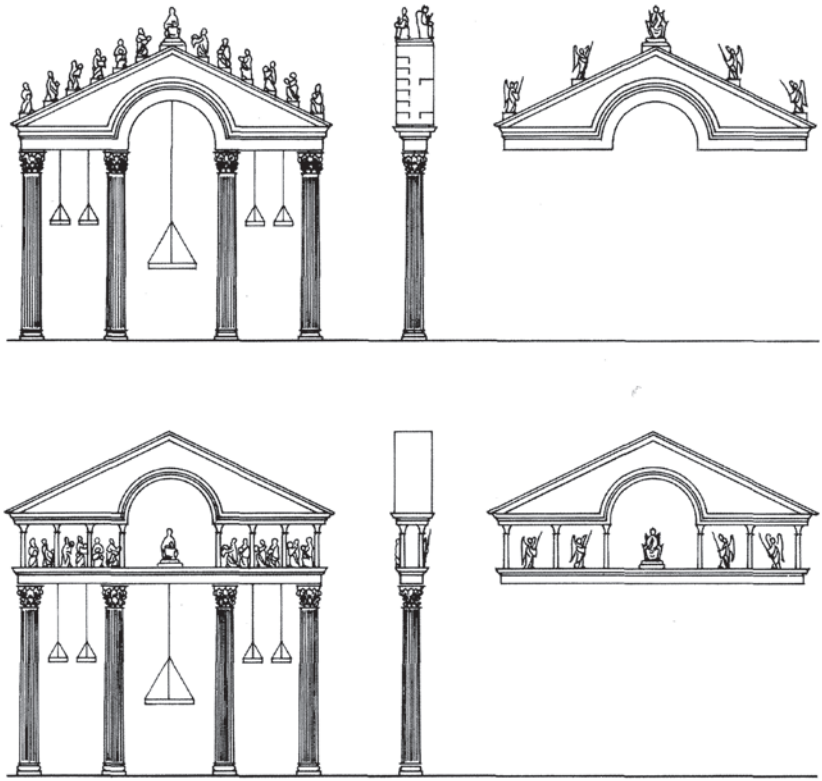

Fig. 7. *Fastigium*: decoration according to Blaauw 1994.

the Lateran, dedicated by Sixtus III in the baptistery of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome, and three more little deer dedicated by Hilarus again in the Lateran Baptistery.[40] The explanation of this clear choice in favor of two-dimensional images in a church context can be offered by the opposition reported at the beginning of this chapter: sculpture constituted an autonomous focus, which in a liturgical context could be a distraction from the liturgy. Indeed, all the archi-

ther sources). A similar misunderstanding is also the later interpretation of a sculptural group in the hippodrome of Constantinople as Adam and Eve in *Parastaseis* 5 (ed. Preger I, 21) = *Patria* 2.87 (ed. Preger II, 196), see C. Mango 1963, 63; Dagron 1984, 135; Basset 2004, 218.

40. Sixtus III: *Lib. Pont.* 46.4; Hilarus: *Lib. Pont.* 48.5.

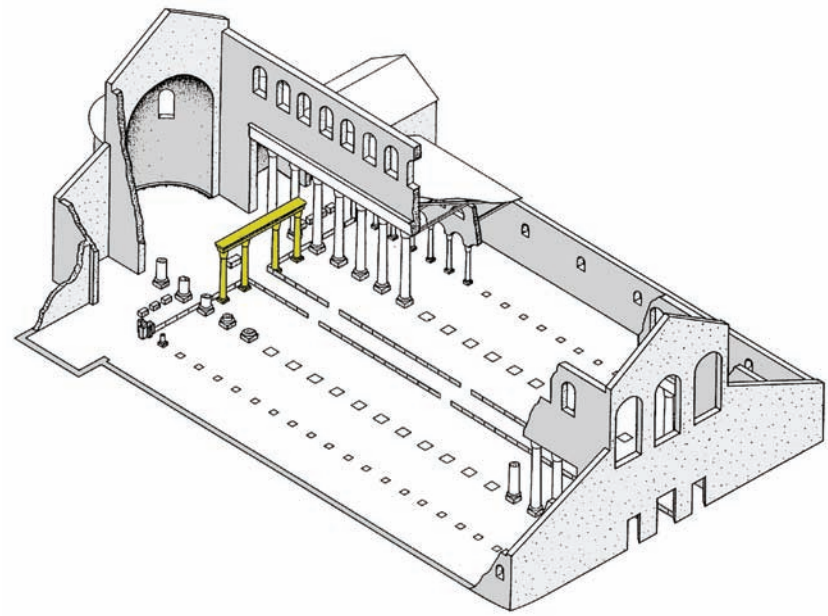

Fig. 8. *Fastigium* in the basilica without decoration (revised from Blaauw 1994).

tecture of the Basilica is a great device for focusing attention on the place of liturgical celebration or on the tomb of the martyr. This principle establishes a topology of images that—according to the subject—can be adapted to one part or another of the church building.[41] For example, the pavements will be decorated with Nilotic scenes—probably to give the space a paradisiacal connotation—or with geometric and floral patterns; they will be able to receive the names or portraits of the donors—as is the case at Aquileia[42]—but not the sacred image.[43] This ban would also be sanctioned by Theodosius II and Valentinian III, who prohibited the insertion into pavements of even the *signum Salva-*

41. Some observation in the same direction by Millar 2008, 239–46.
42. Lehmann 2009.
43. A seeming exception is the scene with Jonah in the mosaic pavement of the mentioned basilica of Aquileia, but this scene fits in well with the Nilotic context for its bucolic connotation (Dresken-Weiland 2010, 108–10, 117) and projects this heavenly condition in the afterlife (for a different view, see. Schumacher 1977, 253–87, who considers the scene as a later reworking of the original mosaic). Also, the Adam in the mosaic of the northern church of Huarte (Apamea, Syria: Millar 2008, 242; Donceel-Voûte 1988, 102–16, pl. 5) is in keeping with the heavenly context of the pavement.

Fig. 9. Mosaic in the apse of Ss. Cosmas and Damian, Rome (© Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra).

*toris Christi,* that is, of the Cross.[44] In contrast, the frontal images (principally those of Christ, the saints, and the donors) (fig. 9) occupy the apse, the triumphal arch, or the counterfacade,[45] while the long sides of the nave are preferably decorated with narrative or processional scenes, which invite the viewer to follow an itinerary leading to the apse, the focus of the liturgy.

A final point still requires a brief discussion: if it is natural that statues with mythological subjects are no longer necessary in a Christianized culture, the situation is different with honorary statues. As has been pointed out, the conception of citizenship changed and there was a sharp distinction between civic honorary dedications and forms of Christian benefactions. I can cite just one

44. *Cod. Just.*1.8.1: *Imperatores Theodosius, Valentinianus. Cum sit nobis cura deligens per omnia superni numinis religionem tueri, signum salvatoris Christi nemini licere vel in solo vel in silice vel in marmoribus humi positis insculpere vel pingere, sed quodcumque reperitur tolli: gravissima poena multando eo, si quis contrarium statutis nostris temptaverit, specialiter imperamus. Theodos. et Valentin. AA. Eudoxio pp.* [427 AD].

45. On the meaning of frontal images in this position, see Liverani 2014.

exception: the statue of Maximus of Stratonicea in Caria,[46] erected by the Boule in front of the church after the death of the honorand for merits earned by his alms-giving to the poor of the city. To be sure, there is an inscription reused in the Great Mosque of Hama in Syria that mentions the dedication of a portrait of the benefactor Elias.[47] But the reference is probably to an image in a fresco or mosaic.[48]

As has been noted, however, the portrait continues to exist and in the ecclesiastical context celebrates benefactors and founders of churches, thereby assuming motivations internal to the Christian community. This means that the need to commemorate and celebrate meritorious individuals—albeit for different reasons—survives the disappearance of the three-dimensional portrait. But one should stress an element that up to now has not been adequately considered. The portrait differentiates itself from an ideal image (for example, of a saint) because it refers to a person who is still alive or at least still present in the memory of the community that honors him. This different characterization is no longer based exclusively on the veristic realism of style—as happened in the Greco-Roman tradition—but rather on codes of another kind. As is well known, here we witness something that—to our eyes—seems like a progressive abstraction of traits, but we need to take into account another feature of the Classical tradition: as Pliny the Elder clearly attests, the portraits considered the most faithful were those on wood panels, used in noble households to visualize the genealogical tree in a way complementary to the wax masks hung in the atrium.[49] According to this author, as early as the end of the first century the panel portrait was no longer fashionable, but one may have doubts about this claim. There was also a funerary use, as demonstrated, for example, by a humble portrait in the columbarium of M. Scribonius Menophilus at Villa Pamphili in Rome (fig. 10) with an imitation of a portrait panel in a cupboard[50] and,

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46. Cousin 1891, 429–30, n. 20; Çetin Şahin 1982, 166–67, n. 1204; Bauer and Witschel 2007a, 14; Bauer 2007, 90; See the Last Statues of Antiquity (LSA) database, LSA-657 (U. Gehn); and see Jacobs, this volume.
47. *IGLS* V, 1959, n. 1999.
48. C. Mango 1986b, 28–29. On the contrary, Busch (1999, 210–11) prefers to consider the inscription as belonging to a statue.
49. Plin., *HN* 35.4 *Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exolevit* ("At any rate painted portraiture, by which exact likenesses were handed down for all time, has gone completely out of fashion." Trans. Flower, with retouches). On the issue: Flower 1996.
50. Fröhlich 2009, fig. 2. The portrait is painted upon the niche of the third row from the pavement, in the room A, west wall, corner NW (early Augustan age). I am very grateful to Thomas Fröhlich who gave me the permission to publish the portrait.

Fig. 10. Portrait in the columbarium of Villa Pamphili, Rome (photo by author).

above all, by the continuity of the famous portraits of El-Fayum.[51] We have also at least another pair of later sources that speak of these two traditional portrait types—those on panels and those made of wax: Martial[52] in AD 96 and the already-cited Paulinus of Nola[53] at the end of the fourth century. We can thus hold that the panel portrait never suffered a true interruption and that the lack of attention devoted to it in the scholarly literature is only the result of the organic material on which it was created, which, apart from the sands of Egypt

51. On the issue, see Belting 1990, 92–116.
52. Mart. 11.102.4: *Est ita, si taceas et si tam muta recumbas / quam silet in cera vultus et in tabula* ("That's so, if you would keep quiet and recline as mute as a silent countenance in wax or in a painted panel").
53. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* XXX.2.6: *Gratias autem Domino, quod perenni magis et vivente pictura imagines nostras non in tabulis putribilibus, neque in ceris liquentibus, sed in tabulis carnalibus cordis tui pinxit* ("Thanks to the Lord, because he has painted our images with a more perennial and living portrait, neither in corruptible wooden paintings, nor in liquefying wax masks, but in flesh panels of your heart"). According to Gnilka (2001, 293), *in ceris liquentibus* is an allusion to the encaustic painting, but I prefer a different interpretation. Paulinus here is discussing two classical types of Roman portrait: the first is on wooden plates, whose ultimate fate is decomposition; the other is the wax portrait, also painted, whose danger is liquefying. I am indebted to Prof. Gnilka who kindly discussed the passage with me. A later allusion to the likeness of the painted portraits is also in Rutil, Nam., 1.545.

and in other exceptional cases, has not left tangible traces. We can, however, add some other indirect elements about its importance.

Portraits of donors and founders in paleo-Christian mosaic cycles are well known. Since the age of Justinian—with the mosaic of the church of St. Catherine on Sinai[54]—and more evidently in the following period these portraits are generally identified thanks to the presence around the head of a square nimbus. The current explanation is that this is a variant of the circular halo—used for Christ and for the saints and already present in pagan representations of divinities and sometimes for emperors.[55] The variant denoted living individuals—at least, living at the time when the mosaic was made—and originated in a juridical-sacred preoccupation typical of Roman culture.[56] It finds expression in the passage I cited earlier of Paulinus of Nola about his portrait and that of Saint Martin,[57] where Paulinus is concerned that there be no confusion of the different status of the two.

Such an explanation is basically correct, but it does not take into account the development of a semantic opposition between the two forms—the square nimbus and the circular halo. Some scholars have, however, proposed an ingenious solution of great interest: in the square nimbus we find nothing more than the border of the painted panel to indicate that in this case the portrait did not derive from the traditional iconography, nor was it an idealized "reconstruction" composed by the painter, but was in fact based on a portrait executed from life.[58] Convincing evidence in favor of this hypothesis is offered by the fourth-century fresco in the Crypt of Oceanus in the Catacomb of Calixtus in Rome (fig. 11). Here we find, originally applied to a bust in a fresco, a painted panel portrait next to the face. The panel has, unfortunately, not been preserved, but it has left traces of its attachment in a rectangular space next to the

54. Forsyth and Weitzmann 1965, 13, pls. CIII, CXXXVI–CXXXVII (general view), CXX–CXXI, CLX–CLXI (portraits of John and Longinos); Nardi 2009–10. For other sixth-century frescoes with square nimbus, see Ladner 1983, 132–33, n. 27–28.
55. On the halo, see Ahlqvist 2001.
56. Liverani 2010, 32–35; Liverani in press.
57. Paul. Nol., *Ep.* 32.2.3.
58. Osborne 1979, 63–64; Warland 1986, 35–36; Kessler 2000, 133–35; Jäggi 2002–3, 40, 45, n. 80. Pointing in the same direction is the description of a portrait of Pope Gregory the Great in his life written by John the Deacon (*Vita Gregorii Magni* 4.84, *PL* 75, 231 A: the IV book is dated 875). According to this passage, on the top of pope's head there was not a round halo (*corona*) but something shaped like a picture panel, the symbol for a living person (*Circa verticem vero tabulae similitudinem, quod viventis insigne est, praeferens, non coronam. Ex quo manifestissime declaratur, quia Gregorius dum adviveret, sua similitudinem depingi salubriter voluit, in qua posset a suis monachis, non pro elationis gloria, sed pro cognitae districtionis cautela, frequentius intueri*). Contra Ladner 1941.

Fig. 11. Portrait in the Crypt of Oceanus, Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome (© Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra).

head.[59] Other similar evidence was recently collected by Norbert Zimmermann.[60] Maybe a similar interpretation also applies to the portrait of a lady framed in a blue square frescoed in a tomb of the half of the mid-fourth century AD from Viminacium.[61]

If this reading is correct, we would have another indication of the importance and diffusion of two-dimensional panel portraits, which gradually completely replaced sculpted portraits. And we would also have an indication of the fact that the "realism" of the portrait—or perhaps we should say more accurately its relationship with an individual who either is still alive or is still remembered—no longer is expressed, or no longer is *only* expressed, by the veristic style but rather through codes that—like the square nimbus—were no less effective because they were based on an ancient familiarity with this kind of portrait.[62] And, as we have seen in Pliny, it was precisely this kind of portrait that was considered particularly suited for the faithful transmission of a person's physical traits.

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59. Garrucci 1873, pl. 14, and Wilpert 1924 (IV ed.; the first edition is dated 1916) I, 108, II, 1089, IV pl. 182.1 reproduce the portrait with an inscription on the upper frame *[—]iissiim[—]*, which is still visible in more recent photographs. See also Wilpert 1903, pl. 134.1; Wilpert 1907, fig. 3; Kollwitz 1957, 70–71, pl. 8.2; Warland 1986, pl. 22; Nestori 1993, 105, n. 15; Belting 1990, 107, 627 n. 27; Mitchell 1993, 108, fig. 7.45; Kessler 2000, 133–34, fig. 6.19; Zimmermann 2007, 165; Marsengill 2011, 63.
60. Zimmermann 2007, 165–66: the so-called orante nel trittico of the loculus 51 of the Domitilla Catacomb (Wilpert 1891, 50, 55 n. 1 [ancient copy by G. A. Toccafondo, Bibl. Vallicelliana cod. G 6, fol. 5v] pl. XXIII, 2, XXIV.1; Wilpert 1903, 459; Zimmermann 2007, pl. 20e), the portrait of a couple of the main arcosolium of Room 39 in the same catacomb (pl. 20d); another missing portrait in a rectangular frame Domitilla 12 (pl. 21a), and minor examples. The first fresco is particularly interesting because the portrait is framed in a cupboard.
61. Tomb G 2624 from *Viminacium* (Stari Kostolac, Serbia), now in the National Museum of Pozarevać: Korać 1991, 118–21, figs. 11–15; Valeva 2001, 183; Dunbabin 2003, 453–54, fig. 16; Donati and Gentili 2005, 305, no. 159a. A similar blue ground in a squared frame are attested for a portrait of an Orans in the arcosolium "of the little Apostles" in the Domitilla Catacomb (Nestori 1993, 126, n. 39; Wilpert 1903, pl. 154.1; Zimmermann 2002, 250; Zimmermann 2007, 163, pl. 19a) and for a couple, also portrayed on a square blue ground in the same catacomb (Zimmermann 2007, 165, pl. 20c).
62. Complementary considerations are developed in a very important article by Zimmermann 2007.

FOURTEEN

# Travelers' Accounts of Roman Statuary in the Near East and North Africa

## *From Limbo and Destruction to Museum Heaven*

MICHAEL GREENHALGH

Attitudes toward Roman statuary during the fourth to seventh centuries partly conditioned what survived into later centuries; but except for deeply buried material, it was later attitudes that, in all their variety, conditioned the small proportion of survivals that has come down to us, and that now fill our museums. Based on the accounts of travelers and scholars who visited Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa, this chapter provides an overview of the fate of figured sculpture from the Middle Ages to the beginnings of the age of mass tourism. It suggests that it is incorrect to believe either that early Christians systematically destroyed all the pagan sculpture they could find (*Si monumentum requiris*, indeed!) or that ravaging Muslims destroyed much of what remained, leaving a sculpture-free landscape. Plenty of sculpture survived well into the nineteenth century for the reasons outlined below, and travelers commented on some of what they saw.

Right up to the early twentieth century, antique statuary was either in limbo, because it was disregarded or even feared, or faced destruction, because white marble provided a choice material with which to prepare lime, while architectural members made good building material. Sculpture was the easiest type of

object to break up for the kilns because its elements were less than massive, and a hammer would suffice; we may assume that the workers well knew that statuary marble produced the purest lime. Large blocks, on the other hand, needed serious attention if they were to be fed to the kilns—which is why kilns were located within the buildings being recycled, as Beth Munro demonstrates in this volume for villas further west. Travelers in the Near East and North Africa sometimes came across such kilns still in place.

After antiquity, statuary was generally left alone for a variety of reasons: it was feared as being the abode of demons; it was remote from contemporary settlements; it retained no interest for the locals, if there were any; it was sometimes too heavy to move, apart from small and flat-backed reliefs; and it could not easily or sensibly be reused in new buildings. As well as for making lime, sculptures were also destroyed because, as we shall see, they were often thought to contain treasure, just as classical inscriptions were believed to indicate its hiding place.

Above all, there was little interest (with very few exceptions) on the part of Westerners before the later eighteenth century in transporting sculpture back home—as can be checked by studying the history of collections in Venice, a state with plentiful opportunities and frequent military transport. But, conveniently, beyond sometimes displaying examples, the inhabitants of the East had no particular interest in antique statuary—any more than had Europeans (with very few exceptions) before the seventeenth century.

## *The Travelers*

The accounts of travelers are important for the study of the survival of ancient sculpture, and its treatment or mistreatment, because they visited many of the regions populated by Roman remains, and wrote about them from their various perspectives, often in detail, and sometimes accurately. If we picture what Roman statuary looked like in its heyday, and set that against what survives today, travelers' accounts offer the only information we have on what the "statue landscape," so to speak, looked like over intervening centuries, and on how statues got discovered, reused, neglected, or destroyed. Archaeology generally cannot help much with these matters.

Needless to say, all travelers were interested in geography—they had to be, for mapping routes was essential both to a safe return and to matching what

they read in the ancient authors with what they saw on the ground, in the form of inscriptions. Their various professions brought a useful range of skills. Pierre Belon (1517–64) was a naturalist, scientifically precise, and greatly interested in classical antiquity. Al-Masudi's (896–956) *The Meadows of Gold,* only one of his many books, is encyclopedic. Some travelers were fascinated by the East, and spent much time there. Richard Pococke, (1704–65), a churchman, was in the East from 1737 to 1742, penetrating into Asia Minor, and visiting Egypt and Palestine as well; one of his many interests was Islam. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–89), an energetic and much traveled trader, commented anthropologically on the lands through which he passed, including Constantinople, Syria, and India.

If trade and religion illuminated the interests of some travelers, diplomacy and antiquarianism lit up that of others. William Hamilton (1777–1859) was a private secretary to Lord Elgin, permanent under-secretary for foreign affairs (1809–22), and secretary of the Society of Dilettanti (1830–59); his *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey* (1809) is invaluable for his account of Egypt. It was the Dilettanti who paid for Richard Chandler (1738–1810) to visit Ionia, published an account of his travels in 1769 as *Ionian Antiquities,* and then his own record in 1776, *Travels in Greece, or an Account of a Tour Made at the Expense of the Society Of Dillettanti.* William Hamilton's son, William John, was a geologist (a member of the Geological Society of London from 1831, and its president from 1854 to 1866), but his *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* (1842) are rich in antiquarian observations, as some of the footnotes below indicate.

Scholarship was not in short supply: Frederik Ludvig Norden (1708–42), a Danish naval officer and explorer, was a member of the Royal Society from 1741, and William Leake (1777–1860), an artillery officer to 1815 and fellow of the Royal Society from that year, spent the rest of his long life in antiquarian travels, the supplement to his last book being published in 1859 at the age of 82. He crossed Asia Minor in the suite of General Koehler, who held military command under the Turks, accompanied by two royal engineers and the orientalist Dr. Carlyle. Still on the diplomatic nexus with archaeology, Newton (1816–94) worked in the British Museum before becoming vice-consul at Mytilene, so he could explore adjacent coasts; he returned to the museum after his excavations at Halicarnassus.

One characteristic shared by all the travelers named above, and many others, is a sensitivity to and interest in the beauties of ancient art, preferably Greek, but with some usually grudging concessions made to Roman art as well.

The resulting outrage or disappointment at what later centuries have wrought with the surviving remains of ancient art provide many pages of detail—how statues among other antiquities have been reused in walls or bridges, simply noted as part of extensive ruin fields, or mutilated or blown up for the treasure they were certain to contain. An example of the first two will suffice, as destruction for treasure is dealt with later.

## Reuse in Walls

An antidote to the belief that Muslims were fanatically against ancient statuary is provided by the Seljuk town of Konya, built by Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1220–37). He incorporated large numbers of classical antiquities (which were evidently repaired in later years) in the city walls, to the delight of travelers. He also scattered many antique lions around the city (which happened at Ankara as well). Leake, writing in 1820, declared that the builders of the walls "seem to have taken considerable pains to exhibit the Greek inscriptions, and the remains of architecture and sculpture belonging to the ancient Iconium, which they made use of in building their walls."[1] Characteristically, it was town modernization at the end of the nineteenth century that destroyed the walls, and it is far from clear how many antiquities from them ended up in the Archaeological Museum at Konya (fig. 1). At Nicaea, however, some of the antiquities incorporated in the walls are still to be seen there, while others have gone to the museum (fig. 2). During Late Antiquity and into the Middle Ages plenty of Christian churches collected and reused pagan antiquities in various ways, including Christianizing some statues. Islam had a similarly latitudinarian attitude to figured sculpture. Muslims supposedly banned it from religious environments, but they were averse neither to antique sculpture (pagan and Christian) as decoration for mosques and fountains, nor to very frequently reusing pagan antiquities in their cemeteries—not just reliefs, but statues as well.

## Ruin Fields

Corneille Le Brun at Perinthus/Heraclea (Turkey in Europe) in the later seventeenth century saw statues fallen from their pedestals, and pedestals still in place: "[C]ar outre les Temples, les Bains, & un grand nombre d'autres édifices

1. Leake 1820, 224–25.

Fig. 1. The Seljuk walls of Konya (Laborde 1838, pl. LXIII). Courtesy of the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library).

publics, on y voyoit encore plusieurs belles Statues, qui étoient élevées dans les Places Publiques, à la mémoire de ceux qui avoient rendu quelque service important à la Ville. Ces Statues ont été toutes renversées et brisées par la barbarie des Siècles suivants . . . leurs pié-d'estaux, avec leurs Inscriptions qui sont restées, sont encore des preuves suffisantes de la reconnoissance des Perinthiens envers leurs bienfaiteurs."[2] The statues and other antiquities went shortly thereafter to feed Istanbul's continuing thirst for marble. At Ephesus, he also saw tumbled marble statues with their legs sticking out of the ground—but none of the locals, even if paid, would help dig them up for fear of official consequences.[3]

Kilns were proof positive of continuing destruction, for travelers frequently saw kilns being fed, or masons reworking antique tablets for reuse as tombstones. Many were so enamored of statuary that they tell us either how they took certain items home or bemoan with us the fact that the work cannot be exported for one of several reasons—it is too heavy, or it is being watched by the locals with eagle eye, or it is embargoed by antiquities laws.

2. Le Brun 1725, I, 212–13.
3. Le Brun 1725, 105.

Fig. 2. Reliefs from Nicaea (Laborde 1838, pl. XVI). Courtesy of the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library).

Of course, not everything the travelers reported has come down to us in manuscripts or printed books; but we might wonder whether books such as the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* (1599) by Francesco Colonna had their many statue-rich illustrations inspired by accounts by travelers throughout Venice's foreign domains and trading posts—for which reason it has been suspected that this Dominican priest himself traveled in Greece and the East, since the antiquities displayed, even in this dream, are far too profuse to have been inspired only by surviving works on the Italian Peninsula. Certainly, much statuary of which we know nothing survived for centuries. For it was only occasionally that travelers came upon specimens, described them, and garnered the varieties of information addressed below.

## *The Locals: Benign Neglect*

In the Near East and North Africa, the neglect of statuary over many centuries was general because such works played no part in Muslim sensibilities, except for casual building and occasional display. Antique sites were generally left alone, except when it was necessary to scavenge for building materials, which happened only in those areas where wood was scarce and stone building was traditional. In such areas, statuary provided the best way of making mortar because of the quality of marble used. But in areas where building was in wood, antiquities (including statuary) survived in greater quantities.

Two other elements come into play here, namely a tradition (except for the odd palace) of house building from very ordinary materials, and the frequency of earthquakes. A constant refrain met by Western travelers in the East is the fragility of life and the hubris of splendid architecture, which should be reserved for important buildings such as mosques, madrassas, and khans. What is more, frequent and sometimes devastating earthquakes leveled stone buildings more easily than wooden ones and, in any case, skilled stonemasons for reconstruction were often lacking.[4]

Ottoman neglect of the antiquities to be found in their expanding territories is underlined by the amounts of statuary that survived more or less in place, or at least unmutilated. To neglect was joined insouciance, although just what foreigners were allowed to do depended on the region rather than the date. Thus, as late as 1865, Newton had no problem digging in the Hippodrome at Constantinople, "accompanied by twelve lusty Croats, with picks and shovels," and clearing the soil and rubbish away down to the base of the Serpent Column.[5]

As already mentioned, a favorite and usually inaccurate Western trope has fanatical Muslims destroying pagan statues—a strong theme in writing about early Christianity as well. There are indeed examples of heads being hammered, but usually for figured capitals reused in a religious context. Generally, however, such "idols" were left well alone, since they were considered both powerful and maleficent: statues of human beings were the abode of spirits, who would leave them only once they were mutilated; in parallel fashion, it is much more difficult to document the notion of Muslim "fanaticism" against pagan statuary than that of Christian destruction in earlier centuries. Christians would, after

4. On earthquakes, see Kristensen, this volume.
5. Newton 1865, II 27.

all, be able to correctly identify pagan statues; but it is far from clear that most Muslims had any more than a vague notion of the origins of such statues, let alone any particular interest in them—a matter now to be discussed.

## *The Locals: Other Attitudes to Antiquities*

The attitudes of locals to antiquities changed little until the nineteenth century, when they were widely infected by the Western conviction that old lumps of marble or bronze were often worth more than the value of their materials. Westerners were alternately puzzled and shocked by those who did not think as they did, and accord antiquities what they considered to be their due. In the estimation of Jean-Jacques Rifaud in 1820s Egypt, for example, the villagers were simply not interested in the ancient monuments that surrounded them,[6] whereas Edwin John Davis reported in 1874 that some Turkish villages actually used antiquities as decoration.[7] Elsewhere they sometimes held whimsical opinions about supposedly local sources of stone and marble.[8]

The destruction of "idols" is generally a figment of the Christian imagination, just as the potency of the same idols is a figment of the Muslim imagination. Added to a general indifference to statues was a diffidence on the part of religious Turks to deal in "idols" against the express interdiction of the Koran. Deliberate destruction was usually done to make lime, although some Westerners interpret their going to the kilns as religiously inspired, as for example at Sardis by 1873.[9] In other instances, antiquities would be mutilated because the locals saw a Westerner taking an interest in them, as happened to the inscription on an altar at Cyrene in 1856—but the same author noted that "among the rubbish lie fluted columns, the headless statue of a sitting female figure, and some fragments of inscriptions." Indeed, "very many headless statues are scattered about, which would be beautiful decorations for a garden, but are all unworthy of a museum."[10] This did not of course mean that ancient "idols" were not admired by Muslims, as for example in the description by Abd Al-Latif (1162–1231) of a colossal statue at Memphis,[11] or indeed a minatory Roman

6. Rifaud 1830, 114.
7. Davis 1874, 267.
8. Brocchi 1841–42, III, 514–15.
9. Wolcott Redding 1873, 286.
10. J. Hamilton 1856, 45, 37, 53.
11. Abd Allatif 1810, 187–88.

statue in Spain instructing the Moors to proceed no further, described in the early fourteenth century.[12] Mas'udi notes the interest an Indian statue in bronze aroused in Baghdad in 896;[13] similarly, a classical statue discovered during the building of the Umayyad Mosque is mentioned by several chroniclers.[14]

## *Statues, Treasure, and Destruction*

All over the East, antiquities were popularly considered to contain treasure. Ancient inscriptions, which the locals knew displayed words, were often interpreted as giving directions to the location of treasure. Epigraphers who turned up with books (Pausanias or whatever), or wrote down inscriptions, were often questioned about just where the treasure lay, because they had obviously come with their own written instructions for obtaining what was underground. For the Egyptians, Norden reported that they could not conceive that Europeans visited Egypt to dig for scholarly purposes: treasure and magic must be involved[15]—perhaps an idea derived from ancient Egyptian folklore.[16] For such a perverse reason, Hester Stanhope outrageously had a colossal statue at Ascalon broken to pieces.[17] Such beliefs continued into the twentieth century, not least because digging did indeed reveal treasures.[18]

The problem for the locals was that getting to the treasure, which was not—it was thought—to be accessed simply by using a hammer, needed special skills, and these were known only to Westerners, or to those who could read inscriptions. Because most Muslims were well aware that the remains of classical antiquity that populated their lands were not erected by their own ancestors, a thread running through accounts of Western travelers in eastern lands is that Westerners had returned to claim either the lands they had once owned or the riches buried under them. The majority of easterners dismissed the notion that the "milordos" or "Franks" had come to admire antiquities, or to measure and to learn from them. To their way of thinking, the statues and their inscriptions

12. En-Noweiri 1841–42, 573.
13. Mas'udi 1863–74, VIII, 125–26.
14. 'Abd El Basel 1894–96, 201–2.
15. Norden 1755 I, 42.
16. Ghallab 1929, 263–283, for magic in Egyptian folklore; based largely on Maspero and the 1001 Nights.
17. Stanhope 1846, III, 165.
18. Salama 2002, 1962–66, for Muslim legends; 1969–99, for inventory of 89 treasures found, mostly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

provided the key to obtaining the buried riches. All this explains the diametrically opposed local reactions to inscription-hunters: on the one hand, pleasure ("he's come to uncover treasure, and we'll get some!"), and, on the other, prohibition ("keep him away—he's after our buried treasures!").

But one new technology could help in penetrating the innards of statues, namely gunpowder. At Athens, for example, the destruction had started in the eighteenth century, when antiquities had been blown up to construct mosques and, especially, defensive walls against the Russians.[19] Many buildings were brought down this way (such as at Dendera in 1798[20]). The Lion of Chaeronea may—or may not—have suffered the same fate at the hands of a modern Odysseus, brutal rather than cunning.[21] At Pompey's Pillar, which Jean-Baptiste Le Mascrier in the 1690s feared the locals would bring down through burrowing for treasure,[22] a similar gunpowder plot (of which there were several) at the end of the century came to naught through incompetence,[23] yielding only a hieroglyph-covered stone.[24]

Another thread that runs through the Orient is the belief that antiquities possess various kinds of power, sometimes to heal, sometimes to bring wealth, and sometimes to destroy.[25] It connects with a broad literature on marvels,[26] in which there is much commonality between Christian and Muslim beliefs (compare the chansons de geste). Frequently this power is bound up with the search for, and discovery of, treasure that, so the story goes, had been buried in olden times,[27] and the discovery of which was a common explanation when people got unaccountably rich, perhaps from discovering local versions of the hoard of the Fatimid Caliphs. Myths abound about rich and mysterious cities, such as the City of Bronze, perhaps relaying reports about distant ancient cities and fabulous remains.[28] What is certain is that many antiquities must have been destroyed in such searches, as Ahmad ibn 'Ali Al-Maqrizi recounts for Cairo

19. Buchon 1843, 70.
20. Browne 1799, 130.
21. Mure 1842, I, 219.
22. Le Mascrier 1735, 319.
23. Sonnini 1807, 121.
24. J. Breton 1814, II, 167.
25. Frankfurter 2008, 135–36, for late antique Egypt: "I am less interested in documentation of particular historical figures than in the range of iconoclastic acts remembered as meaningful in Egyptian Christian tradition." Frankfurter 2008, 137–38, for a list of caveats in the use of hagiography.
26. Ducène (2006) is useful for its introduction on mediaeval Islamic marvels-literature, and for the notes on the places al-Gharnati (1080–1168) visited in Egypt—Alexandria, Cairo, Abusir, Heliopolis.
27. Carette 1848 V, 255.
28. Genequand 1992: supposedly in the Sahara, Morocco, or Andalucía.

and the destruction of an idol.[29] While there was naturally more rhetoric than reality in early disquisitions on pagan statues,[30] such tales were still current in late nineteenth-century Constantinople.[31]

## *Stripping Rich Sites of Antiquities*

Deserted sites that were easy to access or convenient stopping-off places lost their antiquities early. Delos provides the best example of such a site, with monuments probably being dismantled by the Venetians and Crusaders as early as the thirteenth century[32]—although large amounts remain to this day. Conceivably there was at least one building partially standing on Delos in the sixteenth century—namely, a circular temple described by Jérome Maurand in 1544[33]—though everything seems to have been cleared out to just recumbent blocks and columns a century later.[34] Loot from Delos probably included some of the statues mentioned in 1581 by Jacopo Soranzo: "Delo, isola ed oracolo antichissimo, di cui si vedono oggi ancora i vestigi del tempio, e gran pezzi di statue."[35] And seventeenth-century travelers to Delos believed they saw the remains of the colossal statue of Diana, as well as that of Apollo,[36] which Ellis Veryard also saw in 1701.[37] Pierre Belon claims to have seen similarly grand pieces at "Troy."[38] Delos was indeed easy to access for small vessels, hence in part its many travelers, but it had no quays suitable for heavy transport work, even if suitably large

29. Al-Maqrizi 1900, 352.
30. Perry 2008 for more rhetoric than reality on Libanius (a pagan).
31. Carnoy and Nicolaïdes 1894, 179–82.
32. Diehl 1893, 140.
33. Maurand 1901, 157.
34. Omont 1902, I, 191–92.
35. Alberi 1844, II, 220.
36. Maurand 1901, LVI–LVII, citing Fermanel et al.'s 1630 account of Delos: "Si estimée entre les Grecs à cause du Temple de Diane et d'Apollon, n'est à présent qu'un grand rocher remply de ronces, de fenouil et d'épines, tout désert et deshabité . . . statues de marbre, et nous reconnusmes au milieu les mesmes Colosses qui avoient autrefois rendu les Oracles. Mais le temps qui dévore tout, n'a point pardonné à ces pièces estimées jadis les plus rares et les mieux travaillées de la Grèce; elles gisent contre terre toutes rompues; la statue de Diane, depuis le sein en haut, reste encore dans son entier, et est du moins de huit pieds de haut: de là on peut juger de la grandeur démesurée de ces statues. Je ne doute point que plusieurs trouveront estrange, comment ces pièces demeurent là ainsi abandonnées, pouvant servir d'ornement aux cabinets les plus curieux de la Chrestienté, comme estant les plus belles et les plus rares antiquitez de l'Europe. Mais il faut considérer que cest isle est écartée, peu fréquentée, sans port, et de difficile accez, et que ces Colosses estant au haut de la montagne, malaisément pourraient-ils estre enlevez, à cause de leur prodigieuse grandeur."
37. Veryard 1701, 354.
38. Belon 1588, 181.

vessels could dock there. This is the explanation Stochove gives for the survival of the two colossi he saw,[39] to which we should add a probable lack of expertise with lifting gear and ropes. Leake still thought there were plenty of remains on Delos in 1835;[40] but the Russians were there by the 1830s, taking material in large quantities, and perhaps setting up the lime kilns that Grenville Temple saw in 1836.[41] To repeat, statues were much easier to break up than large blocks, which is why so many bases have survived in proportion to the statues that stood on them.[42] Within twenty years, they had taken much more.[43] The same happened on Santorini by the 1850s.[44] Pamukkale/Hierapolis retains large quantities of impressive monuments in the local stone and even, because they were buried, some parts of the *scaenae frons* of the theater (fig. 3). The site was once rich in marble as well, as can be seen from Léon de Laborde's illustrations. But this was stripped out in the later nineteenth century to provide building lime for the growing nearby town of Denizli.

## *Colossal Statues*

Travelers were so spoiled for choice monument-wise with what lay scattered around the surface of the landscape that only the most committed were curious about what lay belowground. Columns aboveground were plentiful—as were colossal statues, several of which stuck up above ground level and, because of their bulk, were often considered too large to shift. The English were early in the field, as Tavernier (traveling 1631–33) noted at Smyrna, where he picked up what he thought was a toe from an immense colossal statue.[45] Again at Smyrna, the gateway to the citadel boasted a colossal bust, mentioned by several travelers. Partially mutilated by stone throwing, its history culminates with the firman from Constantinople (in the early 1850s?) that "especially heads" should be sent there for the museum. The head was struck off the shoulders, rolled down the hill, and then "it lay long at the foot of the hill, as it was rolled down, and is

39. Stochove 1643, 15.
40. Leake 1835, III, 96.
41. Temple 1836, I, 129.
42. Højte 2005, fig. 9, for imperial portraits and bases surviving in various parts of the empire: thus for Hadrian in North Africa 8/52, in Greece 16/124, and in Asia Minor 10/111—these proportions are roughly equivalent for other emperors and locations.
43. Allen 1855, I, 47.
44. Leycester 1850, 29.
45. Tavernier 1682, 51.

Fig. 3. Marble antiquities at Pamukkale/Hierapolis (Laborde 1838, pl. 78). Courtesy of the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Library).

supposed to have been at last burnt for lime."[46] How many other antiquities were lost to the museums of Turkey through such insouciance?

Nevertheless, colossal statues were still visible on Greek islands in the 1860s,[47] and Hamilton found two near Teos in 1842, projecting slightly from the ground.[48] Such colossi probably once existed—but did not survive—in large quantities.[49] William Heude saw (a nonclassical) one at Ctesiphon in 1819.[50] At Eleusis in 1738–39, the colossal statue of the Goddess projected some seven feet from the ground.[51] Pococke noted one at Alexandria Troas in the 1730s.[52]

The majority of travelers required something spectacular to admire on the

46. Senior 1859, 194.
47. Spratt 1865, I, 242.
48. W. Hamilton 1842, II, 16–17.
49. Ruck 2007, 51–228, for cult statues, statues on columns, and arches. Ruck 2007, 221–72, for colossal statues in Late Antiquity, concentrates on Rome.
50. Heude 1819, 110.
51. Sandwich 1807, 84.
52. Pococke 1811, 709.

sites they visited, and remained distinctly sniffy about sites with famous names but little to see. Eleusis left John Galt cold, as he explains,[53] perhaps because he knew that one of its sights—a colossal bust—had been taken to England in 1801.[54] Parts of another unfinished one remained there in the mid-nineteenth century,[55] although there was not enough to impress Catherine de Gasparin in 1848.[56]

Perhaps as early as Late Antiquity, unwanted statues went to make lime, but the smaller they were, the easier they were to destroy. Colossal statues did not necessarily survive complete, because their extremities were vulnerable. There are several examples of parts of such antiquities being broken down for the kiln but for some reason not being destroyed. Instances were to be found at Sagalassos,[57] and at Paphos, on Cyprus, where the hand of a colossal statue was given to Edward Clarke in 1817[58]—he never penetrated far into Asia Minor, where he would have found more. It may be that such statues were only attacked if foreigners demonstrated interest in them. Thus, at Smyrna in 1834, Joseph-François Michaud and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat found a colossal hand near the theater, but it was heavy, so they left it where it was. But evidently they had been watched, for the hand then disappeared—presumably taken by some of the locals who had seen them, and who expected to find treasure in it.[59] Movable items were obviously in danger: on Crete, Thomas Spratt in 1865 tells of finding at Lebena only the foot of a colossal statue, the rest having gone to the kiln a few years previously.[60]

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53. Galt 1813, 100.
54. Leake 1841, II, 161.
55. Clark 1858, 37–38.
56. Gasparin 1848, I, 115.
57. See Eck and Mägele (2008) for fragments of a colossal foot in Sagalassos, the notional reconstruction done from a comparable colossal statue in Cherchel.
58. Clarke 1817, IV, 44.
59. Michaud and Poujoulat 1834, III, 345–46: "Nous étions à examiner la main de marbre, trouvée dans les décombres du théâtre, des femmes turques ont passé près de nous, et nous ont adressé la parole, en nous disant qu'il y avait sans doute de l'or dans cette pierre; quelques Grecs qui passaient en même temps, ont cru que nous venions de trouver un trésor; sans trop faire attention à ce qu'ils nous ont dit, nous avons continué à examiner la main de marbre que le hasard nous avait fait découvrir; comme elle était fort mutilée, et qu'elle pesait plusieurs livres, après l'avoir tournée et retournée dans tous les sens, nous avons jugé à propos de la laisser où nous l'avions trouvée . . . nous nous reprochions d'avoir laissé derrière nous une véritable merveille, et ne retrouvant plus le précieux chef-d'œuvre à la place où nous l'avions laissé, nous avons partagé toute l'humeur de M. Fauvel contre ce qu'il appelle la barbarie des Grecs. Toutefois en y réfléchissant de sang-froid, j'ai pensé que nous étions nous-mêmes en cette occasion les véritables barbares, puisque nous avions abandonné aux outrages des passans une main de la divine Smyrna."
60. Spratt 1865, I, 352.

## *Destruction: Statues to the Kilns*

It was marble's characteristics that condemned so much of it to the kilns—so much for the immortality of the material.[61] The better the marble, the better the statue: the purer the marble, the higher the quality of the lime.[62] Furthermore, statuary marble—the target of collectors—was much easier to deal with than unwieldy entablature blocks: hence the host of surviving statue-bases for epigraphers to analyze, but with nothing atop them for the art historians. Equally unfortunately, the fact of lime burning (and sometimes of the choicest marbles) assuaged some Western guilt about spiriting antiquities back home. The practice gave David Hogarth what he considered an alibi for digging for and abstracting antiquities—the "lust of loot," as he called it. After all, he reasoned, anything left behind would only end up burned in the kilns.[63] To prove the case, all travelers had to do was read earlier accounts: thus, William Gregory uses the same alibi at Thebes in 1859,[64] because so much had evidently disappeared since Johann Michael Wansleben's description of the city in 1673.[65] Nor was it only marble that was destroyed: in the East Cathedral at Bosra, presumably both the bronze workshop and the lime kiln were fed with antiquities from this structure and nearby.[66]

Although antiquities sometimes get destroyed in consequence, lime kilns are an index of continuing building activity, and their frequency, date, and use might offer a shadow index of the survivability of statuary. Certainly, plenty of lime kilns were in use in Late Antiquity, as Beth Munro's chapter demonstrates for the west. Certainly, our travelers report frequently on kilns from the eighteenth century onward, and especially for the nineteenth century, when movement into towns, increased prosperity, and perhaps a growing population triggered a need for new building in the regions covered by this chapter. But we are short on evidence for the centuries between these two periods. Kilns were erected on the sites of still-inhabited ancient cities. Abandoned cities by the sea suffered as well; since the output lime weighs one-third less than the input marble, the product could then be shipped to wherever it was needed.

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61. De Vere 1850, 78.
62. Dumont 1868, II, 238–41.
63. Hogarth 1910, 121–22.
64. Gregory 1859, II, 21–22.
65. Omont 1902, I, 125–26.
66. Dentzer-Feydy et al. 2007, 137–46, for the "East Cathedral" at Bosra, with materials reused from Nabatean and Roman structures. Dentzer-Feydy et al. 2007, 146: spoliation of this church for a bronze workshop on the site, including a lime kiln to process marble fitments, at the end of the Omayyed period.

## *Stocking European Museums*

It may be that certain numbers of antique statues reached Europe from the east during the Middle Ages, but specific evidence is lacking. Certainly, many important antique centers in Turkey (or rather their hinterland) were targeted for trade in the Middle Ages. These relations are well documented in (for example) Venetian records[67]—but indications of the transport of antiquities back home are rare. The Horses of S. Mark are always cited—but there has been little comment on why they were not joined by other trophies from Constantinople, or on why the Venetians so obviously preferred reliefs to three-dimensional statues. We may suspect, by analogy with what happened in Europe, that there was indeed some trade in spolia from east to west, perhaps as ballast (cf. Vasari), along with staple commodities—an eastern counterpart to the *marmorarii* of Rome, whose work reached England and France by the early eleventh century.[68]

Perhaps one answer is that, although buildings such as S. Mark in Venice are museums *in posse,* the very concept of museums *in esse* took several centuries to develop, as did the thirst to fill them. For centuries, in fact, the availability of statuary did not encourage a thirst to display them back home. However, when such a thirst developed, statues were indeed rescued, for there are plenty of travelers' accounts of rescuing such antiquities from the very jaws of the lime kilns. So such rescues were indeed a fact, as well as a most convenient excuse, in regions where it was impossible adequately to protect antiquities either buried or standing from local treasure or building-materials hunters.

One aspect of museum-filling (or, rather, of Orient-emptying) that would merit further attention is the increasing ease with which antiquities could be transported back to Europe, even as the countries concerned eventually promulgated laws to stop such exports. Large finds for soon-to-be-national museums generally went home on navy transports; and by the mid- to later nineteenth century, if river transport was not possible, these were eased to the sea

67. Lemerle 1961. Cf. map, opposite p. 151, for Dubrovnik's trading *escales* in the East: mostly western Greece, of course; but also Smyrna, Mytilene, Altologo (or Theologo, i.e., Ephesus), and Palatia (i.e.,Miletus, and the seat of an emirate, which shipped grain to the West), as well as Rhodes, Antalya, Tripoli, Beirut, Acre, and Jaffa. Thiriet 1966 and Thiriet 1971: there were Venetian merchants at Ephesus: cf. item 623 for 4 February 1356: the ambassador is to go to Ephesus and Miletus, in order to contact Venetian merchants there. A parallel point can be made for North Africa: Cf. Thiriet 1966: the Venetians appointed a consul at Tunis in 1281: cf. I Rubric LI, and an ambassador was negotiating there in 1292: Rubric CLXV; in 1339 they were importing wool from Tunisia: cf. item 476; they still had a consul in Tunis in 1455: vol. II, item 1515.

68. Mortet 1911, I, 34.

on railways or good-quality roads. But by the 1860s tourists (including many souvenir hunters) were flooding the East, and destroying more monuments even than archaeologists, some of whom were less than scrupulous in what they selected and what they did with the pieces they discarded. Tourism began to develop into big business, and the shipping lines knew exactly where their interest lay. Hence the P&O shipping line allowed two hundredweight of baggage per passenger on the Southampton-Alexandria run, with excess charged at only one shilling per cubic foot—and not by weight.[69] Perhaps this was not a deliberate attempt to ease the export of antiquities—but what else other than souvenirs would fill such excess baggage?

## *Modernization and Statuary*

Modernization requiring Western-style buildings in the regions discussed increased the need for more and more mortar, especially that obtainable from white marble. Just like the stone-cutting workshop amid the rubble of Ephesus,[70] so the existence of lime kilns is a sign of continuing life via building construction: not of course of antique buildings, but of new structures, easier and quicker to build with mortar than with dry-stone precision fitting. As already noted, our travelers saw many lime kilns in the course of their journeys because they were most conveniently located in or very near ancient monuments (such as on the very steps of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus), thereby destroying antiquities (fig. 3).

With the modernization of the East in the course of the nineteenth century, ironies abound. Development required Western-style buildings in stone, hence more and more mortar. Sculpture and now architectural members disappeared as never before, as railways spread, because they were the motors for the plantation of new settlements. As the arteries of modernization, railways and new roads were excavating immense tracts of the local landscapes, and condemning untold quantities of antiquities to road-fill and railway embankments. For railways also needed hardcore (hard material for the foundation of track), uncataloged quantities of which certainly came from antique sites across or near which lines were laid. Indeed, we might think of some railway cuttings as im-

69. Wilkinson 1843, I, 22.
70. Ladstätter and Pülz 2007 for Ephesus: some damaged houses were filled in with rubble, e.g., Terrace House 2, where a stone-cutting workshop was established (fig. 17).

promptu archaeological digs—but the finds generally went into track construction without anyone in authority being the wiser.

In yet another neatly circular concatenation, railways and indeed roads were built to increase commerce and population along their route, and to attract tourists—but their construction and new town developments were deadly for antiquities, which disappeared (and can be documented as doing so) in far larger quantities than had supposedly happened in the days of idols, treasure, and the fanatical actions of eastern barbarians. But while travelers could then marvel at the speed of getting from Europe to Ephesus or Egypt—steamships!—archaeologists were racing against the very same modernization, for near-complete antique buildings were being demolished right up to the First World War to build factories, barracks, and public buildings in the countryside and in cities such as Cairo or Constantinople. In Athens, the new city was built in the mid-nineteenth century directly over the ancient one, with little thought for developing an antiquities program. If the East saw the advantages of modernization, and acted to build the necessary structures, this was to the detriment of antiquities, especially in provincial areas. Central administrations in the Ottoman Empire and newly independent Greece developed laws to protect antiquities, but these meant little outside the capitals, and not much within them.

## *Conclusion*

Because of the various vicissitudes outlined above, from treasure hunting to anti-idolatry to burning for lime, the extraction of statuary to museums (both in Europe and points east) saved what little was left. Why the interest in antique statuary for Western museums? Partly because anything classical was to be revered; but also because (thanks in part to the classical tradition) the development of representations of religious and then secular figures from the Middle Ages onward meant that portrait sculpture was popular in civic and funerary environments. Collecting antique sculpture from around the Mediterranean extended existing fashions.

But statuary formed only one part of the remains of antiquity available in large quantities in the Orient, so are there other reasons for its collection? The main reason was ease of collection—and the frequent difficulties involved in extracting and transporting bas-reliefs and architectural members, of which there are plentiful examples. This is why so few museums try to give any

rounded conspectus of antique architecture. Why not settle for an antique portrait sculpture—or just for its head if facilities for transporting the remainder are not available? Even full-size statues were easily transported by national navies to end up in national museums, none being heavier than the cannon or mast spars they routinely shifted. In museum heaven, of course, all the portrait heads that grace European museums will be reunited with the bodies their looters necessarily left behind because they were too heavy to conceal or to move. We can never know whether every antique head in European museums was detached by miscreant Westerners from its body, and the body left behind; but it seems likely that this happened in many cases—and that the rest of the statue stayed behind, patiently awaiting its fate.

"By integrating both textual and archaeological approaches," this book aims "to provide a rich and multifaceted picture of the changes in the sculptural landscape of the Classical world." This chapter has demonstrated that the contribution made by the descriptions of travelers is even more important than archaeology, and hinted that many elements of the sculptural landscape remained partially intact even in recent centuries. For travelers could not only relate traditions appertaining to the fate of sculpture and other antiquities but often with their own eyes see it mutilated, destroyed, or even sent off to a museum. It was the materials-thirsty modernization of the nineteenth century that radically altered the landscape of antiquity, obliterating sites that in any case archaeology could never have found sufficient resources to dig or even consistently explore—and sending statues either to the kilns or to the museums of Europe. In either case, this was the century that almost completely obliterated the numerous remains of classical antiquity, including statuary, as described by travelers.

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*ala2004* = C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity: The Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions* (2004), available online: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/ala2004/.

*IAph2007*= J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, G. Bodard, *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias* (2007), available online: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007.

*IDR* = *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae* (Bucharest 1975–).

*ISM* = *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae* (Bucharest 1980–).

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