

Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità
Sapienza Università di Roma



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TRIPODES 14



Roman Power and Greek Sanctuaries
Forms of Interaction and Communication

edited by Marco Galli

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Athens 2013

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Few experiences in antiquity had more resonant or enduring effects than the encounter of Rome with the legacy of the Greek East. (GRUEN 1992, 1)

The present volume examines evidence of the process of dynamic interaction and power relationships that the major cult center of the Greek sacred landscape of Classical-Hellenistic period underwent in the face of the unstoppable force and definitive establishment of the Roman empire in the Mediterranean basin. Although subject of the sacred landscape in ancient Greece has received careful attention and seen innumerable publications, only a modest amount of research has surveyed the post-classical phases of the Greek sanctuaries in the *provincia Achaia*.

Ideas, hints, and data for this book were collected during the four-year research project (2003-2007) 'Formation and transformation of religious identities in the Roman Empire', which I undertook at the Department of Ancient Sciences, Sapienza University of Rome. The project was financed by MIUR (Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca) as part of its scheme "Ritorno degli studiosi italiani impegnati all'estero" (D.M. 26.01.2001). The scope of the project was to define the specific quality of the sacred landscape in the Hellenized cities in Rome's eastern empire.

Crucial to this 'work in progress' was the section of the AIAC 2008 (*Meetings between Cultures in the ancient Mediterranean*) meeting that was entitled *Religion as communication: ritual networks in traditional Greek sanctuaries under the Roman domination* and kindly chaired by Susan E. Alcock. On that occasion Andrea Baudini, Jochen Griesbach, Enzo Lippolis, Annalisa Lo Monaco and Milena Melfi presented their research on this topic: I am extremely grateful to all of them for their crucial participation in this book. Special thanks go to Giovanna Falezza, Jessica Piccinini, Elisa Chiara Portale and Bonna D. Wescoat, who kindly agreed to the inclusion of their essays in this volume: they represent a further significant enrichment. Editing this book admittedly required considerably more work than originally planned; I can only hope that the result will compensate the patience of the contributors.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank, above all, Emanuele Greco, director of the Italian Archaeological School at Athens, who enthusiastically agreed to include the publication in the series of monographs TRIPODES, which perfectly suits the subject of this present volume. I would like to thank the Department of Ancient Sciences, Sapienza University of Rome and, specifically, the Section of Classical Archaeology for their finan-

cial contribution to the publication. Thanks for their cooperation also go to Vassilis L. Aravantinos, Margherita Bonanno, Kevin Clinton, Inge Lyse Hansen, Joachim Heiden, Olga Palagia, and Bert Smith, who provided kindly new photographic documentation.

For critical readings, bibliographical references, translations and revision of ancient texts and various improvements, sincere thanks are extended to Alberto G. Benvenuti, Jorgos Brokalakis, Francesco Camia, Sally Cann, Fabio Cavallero, Virgilio Irmici, Julia Lenaghan, Enzo Lippolis, Beth Gardiner Lytle, Milena Melfi, Ioannis Mylonopoulos, Maggie Popkin, Alexandra Prokova, John Thornton, and Giulia Tozzi. Lara Mastrobattista has contributed to the editing of the bibliography of this volume: I am grateful for her cooperation. Finally, I am especially grateful to Tommaso Ismaelli for both his encouragement and his help during the preparation of this book.

There is no need to emphasize here that the contributions in this volume do not pretend to offer a complete picture of the transformations of the sacred space of Achaea under Roman rule. This would be impossible in any single volume. They are best seen, not as a point of arrival, but as a point of departure for further developments and enrichment. We hope it provides directions for new research, embryonic at present, and thought-provoking material not only for scholars of the ancient world but also for all who are interested in the relationships between cultures, ethnicities, and religious communication within a centralized system of power.

Marco Galli
Sapienza Università di Roma

RITUAL DYNAMIC IN THE GREEK SANCTUARIES UNDER THE ROMAN DOMINATION

Religion manifests itself through interaction and communication. It is thus a relevant factor in the system of civilization (BURKERT 1996, 6). W. Burkert's approach to religious communication reflects the direction that has led to renewed interest in the communicative forms and function of religion. In the field of classical studies, one can trace a shift in interest as early as the 1990s from the central paradigm of cult – long the cornerstone in the historiography of ancient religions – to a focus on a more diversified picture of local and translocal religious realities, interconnecting center and periphery, city and country¹. This new orientation has attempted to recreate broader regional landscapes and their particularities, moving from the more general scope of cultural and social studies to themes more relevant to the classical world such as identity², religious pluralism, and collective memory³. With the decisive contribution of anthropological-cognitive

¹ Shift in theoretical approaches to the religious studies of the Roman empire: CANCIK – RÜPKE 2009, CANCIK – RÜPKE 1997, cf. J. Rüpke in ARG 2003, especially 297-299. Religious discourse in the context of Roman provinces: RÜPKE 2009; RÜPKE 2007; ANDRINGA 2007. Formation of urban centers and Roman religion: CANCIK 2006, BENDLIN 1997. On the center-periphery paradigm (and beyond) during the Roman imperial expansion, see the essays collected by CANCIK – SCHÄFER – SPICKERMANN 2006, cf. also CHAMPION 2007, 265 ff. On the model of centre-periphery in the Roman East, see also the remarks of SCHÖRNER 2006. On religion and countryside in the Roman empire, see the set of essays in AUFFARTH 2009.

² Identity formation in antiquity: HÖLSCHER 2011; GOLDHILL 2010; constructing identities in the Roman empire: ANDO 2010; HINDS – SCHMITZ 2007; KRASSER 2007. Greek identities and Roman empire: SALMERI 2011; CONNELLY 2007B; OSTENFELD 2002; see also the essays collected by FORSÉN – SALMERI 2008 and GOLDHILL 2001; cf. WOOLF 1993-1994. Roman identity and ethnicity: BARTMAN 2011; DENCH 2010; religion and the construction of Roman identity: RÜPKE 2003.

³ Religious pluralism: RÜPKE 2009; religious memory: DIGNAS – SMITH 2012; STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP – HÖLKESKAMP 2010; religious memory in Roman Greece: KUHLMANN 2002; ALCOCK 2002 and ALCOCK 2001; religious identities and memory of the Greek cities under the Roman domination (the case of the Peloponnese): LAFOND 2006. Greek sanctuaries as '*lieux de mémoire*': HAAKE – JUNG 2011.

approaches, scholars have now considered the multiform manifestations of ritual activities as strategies of communication laden with symbolic and emotional connotations⁴.

A intense debate has come to the fore in this new horizon. This debate focuses in a new way on a topic that has always been central to ancient studies: the ritual itself. It looks at the vital components of ritual and how they affect specifically ritual behavior and ritual practice. Recent studies position this theoretical framework as *Ritualdynamik*; the central thought of the “dynamics of ritual” has been used pointedly to indicate all the potentiality of ritual that arises within a sacred context and its specific ritual framework. This entails processes of preservation and transformation, continuity and change, assimilation and adaptation⁵.

Within this new focus, certain points of investigation have particular importance. The location chosen for the manifestation of the “sacred” is to be examined both as a concrete physical space and as a symbolic and communicative space full of complex social interaction⁶. The principal actors and various agents in the process of communication as well as the sophisticated apparatus of media in place for this communication (i.e. monuments and images, ritual actions and processions, music and dance) are all central components of consideration.

The major cult centers of traditional religion of the *provincia Achaia* from the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. up through the imperial period offer multiple forms of evidence of an articulated process of structural transformation⁷. This process concerns not only the morphology of the sacred space itself (that is, the concrete monumental area and its components) but also the type of ritual communication that took place there⁸. Attempts to

⁴ Anthropological approaches to Roman society and religion: BETTINI 2010; for ‘local knowledge’ in the globalized Roman empire, see WHITMARSH 2010, 13 ff. Cognitive approaches to the study of ancient religion: CHANIOTIS 2012. Religion and communication in antiquity: MYLONOPOULOS – ROEDER 2006; STAVRIANOPOULOU 2006.

⁵ Roman control over the Greek world as dynamic process: GLEASON 2006; ritual dynamic in the Roman empire: CHANIOTIS 2011 and CHANIOTIS 2009; MYLONOPOULOS 2008; for theoretical approaches to the concepts ‘ritual dynamic’, ‘ritual transfer’, ‘agency’, see the essays collected by HART – SCHENK 2004, as well as the papers delivered in *Forum Ritualdynamik: Diskussionsbeiträge des SFB 619 ‘Ritualdynamik’ der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg*, available online.

⁶ Sanctuary as communicative space: MYLONOPOULOS 2006B.

⁷ Religion of Roman Achaia: AUFFARTH 2007 and AUFFARTH 2003; cf. also ALCOCK 1993A.

⁸ Religious communication in Greek sanctuaries in Roman period: GALLI 2010 and GALLI 2004.

identify and understand such new dynamics, including abandonment and destruction, “restoration” and functional refurbishment, “death” and “re-birth”, all of which occurred in the sacred areas of the Greek landscape, begin to fill a significant lacuna in studies of the culture of the Hellenized East during the long phase of Roman domination.

Contemporary approaches to Roman Greece apply certain interpretative formulae to the sacred landscape under the rule of Rome (Fig. 1). The fragmentary nature of the historical and archaeological evidence from the Republican period has caused studies of this period to focus more on individual personalities of *imperatores* and their specific gestures. More attention is given to the political and economic attitudes of Roman commanders towards the Hellenic sacred contexts. This generals’ indifference to aesthetic quality or religious sanctity is usually remarked upon instead of investigating the “continuing connection, emphasized by Roman leaders, between art and religion”⁹.

For the imperial period, which is more frequently studied, scholars generally offer a fairly static image of the sacred space. On one hand, this scholarship privileges a vision of the most famous sanctuaries in this period as “museums” of religious *paideia*¹⁰. On the other hand, it emphasizes the Roman emperor as the sole promoter of change, sometimes overshadowing the pivotal role of local aristocrats¹¹. In this latter vein of research, attention is almost exclusively focused on the works of Augustus and Hadrian.

The contributions in this volume present recent research in line with the new approaches outlined above. A unifying theme, the dynamics of ritual, which defined the progressive change within the sacred spaces of the Greek landscape, is the motivating focus of the studies presented. Another common element of the studies is the attempt to understand the process of transformation that traditional Greek sanctuaries of the classical period underwent in the face of the unstoppable force and definitive establishment of Roman power in the Mediterranean basin¹².

⁹ GRUEN 1992, 127 discussing Lucius Mummius’ munificence, see also other seminal works of this scholar: GRUEN 1992; GRUEN 1990; GRUEN 1984; new perspectives on the connections between Greek art and Roman culture and policy in BRAVI 2012.

¹⁰ *E.g.* for a conventional approach, see SWAIN 1996, 76: Delphi as “tourist centre” and “museum of the Greek past”, cf. the critical remarks to Swain by O.D. Cordovana in CORDOVANA – GALLI 2007, 18.

¹¹ On Greek provincial elites, see SPAWFORTH 2012, 36-55.

¹² Ancient sources on Roman imperialism collected by ERSKINE 2010 and CHAMPION 2004.

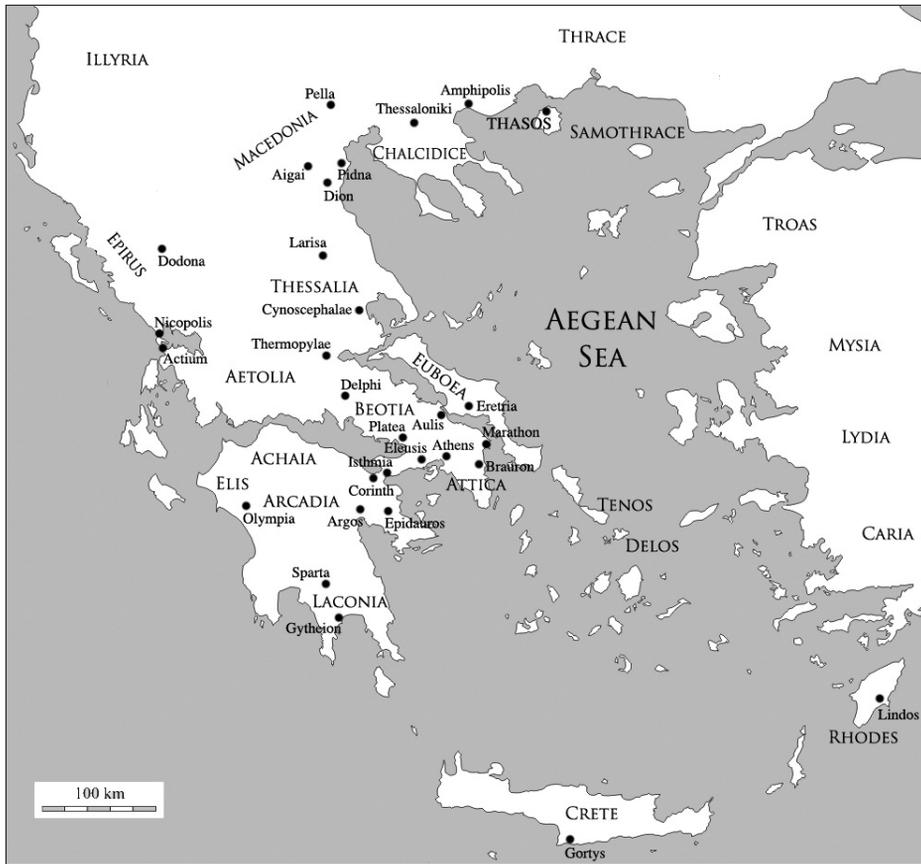


Fig. 1 - Plan of Greece indicating the location of the sites discussed in the volume (graphic design F. Cavallero)

Either through detailed case studies or regional surveys, the essays emphasize various points of this phenomenon. They concern the sacred space in the territory of Greece from the Hellenistic (3rd cent. B.C.) to the imperial period (2nd cent. A.D.). They treat a geographical expanse covering northern and northeastern Greece, the Peloponnesus, Attica, and the islands, with numerous references to other important centers and territories of ancient Greece. Some of the contributions tease out the contrast between the complex scenario of the Republican period and the new ideological and communicative dimension initiated by the creation of the Augustan principate. As an introduction to these themes, this chapter examines the mechanisms of interaction between the agents of Roman power and the sacred landscape of Greece during the chronological phases considered in this volume.

THE CROWNS OF THE ROMAN GENERALS: RITUAL DYNAMIC IN SACRED SPACE

The Romans had their first contacts with the Greek sacred landscape already in the archaic period. According to the ancient sources, Tarquinius Superbus sent his sons, Titus and Arruns, to the sanctuary at Delphi in order to consult the oracle on an ill-omened portent of a snake, which had appeared mysteriously in his palace¹³. Despite the dubious historicity of this and other similar records, reports in the Roman sources of ties between the Roman world and the greatest and most ancient religious centers of Greece testify to Romans' inclusive religious memory with regard to the ritual practice of the famous Greek sanctuaries.

The accounts in the most ancient literary sources give the impression that they are not casual episodes but part of a general tendency to give substance to a collective and shared memory. The literary tradition held that the interaction and exchange between the two geopolitical systems and cultural traditions, Rome and Greece, had occurred since times long past¹⁴. For the Romans this idea meant consolidating a religious identity that incorporated another sacred geography. The legends concerning the attendance of Romans at Greek sanctuaries, such as that of Tarquinius Superbus, thus created authoritative precedents for subsequent developments. These ancient stories not only offered a valid motivation for the intensification of religious emotions but also a justification for further contacts. In other words, they motivated and maintained forms of interaction between the two cultures.

If one instead considers the historic dimension of the phenomenon, the first concrete manifestations of *eusebeia* in Greek sanctuaries are those of Claudius Marcellus: Following the extraordinary Roman victory at Clastidium in 222 B.C. over the Celtic invaders of central Italy, Marcellus offered a precious golden bowl as a votive dedication in the famous sanctuary of Delphi (Fig. 2)¹⁵.

¹³ For the connections of Rome with the Delphic oracle, see RÜPKE 2003, 246 ff.; PARKE – WORMELL 1956, 265-291, with n. 3.

¹⁴ These connections are explored by CRISTOFANI 1990; for the figurative repertoire, see MENICETTI 1994, 44-89.

¹⁵ ECKSTEIN 2008, 42; Marcellus at Clastidium: FLOWER 2000, cf. also MILES 2008, 61-68, with up-to-date bibliography: "He was the third (and last) Roman after Romulus to win the *spolia opima* by killing a Gallic chieftain in single combat in 222, the year of this first consulship", the gift of Marcellus recalls the similar gesture of Camillus who dedicated a golden bowl after the conquest of Veii, see MILES 2008, 49 ff. On the historical traditions about Marcellus, see FLOWER 2003.

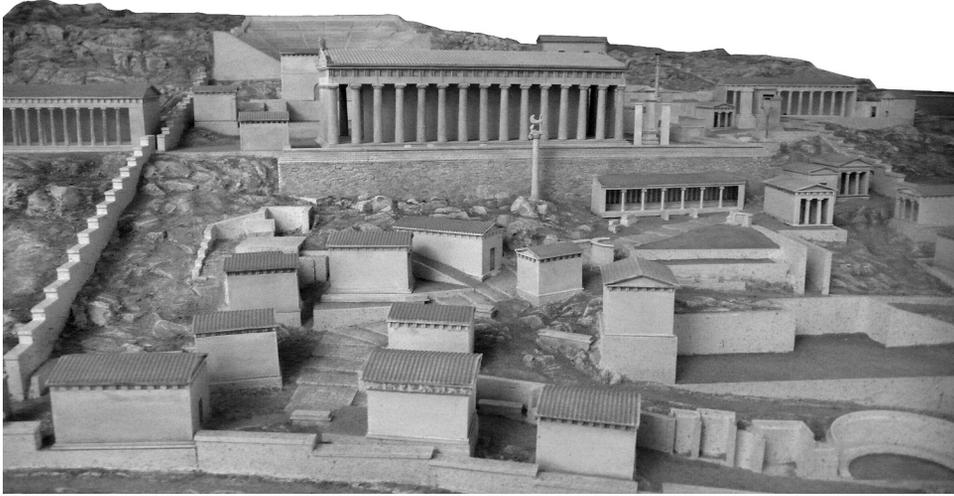


Fig. 2 - Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo. Model (photo M. Galli)

This was not an isolated occurrence. After his decisive conquest of Syracuse in 212 B.C., the Roman commander made a similar gesture. In fact, Marcellus donated some notable objects of art, such as statues and paintings taken from Syracuse to the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi at Samothrace (WESCOAT, 51 f.) and to the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos¹⁶.

A model of conduct was established, which became the customary *modus operandi* in the decades to follow. A recurring correspondence developed between military actions and conquest of new territories in the Greek East as well the donatives of spoils made by victorious Romans in Greek sanctuaries.

This first historic example – the thanksgiving dedication of Marcellus at Delphi after the battle of Clastidium – is of great importance. It constitutes Rome's only official interaction with the Greek world in the period of the 1st and 2nd Illyrian wars (230-229/220-219 B.C.). Although historians disagree about the effectiveness and political motivations of this act, the gesture of Marcellus, as the first Roman intervention into the Greek sphere, was not a direct act of imperialism but rather a more general and secondary “perception of advantage to Rome in gaining a good reputation among the Greek state as a protector against barbarian depredations”¹⁷.

¹⁶ PLU. *Marc.* 30, 4; on Syracuse's artistic boots, see GRUEN 1992, 94-103.

¹⁷ ECKSTEIN 2008, 42.



Fig. 3 - Rhodes, sanctuary of Athena Lindia. Model (photo courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen)

It is significant that the Roman general considered the Panhellenic sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Delphi as the ideal stage for the celebration of his crucial victory over the Celtic peoples. An underlying motivation was certainly the Greek religious memory connected to the sacred place. Specifically, the choice of the Delphic oracle by Marcellus, a general victorious over barbarians in North Italy, seems dictated by the fact that the sanctuary of Delphi was traditionally symbolic of Greek supremacy over the barbarians¹⁸. It contained, for example, monuments of the Athenians erected in honor of their epoch-making victory over the Persians and, perhaps even relevant to Marcellus, the monuments of the Aitolians in honor of their victories over the Galatians¹⁹. With his votive, the Roman general knowingly inserted himself in a noble tradition. Marcellus' act is even more eloquent when one considers the contemporary propaganda of the Greeks that denigrated the Romans as equivalent to barbarians²⁰.

Marcellus' decision to set up works of arts as thanksgiving dedications in the sanctuaries at Samothrace and Lindos (Fig. 3) after 211 B.C. is com-

¹⁸ Delphi as place of Hellenic memory: JACQUEMIN 2011.

¹⁹ SCHMIDT-DONAUS 2000, 185-200 with fig. 62; SCHALLES 1985, 104-127 with fig. 6.

²⁰ On second-century Greek charges of Roman barbarism, see THORNTON 2010, 61 ff.; ECKSTEIN 2008, 109; CHAMPION 2007, 261 with n. 14; FERRARY 1998, 81 f.

prehensible, from an ideological point of view, as an act full of allusions to the legendary Trojan origins of Rome. If one considers the choice of these two centers against the real background of international politics, one sees that the Romans were also determined to extend their sphere of action to an even larger Mediterranean horizon.

These first examples of Roman interaction with sacred Greek centers reveal a new dynamic of ritual in the Roman world²¹. The contact with the political and religious realities of the Hellenized East initiated a process of ritual transfer and ritual adaptation. This process had a substantial impact on the way Romans would receive different cultural traditions and ritual patterns. If, as A. Chaniotis (2009, 5) has expressed, “the Roman Empire is a model for understanding the changing functions of rituals in changing environments”²² then it was precisely during the last decades of the 3rd cent. B.C., when Roman magistrates first approached the sacred landscape of Greece, that the models of ritual behavior took form and were defined.

Roman interaction with Greek and other non-Roman peoples in the sacred sphere of ritual communication gave rise to an effective strategy of control on the part of the Romans. *The archaeological study of the strategy used by the Romans in placing themselves in the context of pre-existing networks of communication will ultimately demonstrate how Rome’s political control over Greece was entirely based on a deep knowledge and understanding of the local background.* (MELFI, 143 f.)

A striking example of ritual knowledge (perhaps the first of which we have evidence) is provided by Q. Fabius Pictor during the second Punic War (218-201 B.C.)²³. After the terrible defeat at Cannae in 216 B.C., when Rome was seriously threatened by Carthage, Fabius was appointed to travel to Delphi and consult the oracle, “to enquire of the oracle with what prayers

²¹ On the complexity of the Hellenic relationships with Rome and the related historiographical debate about Roman imperialism, see GRUEN 1973 and for a recent discussion on old and new theoretical paradigms cf. CHAMPION 2007, especially 266 ff.

²² CHANIOTIS 2009, 5: “from the very beginning of the expansion that ultimately created the empire, the Romans were continually confronted with the rituals of their allies and their enemies and confronted them with their own”.

²³ Fabius Pictor: “L’uomo di Delfi nella cultura romana”, so emphasizes S. Mazzarino (MAZZARINO 1968, 285). On Delphic episode, see RÜPKE 2003, 246 ff. with n. 637. On Fabius and the Hellenic tradition emphasizes GRUEN 1992, 223, that “(he) paid homage to Greek historiography in his written work and to Greek religion in his mission to Delphi”, cf. also GRIMAL 1975, 150-154. It is uncertain that the first official contact with the Delphic oracle took place as early as 398 B.C., cf. RÜPKE 2003, n. 642.

and supplications they (*scil.* the Romans) might propitiate the gods, and what would be the end of all their calamities” (LIV. 22, 57, 5). The detailed nature of Livy’s narrative results from his consulting the writings of Fabius himself.

While these things were carrying on, Quinctus Fabius Pictor, the ambassador, returned from Delphi to Rome, and read the response of the oracle from a written copy. In it both the gods were mentioned, and in what manner supplication should be made. It then stated, “If you do thus, Romans, your affairs will be more prosperous and less perplexed; your state will proceed more agreeably to your wishes; and the victory in the war will be on the side of the Roman people. After that your state shall have been restored to prosperity and safety, send a present to the Pythian Apollo out of the gains you have earned, and pay honours to him out of the plunder, the booty, and the spoils. Banish licentiousness from among you.”

Having read aloud these words, translated from the Greek verse, he added, that immediately on his departure from the oracle, he had paid divine honours to all these deities with wine and frankincense; and that, as he was ordered by the chief priest of the temple, that, as he had approached the oracle and performed the sacred ceremonies decorated with a laurel crown so he should embark wearing the crown and not put it off till he had arrived at Rome. That he had executed all these injunctions with the most scrupulous exactness and diligence, and had deposited the garland on the altar of Apollo at Rome. The senate decreed that the sacred ceremonies and supplications enjoined should be carefully performed with all possible expedition. (LIV. 23, 11, 1-7, trans. D. Spillan – C. Edmonds)

The account of the mission to Delphi in 216 B.C. condenses the diverse sequences in which Rome’s ritual agency is articulated in regard to the Delphic religious heritage:

- Physical contact with the external sacred space gained through pilgrimage of the protagonist to Delphi.
- Active involvement of the main actor, Fabius, as participant-observer in the Delphic ritual performances such as the offering of wine and incense to different divinities.
- Interaction and communication of local ritual knowledge under the supervision of ritual experts.
- Incorporation of external authority into the sanctity of the place by means of correctly performed ritual actions.

- Negotiation of power through ritual transfer: after having been instructed in religious knowledge, the Roman representative is entitled to receive the official lists of the male and female divinities.
- Transfer to the new context (i.e. Rome) and ritual adaptation: the new religious knowledge and the new religious sequence is approved ultimately by the senate and the celebration of the sacrifice is duly performed on the new Roman stage.

Why did Livy consider it necessary to insert the episode of Q. Fabius Pictor at Delphi in the middle of the disturbing events of the second Punic War? Is it simply a digression or anecdotal curiosity on the part of the author, or did Livy have other motivations?

Due to the rich documentation from Fabius Pictor himself, Livy was able to present a convincing account of a Roman “practitioner of the divine” imbued with profound ritual knowledge²⁴. Against the dramatic background of the events of the war, Fabius shows himself to be a strong military figure involved in front-line action, a magistrate with religious competence, and a capable intermediary in ritual. The representation of Fabius as *coronatus laurea corona* is a symbol of a ‘figure of mediation’ in the new sacred context: we can consider the person and the role of Fabius Pictor very close to what T. Whitmarsh defines as a ‘figure of mediation’, someone who can mediate between local and translocal knowledge thanks to “an ability to site oneself simultaneously within and outside local identity (...) the participant-observer with one foot in the cultures he describes and one foot outside”²⁵.

Livy’s description of Fabius’ journey between Delphi and Rome is not simply an account of ritual transfer from one sacred context to another, but also a contextualization of the conditions in which Romans could appropriate ancient sequences of ritual and adapted them into a Roman context. This account also illustrates two basic dynamics of the process of ritual interaction: first, incorporation into the sanctity of the place through active involvement of a ‘ritual expert’ and ‘mediator in the ritual action’; second, negotiation of power through ritual transfer²⁶. For as much as Livy’s account concerns the habitus of the main actors in this process, religious competence

²⁴ This comprehensive definition for the holders of priesthood or religious authority includes a varied range of actors as such political figures, ritual expert-performers, administrators, representatives of the local elite, for this problematic see DIGNAS – TRAMPEDACH 2008, especially 231-241.

²⁵ WHITMARSH 2010, 12 and 14.

²⁶ On ritual experts, see CHANIOTIS 2008.

and knowledge of the local background define how representatives of Roman power behave in contact with the external sacred sphere.

In the case of Q. Fabius Pictor, the capacity to “translate” from the original language of the ritual (Greek) to that of the new context (Latin) demonstrates the level to which the process of adaptation required aural awareness and linguistic competence on the part of the Roman mediator. In light of this observation, one understands Livy’s insistence on behavior with scrupulous religious attention to both the Greek and Roman side (*cum summa religione ac diligentia, cum cura*).

The episode of Fabius also reflects the multifaceted strategy of control and leadership progressively enacted by Rome from the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards, when the Greek world was becoming an ever greater focus for diplomatic interactions and military interventions. Alongside intense bellicosity and aggressive diplomacy, which are the main trends of Roman intervention in the political conflicts in the Greek East, it is possible to trace other approaches with which Rome experimented.

As the gestures of M. Claudius Marcellus and Q. Fabius Pictor anticipate, the composite and suggestive rituals as well as the social space of the famous Greek religious centers attracted Romans because they offered Rome effective possibilities to occupy new areas of influence. It is no coincidence that within the complex events in Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria in the first two decades of the 2nd cent. B.C., ancient authors accurately record military and diplomatic operations together with gestures and acts of respect and obsequiousness on the part of the Roman generals towards the venerable sacred places.

Plutarch, priest for life at Delphi and scholar of the cults and local history of the sanctuary, praises the first generation of Roman *imperatores* who interacted with the Greek world. This stands in stark contrast to his explicit condemnation of the sacrilegious behavior of Sulla during the 1st cent. B.C.

They (*scil.* Amphictyons) called to mind now Titus Flamininus and Manius Acilius, and now Aemilius Paullus, of whom one had driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others had subdued in war the kings of Macedonia; these had not only spared the sanctuaries of the Greeks, but had even made additional gifts to them, and greatly increased their honour and dignity. But these were lawful commanders of men who were self-restrained and had learned to serve their leaders without a murmur, and they were themselves kingly in spirit and simple in their personal expenses, and indulged in moderate and specified public expenditures (...) (PLU. *Sull.* 12, 6-7, trans. B. Perrin)

The acts of the first Roman generals came to be considered as efforts at preservation and improvement of the quality of the sacred space. Plutarch affirms that the increase of honor (*time*) and dignity (*semnotate*) experienced by the Greek sanctuaries in this period resulted from a conscious effort on the part of the Roman generals. According to the same author, the commanders of the Roman army, such as T. Quinctius Flamininus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, or L. Aemilius Paullus, maintained a policy of intervention directed against the Macedonian and Seleucid kings as well as the federations and Greek cities. However, in regard to most centers of sacred Hellenism, these Roman generals behaved with absolute respect and protected the religious memory of the sacred spaces.

The considerations expressed by Plutarch concern not only Delphi but also, as he expressly says, the other sanctuaries of Greece. It was not merely a policy of non-aggression but, on the contrary, one of deliberate maximization of the sacred spaces by means of calculated euergetism. In fact, Plutarch's definition of the Roman *imperatores* as those "who are themselves kingly in spirit" (*autoi te tais psychais basilikoi*) associates the actions of the generals to those of the Hellenic *basileis*, who represented a reference point as prominent benefactors.

The perception offered by Plutarch almost three centuries later suggests a fecund interaction between Roman power and the ritual dynamics of the various sacred spaces on Greek soil²⁷. Other remarkable historic and archaeological testimonies give concrete support to this impression. The most illustrative cases concern the presence of some of the principal protagonists of the political scene of the initial decades of the 2nd cent. B.C. in the sanctuaries of Apollo at Delphi and Delos. These include the famous fraternal pairs of Lucius and Titus Quinctii Flamininii and Lucius and Publius Cornelii Scipiones. A systematic collection of the archaeological evidence illuminates recurring patterns in ritual behavior that characterize the representatives of Roman power in this decisive phase of Roman expansion in the Greek East.

According to Plutarch, after the battle of Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (197 B.C.) Flamininus dedicated silver shields as well as his own personal shield at Delphi²⁸. This was not a unique event: an analogous dedication by

²⁷ On Roman hegemony and control in the Hellenistic East between 201 and 188 B.C., see ECKSTEIN 2008, 372-381. Rome and the Greek *poleis* in 2nd cent. B.C.: CAMIA 2009; for the phenomenon of cultural memory in Plutarch, see DE ANGELIS 2007.

²⁸ Flamininus' silver Shield: *I.Délos* 442, l. 178; golden crown: *I.Délos* 442, l. 85 f.; 439, A l. 77 f. On the following series of dedications, see GUARDUCCI 1937, 42 ff. On the political background concerning Flamininus and the events in Greece around 198 B.C., see ECKSTEIN 1976.



Fig. 4 - Delos, sanctuary of Apollo. 'Temple of the Seven Statues' in the middle of the three Apollo temples. Model (HELLMANN 2006, 116 fig. 147)

the same general is attested epigraphically at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos, where an *aspis argyra*, a silver shield, together with a golden crown, both described as *anathemata* of the general Flamininus, are mentioned among the votive objects in the Temple of Seven Statues (Fig. 4)²⁹.

And there is more. The same sort of inventories from Delos are extraordinarily informative about the intense euergetism on the part of the Roman generals. In fact, probably because of the strategic geographic position of the island and its historic role as seat of the Panionian cults, the sanctuary systematically became the center of celebratory acts by the military commanders of the Roman armies stationed in the East.

In the same Temple of the Seven Statues, Flamininus' brother, Lucius, is recorded as having made an offering of a silver pin (perhaps the parade trappings of a horse)³⁰. The inventories of the temple mention two addi-

²⁹ For the complete epigraphic references related the Delian gifts discussed here, see GUARDUCCI 1937.

³⁰ As commander of the Roman fleet Lucius had an important role during the campaign of his brother in Greece, see ECKSTEIN 1976.

tional commanders of the Roman fleet, A. Atilius Serranus and C. Livius Salinator, who were responsible for golden crowns of laurel³¹.

The same votive practice is attested also for the famous Scipiones, who dedicated various golden olive and oak crowns³². They too, as in the case of the Flamininii, are associated in the registers of votives with members of their circle, such Cn. Manlius Vulso, Q. Fabius Labeo, and L. Aemilius Regillus, who subsequently replaced them in command of Asia and the Aegean³³.

With just the epigraphic evidence concerning dedications in the sanctuary, one might imagine that such votives need not imply the physical presence of the donors themselves in the sanctuary; that is, the acts might have been carried out by intermediaries and substitutes. However, as inventory of the same Temple of the Seven Statues informs us, this was not always the case. It demonstrates the direct participation of a Roman general, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus, at the ritual. Perhaps returning from his victorious campaign in Asia in 189 B.C., he actively took part in the festivities at the sanctuary on Delos.

The inventory of the Temple of the Seven Statues expressly records that a golden olive crown was dedicated by the ritual chorus of Delian women (*Deliades choreia*), who in turn were crowned by Lucius himself³⁴. Asiagenus' participation in the ritual performance has an authoritative precedent: the ritual coronation of the *Deliades choreia* (i.e. choral groups of Delian singing women) is attested also in the inscriptions of the sanctuary of Apollo as a ritual act performed by Nicocreon, the king of Salamis, who was forced to commit suicide in 310 B.C. at the instigation of Ptolemy I.

These two explicit references to the active participation of first a king and then a Roman general demonstrate the continuity of a ritual that is among

³¹ The golden laurel crown of A. Atilius Serranus (praetor in 192 B.C.): *I.Délos* 442, l. 86; C. Livius Salinator (praetor in 191 B.C.): *I.Délos* 442, l. 86; Serranus is mentioned again together with Flamininus in *I.Délos* 439, A l. 78: this fact might led to the conclusion that Flamininus came to Delos with him. On these and the below mentioned protagonists of the political and military events around 190 B.C., see BALSDON 1972; cf. HOLLEAUX 1913.

³² Lucius C. Scipio's golden crown: *I.Délos* 442, l. 89 f. the donation is probably to date in 190 B.C. (as consul during his campaign against Antiochos); Publius C. Scipio's golden crown: *I.Délos* 442, l. 102 (193 or 189 B.C.).

³³ Manlius Vulso: *I.Délos* 442 (as consul in 189 B.C.), l. 100; Fabius Labeo *I.Délos* 442, l. 103 (as commander of the fleet in 189-188 B.C.); Aemilius Regillus: *I.Délos* 442, l. 103 (as praetor and commander of the fleet against Antiochus in 190 B.C.).

³⁴ *I.Délos* 442, l. 90, for the rituals of the *Deliades*, see KOWALZIG 2007, 64-68; BRUNEAU 1970, 35 ff.

the most ancient of those attested in the religious tradition of the island. Already in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the *Deliades* are present and praise Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, singing of past heroic events. During the Hellenistic period the Delian performance of *choroi* continued to be a valid means of interaction of myth and ritual. In reference to the singing *Deliades*, B. Kowalzig has justly noted, “performances of this kind therefore make it possible to transfer claims, associations, and also emotions relevant to the situation of the past into the present”³⁵.

As in the case of the Delphic mission of Q. Fabius Pictor, which concerned a ritual transfer to Rome, the Delian ritual acts and performances carried out by victorious Roman generals also demonstrate the extraordinary magnetic power that the sacred stage of the Greek sanctuaries held in the eyes of the new rulers of the Mediterranean. The local religious traditions became a strong pole of attraction and, above all, a decisive opportunity to negotiate power through ritual.

THE PROXENOI AS RITUAL MEDIATORS: HONORS, FESTIVALS, AND FACILITIES FOR THE ROMANS

Even though the scarcity of archaeological data does not allow us to grasp the full program initiated by Roman functionaries at Greek sanctuaries, significant evidence can be gathered from the celebratory acts and the honors that the sanctuaries and cities granted to the new rulers. The sanctuaries of Delphi and Delos are telling examples of how ritual dynamic was reconfigured under Roman rule.

Immediately after the definitive defeat of the Aitolians at Thermopylae in 191 B.C., the first equestrian statues of Roman generals were erected in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, T. Quinctius Flamininus, the liberator of Hellas, and M'. Acilius Glabrio, the victor at Thermopylae³⁶. The equestrian monument for Glabrio is particularly informative. A number of inscriptions

³⁵ KOWALZIG 2007, 68.

³⁶ SIEDENTOPF 1968, 113 f. n° 75 (M. A. Glabrio), 114 f. n° 77 (T. Q. Flamininus). The statue of Flamininus was dedicated by the Delphians ca. five years after his donations of the silver shield and the gold crown, cf. MAREK 1983, 183. On the historical sources about Flamininus, see CARAVAN 1988; for a complete reconstruction of Flamininus' intervention and the Roman policy in Greece, see PFEILSCHIFTER 2005. On M'. Acilius Glabrio and his dedications after the Greek campaign, see BLOY 1998-1999.

were engraved on the base (Fig. 5) of the victor's statue, including a dedication by the city of Delphi to Glabrio and a document of the Roman commander to the Delphians³⁷. The first part of this latter document is a letter from Acilius Glabrio to the inhabitants of Delphi, written after the city and sanctuary had been freed from the Aitolian League toward the end of 191 B.C. and the Roman magistrate had restored the ancient Delphic amphictyony. The second part is an enumeration of confiscations of real estate³⁸. It includes houses and properties which the Aitolians had taken during their hegemony and Glabrio returned to the sanctuary.

The letter from the Roman general, which was added to the Delphian honorific dedication, announces to the faithful that the Romans restored autonomy to the famous sanctuary and sacred city. Glabrio affirms solemnly that "regarding the sanctuary, if the Thessalians or some other people should send ambassadors to Rome, in as far as it is within my power, I shall take care that your ancestral laws (*ta patria*) are maintained, preserving the freedom of the city and sanctuary"³⁹. Glabrio's words emphatically recall those used some years before by his predecessor, Flamininus⁴⁰. After the determining victory of Cynoscephalae, Flamininus had proclaimed the liberation of Greece during the celebration of the Isthmian games in 196 B.C.⁴¹.

But these first equestrian honorific statues, which gave the Romans honors previously reserved for the Hellenistic kings, were not the only dedications by the local people to those who presented themselves as the new "liberators". The cases of T. Q. Flamininus at Delphi and P. C. Scipio at Delos are noteworthy because two different sanctuaries allowed them the honor of proxeny because of their euergetism⁴². Given what we know about the

³⁷ POMTOW 1920, 174-191 with figg. 18-20; Greek text and commentary: SHERK 1969, 221-224, cf. also AGER 1996, 238 f. On Glabrio's activity in Delphi, see DAUX 1936, 225-233.

³⁸ On diplomatic interaction between Glabrio and the Aetolians, see ECKSTEIN 1995.

³⁹ *SEG* 27, 123, ll. 8-10, for the Greek text, see AGER 1996, 238 with complete bibliographical references.

⁴⁰ The solemn words of M'. Acilius Glabrio with which he promised to defend and be faithful to *ta patria* of Delphi call to mind again the acts carried out for the first time by Q. Fabius Pictor at Delphi, who as the first "ritual mediator" offered an important reference point.

⁴¹ PLU. *Titus* 12, for a relevant discussion of the 'doctrine of liberation', see ECKSTEIN 2008, 283-305; KANTIRÉA 2007, 27 f.; PFEILSCHIFTER 2005, 278-324; WALSH 1996; FERRARY 1988, 45-132; CARAVAN 1988, 212 ff. 221 ff. On Greek *poleis* and their relationship as *civitates liberae* with Rome, see CAMIA 2009, 192 ff. with n. 505.

⁴² FERRARY 1997, 110 ff. Flamininus received the proxeny from the Delphians in 189-188 B.C., i.e. seven years after his donations for the sanctuary of Apollo; cf. MAREK 1983, 183; Scipio Africanus was declared *proxenos* by the Delians in 193 B.C.

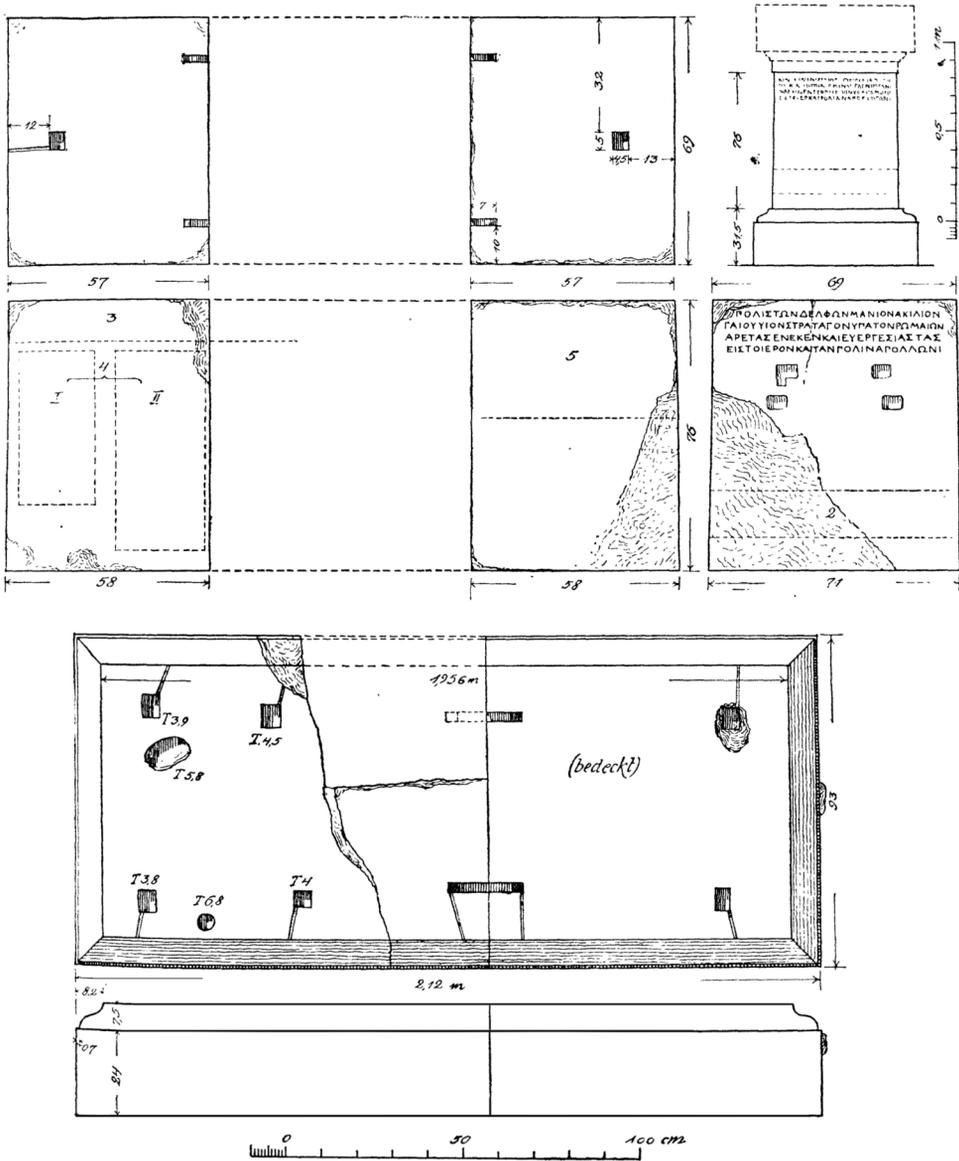


Fig. 5 - Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo. Drawing of restored statue-base of Manius Acilius Glabrio (POMTOW 1920, 177 figg. 18-20)

institution of proxeny, these grants are exceptional. Such privileges are not attested for Hellenistic kings or for great Roman political and military individuals (for example, Sulla and Caesar). To understand the importance of this gesture on the part of the locals towards these two Roman generals, one needs to consider the defining characteristic of this institution in the classical period. We should consider the *proxenos* as a “figure of mediation” between two cultural systems: a foreigner to whom proxeny was granted assumed the role of intermediary between the city/sanctuary and external visitors, above all in rituals.

So, what does the exceptional extension of proxeny to the Romans in this first phase of their establishment of power on Greek soil mean? To understand this gesture we need to consider carefully whether this character of ritual mediation between foreigners and the local community (made so unique by the ancient institution of proxeny) continued to play a role in Greek and Roman interaction. As J.-L. Ferrary rightly states⁴³, the proxeny was only a privileged status and an honour awarded by the city, not a real commitment like the institution of the Roman patronage.

This gesture also seems to be part of the positive model in which the first Roman generals were received and celebrated as *euergetai* and *soteres*. In this light, the ancient privilege of proxeny is another strategic means by which the Romans integrated themselves into the ancestral traditions of the sacred space.

While the honorific statues for the Romans permanently embodied their presence in the sacred space, the culminating celebratory moment reserved for the representatives of Roman power was that of the ephemeral festive event. In addition to the evidence cited above regarding L. Scipio’s participation in the ancestral performances of the Delian women, there is also the case of the new games celebrated in honor of Titus Quinctius Flaminus in the cities of Argos and Gytheion⁴⁴. These are the first example of this type of celebration. It is important to underline that the entire celebratory apparatus was placed under the care of the Roman general. The inscription of the agora of Argos speaks expressly of the *Titeia*⁴⁵. The event of the *Titeia* became part of the religious memory of the future province of Achaëa.

⁴³ FERRARY 1997, 190 f.

⁴⁴ Argos: DAUX 1964; Gytheion: *SEG* XI 923; for the reaction of the emperor Tiberius to honours offered by the Gytheians, see CHANIOTIS 2009, 10 f.; cf. GALLI 2002, 75 with nn. 283, 285.

⁴⁵ l. 14, see DAUX 1964, 572.

The eight-day festival was dedicated by the city of Gytheion in 15 A.C. to the divus Augustus. The sixth day of the festival in honor of the reigning emperor Tiberius, Iulia Augusta (Livia), Germanicus and Drusus was dedicated to the Roman general who two centuries earlier had defeated and then liberated Greek soil. Flamininus was the model to which successive *imperatores* aspired during their sojourn in Greece. Although the epigraphic records leave no significant evidence for L. Aemilius Paullus⁴⁶, similar celebrations are attested for Lucius Mummius⁴⁷. In the sanctuary of Artemis of Amarynthos near the city of Eretria, new epigraphic evidence allows us to imagine celebrations in honor of the destroyer of Corinth, which followed the traditional *agones* of the local tutelary divinity Artemis⁴⁸.

But beyond the manifold honors and celebratory acts, did there exist other, more permanent forms of Roman integration into the new Greek environment? A reference to a *katalyma* (resting-place/building) for “our citizens” in the letter of M'. Acilius Glabrio to Delphi, cited above, hints that the answer is yes. Insofar as it is possible to reconstruct the ancient use of this term, *katalyma*, the word does not refer to a generic building⁴⁹. It is defined in Byzantine lexica with more common terms such as *katagogion* or *xenon*⁵⁰. It seems therefore to indicate lodgings or spaces destined to receive foreigners in the sacred space: a hostel reserved for Romans. This usage of the word is confirmed by a contemporary inscription found at Sparta, which records a *katalyma* reserved again for Romans and for judges⁵¹. In conclusion, although the function of such lodgings is not entirely clear, the existence of a *katalyma* for Roman citizens at Delphi strongly indicates that already in the early 2nd cent. B.C. a prolonged stay (the reasons for which are again not entirely clear) was envisioned for some Romans (whether military men, magistrates, or *proxenoi*) within the sacred space and in areas reserved specifically for them.

⁴⁶ FERRARY 1988, 547-572.

⁴⁷ L. Aemilius Paullus as model for Lucius Mummius, see GRAVERINI 2001, 116 ff.

⁴⁸ *IG XII 9*, 233; Mummius and the sanctuary of Artemis near Eretria: GRAVERINI 2001, 120; KNOEPFLER 1991, 252 ff.

⁴⁹ POMTOW 1920, 185 f. l. 1, see the commentary on the term *katalyma* in KRAYNAK 1984, 19 f.: the meaning seems to be ‘hostelries’, ‘resting-place’, and ‘accomodation for guests’; for sanctuary-owned hostelries, 30 ff.

⁵⁰ SUDA, Adler I 3, p. 493 *xenian*: *katagogion*, *katalyma*.

⁵¹ *IG V 1*, 869, concerning a building described as ‘guesthouse of the Romans and the magistrates’, cf. the analysis of ZIEBARTH 1909, 335 f.

RECONFIGURING THE RELIGIOUS MEMORY: SOME DRAMATIC PASSAGES TO A NEW ORDER

How can the Roman approach to various traditions and religious identities in other local centers be defined? In what way did the ritual stage function as a privileged field of mediation and interaction between Romans, Greek Leagues, the *poleis* and local patrons and benefactors? Did minor shrines also function as powerful arenas of communication? Some of the essays in this volume address precisely these questions.

For the 2nd cent. B.C., an extremely multifaceted picture emerges of the relations and interactions between Rome and the sacred places of conquered Greece⁵².

Some cases, such as those of the shrines of Dodona (Fig. 6) and the Asklepeion at Epidauros, clearly demonstrate that from the 3rd cent. to the first half of the 2nd cent. B.C. the traditional sanctuaries were places of attraction and aggregation for the Greek leagues. Until the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. *the focal point of political, cultural, and religious life in Epirus and the adjacent regions was the shrine of Dodona, which worked as a place of aggregation and self-representation as well as a symbolic lieu de memoire, especially for the Epirote tribes* (PICCININI, 177). Similarly, in the more ancient sanctuary of Asclepius, the presence of the Achaean League was the catalyst for substantial changes: *in the 2nd cent. B.C. the main difference from the previous periods is that honorary and political monuments prevailed over votive dedications* (MELFI, 144).

The investigation of G. Falezza, which concerns the northern part of Greece (Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus), uses the Thessalian city of Larisa as a case-study for the reconfiguration of local cults in light of the ‘propaganda of liberation’. The substitution of two main places of worship (Athena Polias on the acropolis and Apollo Kerdoos in the agora) with a new temple dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios in the agora must be connected both to Flamininus’ declaration of freedom for the Greeks and to a creation of the new Thessalian *koinon* located at Larisa.

This was manifestly a conscious strategy: the Romans wanted to introduce themselves as liberators instead of dominators. They transformed the political balance of the Hellenistic world and tried to obtain the solid consent of the population. In the case of Larisa, they did so very success-

⁵² For a recent historiographical analysis about Roman imperial expansion in Greece in 2nd cent. B.C., see CHAMPION 2007.

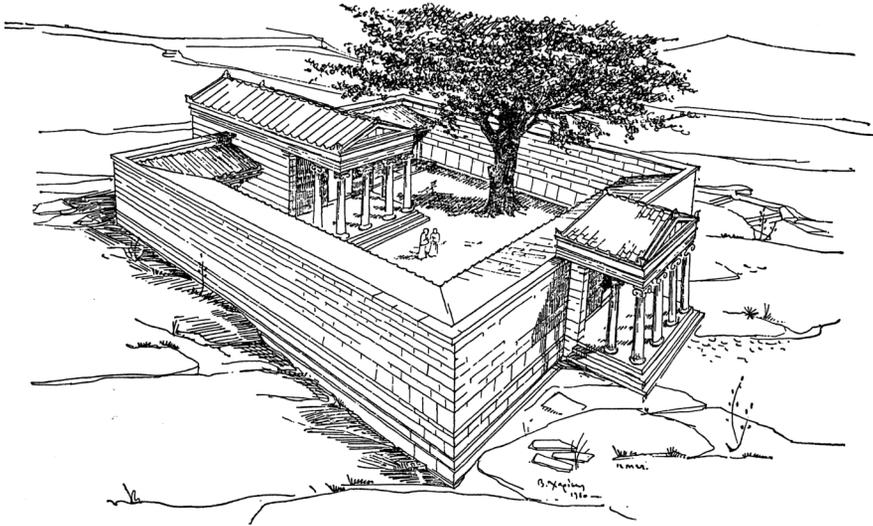


Fig. 6 - Dodona, sanctuary of Zeus Naios. Reconstruction of the E1 building or so-called Temple of Zeus (after DAKARIS 1960, 11 fig. 5)

fully by astutely balancing innovations and traditions and transforming ancient village festivals, which did undergo name changes but maintained in their core the ancestral programs and schedules of competitions (FALEZZA, 163). The reconfiguration of the traditional cults in Larisa in the new context of Zeus Eleutherios fits perfectly with the Roman strategy of control over the powerful and dangerous Greek federations.

The cases in northern Greece contrast with the situation of other Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia, which were proclaimed *liberi et immunes* shortly after the Achaean war and which received valuable dedications offered by Roman generals. The sanctuary at Olympia shows uninterrupted building activity throughout the entire 2nd cent. B.C. and into the early 1st cent. A.D. The contribution of A. Lo Monaco demonstrates this economic flourish, examining a series of structures reserved for use in competitions. Even without a unified planned program or the involvement of a single benefactor, the sacred landscape was nevertheless continuously enriched⁵³.

⁵³ The southern *stoa* of the gymnasium (early 2nd cent.), the entrance to the stadium (c. 160 B.C.), the circular baths (mid-century), the eastern *stoa* of the gymnasium, the entrance to the gymnasium, and the first hypocaust bath system (end of the 2nd to early 1st cent.) all testify to this. The new concept of baths equipped with hot water is in itself an indicator of a more general process of transformation.

Olympia also exemplifies the different ways in which Romans behaved in the context of Greek sacred space. Together with the dedication of two statues of Zeus, Pausanias records Lucius Mummius' dedication of twenty-one golden shields placed on the metopes of the Temple of Zeus (Fig. 7)⁵⁴. This act not only accorded with ancient votive practice but also recalled the famous precedent of the silver shields of Flamininus at Delphi. With this gesture, Mummius paid homage to the traditions of the famous sanctuary and at the same left an indelible mark of his own⁵⁵.

The behavior of Lucius Mummius towards the Panhellenic center of Olympia is entirely dissimilar, however, from his documented actions at the sanctuary of Epidauros. The contribution by Melfi describes Mummius' intervention at Epidauros in 146 B.C. as characteristic of a strategic interaction with sacred space. Two singular donations of Mummius record his passage through the sanctuary.

The first donation was probably a statue of Asclepius, which was rededicated by the Roman general and displayed near the temple of the god. It was therefore a canonical votive that demonstrated the Roman general's respect for the traditions of the sacred place. The second, in contrast, is marked by its political message and affirmation of Roman supremacy. As L. Aemilius Paullus had done similarly at Delphi, Lucius Mummius appropriated at Epidauros an earlier votive monument celebrating an Achaean victory. *The Roman general used the language and visual code of the losers to mark in an apparently non-invasive fashion the passage to a new order. In reality, the attitude of the Romans towards Epidauros was one of subversion of the historical order of things: despite the sanctuary's long panhellenic tradition, Mummius revealed himself immediately as the new owner, treating the votives of the sanctuary as his own possessions, rightfully his through the conquest of war* (MELFI, 148).

The shift in the political balance of power caused by the third Macedonian war triggered a new type of aggressive Roman intervention in Greece's sacred places. G. Falezza's survey of numerous places of worship in northern Greece attests to a drastic change in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. *Military operations that involved the Roman invasion and the subsequent subju-*

⁵⁴ This event is based on PAUS. 5, 10, 5; for Lucius Mummius in Olympia, see PHILIPP – KOENIGS 1979, 197 ff.

⁵⁵ Lucius Mummius' military intervention and policy in Greece: KALLET-MARX 1995, 76-96. Important recent treatment of his donations and relationship to the Greek culture: LIPPOLIS 2004, especially 44 ff.

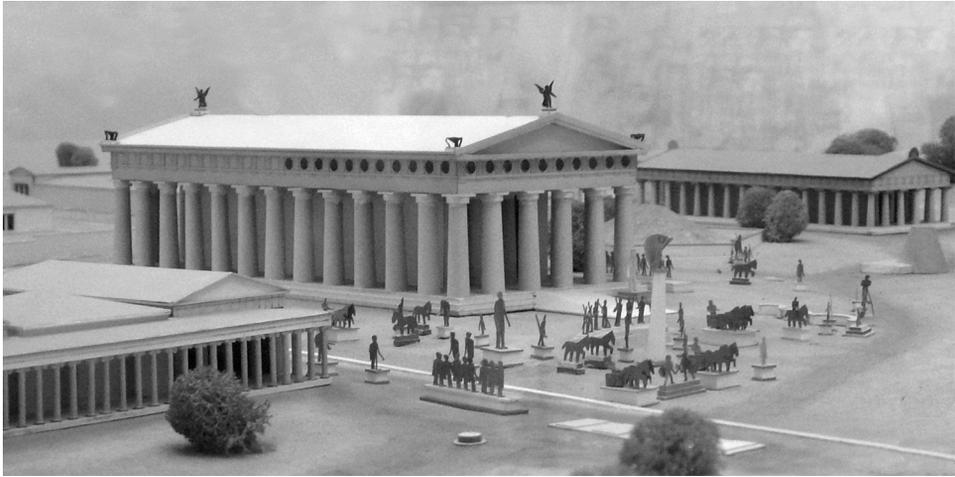


Fig. 7 - Olympia, temple of Zeus. Metopes with the golden shields of Lucius Mummius.
Model (photo M. Galli)

gation of their Greek adversaries made a mark on sanctuaries – especially in Epirus, but also in Thessaly and Macedonia –. Cult sites were sometimes destroyed, sometimes simply abandoned (FALEZZA, 167).

In many major centers of religious and political memory, there was deliberate sacking and destruction. In the middle decades of the 2nd cent. B.C., the actions of Roman generals were designed at least to threaten and weaken the identities of local communities, if not to obliterate and destroy. For example, at the famous sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona, the political and religious center of the Epirote confederacy, the ancient sources mention acts of pillage and plunder from buildings in the sanctuary of Zeus Naios. No definitive archaeological evidence, however, survives of massive destruction of famous monuments or of a complete breakdown of ritual activity at the end of 2nd cent. B.C. (PICCININI, 180).

Even when the Roman strategy did not entail a radical destruction of sanctuaries, Romans' aggressive behavior had a profound impact on the history of these sanctuaries. As the case of Dodona attests, isolation and impoverishment were typical results of the new conditions of sacred areas.

RESHAPING RELIGIOUS MEMORY: ANCESTRAL BONDS AND DIVINE CONNECTIONS

A number of sanctuaries, on the other hand, held an almost magnetic attraction for Romans, who recognized the extraordinary communicative po-

tential of their ancestral ritual traditions. B. D. Wescoat's contribution on the mysterious and fascinating Great Gods of Samothrace offers an excellent example of Romans' strategic ability to appropriate the sacred history of a prominent place and adapt it to their own purposes: *As a premier recipient of Hellenistic royal benefactions, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods potentially had much at risk in the coming of Rome. But the island's fortunes were well starred, for the Samothracians shared with the Romans two legendary and fundamental bonds: kinship and gods. Sharing blood and gods – both at the heart of how humans define themselves individually and collectively – created unique opportunities on both the Samothracian and the Roman side* (WESCOAT, 46).

Wescoat's study synthesizes these multifaceted relationships not only through "great historical events" but also, by means of a "micro-historical approach", through elaborate individual accounts of various Romans who were drawn to the charm of the sacred island. As we saw in the case of the ancient Delphic rituals, the allure that the sacred history of Samothrace had over Rome can be seen in a number of incidents of ritualistic transfer: *The notion of shared kinship that coalesced around the story of the Trojan origins, on the one hand, and the origin of the Penates on the other, surely were kindled by, and played a part in kindling, Roman interest in the region and the island* (WESCOAT, 62).

The possibility of linking ritual aspects of the Great Gods to Rome's religious heritage created strong bonds between the religious and cultural identities of Rome and Samothrace. The notion of sharing a religious memory was already expressed in the mythic tale of the initiation of L. Tarquinius Priscus. The fifth king of Rome had been initiated into the rites on Samothrace and was the first to join Jupiter, Juno and Minerva in the Palatine Temple. *The important point is that the Samothracian mysteries had become such a central part of Roman religious heritage that they could be imagined as the generating force behind the formation of the Capitoline triad* (WESCOAT, 78).

A similar process can be observed at the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona. As early as the Late Republic, various sources mention the ties between this shrine and another crucial point in the history of Rome, namely the prophecy of the foundation of Rome by Aeneas. *All these sources attest to the importance and the popularity of Dodona in Rome. Although the ancient authors provide only faint evidence, nonetheless they demonstrate at this stage that Dodona was acknowledged by Romans and Greeks as being part of an ancestral and common background of religious memory* (PICCININI, 182).

Other highly illustrative episodes concerning Republican *imperatores* involve the creation of links between sacred places and Rome through the projection of Rome's Trojan ancestry. In two epigrams that accompany dedications in the sanctuary at Delphi, Titus Quinctius Flamininus defines himself as "Titus a descendant of Aeneas" and as "the great leader of the children of Aeneas"⁵⁶. The Alexandrian poet Polystratus also recalls the tradition of the vendetta of Aeneas' descendants during the war between Rome and the Achaeans: the antinomy between Achaeans-Greeks and Trojans-Romans served as a sort of justification for the destruction of Corinth by Lucius Mummius⁵⁷.

In this process of reshaping religious memory, which came under increasing pressure from Rome, new ritual performance was created as an effective means of communication. In the sanctuary at Samothrace two decisive documents from 200 and 100 B.C. testify to the existence of ritual dramas, which took place during the initiation ceremonies, with clear allusions to the mythical figure Dardanos and the Trojan connections between Samothrace and Rome. *Since the deeds of Dardanos chiefly involve migrating to Anatolia and founding the Trojan line, it is clear the Samothracians actively promoted the connection of kinship* (WESCOAT, 53).

A similar evolution in the spectacle of ancient rituals seems to have taken place in another ancestral place in Greece: the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, whose initiation rites were linked to the formation of the Spartan society (Fig. 8). A. Baudini, using archaeological finds and ancient sources, demonstrates in his contribution that the nature and form of the initiation ritual changed substantially at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and thus continued through the Roman dominion. *Cicero (...) offers a clear statement of this step of the ritual's evolution, which will later cause the bloody aspects increasingly to prevail, until, starting at least in the 2nd cent. A.D., they become completely identified with the whole ceremony. On the thresh-*

⁵⁶ The two dedicatory epigrams of Flamininus' donations at Delphi are mentioned by PLU. *Flam.* 12, 11-12, see GRAVERINI 2001, 144; GUARDUCCI 1937, 42, with n. 6.

⁵⁷ AP 7, 297: epigram of Polystratus (2nd cent. B.C.), on this point, see GRAVERINI 2001, 143 f. The same emphasis on this antinomy may be found in another enigmatic and contradictory act of euergetism of Mummius. According to the sophist Favorinus who criticized the Roman general's lack of culture, Mummius rededicated two Greek statues of athletes as Nestor and Priam (attested by D.CHR. 37, 42 = Favorinus' *Addressing Corinthians*) and brought them in all likelihood to Rome as booty, on this point see LIPPOLIS 2004, 49 with n. 121.

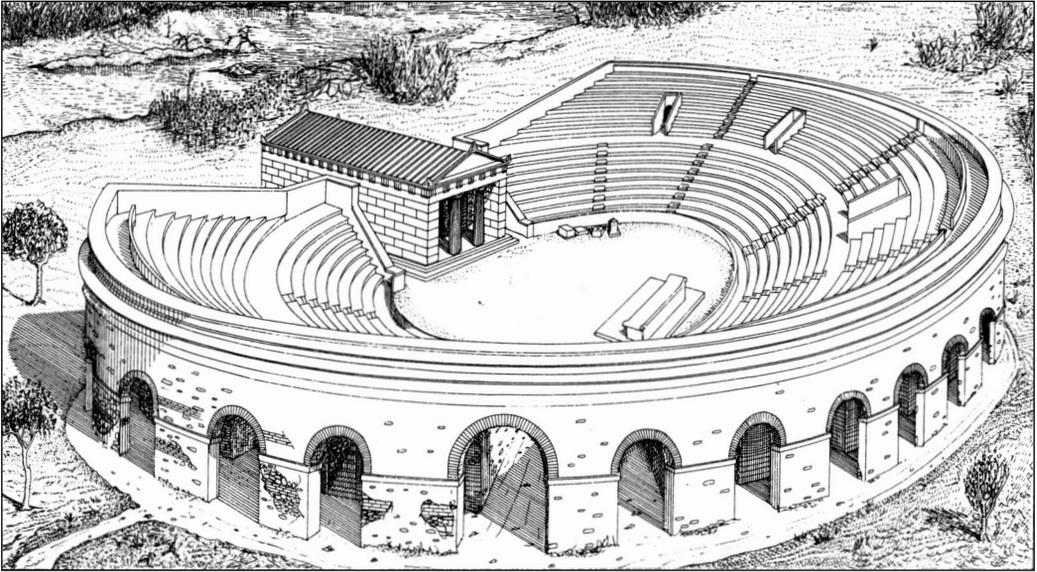


Fig. 8 - Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Restored perspective showing the theater-temple-altar complex (after PAPACHATZI 1976, 376, fig. 391)

old of the Roman era, then, a process of erosion of the rite seems to ensue, diverting it from its original meaning and isolating its spectacular aspects as the ritual's focus (BAUDINI, 200).

DYNAMIC IMAGES IN THE SACRED SPACE: CIVIC, IMPERIAL AND DIVINE ENTITIES

In the discussion above, we have on several occasions encountered the use of honorific statuary as a strategic means to celebrate individuals Roman within sacred places; it was a common practice already in the early days of contact. These statues, initiated either by local institutions and their representatives or by Roman intervention, proved to be extremely effective within the communicative spaces of sanctuaries.

Results of the extensive survey presented in this volume by J. Griesbach at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos are particularly enlightening as they allow us to reconstruct accurately the gradual accumulation and spatial distribution of statues within the sanctuary from the 3rd to the 1st cen-

turies B.C.⁵⁸. This reconstruction shows an extraordinarily dynamic process *in that the construction of new buildings or even individual monuments could considerably influence subsequent monuments. On the other hand, it is also possible to recognise tendencies linked to a specific historical moment that must be interpreted as adaptable strategies to attract the public's attention* (GRIESBACH, 121).

The changes that can be seen in the statues' form and placement resulted not from the statues' simply adapting to changes in the sacred space but rather from their becoming an expression of new demands and communicative ends. Around the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., there was an exponential increase in the number of honorific portrait statues with markedly individual shapes and sizes in highly visible locations (*epiphanestatoi topoi*). This communicative strategy reflects a new dynamic of interaction between the individual and the community. Experimentation with new, non-standardized representative formulae allowed the individual to emerge as distinct from the other elements of the community. Under the influence of an ever greater awareness of the individual, people started to feel part of a new and wide *oikoumene* that exceeded the boundaries of the Hellenistic *polis*.

During the 2nd cent. B.C. a different tendency appears, which J. Griesbach convincingly defines as “back to normal”. In the aligned placement of the statues and their uniform presentation we can recognise a “way to appear orderly” (*geordnetes Auftreten*) that was mainly determined by the ritual sequences set up during the famous celebrations attended by all the locals. This new trend indicates a crisis in the individualistic spirit of the 3rd cent., with greater emphasis now being placed on the “bourgeois values” and on a return to the *polis* ideology.

At the end of the 2nd cent. B.C., another explosion of honorific statues occurs, which seems to combat this “bourgeois atmosphere”. In this phase one sees an effort to give the statues exclusive settings, such as in niches or other highly attractive architectonic frames. Under the pretence of ceding to the needs of the *polis*, individualistic trends once again appear that bear a strong similarity to those of the 3rd cent. B.C., although now they are no longer geared for everyone but only for particular social groups.

The most influential figures among the elites did not belong only to one association but to many simultaneously. They did not limit their interest

⁵⁸ On the phenomenon of honorific statues in urban context during the Hellenistic period, see MA (forthcoming) 2013; for Delos, see the statue landscape of the dromos of the Apollo sanctuary recently reconstructed by DILLON – PALMER BALTES 2013.

to the cult of only one favourite divinity but invested in costly votives at a number of sanctuaries, even if the divinity worshipped in that particular place played no role in their cultural tradition (GRIESBACH, 122). The varied communicative system that we can see in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos and in other places in the city, reflects a multiethnic, composite reality in the final phase of its grandeur. Here the types of self-representation placed in the sacred area clearly show a dynamic interaction and stimulating exchange between rich traders from Rome, Greece and other parts of the Mediterranean.

If we shift our gaze from the Delian sanctuary of Apollo to the ancestral place of the Great Gods at Samothrace, the ingenious Theatral Complex on the Eastern Hill (n° 25.30 in WESCOAT, 48 fig. 3) exemplifies the concept of *epiphanestatos topos* used by J. Griesbach to indicate places with high ritual concentration and high visibility.

Already from the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., an orchestra-like court with encircling steps stood opposite Ptolemy II's monumental entrance to the sanctuary. In the sector south of these steps there was a series of platforms supporting an ensemble of bronze statues. That another ring to support statues was added to this stage at the end of the 2nd cent. or beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. proves that this sector was a nucleus of extreme ritual importance ("Stepped Retaining Wall" n° 18 in WESCOAT, 48 fig. 3). *We do not know exactly whom the statues represented, because the bases are not inscribed and the arrangement is something of a hybrid between a group and an individual monument. It seems most likely that they honored mortals who had in some way served as benefactors to the Sanctuary. They simultaneously greeted prospective initiates and stood as permanent witnesses to the rites performed in the Theatral Circle* (WESCOAT, 68).

We are dealing with an extraordinary ritual theatre in which the audience, or at least part of it, is represented as a series of sculptures around the *cavea*. The statues probably depicted distinguished individuals from the history of the sanctuary and its celebrations. Epigraphic documents lead us to imagine numerous Roman benefactors who were initiated at Samothrace from the 2nd cent. B.C. among these prominent individuals⁵⁹. The original concept of the Theatral Circle is exemplary of the communicative capacity of the statue landscape. On the one hand the portrait statues are on display as objects to be admired by those who have just entered the sanctuary for their initiation. On the other hand, precisely because of their placement in the same *cavea*, they become an audience of living statues, as if each indi-

⁵⁹ Roman initiates at Samothrace: COLE 1989, 1579-1588.

vidual represented were an active participant in the ritual communication, reiterating his own role in the mystery celebrations.

It is important to note, as B.D. Wescoat does, that the fascinating complex at Samothrace saw continuous use over the centuries and was filled with dedications possibly into the Imperial period. This is further proof that ever since the first *imperatores* made votive dedications of crowns and statues in the sanctuaries of Delos and Delphi, the Romans made an effort to integrate themselves with the locals, adopting different languages and means of communication.

The statue landscape in the Greek sanctuaries represented not only *imperatores* next to public buildings and other illustrious figures from the Hellenic past but also tradesmen, officials, and politicians portrayed either individually or in family groups next to notables, financiers and bankers from Greek and Mediterranean cities.

Due to the continuous use of sacred areas, there were ample models available to the first emperors and their family members when they too began to leave lasting signs of their presence. As made clear by the in depth contribution by E. C. Portale on the representations of female members of the imperial family, there was a complex dynamic of reception-assimilation-elaboration between the Greeks and Romans in the eastern empire. Examples like the dynastic group from the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on Tenos show the adoption of schemes from the repertoire of Hellenistic honorific and dedicatory statuary for imperial portraits⁶⁰.

The malleable character of the image and its composite nature permitted it to be placed on the same level as the local cults and memories and, therefore, more easily integrated: *In the same way, even if characterized through details of Roman dress, the female imperial image could refer to (through the adoption of typological variants or the place itself) a Greek cultural context, interwoven with ancestral memories to which the new authority must be attached* (PORTALE, 221). In the interesting case of the statue of the Claudian period (Livia or Agrippina II) from the temple of Artemis in Aulis (Fig. 9), even this rare late classical type was embellished with “Roman-Style” details, namely the *stola* and the portrait head: *The placing within the naos of the goddess and the sheer scale of the work, finely executed, may denote a cultic association with Aulidian Artemis, in the wake of the basileis elevated to the synnaoi theoi of traditional gods* (PORTALE, 221).

⁶⁰ But in addition to this traditional trend, E.C. Portale also highlights some interesting examples of contamination: the addition of a *stola* to the *chiton* or the presence of the *calcei muliebres* to give a “historic” and “Roman-official” identity to the character.

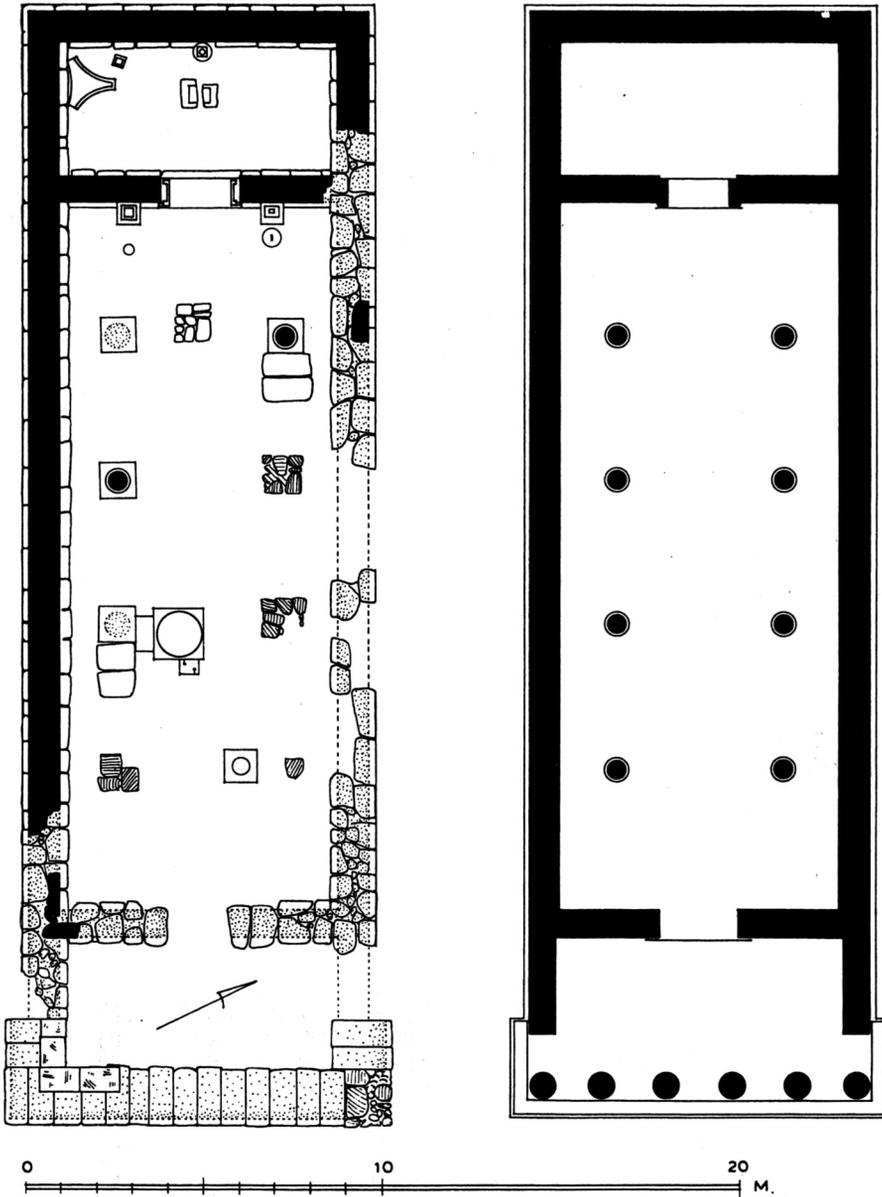


Fig. 9 - Aulis, sanctuary of Artemis: actual state (left) and restored plan (right)
(after *AJA* 89, 1985, 431 fig. 3)

THE IMPERIAL RE-NEGOTIATION OF RITUAL AND THE POLICY
OF MEMORY

Augustus' rule was dominion over all the World (SYME 1960, 520)

In the course of the 1st cent. B.C. the internal political instability generated by the increasing battles among *factiones* led to the dissolution of the Republican system. There followed a dramatic transition of power. As the contributions of G. Falezza, M. Melfi, and J. Piccinini show, this crisis is reflected to varying degrees in the sacred landscape of Greece, where the Romans had been a stable presence for more than a century.

During the last century of the Roman Republic the state of neglect made “restorations” and even total makeovers of the monumental structures necessary in many sacred places. Such is the case with the widespread program of repairs of buildings and property borders that took place in Athens and all the principal cult centers in Attica after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.⁶¹ After these substantial interventions promoted by the *polis*, it hardly seems a coincidence that decisive acts of euergetism are recorded in quick succession by Romans seeking political prominence and visibility. Money allocated by Pompey and Caesar for such works in Athens provides an example of Roman intervention in the restoration of cult places. The difficult political and economic situation and its urgency varied from place to place, as the other cases discussed by G. Falezza and J. Piccinini make clear. The background against which such restorations of religious memory occurred in the last centuries of the Republic is well described by M. Melfi: *Absence and presence, abandonment and use or re-use, destruction and construction, all need to be taken into account, and constitute important elements in the reconstruction of the cultural communication between Greeks and Romans between the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C.* (MELFI, 158).

Whereas this complicated moment in history was distinguished in most cases by a progressive decline in the condition of sanctuaries, the passage to the new order was marked by a decisive and striking military event. The battle of Actium in 31 B.C. had a symbolic value as a clear division, an inescapable passage, between the end of one world and the beginning of

⁶¹ For the impact of the Roman intervention in Greece and Asia Minor during the period 88-63 B.C., see ÑACO DEL HOYO 2009; KANTIRÉA 2007, 30-39; on Sulla's destructions and the political aftermaths, see HOFF 1997A.

another. This concept was further reinforced by the effective ideological propaganda of the *princeps* in search of a new and secure consensus⁶².

It is no accident, therefore, that in Augustan propaganda for the Greek East the sacred space was a focal point for re-negotiation with the new power in Rome: *One of the most successful strategies adopted by the Romans arose from the study of the cult places and it found its best possible expression in the cult of the emperor. (...) The foundation of a sanctuary and the festival at Actium are the first signs of a new kind auto-celebrative act from the princeps. This process takes its place somewhere between the traditional triumphs of the Hellenistic rulers and those that Roman generals celebrated like the one of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Amphipolis in 167 B.C.* (FALEZZA, 168).

The creation of the imperial cult, with its authoritative ritual system, introduced a new dynamic within the traditional sacred context⁶³. If we consider that the object of veneration (i.e. the emperor) was a new entity transferred from the outside and inserted into a pre-existing reality with which it would interact, then the so-called imperial cult fits in the dimension or operation of ritual transfer⁶⁴. The effectiveness of such a new creation depended, as is demonstrated by Falezza, Piccinini, and Portale, upon a balance between old and new. It avoided dangerous breaks with tradition but maintained formulas of the past, inserting new elements that worked as part of the strategy of imperial power. For example, a series of new competitions (*Neoi Aktiakoi Agones*) accompanied the celebrations of Actium.

The general recasting of traditional sacred space, which began in the early imperial period, was in large part due to the formation and power of a new class. These new actors, whom we might better define as co-protagonists, were representatives of the local elite who took over the decisive role of ritual expert-mediator. Of upper class status, nominated directly by emperors or elected by civic bodies, they operated within the sacred space as functionaries, supervisors, organizers, and financiers of celebrations of the emperor.

These co-protagonists performed three primary duties: 1. to create and give life to the events of the imperial cult; 2. to restore festivals, customs, and ancient ritual practice with some added, new components; and 3. to

⁶² Imperial propaganda and creation of consensus: ANDO 2000, 175-205; on the relationship between Augustus and the Greek world, see the extensive analysis in SPAWFORTH 2012, especially 1-58; see also KANTIRÉA 2007, 41-56.

⁶³ On imperial cult in Greece, see most recently KANTIRÉA 2007; for the Julio-Claudian and Flavian phase, see CAMIA 2011 especially for the 2nd cent. A.D.

⁶⁴ CHANIOTIS 2009, 23 f. with n. 70 quoting the bibliography on imperial cult.

consolidate in the ruling classes of the province an increasingly defined network of ritual experts and ritual mediators. These are all components of an extended policy of memory, which from the imperial period onward found expression in the sacred Hellenic centers.

The unique phenomenon of “itinerant temples” offers a striking example of this policy of memory⁶⁵. The nature of this operation (re-insertion of the sacred buildings transferred or semi-transferred from the original place to a new location) can again be defined as a manifestation of ritual transfer. The cases discussed by G. Falezza and E. C. Portale, of the Temple of Ares in the Agora of Athens and that of the Temple (of Caesar?) in Thessaloniki, respectively, show the possibility of a link between these measures and celebratory intentions of imperial power: *this operation (...) surely involves the resettling and the renovatio of the cultural apparatuses, from the architectural components to the statues of the divinities, with the need, at least in some cases, to replace, reduplicate or update what is moved or “revitalized”, radically restructuring the sacred landscape and tying it to the imperial authority* (PORTALE, 237 f.).

In the early empire, new models appear for the use of power in the sacred sphere. The action of the emperor is directed, above all, at promoting the cult of his own person, by making use of direct involvement and crucial collaboration of local notables. Through the mediation of the “practitioners of the divine” and “ritual experts”, that is, members of the local aristocracy, the forms of veneration reserved for the emperor become effective catalysts of ritual dynamic.

The two impulses, imperial and local, are clear in Hadrian’s behavior at the sanctuary of Eleusis: *the general impression is that Hadrian transformed Eleusis into a great building site, setting in motion a phase of general renewal, which proceeded in a quick succession of public and private interventions. The emperor provided an operational model and created the general conditions, but the integration and completion of the works was partly taken on by the local elite, stimulated to emulation and social comparison which made a decisive contribution towards the affirmation of a new ‘economic race’* (LIPPOLIS, 261).

The initiatives undertaken by the *imperatores* or by the Republican political figures cannot be compared with the scope of the measures available to the *princeps* in the sacred sphere. E. Lippolis’ shows the extraordinary

⁶⁵ *Contra* LIPPOLIS 2001, 178-210, 213 f. and LIPPOLIS 2008, 37 ff.; for the introduction of the imperial cult in Athens, see SPAWFORTH 1997.

impact of Hadrian's euergetism. Hadrian's was an ambitious project in which the famous Sanctuary of the Mysteries was closely linked to a virtual re-foundation of the town of Eleusis. The Eleusinian revival must be understood as another example of re-negotiation of ritual on the part of the imperial rulers within a concentrated "policy of memory". In this light, it is perfectly reasonable to hypothesize a strong link between the new institution of the Panhellenion and the sanctuary.

The action of the Panhellenic emperor is characterised by a solid policy to re-activate the dynamics of ritual in various traditionally Greek sacred places of particular significance: *From the first years of his reign Hadrian seems to have pursued the realization of this project, attempting to enhance the Panhellenic character of important Greek sanctuaries, as shown by the letter to the inhabitants of Delphi and by his interventions in favour of the renewed cult of Homonoia ton Hellenon and Zeus Eleutherios at Platea. However, it was only in Attica that his project found the best possibilities for being put into practice, reinstating the communications network set up by the Athenian elite in the 5th cent. B.C. and transforming it to meet the new requirements of the Mediterranean world* (LIPPOLIS, 264).

Although many studies have addressed the acts of Augustus and Hadrian in Greece, the activity of the emperor Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169) has not yet received systematic attention. All too often Lucius is relegated to a subordinate role to his older brother Marcus Aurelius; the personality and work of Lucius Verus have been subjected to summary and reductive judgement on the part of historians. However, a critical examination of the archaeological documentation allows for a more defined profile of this emperor.

Diverse celebratory acts connected to Lucius Verus during his stay in the eastern Roman empire, above all in the province of Achaëa before his departure (162 A.D.) and, probably, during his victorious return (166 A.D.), demonstrate a phase of intense interaction between central power and ritual mediators in the sacred space. The external threats from the Parthians (162-166 A.D.) led to precise interventions and specific strategies of ideological propaganda for the ancient sanctuaries in Greece.

Lucius' presence stimulated the local elites' participation in and active support for the decisive campaign against the Parthians. This scenario makes it easy to comprehend the evocation of Persian memories: as the evidence shows, the reactivation of a common heroic past contributed to the spread of a shared identity among the cities of the Hellenized East. The emperor's actions must have tangibly demonstrated that Rome's power was able to guarantee and protect such identities and traditions throughout the empire (GALLI, 296).

Through the loyal involvement of the ambitious and competitive local elites, the emperor was able to implement celebratory propaganda that played upon various suggestive reference points. In his conduct, we recognize actions akin to those carried out during the celebration of Augustus in Actium and other cities. Lucius, for instance, was celebrated as a new saviour in the face of eastern dangers; Augustus had been similarly proclaimed as *soter* against Antony and Cleopatra. Similar suggestions had also been made for Trajan, who had assumed the guise of a new Alexander fighting against the Parthian threat in defence of Hellenic identity.

Other evidence highlights original tendencies concerning a policy of memory. The celebration of the Persian memories originated in the surprising victories of Lucius and were emphatically promoted by contributions by personalities such as Herodes Atticus and Flavius Xenion. Under an aegis of a revival of the Persian wars, a series of interventions designed to renew “forgotten” sanctuaries from the great Greek past became possible.

When one looks beyond the one-sided approach of the ‘centre – periphery’ (Rome - Province) relationship, the celebration of Lucius Verus in Greek sanctuaries serves as a valuable paradigm for the interplay between local traditions and innovative patterns, transformation and revival, individual and cooperative interventions, all of which were essential features of the Greek sacred landscape during the imperial period (GALLI, 298).

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INSULA SACRA: SAMOTHRACE BETWEEN TROY AND ROME¹

Throughout antiquity, the small and windswept island of Samothrace in the northern Aegean had little to broker beyond its sanctity, but that proved a powerful asset (Fig. 1). With all its strangeness – gods that were difficult to fix upon let alone name (Schol. A.R. 1, 917), vestiges of an ancient sacrificial language (D.S. 5, 47, 1-48, 3), heroic coupling with the goddess Demeter, divine retribution and benevolence, competing stories of ethnic origins, to name a few – the cult of the Great Gods never lacked for veneration. Yet the Sanctuary stood outside the orbit of the traditional panhellenic sanctuaries².

The cult's power to affect personal transformation through initiation, especially its promise of salvation at sea and personal betterment, offered priceless blessings³. Initiation was not restricted by gender, ethnicity, social status, or perhaps knowledge of Greek. Prior to the reign of Philip II, the Sanctuary remained a modest place of primarily regional significance, even if its mysteries and their benefits were well known to Herodotos (HDT. 2, 51-2) and Aristophanes (AR. *Pax* 276-86). In the fundamental renegotiation of Greek religio-cultural identity that took place in the Hellenistic period, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace found itself ascendant. The attentions of Philip II raised the Sanctuary to international prominence, and the subsequent patronage of Hellenistic royalty transformed the narrow ravine on the north side of the island from a rocky glen into a densely built fabric of extraordinary marble buildings (Fig. 2-3). As a premier recipient of Hellenistic royal benefactions, the Sanctuary of the Great Gods potentially

¹ I greatly appreciate Marco Galli's invitation to contribute to this volume. I remain grateful to James R. McCredie for his generosity in sharing his many discoveries in the Sanctuary, and to Dimitris Matsas for his continued support of our research. I wish to thank Kevin Clinton, Nora Dimitrova, Maggie L. Popkin, Cynthia Patterson, C. Brian Rose, Garth Tissol and Susan L. Blevins for their careful reading and advice, and Cecily Boles for her help in editing.

² On the cult, HEMBERG 1950; COLE 1984, 26-56; BURKERT 1993; LEHMANN 1998, 29-45; CLINTON 2003A.

³ Initiation evidently promised personal salvation as well; see KARADIMA-MATSA and DIMITROVA 2003; DIMITROVA 2008, 83-90, n^o. 29; PARKER 2005, 363; PARKER 2011, 253-254.



Fig. 1 - Samothrace. View of the island from the north, with the Sanctuary to the west of the Gattalusi towers (Photo B. Wescoat)

had much at risk in the coming of Rome. But the island's fortunes were well starred, for the Samothracians shared with the Romans two legendary and fundamental bonds: kinship and gods.

Sharing blood and gods – both at the heart of how humans define themselves individually and collectively – created unique opportunities on both the Samothracian and the Roman side. In this essay, I consider developments in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods during the formative late 3rd through 1st centuries B.C., as the Romans rose to power in the Eastern Mediterranean and took an interest in Samothrace that likely was both motivated by and helped solidify these ancestral and divine connections. I argue that the Sanctuary and its cult were far more meaningful to the Romans than mere political expediency would demand or a touristic interest excite⁴. The cult was central to the Romans for social, religious, economic,

⁴ FRASER (1960, 12) calls the sanctuary 'a resort of Roman provincial officials from an early date.' See COLE (1989) for political expediency; BOWDEN (2010, 66-67) for a combination of official expectation and touristic interest; cf. CLINTON 2001; DIMITROVA 2008.

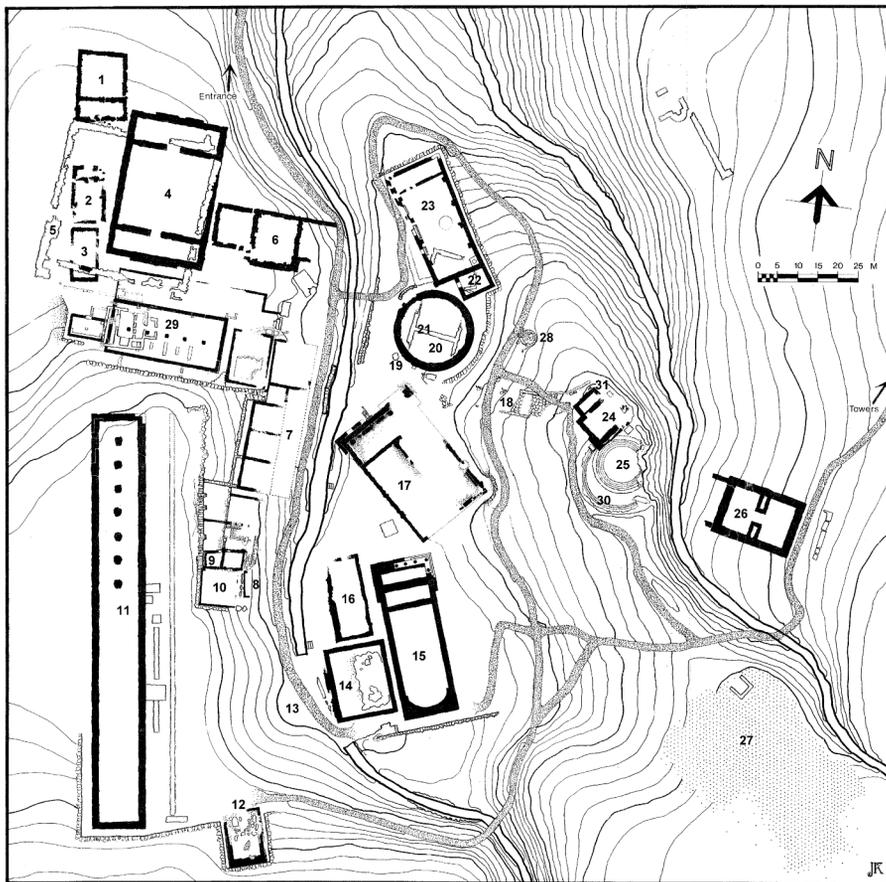


Fig. 2 - Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Actual state plan. 1,2,3. Unidentified Late Hellenistic buildings. 4. Unfinished Early Hellenistic building. 5. Byzantine fort. 6. Milesian Banqueting Hall. 7,8,10. Dining rooms. 9. Faux Bronze Age niche. 11. Stoa. 12. Nike Monument. 13. Theater. 14. Altar Court. 15. Hieron. 16. Hall of Votive Gifts. 17. Hall of Choral Dancers. 18. Sacred Way. 19. Sacred Rock. 20. Rotunda of Arsinoe II. 21. Orthostate Structure. 22. Sacristy. 23. Anaktoron. 24. Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV. 25. Theatral area. 26. Propylon of Ptolemy II. 27. Southern Necropolis. 28. Doric Rotunda. 29. Neorion. 30. Stepped Retaining Wall. 31. Ionic Porch
 (Drawing J. Kurtich, Samothrace Excavations)

and personal reasons, the last of which appear to have taken precedence over politically astute decisions on more than one occasion. Historical testimonia and epigraphic evidence signal a pivotal time in the fortunes of the Sanctuary. This period in the Sanctuary's material development has received little attention beyond the magnificent Winged Victory. However, several monuments dated to this period – including the faux-Mycenaean niche, the



Fig. 3 - Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Restored plan at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. (Drawing J. Kurtich, Samothrace Excavations)

outer grandstand of the Theatral Complex, three late Hellenistic buildings on the Western Hill, several dining rooms, and possibly the theater – may be fruitfully examined against the backdrop of Roman interest and with the following questions in mind: To what extent can we identify Roman involvement in the material record of the Sanctuary? Were the Romans and Samothracians reciprocating partners in defining, or refining, their shared religious and ethnic heritage? Were the Samothracians merely trading on their sanctity with the best and most able customers, or were the conditions in Rome's rise right for them to reinvest in their own self-fashioning?

SAMOTHRACE AND THE DEMISE OF PERSEUS

The capture of Perseus in 168 B.C., recounted most fully by Livy and Plutarch and summarized by many others, makes an excellent starting point for exploring Roman attitudes toward the sanctity of Samothrace⁵. The humiliating end to Macedonian rule that played out in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods provides one of our richest historical accounts of the island. Under orders from L. Aemilius Paulus, Gn. Octavius led the Roman fleet in pursuit of Perseus, who fled to Samothrace with his royal retinue and some 2000 talents after his disastrous defeat at Pydna in 168 B.C. The young envoy, L. Atilius, who parleyed for custody of Perseus, played the Samothracian assembly brilliantly⁶. He respectfully deferred to them as hosts (thus making the Romans guests with all the protocols that relationship implied) as he posed the famous question:

“People of Samothrace, our hosts, is what we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred and consists entirely of revered and inviolable soil?” (LIV. 45, 5, 3)

The Samothracians confirm the widely held and long-standing belief in the sanctity of the entire island⁷. And so Atilius’ next questions put the Samothracians on the spot:

“Why then has a murderer polluted it [i.e. the sacred island of Samothrace], defiled it, with the blood of King Eumenes? And although every preface of the sacred rites orders those who have not clean hands away from the rites [praefatio sacrorum], will you suffer your Sanctuary to be sullied by the bloodstained person of a brigand?” (LIV. 45, 5, 4)

⁵ LIV. 45, 5, 1-6, 12 (LEWIS 1959, 48-50, n^o 116); LIV. 45, 40, 1-2 (LEWIS 1959, 51, n^o 117); VELL. 1, 9, 4-5 (LEWIS 1959, 51, n^o 118); PLU. *Aem.* 23, 11, 26, 1-5 (LEWIS 1959, 51-2, nn^o 119-120); FLOR. 1, 28[2, 12], 9-10 (LEWIS 1959, 53, n^o 121); JUST. 33, 2, 5 (LEWIS 1959, 53, n^o 123); C.D. [20], frg. 66.3-4 (LEWIS 1959, 53, n^o 124); AMPEL. 16, 4 (LEWIS 1959, 54, n^o 125); EUS. *HIST. Chronica* (LEWIS 1959, 54, n^o 126); ZONAR. 9, 23 (LEWIS 1959, 54, n^o 127).

⁶ Gn. Octavius, who was elected decemvir sacris faciendis in 169 B.C. (LIV. 44, 18, 7), had a good knowledge of Greek religion (LIV. 10, 8, 2 for role of decemvir); PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN 1984, 82-85.

⁷ According to a tradition recorded by D.S. (3, 55, 8-9 = *FGrHist*, 32 F7; LEWIS 1959, 15-16, n^o 31) the name Samothrace was non-Greek, but when translated into Greek meant sacred island, ἱεράν νῆσον.

Eumenes II had survived his attempted murder at Delphi by Perseus's companion and henchman, Evander, but the Samothracians appreciated their predicament:

“apart from the fact that they saw that they and their whole island and Sanctuary were in the power of the Romans, [the Samothracians] recognized that this charge against them was not undeserved.” (LIV. 45, 5, 6)

The Samothracians requested that Perseus turn over Evander to stand trial. Evander made plans to flee; Perseus panicked and killed him. According to Livy,

“No sooner had this rash murder been perpetrated than it struck him [Perseus] that he had surely taken upon himself the stain which had hitherto been Evander's; by the latter Eumenes had been wounded at Delphi, by himself Evander had been slain at Samothrace, and thus the two most hallowed sanctuaries in the world had at the instigation of a single man – himself – been defiled with human blood.” (LIV. 45, 5, 11)

The rest of the story is a study in human degradation. Having alienated his remaining allies by the sacrilegious murder of a friend and ally, Perseus determined to flee the island. He engaged the Cretan trader, Oroandes, to sail him to Kotys, king of Thrace. Provisions and “as much money as could be brought down secretly” (LIV. 45, 6, 3) were stowed aboard the ship. But by the time Perseus and his companions⁸ had secretly slipped out of his lodgings by the back door, crossed through the garden, scrambled over the wall and made their way to the harbor, Oroandes, the ship, and Perseus's treasure were long gone. Both Livy and Plutarch leave little to admire in Perseus' despair as, abandoned, he aimlessly wandered along the water's edge, bemoaning his lost ship. Stripped of his resources, trapped on the island, bereft of all children save his eldest, Perseus has nowhere to flee but “a dark corner at one side of the Sanctuary” (LIV. 45, 6, 6). Seeing no way out, he capitulated to the Romans, but not before decrying the Samothracian gods for failing to provide asylum⁹.

⁸ The companions differ. According to LIVY (45, 5, 1-6, 11; LEWIS 1959, 48-50, n^o 116) three men accompanied Perseus, while Plutarch (PLU. *Aem.* 32, 11; LEWIS 1959, 52, n^o 120) states that his wife and children joined him.

⁹ Perseus' further humiliation, disorientation, and bewilderment when led in chains through the streets of Rome speak of a psychologically shattered soul. See LIV. 45, 40, 6; PLU. *Aem.* 34, 1; D.S. 31, 11; APP. *Mac.* 19.

In the victor's history presented by Livy, the Macedonian king is grossly incompetent, treacherous, impious, and humiliated; the Romans are clever, wise, lenient, and pious; and the Samothracians are judicious and almost chorus-like in their observation and action. What interests us is the way the Romans contract the support of the Samothracians. Cn. Octavius and L. Atilius draw on the island's religious fame. Livy's language ("cum creditae sanctitati adsentirentur omnes – since all agreed as to the generally believed sanctity [of the entire island];" Liv. 45, 5, 4) indicates that the Romans were not merely trapping the Samothracians in Socratic argument but also drawing on a shared understanding of what made the island special.

ROMAN CONNECTIONS: THE SPOILS OF MARCELLUS, THE SAMOTHRACIAN ANCESTRY OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE, AND THE SAMOTHRACIAN ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN PENATES

While the Sanctuary of the Great Gods and its cult were widely known in the eastern Mediterranean, the encounter surrounding the capture of Perseus vividly demonstrates that Republican Romans also knew fundamental aspects of the cult, for example, the *praefatio sacrorum*. Such familiarity presupposes significant earlier Roman interaction with the island and its cult. In fact, documented contacts go back to at least 211 B.C., when M. Claudius Marcellus gave to the Great Gods statues and paintings from his sack of Syracuse (Plu. *Marc.* 30, 4-5). Marcellus' dedication has been taken as an isolated and insignificant gesture, at best a caution to ambitious Hellenistic kings such as Philip V¹⁰. While a probable corollary effect of the dedication, political intimidation cannot have been Marcellus' chief reason for making the dedication. From a political and military standpoint, Marcellus had nothing to do with the eastern Mediterranean, and there is no evidence that the Great Gods came to Marcellus' aid in his siege of Syracuse, which in any case was not won by naval engagement¹¹. We must consider the context more broadly.

The bulk of Marcellus' booty went to Rome, where it was displayed in the Temple of Honos et Virtus he had originally vowed after his victory at

¹⁰ See especially COLE 1984, 87; COLE 1989, 1570, for political motives; FRASER 1960, 15, for the insignificance of the gesture.

¹¹ *Contra* COLE, above n. 10. See also McDONNELL 2006A, 231, n. 85.

Clastidium (222 B.C.)¹². Outside Rome, Marcellus limited his munificence to building a gymnasium in Catana, Sicily, and dedicating statues and paintings from Syracuse on Samothrace and at the temple of Athena at Lindos on Rhodes¹³. Why these two sanctuaries above all others in Greece? Roman trading connections with Rhodes were longstanding and the sanctuary at Lindos was once rich in legendary objects from Troy; it would be a striking place for a Roman general to assert his authority through dedications and a portrait statue¹⁴. Roman connections with Samothrace prior to Marcellus are not known, but Myles McDonnell suggests compellingly that Marcellus chose Samothrace because the Kabeiroi are associated with the Dioskouroi, who in turn were cultically connected with the Temple of Honos et Virtus in Rome¹⁵. We will return to the question of cult, but first we turn to connections with Troy.

Marcellus' dedication coincides with the growing emphasis among Roman authors in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C. on the Trojan ancestry of the Roman people.¹⁶ Among the competing accounts, the story of Aeneas' flight westward may have been circulating as early as the 6th cent. B.C. (Stesichoros); his role as founder of Rome appears at least by the late 4th cent. B.C. (Alkimos of Sicily)¹⁷. By the late 3rd cent., Aeneas had become securely associated with the founding of Rome in the writings of early Roman authors, including Naevius (late 3rd cent. B.C.), Q. Fabius Pictor (writing in Greek, c. 200 B.C.), and Ennius (early 2nd cent. B.C.)¹⁸. With Trojan ancestry came Samothracian connections. Homer traced Aeneas' ancestry directly back to Dardanos (HOM. *Il.* 20, 215-241) who, according to

¹² LIV. 25, 31, 11; 25, 40, 1-3; 26, 21, 7-8; PLU. *Marc.* 19, 3; 21, 1-5. For impact on Roman culture, see recently McDONNELL 2006B, challenging GRUEN (1992, 84-94), who minimizes the impact.

¹³ After the victory at Clastidium, Marcellus gave spoils to Syracuse and sent a gold bowl to Delphi (PLU. *Marc.* 8, 6).

¹⁴ I am grateful to Brian Rose for discussing the Trojan connection. For Trojan memorabilia listed in the Lindian Chronicle (V-XIV), see HIGBIE 2003, 22-29; SHAYA 2005, 438. For the portrait statue Marcellus dedicated, see PLU. *Marc.* 30, 5-6; HIGBIE 2003, 166-167. For trade connections established 306/5 and for the bilingual inscription dedicated by Foliis in the first half of the 3rd cent. B.C, see PALMER 1997, 51-51.

¹⁵ McDONNELL 2006A, 231.

¹⁶ GRUEN 1992, 6-51; JONES 1999A, 83-91; ROSE 2008, 97-102. ERSKINE (2001) sees little connection prior to Augustus, but see Rose's review (2003B).

¹⁷ GRUEN 1992, 13-15. Against a date prior to the early 3rd cent., see HORSFALL 1987, 21; following PERRET 1942.

¹⁸ GRUEN 1992, 31-37; COLE 1989, 1589.

Hellanikos, writing in the 5th cent. B.C., came from Samothrace to the Troad (*FGrHist* 4 F23). Fragments from the Hesiodic catalogue suggest that Dardanos' ties with the island were known even earlier¹⁹.

The Samothracians certainly were in no position to shape or influence the Trojan narrative developing in Sicily and later in Rome²⁰. Like their contemporaries at Ilion, however, they were quick to see its advantage. At just this time (around the year 200 B.C.), the Samothracians passed two decrees honoring Dymas of Iasos for his drama about Dardanos²¹. In c. 100 B.C., they issued another decree honoring Herodes of Priene for his account of the deeds of Dardanos and his brother Aetion, as well as the marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia²². Ritual dramas recounting the story of the Samothracian mythical family (especially the abduction, return, and marriage of Harmonia) may have formed part of the initiation, but the performances of Dymas and possibly Herodes took place in the context of the Samothracian Dionysia, a festival where the opportunity to proclaim and disseminate the story of Dardanos publically was far greater. Since the deeds of Dardanos chiefly involve migrating to Anatolia and founding the Trojan line, it is clear the Samothracians actively promoted the connection of kinship.

Along with stories of consanguinity, the accounts of shared divinities reflected and reified Samothracian ties with Rome. Not coincidentally, the earliest surviving accounts of the connection between Samothrace and the Roman Penates appear during the mid-2nd cent. B.C. in the writing of L. Cassius Hemina²³. Hemina notes, according to Macrobius, that the Penates are from Samothrace and that they are called θεούς μεγάλους, θεούς χρηστούς, θεούς δυνατούς. The first title directly corresponds with the way the gods are identified by inscription on Samothrace²⁴. Hemina traces their passage directly from Samothrace to Rome; Atticus agrees,

¹⁹ Summarized, APOLLOD. 3, 12, 1; COLE 1989, 1590. In a possible further connection, Aeneas was known as pious (pius); the same quality describes Samothracian initiates. For Aeneas, GALINSKY 1969, 3-61; for the Samothracian epithet, recently DIMITROVA 2008.

²⁰ Although one wonders if the famous scholar, Aristarchos of Samothrace, who lived and worked at just this time in Alexandria, touched on the matter in one of his 800 treatises. *Brill's New Pauly*, I, 1090-1093, s.v. 'Aristarchus' (F. MONTANARI).

²¹ Most recently RUTHERFORD 2007.

²² DIMITROVA 2008, 253-255, nn^o 4-5.

²³ MACROB. *Sat.* 3, 4, 7-9; LEWIS 1959, 84, n^o 182; PERRET 1942, 28-31; HEMBERG 1950, 305; KLEYWEGT 1972; COLE 1984, 100-103; COLE 1989, 1588-1596.

²⁴ FRASER 1960, 41-57, nn^o 9-11, 13-15, 18; add epistyle inscription from the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV, MCCREDIE 1979, 8; WESCOAT 2003, 103-104, figg. 3, 5, 8.

adding that they were brought by Aeneas²⁵. Varro and Dionysios of Halikarnassos propose a more complex and ancient transmission, with Dardanos bringing the Penates from Samothrace to Phrygia and Aeneas taking them from Phrygia to Rome²⁶. Either way, by the mid-2nd cent. B.C., at least some learned Romans held the idea that their Penates originated on the island of Samothrace and were to be equated in some way with the Samothracian Great Gods²⁷. It is also possible that the Lares Permarini – protectors of sailors – were a permutation of the Samothracian gods²⁸. If so, the octastyle temple in the Campus Martius that L. Aemilius Regillus vowed during his battle with Antiochos the Great off Myonessos in 190 B.C., would place them, associatively, in the center of mid-republican Rome. At least by the time of Varro, three altars erected in the Circus Maximus were dedicated to the Great Gods of Samothrace²⁹. Honoring the Great Gods with altars – which required regular offering rituals – in this central and ancient location built the Samothracian deities directly into the physical and performative heart of Rome.

While the migration of the Penates/Great Gods from Samothrace to Rome was shrouded in myth, the transfer of the cult of Kybele from Asia Minor to Rome was accomplished with conspicuous public fanfare³⁰. This cult too had ties to Samothrace and Ilion, and the transfer underscores just how urgently Rome sought to validate her ancestral connections with north-western Anatolia and the Great Mother. The transfer occurred at the end of the First Macedonian War in 205 B.C. Having failed to dislodge Philip V

²⁵ *Scholia Veronensia ad Verg. Aen.* 2, 717 (LEWIS 1959, 85, n^o 185); *SERV. in Aen.* 3, 2, 8, 679 (LEWIS 1959, 82-83, nn^o 179, 181).

²⁶ VARRO, preserved in *SERV. in Aen.* 1, 378; 3, 148 (LEWIS 1959, 85, nn^o 183-184); D.H. 1, 68, 2-4; 69, 4, and 2, 66, 5 (LEWIS 1959, 85-86, nn^o 186-187). See also *PLU. Cam.* 20, 6-7 (LEWIS 1959, 86-87, n^o 188); *SERV. in Aen.* 2, 325 (LEWIS 1959, 87, n^o 189). For texts and discussion, see also KLEYWEGT 1972, 249-263.

²⁷ Whether or not the priesthood of the Salii originated with Samothrace and the arrival of the Penates remained contested. See *SERV. in Aen.* 2, 335 and 8, 285 (LEWIS 1959, 87-88, nn^o 189, 192); *FESTUS* (LEWIS 1959, 87, n^o 190); *PLU. Num.* 13.7 (LEWIS 1959, 88, n^o 191).

²⁸ *LIV.* 40, 52, 4; for the vow and temple, PIETILÁ-CASTRÉN 1987, 91-94; for the Samothracian connection via the Dioskouroi, ZEVÍ 1997, especially 89-97. Unusual divinities, the Lares Permarini have potential connections with the seafaring Dioskouroi, who in turn are connected with the Samothracian Kabeiroi. I thank Maggie L. Popkin for bringing this connection to my attention.

²⁹ *PROBUS in Vergili 'Bucolica'* 6, 31 (LEWIS 1959, 82, n^o 177); see also *TERT. Spec.* 8 (LEWIS 1959, 82, n^o 178); *SERV. in Aen.* 3, 12 (LEWIS 1959, 82-83, n^o 179).

³⁰ *LIV.* 29, 10, 4-29; 29, 11, 8; 29, 14, 5-14; *OV. Fasti* 4, 247-348. GRUEN 1990, 5-33.

militarily, the Romans accomplished a greater triumph in claiming (with the aid of Attalos I) the chief goddess of Anatolia as their own. Erich Gruen connects the motives for the transfer with the growing strength of the claim of Trojan ancestry, which simultaneously allowed the Romans hereditary ties with the eastern Mediterranean and distinguished them from the Greeks. For the people of Ilion, the association had palpable and immediate results: they were the first signatories in the Peace of Phoinike concluding the First Macedonian War. For the Samothracians, the advantages of the connection, following so closely on the dedications of Marcellus, could hardly have gone unnoticed.

The bonds of kinship and gods shared by Samothrace and Rome were triangulated through Troy. C. Brian Rose argues that the West Sanctuary at Ilion, which was intensively developed in the second half of the 3rd through the middle of the 2nd cent. in response to Roman interest, was in part given over to honoring the Samothracian gods³¹. Granted, many places with far less mythic resonance built Samothrakeia³², but at Ilion the motives of establishing cultic ties between the two places, which stood in sight of one another, were especially compelling.

ROMAN JOURNEYS TO SAMOTHRACE: SIX STORIES

In addition to the accounts of Roman actions to recover Perseus, six other stories reveal Roman attitudes toward Samothrace and its cult and reflect something of the Samothracian response. The first is an anecdote Plutarch relates regarding Voconius, whom Lucullus sent with the fleet to blockade Mithridates at Nikomedia in Bithynia, during the Third Mithridatic War in 87 B.C. (PLUT. *Luc.* 13). Voconius, however, detoured to Samothrace to become initiated in the mysteries and celebrate the festival (presumably the Samothracian Dionysia). He fell behind, the advantage was lost, and Mithridates escaped. Voconius' desire to be initiated trumped political expedience and subverted command; he appears drawn to the island as if by a magnet.

³¹ The sympolity inscription used to identify a sanctuary of Samothracian gods at Ilion (COLE 1984, 162-163, n° 47; LAWALL 2002, 79) is now interpreted differently; see ROSE 2003A, 62. Note also the round altar from Sestos originally thought to be from Ilion; COLE 1984, 162, n° 46. For evidence that Kybele, the Great Gods, and Dardanos may have been worshiped in the West Sanctuary, see ROSE 2002, 36-38; LAWALL 2002 (with references to Rose's earlier work).

³² HEMBERG 1950; COLE 1984, 57-86; CHAPOUTHIER 1935 (for Delos).

Sulla's encounter with the island offers a second narrative. The general used Samothrace as a naval base in 84 B. C. during his campaigns against the pirates, whose attack on inviolate shrines was particularly egregious³³. But according to Appian (*Mithridateia* 63), there was not only injury but insult: the pirates robbed the Sanctuary of the Great Gods of 1000 talents worth of ornaments (χιλίων τάλαντον κόσμος) while Sulla was staying on Samothrace. This sacred rock in the Aegean was apparently not so easy to defend.

Our third story is Cicero's account of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus' 'infamous' visit to the island upon his recall as proconsular governor in Macedonia (57-55 B.C.). Infuriated by Piso's role in his banishment from Rome, Cicero lost no opportunity to discredit Piso's every move:

"... scarce able to support your grief and chagrin on your departure from the province, you made your way first to Samothrace and then to Thasos with your effeminate retinue of dancers and with those pretty brothers, Autobulus, Athamas, and Timocles."³⁴

As Herbert Bloch has noticed, Cicero creates the appearance that Piso sought refuge on the island in grief and humiliation, reminding contemporaries of the ignominious story of Perseus and thus implying that Piso was equally weak, incompetent, and treacherous³⁵. Cicero conveniently ignores his own uncle's similar sequence of visiting the island en route back to Rome (see below). Nothing is said of initiation, for Cicero would neither want to credit an honorable reason for the voyage nor discredit the rite of initiation. Yet it would be surprising if Piso went to celebrate the festival but chose not to be initiated³⁶. However Cicero spun the story in Rome, the Samothracians found Piso's visit worth commemorating; they erected a statue in his honor in the ancient city, on which he is described as *patronus* (Fig. 4).

³³ PLU. *Pomp.* 24, 6 (LEWIS 1959, 55-56, n^o 129); APP. *Mith.* 63 (LEWIS 1959, 55, n^o 128). There is some speculation (see COLE, 1989, 1586) that Sulla may have taken part in the mysteries while on Samothrace on the basis that he later took part in the Eleusinian mysteries. See CLINTON 1989, 1503 for the problems associated with the latter evidence. On a stele containing a decree and four lists of initiates, the two lists with initiates from Chios who fought in anti-pirate ships have been connected with the period ca. 80-60 B.C. The stone also contains a list of Roman initiates, but it could be earlier. See DIMITROVA 2008, 122-125, n^o 49.

³⁴ CIC. *Pis.* 89. Trans. N. H. WATTS, [1931] Loeb Classical Library, repr. Cambridge, Mass, 1992.

³⁵ BLOCH 1940; MATTUSCH 2010, 179-180.

³⁶ FRASER'S (1960, 57) insistence that Piso was merely a patron of the city is plainly contrary. In favor of his initiation, COLE 1989, 1582.

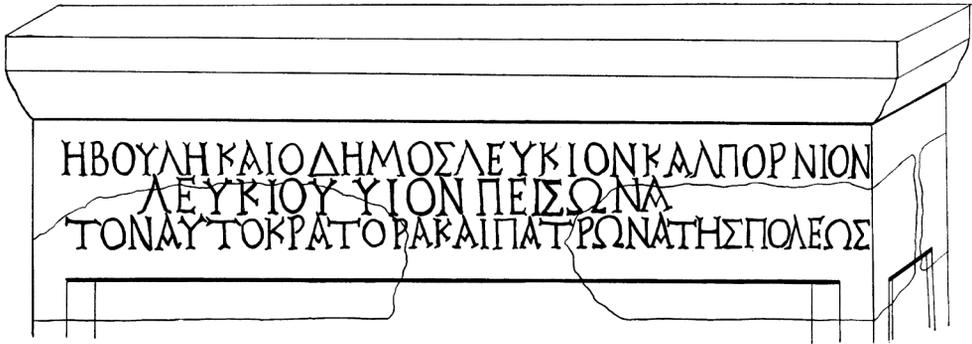


Fig. 4 - Reconstruction of the inscribed base honoring L. Calpurnius Piso
(after BLOCH 1940, fig. 2)

Piso did not seek refuge on Samothrace, but confidence in the inviolability of the sacred island ran high in Roman circles. Our fourth story involves exile. Following the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., several of the defeated sought asylum on the sacred island³⁷. The implication, on the Samothracian side, is that asylum was honored. And in a fifth encounter, in A.D. 8, Ovid wrote about the final leg of his journey into exile from the island, where he changed ships (*Ov. Tr.* 1, 10). Samothrace was not his final destination; he did not linger on the island, and we do not know if he became an initiate. But he summons strength from the island's seafaring gods, the Tyndaridai, to protect his further journey. The island is for him a turning point.

Although a little further outside our time frame, a sixth story, of a failed attempt to participate in the mysteries, drives home the place of the island in the formation of elite Romans' sense of heritage. In A.D. 17, Germanicus toured the region, but fierce north winds prevented him from landing on Samothrace (*Tac. Ann.* 2.54). Germanicus' travels have been described as plainly touristic³⁸, but such an interpretation misses the underlying context. In first stopping at Aktion to survey the place where his grandfather Antony and great-uncle Octavian fought and then traveling to Ilion to admire the venerable birthplace of his people, Germanicus makes a pilgrimage to trace his 'roots'³⁹. His aim in seeking initiation must be connected to the

³⁷ *NEP. Att.* 11, 2. LEWIS 1959, 91-92, n° 201.

³⁸ COLE 1989, 1587; BOWDEN 2010, 66-67.

³⁹ Germanicus (alternately Hadrian) composed an epigram honoring Hektor while visiting Ilion (*A.P.* 9, 387) that describes the Romans as sons of Aeneas. My thanks to Brian Rose for this reference.

overarching desire to touch upon the places that defined who he was, in a place that resonated with the now firmly held belief in shared ancestors and gods.

Voconius is diverted from his duty; Piso (allegedly) retreats in shame; the defeated seek asylum; Ovid must summon the courage for his final destination; Germanicus is blown off course. When taken together, these scattered stories share an undercurrent: this sacred island can be both alluring and elusive. It is not an easy destination; those who come do so at some personal risk. Sulla aside, the overarching theme is the recognition of the sanctity of the island in the desire to be initiated, to seek asylum, to receive protection at sea, or to gain a deeper self-understanding by exploring ancestry and religious origins.

ROMAN JOURNEYS TO SAMOTHRACE 2: INITIATE LISTS AND DEDICATIONS

We may set these well known narratives within the context of much more specific evidence concerning the practicing cult on Samothrace: dedications honoring Romans and lists naming Romans who journeyed to the island to become initiates. Although people sought initiation earlier and later, the inscribed lists of initiates and *theoroi* date from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the late 2nd cent. A.D. and provide the best record for the clientele of the cult. Nora Dimitrova has compiled 167 inscriptions carved on wall blocks, *stelai*, and bases, which list (or have a high probability of listing) *theoroi* and initiates⁴⁰. Of these, some 70 (42%) record Roman initiates; 32 are bilingual, 26 are in Latin, and 12 record Latin names in Greek. Thirty-two (46%) of the records mentioning Roman initiates belong to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.; of these 17 are bilingual, 12 are in Latin, and three record Latin names in Greek. Plainly, from the start, the initiate could choose to record his name in whatever way desired, and scribes were prepared to work in both languages. While many inscriptions are too fragmentary to know the provenance of the initiate, those where the evidence survives indicate that the initiates come chiefly from Rome⁴¹. The earliest preserved list, in fact, records in Latin the

⁴⁰ DIMITROVA 2008.

⁴¹ Exceptions include a list of Romans from Rome, Pergamon, and Chios (DIMITROVA 2008, n^o 89); a list of Greeks and Romans from Alexandria Troas (DIMITROVA 2008, n^o 55) and possibly from Dardanos (DIMITROVA 2008, nn^o 14-15). It has been suggested that Ῥωμαῖος could be used for all residents of Italy; see COLE 1989, 1586, n. 112.

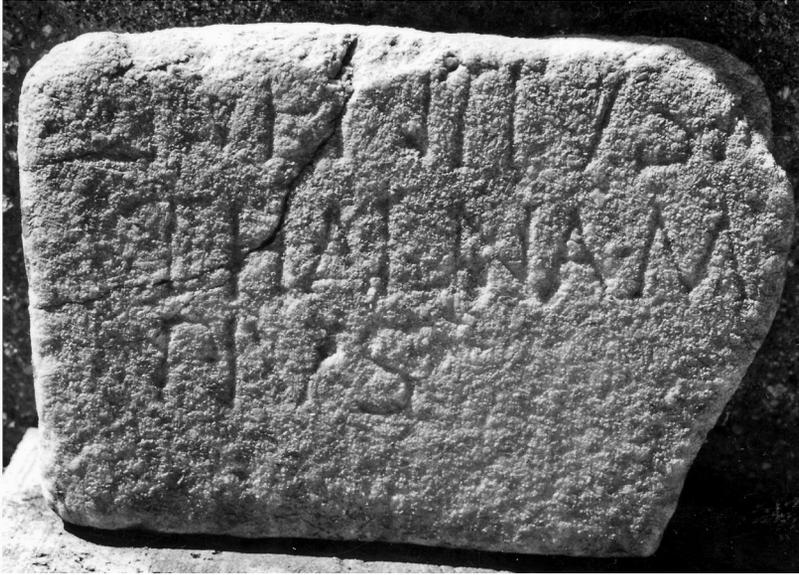


Fig. 5 - Inscription recording the initiation of L. Luventius Thalna, c. 185 B.C.
(Photo N. Dimitrova)

name of a Roman, L. Iuuentius Thalna, active c. 185 B.C. (Fig. 5)⁴². His testimony demonstrates that Romans were journeying to the island for religious purposes (possibly among other aims) early in the 2nd cent. B.C. Moreover, they were commemorating their experience. When L. Atilius described Samothrace as an *insula sacra*, he was speaking not only from the Greek but also the Roman perspective.

Many of the lists are difficult to date specifically, but one of 113 B.C. recorded by Cyriacus of Ancona lists a proquaestor, C. Marcellus; presumably he was proquaestor of Macedonia and an initiate, which would make him the earliest recorded Roman official to seek initiation while on a tour of duty⁴³. A recently discovered inscription (in Latin and Greek) recording initiates on 4th September 100 B.C. lists among Roman *equites* and *prae-fecti*, L. Tullius M. f. Cor(nelia), uncle of Cicero (Fig. 6)⁴⁴. L. Tullius Cicero

⁴² DIMITROVA 2008, 151, n^o 64; who corrects the reading suggested by COLE (1984, 134-135), of a P rather than an L, for Publius Iuuentius Thalna, active in the region during Andriskos' revolt.

⁴³ DIMITROVA 2008, 151-152, n^o 65.

⁴⁴ CLINTON 2001; DIMITROVA 2008, 152-153, n^o 66. Clinton outlines the evidence for and against M. Antonius being part of the party that came to Samothrace.

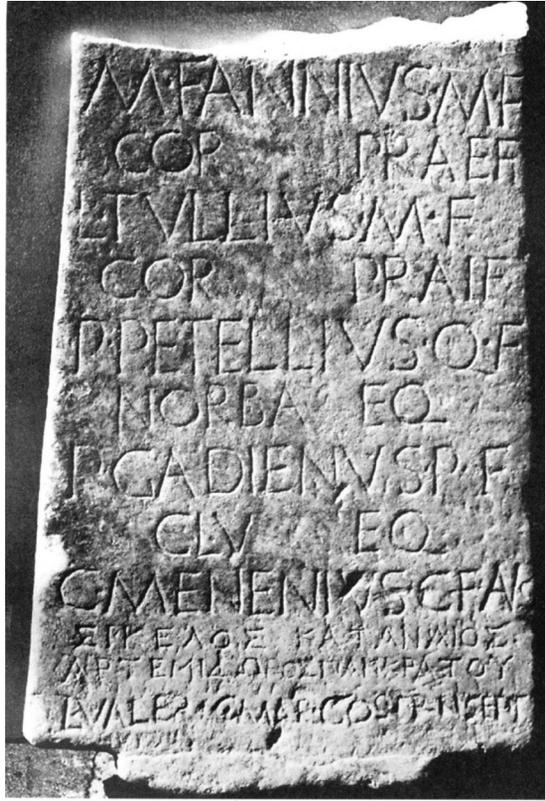


Fig. 6 - Inscription recording initiation on the 4th September 100 B.C. (Photo K. Clinton)

accompanied M. Antonius, grandfather of Mark Antony, in his campaign against Cilician pirates in 102 B.C. and returned with him at least part of the way back to Rome for the consular elections; the initiation took place on the return journey. Samothrace is not en route from Cilicia to Rome; the older Cicero's journey represents a significant detour. His initiation had no expedient political value, as it might for an official of Macedonia or members of his staff⁴⁵. Instead, its main purposes must be explained otherwise: a satisfaction of cultural curiosity; a communication with ancestral roots; an aim to honor gods whose assistance at sea was paramount; a desire for personal betterment; or, an attraction to the sacred power of the island and its cult.

⁴⁵ Fraser 1960, 15-16; COLE 1984, 89; COLE 1989, 1579-1588, emphasize the initiation of officials, but see CLINTON 2001, 29.

The epigraphic record of Roman engagement on Samothrace in the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. indicates continuing strong receptivity to the sacred value of the island and its cult. The evidence we can place historically comes either in the context of provincial administration or the military operations against pirates and then Mithridates, which drew the Romans into ever greater involvement in the northern Aegean. Early in the century, proconsul L. Julius Caesar made a dedication during his year in office, and the Samothracians reciprocated with honors (93/92 B.C.)⁴⁶. Likely he was initiated during his stay on the island, because his dedication was directed to the Great Gods. Among Roman initiates are a captain and crew of a dispatch boat (names written in Greek)⁴⁷. A recently discovered large base, suitable for supporting a statue, honors the Roman Q. Lutatius Catulus with a dedication from the people of Maroneia to the Great Gods (Fig. 7)⁴⁸. Kevin Clinton and Nora Dimitrova argue that the Q. Lutatius Catulus named “patron, benefactor, and savior of the city of Maroneia” should be the consul of 78 B.C., who likely accompanied Sulla east during the first Mithridatic War. The sons of Mithridates destroyed Maroneia and several other neighboring cities (including Thasos, Ainos, and Abdera) in 87 and 86 B.C.⁴⁹ The monument erected on Samothrace therefore may well honor Q. Lutatius Catulus for his role in rewarding Maroneia for its loyalty to Rome. By erecting the statue in the international Sanctuary of the Great Gods, the Maroneians made a very public display of their loyalty and gratitude. They could only have done so in an environment that was itself sympathetic to the Roman side.

Along with the historically secured inscriptions, there are several more that record the names of private citizens from the late republican period who represent the growing network of Roman contractors and traders. They had a deep commercial investment in the region and the value of initiation would include not only that which was gained by the military and political appointees, but also the privileges of membership within the community of initiates and the network of Samothrakeia that spring up along trading routes in the Aegean and Black Seas.

In sum, the ancient testimonia, dedications, and initiate lists document significant Roman involvement in the cult of the Great Gods from the late

⁴⁶ *IG XII 8 nn*^o 232, 241; COLE 1989, 1581-1582.

⁴⁷ COLE 1989, 1585-6; DIMITROVA 2008, 158-9, n^o 71.

⁴⁸ CLINTON – DIMITROVA 2010.

⁴⁹ For the new evidence linking Maroneia to the destruction, see CLINTON 2003B and 2004, for a stele with two decrees of Maroneia and Rome, fragments of which were found in the Sanctuary.



Fig. 7 - Inscribed base honoring Q. Lutatius Catulus (Photo K. Clinton)

3rd cent. through the 1st cent. B.C. Romans came to the northeastern Aegean in pursuit of military, political, or commercial objectives. A detour to Samothrace was not required to meet such goals. In fact, the island was tricky and required careful approach, but it also served as a haven. The Romans traveled by ship, and Samothrace offered dual advantages to the seafarer: a harbor en route to points north and east and a sacred experience that offered the guarantee of salvation from shipwreck. The sources reflect a fairly consistent picture of Roman interest in the island and the Sanctuary for its sacred value. The notion of shared kinship that coalesced around the story of the Trojan origins, on the one hand, and the origin of the Penates on the other, surely were kindled by, and played a part in kindling, Roman interest in the region and the island.

The Samothracians hardly had the authority to promulgate these stories, but they appear not at all averse to recognizing their value. At least according to Roman constructions of the story, the Samothracians judiciously (and expediently) placed the sanctity of the island over loyalty to Hellenistic royal

benefactors. Roman presence had a material impact on the Sanctuary in the increased traffic to and fame of the island. Initiated Romans who listed their names in Latin made a strong symbolic (and visual) claim on the cult and the Sanctuary that could hardly be ignored. Romans in Italy had no interest in establishing *theoria* or *proxenia*; they wanted the personal experience of initiation, and the Samothracians upheld their commitment to initiate persons of all ethnicities. The lists make it equally clear that growing Roman participation did not eclipse the steady traffic in the Sanctuary, represented by *theoroi* and *proxenoi* as well as initiates who came from Greek communities that likely had been drawn to the Sanctuary for centuries⁵⁰.

CHANGES IN THE SANCTUARY BETWEEN THE LATE THIRD TO FIRST CENTURIES B.C.

For Samothrace, the immediate consequence of Roman ascendance was loss of Hellenistic royal patronage. The major buildings in the Sanctuary, almost all sponsored by Hellenistic royalty, were in place by the mid 3rd cent. B.C. By eliminating the Macedonian royal stake in the island, the Romans effectively ended the building spree that had begun in the second half of the 4th cent. B.C. Nor did the Romans take up the vacancy they created; they preferred to build in the more politically advantageous urban fabric of Rome⁵¹. In this respect, Samothrace was hardly alone. Prior to the reign of Augustus, very few Romans financed fine buildings in Greece; the propylon Ap. Claudius Pulcher built at Eleusis is the exception, although it too is connected with a vow made in Rome⁵². On the positive side, the Romans did not lay siege to or sack the ancient city or the Sanctuary of the Great Gods⁵³. So the Samothracians kept their splendid Hellenistic buildings. When the Sanctuary was robbed, it came at the hands of the Cilician pirates and their henchman, Mithridates.

⁵⁰ See DIMITROVA 2008 for the cities that sent *theoroi* to the Sanctuary, for *proxenia*, and for the cities of the initiates.

⁵¹ PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN 1987.

⁵² Several other Romans considered building projects, especially in Athens: C. Memmius planned a project but dropped it (Cic. *Fam.* 13, 1); Cicero considered adding a propylon to the Academy but did not (Cic. *Att.* A 6, 6); Caesar planned to build a new agora but it had to wait for Augustus (HOFF 1997, 43). For Ap. Claudius Pulcher, CLINTON 1997, 164-165.

⁵³ On the Sullan sack of Athens in 87/6 B.C. and its impact on the city architecturally, see HOFF 1997. For the Fimbrian sack of Troy in 85 B.C., see ROSE 2003a, 43-45. For Mummius at Corinth in 146 B.C., see GEBHARD AND DICKIE 2003.

Although no major marble buildings were erected under the Roman hegemony, construction did not completely halt in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.⁵⁴ The number of monuments assigned to this period is surprisingly large: the Faux-Mycenaean Niche (Figg. 2-3, n° 9), several rooms connected with dining (Figg. 2-3, nn° 8,10, and north of 7), the stepped retaining wall/outer grandstand surrounding the Theatral Circle on the Eastern Hill (Figg. 2-3, west of n° 25), the three small buildings aligned with the western boundary of the Sanctuary (Figg. 2-3, nn° 1-3), and the Nike Monument (Figg. 2-3, n° 12). The theater is usually dated to the 2nd cent. as well (Figg. 2-3, n° 13). Collectively, these projects demonstrate that the Sanctuary was thriving and expanding, especially with structures for dedications or buildings to accommodate pilgrims. These developments are internally consistent with steady Greek engagement in the Sanctuary, but in light of certain Roman interests described above, we can reexamine them against the backdrop of Samothracian awareness of and receptivity to growing Roman involvement in the Sanctuary.

Faux-Mycenaean Niche, Theater, and Adjacent Dining Rooms

At roughly the same time Samothrace bestowed honors on Dymas of Iasos, a niche-like architectural conceit was built into the southern retaining wall east of the Stoa (Figg. 2-3, n° 9; Fig. 8). The niche consists of a blind opening into the hillside, surmounted by an oversized andesite lintel that supports two porous sandstone blocks shaped like a relieving triangle. James R. McCredie pointed out that the lintel and relieving triangle imitate signature elements of the Mycenaean tomb entrance, and he proposed the niche might have stood as a cenotaph for Aetion, founder-hero of the Samothracian cult⁵⁵. Hellenistic Greeks rarely created faux Bronze Age monuments, but they were deeply interested in re-establishing physical connections with their heroic past⁵⁶. Only a little earlier in the second quarter of the 3rd cent., the people of Ilion raised a great mound over a Neolithic set-

⁵⁴ The mid-2nd cent. B.C. date assigned by P. W. LEHMANN (1969, I, 212-314; 329-387) to the north porch of the Hieron is under re-investigation. Certain aspects of the architectural design suggest the original structure belongs to the early 3rd cent.; the north porch may belong to the 3rd cent. as well. For recent proposals, see DES COURTILS 1999, 366-370; PALAGIA – MANIATIS *et al.* 2009. The akroterial nikai, however, can be dated stylistically to the 2nd cent. B.C. and the early imperial period (LEHMANN 1969, I, 364-387; II, 113-123; PALAGIA 2010, 161-163).

⁵⁵ MCCREDIE 1974.

⁵⁶ ALCOCK 1997A.



Fig. 8 - View of the faux-Mycenaean niche set in the southern retaining wall in the region east of the Stoa (Photo B. Wescoat)

tlement tell, which they identified as the Tumulus of Achilles⁵⁷. At Samothrace, we might imagine that the niche served as a physical locus for remembering the Sanctuary's rich legendary history, in much the same way Dymas' poem served as a performative opportunity to build memory. The fact that both were happening just when the Romans were settling on their own Samothracian-Trojan identity is suggestive of a shared interest in forging these connections.

⁵⁷ ROSE 1999, 61-63, for the tumulus at Sivritepe identified as the Tumulus of Achilles. A similar phenomenon occurred at Lavinium near the end of the 4th cent. B.C., when a burial was monumentalized into the Tumulus of Aeneas and became a hero shrine; see SOMMELLA 1971-72.

Traditionally, the theater at Samothrace is also dated to the 2nd cent. B.C. on the coincidence of epigraphic evidence suggesting performances as well as the use of humble local materials and the perceived roughness of construction (Fig. 1-2, n° 13)⁵⁸. However, a date in the mid 3rd cent. fits the evidence better. The orientation of the Altar Court only makes sense if the hillside to the west functioned in some capacity as a gathering place at least by this time (Fig. 1-2, n° 14)⁵⁹. Moreover, the Theater appears to have served as the only convenient way to reach the mid-3rd cent. B.C. Stoa directly above (Fig. 2-3, n° 11). The distinctive red porphyritic stone used extensively in the Theater also appears in some of the Monument Platforms in the Theatral Complex likely dating to the 3rd cent. (Fig. 9); the other material, porous limestone, was used in the Stoa. The functional and architectural connection between theaters and stoas was by this time well established⁶⁰; at Samothrace, the Theater likely was built in concert with the Stoa in the mid-3rd cent. B.C. Although antedating documented Roman involvement on the island, it provided the venue for Dymas' (and likely others') compelling dramas on the life of Dardanos, which meant so much to the Samothracians and connected them intimately with Troy.

The south boulder wall with the faux-Mycenaean niche retained a terrace that supported two chambers (Fig. 2-3, n° 8, 10; Fig. 8)⁶¹. The larger, roughly square Room 10 had a richly decorated interior with colored plaster in imitation of drafted margin masonry (Fig. 2-3, n° 10). It surely served as a dining room and, given its elevation, may have communicated especially with the theater. The smaller and slightly later room to the east (n° 8) probably served a dining function as well. Additional dining rooms and associated structures occupy the area to the north framed by the south and western retaining walls; although the current organization reflects imperial to late antique construction, some of the rooms (including the rooms north of n° 7) were first built in the 2nd cent. B.C. The expansion of dining facilities

⁵⁸ CHAPOUTHIER – SALAC – SALVIAT 1956, 145-146; LEHMANN – SPITTLE 1964, pp. 136-139; KNELL 1995, 69-70 (beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. or a little later). The building was badly pillaged during World War II; LEHMANN – SPITTLE 1964, 3-8.

⁵⁹ For the Altar Court, see LEHMANN – SPITTLE 1964, 61-146 (late third quarter of the 4th cent. B.C.); PSOMA – KARADIMA – TERZOPOULO 2008, 231-238 (mid-3rd cent. B.C.). A thorough reassessment of the architecture and context pottery is required. K. LEHMANN (LEHMANN – SPITTLE 1964, 138-141) proposes that the façade of the Altar Court served as the skene for the theater.

⁶⁰ VITR. 6, 9, 1. Note, *e.g.*, the stoa behind the skene of the theater at Oropos or the Theater of Dionysos in Athens; COULTON 1976, 12, 225-226, 269.

⁶¹ For this region, see MCCREDIE 1979, 9-23.

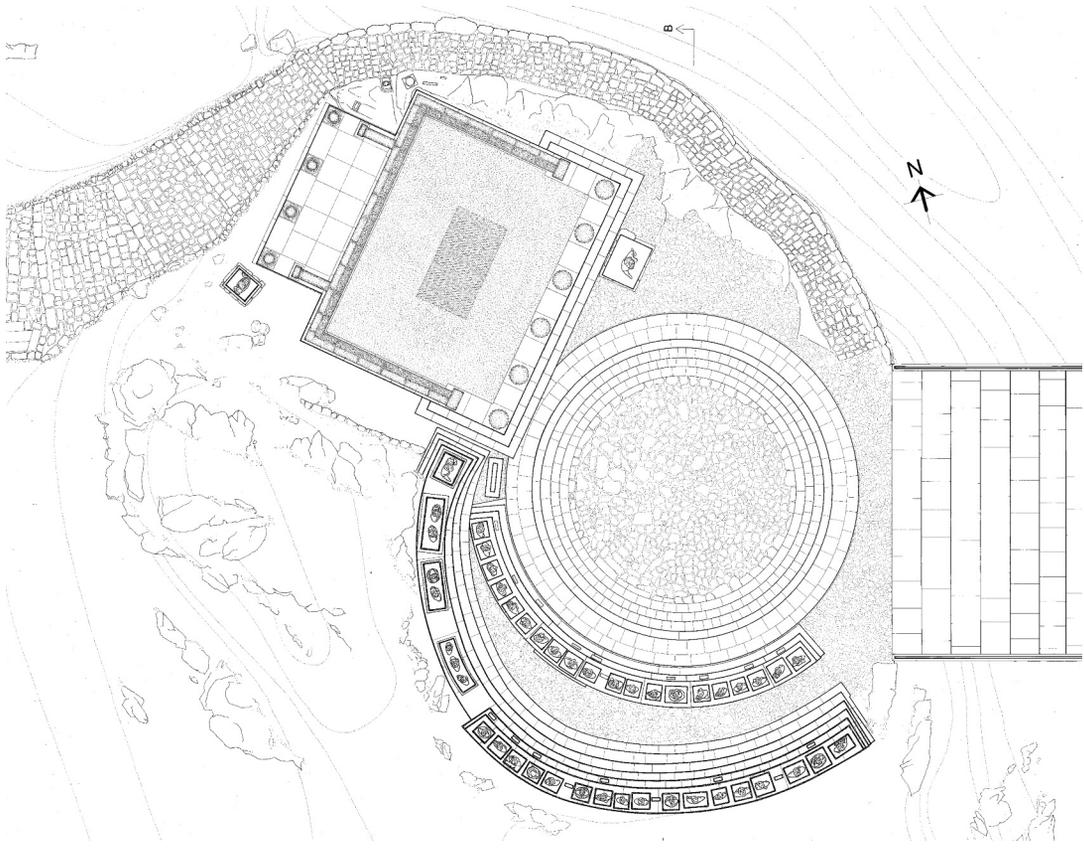


Fig. 9 - Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Reconstructed plan of the Theatral Complex including the outer grandstand; Late Hellenistic period (Drawing A. L. Day and R. B. Ruedig, *Samothrace Excavations*)

in the late Hellenistic period cannot be assigned specifically to Roman or Greek intervention, but instead signals the growing popularity of the cult from the 2nd cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D., to which both groups contributed. Similar developments take place in the West Sanctuary at Ilion⁶².

Outer Grandstand on the Eastern Hill

Entrance to the Sanctuary was one of dramatically orchestrated descent punctuated by key stations: first the Propylon of Ptolemy II, then the Theatral Complex on the Eastern Hill, and finally the central valley forming the

⁶² LAWALL 2002, 89; ROSE 2002, 36.

heart of the Sanctuary (Figg. 2-3, nn^o 26, 25, 18). The Theatral Complex served as the first important gathering space within the sacred *temenos*, where sacred acts to prepare prospective initiates for the *mysteria* (e.g., libation, small sacrifice, sacred instructions) likely were administered⁶³. Of all the regions within the Sanctuary, this center received the most continuous integrated elaboration⁶⁴. By the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., the Complex included not only the Theatral Circle, an orchestra-like court with encircling steps, but also a hexastyle prostyle marble pavilion dedicated by the successors of Alexander the Great, Philip III and Alexander IV, and a series of monument platforms erected against the southern circumference of the steps (Fig. 8). Built serially, these platforms ultimately created a continuous arc supporting multiple bronze statues, each set on a low, rectangular base⁶⁵. We do not know exactly whom the statues represented, because the bases are not inscribed and the arrangement is something of a hybrid between a group and an individual monument. It seems most likely that they honored mortals who had in some way served as benefactors to the Sanctuary. They simultaneously greeted prospective initiates and stood as permanent witnesses to the rites performed in the Theatral Circle.

In the late 2nd or early 1st cent. B.C., the Samothracians expanded this highly effective display with a much larger structure erected in a non-concentric arc behind the original monument platforms (Figg. 2-3, n^o 30, Figg. 8-9)⁶⁶. This structure, which we have called the Stepped Retaining Wall, served as a retaining wall, outer grandstand, and most importantly, additional area to display statues. Unlike the earlier monument platforms, it was designed and built as a single entity; the northwestern section consisted of four steps while the southern sweep rose two steps higher to retain the slope. The height and tread of its steps clearly permit human traffic. A passage between the new structure and the original monument platforms allowed access from the causeway of the Propylon. Together, these features suggest that the Stepped Retaining Wall could provide additional stands for participants, although the statues on the original platforms would have at least partially obscured the view into the orchestra.

While an effective retaining wall and a passable grandstand, the structure

⁶³ CLINTON (2002, 64-65) proposes *thronosis* took place here as well.

⁶⁴ MCCREDIE 1968, 216-234; WESCOAT 2006; WESCOAT *forthcoming*.

⁶⁵ MCCREDIE 1968, 220-221.

⁶⁶ Dated by pottery within the foundations, which included the rim of a fusiform unguentarium (2000.5.1) and a fragment of a moldmade bowl (2000.6). For the date of the latter, see ROTROFF 2010, 64-72, figg. 6.4.2, 6.5.3.

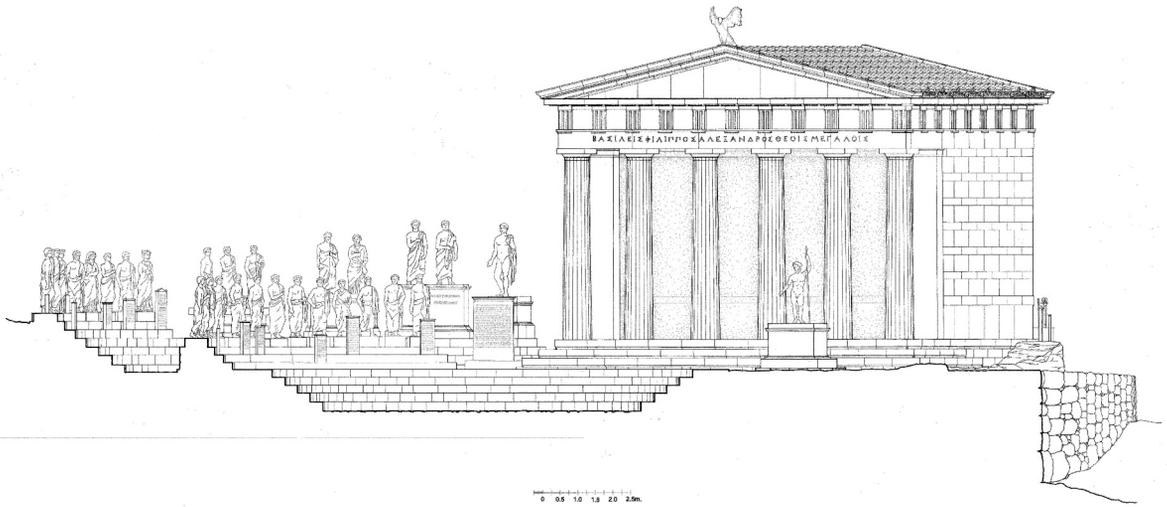


Fig. 10 - Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Reconstructed section through the Theatral Complex, late Hellenistic period (Drawing M. Grant, R. B. Ruedig, and A. F. Hopper, *Samothrace Excavations*)

served chiefly as a platform for sculptural dedications, which included individual bronze statues and larger built monuments for groups of statues (Fig. 10). Although built in one campaign, the Stepped Retaining Wall was only gradually filled in with dedications, which stretched across the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and possibly into the imperial period. The molded profiles of surviving orthostate monuments have close parallels in 2nd and 1st century B.C. monuments from Delos, Lindos, Pergamon and Priene (Fig. 11)⁶⁷. No inscriptions survive to identify the donors or the identities of

⁶⁷ Other Samothracian monuments have similar profiles and also belong to this period, including Orthostate Monument VII, to the southeast of the Stoa (profile unpublished), the monument on Foundation A in front of the Stoa (CONZE – HAUSER – BENNDORF 1880, 51, pls. 50, 59); and a statue base crown from the Theater (CHARPOUTHIER – SALAC – SALVIAT 1956, 132, figg. 21-22; BOUZEK *et al.* 1985, 36, fig. 14; SCHMIDT 1995, IV.1, 148, fig. 274). Space does not permit a full discussion of the profiles, but some comparisons are offered here. For monuments with similar profile to fig. 11a, see SCHMIDT 1995, figg. 234, 237, 257, 272, 279; THÜNGEN 1994, Beil. 72. For the profile of fig. 11b, see SHOE 1936, 99; THÜNGEN 1994, Beil. 75, foot profile A. For fig. 11c, see SHOE 1936, 48-49, pl. 22, 11.14. For the combination of moldings in Fig. 11d-e, see THÜNGEN 1994, Beil. 72, crown profile A. For the angular Pergamene Type III ovolo, see SHOE 1936, 52, pl. 24, 4; pl. 22, 15; 17, 30 and 32. For the more rounded form, see SHOE 1936, 52, pl. 24, 1; pl. 24, 6. For the profile of fig. 11f, see SHOE 1936, 142-143, pl. 60, 9; 63, 15; THÜNGEN 1994, Beil. 75.

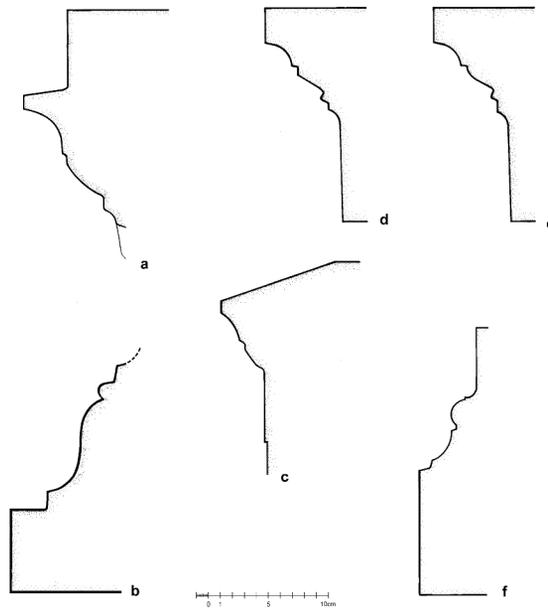


Fig. 11 - Molded profiles of Orthostate Monuments: a and b. Monument 1; c. 05.007; d-e. base T059; and f. Monument 2 (Drawing B. Wescoat, Samothrace Excavations)

the statues. While the individual statues likely continued the tradition established by the earlier dedications on the monument platforms, the built monuments had a different character. Like the several bases in the region of the Stoa, which date to the same period, these larger, more elaborate dedications honored more important groups of patrons. It seems at least possible that some of these dedications may have been erected to honor Roman patrons, although the bases are more elaborate than the one honoring Q. Lutatius Catulus (Fig. 7).

Three late Hellenistic Buildings on the Western Hill

Three small buildings on the western boundary of the Sanctuary were also built during the period of early Roman involvement on the island, but here, too, evidence of direct Roman intervention is illusive (Fig. 2-3, nn^o 1-3; Fig. 12)⁶⁸. Although allied in proximity, material and scale, each building is different in design.

⁶⁸ MCCREDIE 1968, 210-211; MCCREDIE 1979, 23-26.

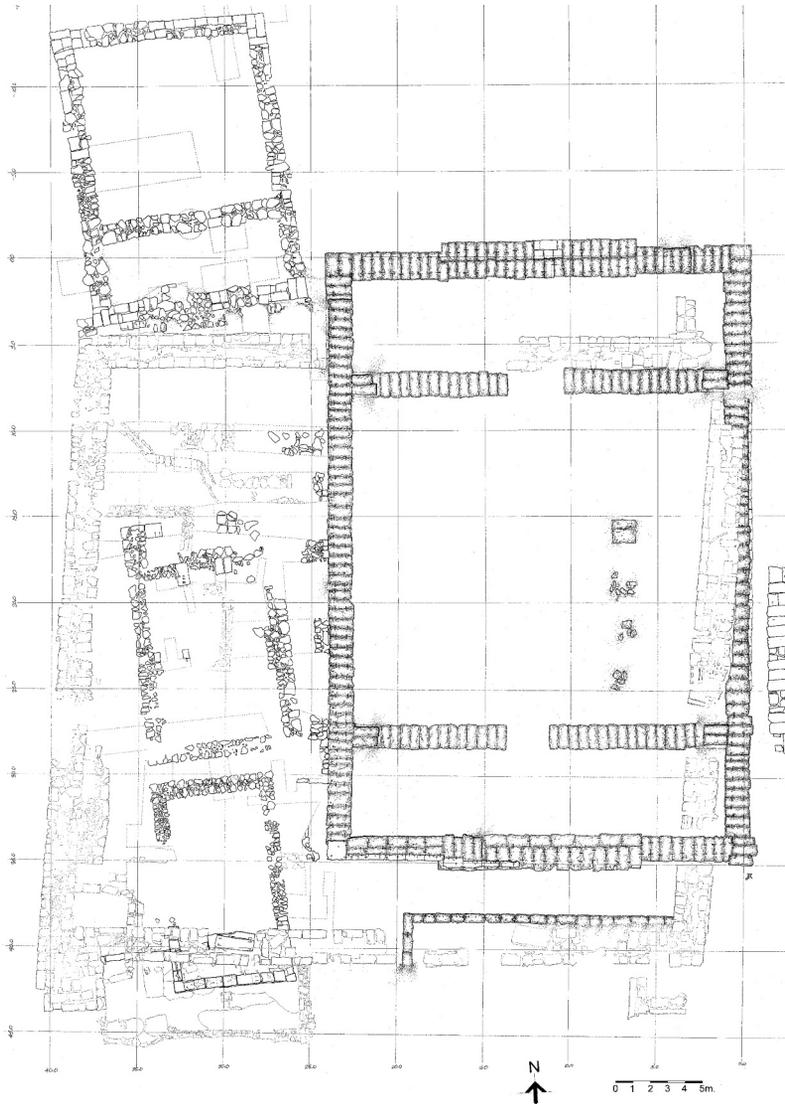


Fig. 12 - Plan of the three late Hellenistic buildings on the western border of the Sanctuary (Drawing J. Kurtich, Samothrace Excavations)

The earliest and northernmost Building 1, which faces south, has a hexastyle prostyle façade with returning steps, much like the Dedication of Philip III and Alexander IV or the Hieron⁶⁹. Little of the superstructure survives,

⁶⁹ BOUZEK *et al.* 1985, fig. 29, shows the euthynteria of the returning steps at the southeastern corner.



Fig. 13 - Block from a base for a marble statue group, Western Hill (Photo B. Wescoat)

but likely only the threshold was marble. Although temple-like in its combination of pronaos and cella, the building is unlikely to have had a central cultic function, given its peripheral location. It might have served as a treasury for dedications, although the squarish cella also raises the possibility that it served as a dining chamber. In addition to conventional dining rooms (Fig. 2-3, n° 7), the Sanctuary had a number of elaborate dining halls, including an Ionic banquet hall with framing wings and a hestiatorion with an antechamber (Fig. 2-3, nn° 6, 32)⁷⁰.

Building 2, which faces toward Building 1 to create a small plateia between the two, has a distyle *in antis* pronaos and cella, much like earlier treasuries in other panhellenic sanctuaries. A screen wall divided the cella in half, and it seems most likely that this building displayed a sculptural group set on a pi-shaped base, several blocks of which were built into the Byzantine fort immediately to the west (Fig. 13). They bear shallow oval depressions that once secured under life-size marble statues; fragments of such sculptures have also been found in the region⁷¹.

The southernmost Building 3, which faces south into the hillside west of the Ship Monument, also is distyle in antis but has tall piers instead of

⁷⁰ The hestiatorion is similar in design and scale to the Late Hellenistic Building at Ilios (also called the North Building), which has been identified as a dining chamber; see ROSE 2002, 36-37, fig. 7. G. ROUX (1973, 554) has suggested that the building identified as the Hall of Votive Gifts also served a dining function.

⁷¹ See, e.g., MCCREDIE 1979, 210, pl. 62.c-d.

columns⁷². The *antae* are finished with Doric style responds, but the epistyle bore a simple *taenia* without *regulae* and *guttae*. The marble threshold survives; the rest of the building was constructed in local porous sandstone finished with plaster. A Thasian marble monument base still stands in the pronaos. Like its northern neighbor, Building 3 resembles a treasury in plan and may have been designed to shelter votive offerings. The western area of the Sanctuary generally was a major locus for votive gifts and commemorative statues, including those honoring Romans. The base honoring Q. Lutatius Catulus was found in this region, as well as several smaller bases for offerings⁷³. However, the buildings themselves, including the simplified use of orders reflected in Building 3, have precedents in Hellenistic design and function; there is no reason to posit Roman influence at work.

The Winged Victory and its Precinct

The most famous Samothracian monument, the Winged Victory, potentially has the most to offer our understanding of Roman influence and involvement during this period (Fig. 14)⁷⁴. Although dated both earlier (Demetrios Poliorketes' victory at Salamis, 306 B.C.) and later (a Pergamene dedication of 160s), scholars generally place the statue near the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C.⁷⁵ Since the early 20th cent., the Nike has been identified as a Rhodian dedication honoring the joint Rhodian and Roman naval victory over the fleet of Antiochos the Great off Myonessos in 190 B.C., a decisive battle that gave Rome and its allies control of the Dardanelles⁷⁶. Her

⁷² WESCOAT 2010B, 101-104, fig. 7.39.

⁷³ MCCREDIE 1979, 26.

⁷⁴ For our purposes, the most important publications are KNELL 1995; RIDGWAY 2000, 150-160; MARK n.d.; HAMIAUX 2007; PALAGIA 2010.

⁷⁵ For a summary of opinion on the date of the monument, see RIDGWAY 2000, 150-160 and esp. 175, n.17.

⁷⁶ For the battle, see GRAINGER 2002, 288-306. For the Nike as a Rhodian dedication in honor of the victory, see summary of evidence in MARK 1998; RIDGWAY 2000, 150-154; HAMIAUX 2007, 36-44. F. Chapouthier proposed that a Samothracian inscription in local stone with a damaged Latin verse honoring a military victory represents a complementary dedication by the Roman *praetor navalis*, L. Aemilius Regillus, who, as discussed above, vowed a manubial temple in Rome to the Lares Permarini honoring the victory. See conveniently *CIL* 1.4 (ed. 1986) n^o 3442; SALVIAT 1962, 280-281; ZEVI 1997, 95-97, nn. 51-2. However, the small scale and humble material of the Samothracian monument, as well as the phrase referring to a person's age (not yet twenty) argue against a connection with Regillus. Kevin Clinton (pers. comm.) notes instead that the scale, material, and language tend to suggest a grave inscription of a sailor who died in a great naval battle.



Fig. 14 - Statue of the Winged Victory (Gnu Free Documentation)

connection with Pergamene style remains uncontested. Olga Palagia has recently argued that the Samothracian Nike is contemporary with the Great Altar of Pergamon, now dated to the second quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C., and she concludes that within this timeframe, only the Roman victory over Perseus and the conquest of Macedonia in 168 B.C. warranted a dedication of this scale and importance⁷⁷. While not a naval victory per se, the Roman fleet did capture Perseus and thus put an end to Macedonian rule. In Rome, Cn. Octavius celebrated a “triumphum navalem ex Macedona et rege Perse”

⁷⁷ PALAGIA 2010.

and built the Porticus Octavia to commemorate the victory; the gold crown he dedicated in Apollo's sanctuary on Delos likely honors this victory as well⁷⁸. The connection is intriguing. There would be no better place to concretize Roman authority than in the formerly premier sanctuary of Macedonian kings, which had itself helped end the war by negotiating with the Romans over Perseus. Aemilius Paulus took Perseus' monument at Delphi and made it his own (PLU. *Aem.* 28.4.); why not take the Antigonid sanctuary and mark it for Rome? And what better place to claim and commemorate victory than in the 'ancestral home,' among common gods?

The connection however, does not rest easily with the evidence of Roman behavior in the eastern Mediterranean during the 2nd cent. B.C. Roman victory offerings in Greek sanctuaries generally took the form of spoils, a gold crown or bowl, or a portrait statue⁷⁹. The Aemilius Paulus monument at Delphi is not a precise equivalent, as it was already begun by Perseus and simply appropriated by Aemilius Paulus, as the Attalid monument near the Propylaia in Athens would later be repurposed by M. Agrippa⁸⁰. In each instance, the earlier monument served as a base for a portrait statue of the Roman honoree. The Samothracian Nike remains purely allegorical; as a victory dedication it has a decidedly Greek character emanating from Demetrios Poliorketes' coin representations. Roman expropriation of the image appears only a century later in coinage minted by Octavian after his victory at Aktion⁸¹. The naval monument in the agora of Cyrene (probably with Athena rather than Nike), if a Roman dedication honoring Pompey's defeat of the Cilician pirates as H. Knell suggests, would also be considerably later than the Samothracian monument.⁸² For now, the Nike's origins must remain as tantalizingly suggestive as the Samothracian mysteries themselves.

⁷⁸ See GUARDUCCI 1937, esp. 49 for Gn. Octavius. There is some dispute as to whether Octavius dedicated the crown after the 3rd Macedonian War or later en route to Asia while consul. See *I.Déllos* 1429, A I, 30ss (for the gold crown dedicated by Gn. Octavius to Apollo on Delos). *CIL* I², 48, 175 (for Gn. Octavius's naval triumph over Macedonia and Perseus). PLIN. *nat.* 34, 13.

⁷⁹ GUARDUCCI 1937. For Hellenistic victory monuments, see BROGAN 1999.

⁸⁰ Aemilius Paulus Monument, Delphi: PLU. *Aem.* 28, 4; Agrippa Monument, originally honoring Eumenes II, Athens: *IG* II² 4122; HURWIT 1999, 271, 317. A second Attalid pillar monument at the northeastern corner of the Parthenon was rededicated to Augustus.

⁸¹ KNELL 1995, 88-90, fig. 68.

⁸² KNELL 1995, 87-88, fig. 67.

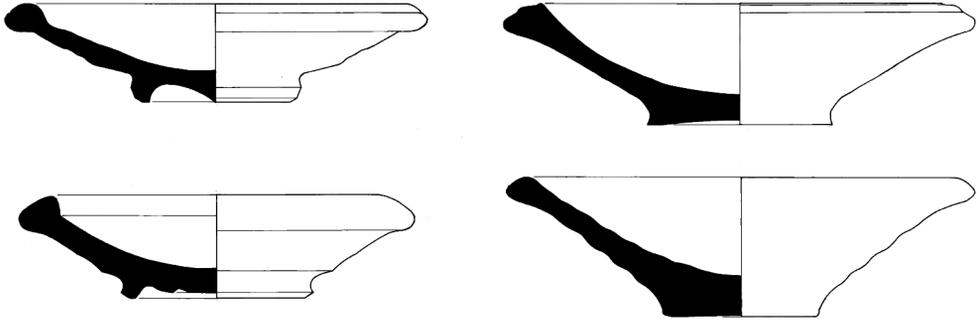


Fig. 15 - Samothracian conical bowls with ring base (left) and string-cut base (right)
(Drawing Y. K. Kim)

Samothracian Conical Bowls and Roman Clientele

While little cult detritus survives, the pottery used within the Sanctuary can be traced in broad outline from the large G2-3 ware tankards of the 7th cent. B.C. to the locally produced kantharoi of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.⁸³ Some time after the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. (possibly as late as the early 2nd cent.), Samothracians stopped manufacturing kantharoi and started producing a distinctive form of conical bowl in coarse, unglazed fabric (Fig. 15)⁸⁴. These bowls remained the vessel of choice at least through the early imperial period. They differ in nearly every respect from the kantharoi, but since the one replaced the other, it seems likely that they served roughly similar purposes. Although scattered throughout the Sanctuary, they were found in massive quantities on the Eastern Hill (to the south and west of the Theatral Complex, Figg. 2-3, nn^o 24, 25, 30) in a context that allows for ritual deposition⁸⁵. This possible new development in cult practice might explain the change in vessel shape. Once again, while the conical bowl coincides with Roman involvement, it is unlikely to be of Roman instigation. The sheer quantity of the bowls speaks to high traffic within the Sanctuary, and to that Roman clients certainly contributed.

⁸³ For G2-3 ware: M. MOORE in LEHMANN – SPITTLE 1982, 317-371. For *kantharoi*: G. KOPCKE in McCREDIE 1992, 287-293.

⁸⁴ ROTROFF and BLEVINS in WESCOAT, *forthcoming*. For earlier mention, see McCREDIE 1979, 26, 34 and n. 78.

⁸⁵ WESCOAT *forthcoming*.

In sum, the Latin records of Roman initiates remain the most dramatic evidence of Roman involvement with the cult of the Great Gods in the mid- to late republican period. The fabric of the Sanctuary betrays no overt sign of Roman intervention. Most of the developments we witness within the Sanctuary largely result from the changing circumstances the Romans generated rather than from any direct interventions they imposed. While Roman military and political domination dealt a blow to Hellenistic royal patronage, the practice of the cult appears to have proceeded undiminished. If anything, the steady flow of Roman clients – military, official, and private – contributed to the fame of the island cult, and increased traffic led to the need for more dining facilities and more places to accommodate votive and commemorative offerings.

ISLAND AND METROPOLIS

Association between Samothrace, the Penates, and the ancestry of the Trojans created a bond, not a tension, between the island and Rome. Unlike the cult of the Egyptian gods or the cult of Kybele, the Samothracian cult of the mysteries had little impact on the capital city, positively or negatively⁸⁶. Geography kept the cult at a safe distance from conservative late republican religious mores. Initiation was restricted to the island, and the number of people who could travel there was relatively small (then as now) and elite; pilgrims tended to have an official or economic reason for being in the area, although proximity was hardly a sufficient condition for taking the time, energy, and risk to journey to the island. While the cult of the mysteries had the potential to draw strong men off course, what little we know of the rites does not intimate strange or violent practices; the promises of initiation – salvation at sea and personal betterment – did not undermine state-sponsored religion or shift power into the hands of volatile lower classes. The interest of Romans in the cult of the Great Gods appears to have been chiefly personal, or at least it did not lead to a formal and on-going tie with the Sanctuary. Unlike their Greek counterparts, the Romans did not establish a system of *theoroi* and *proxenoi* between Italy and the Sanctuary. Although the Romans built altars to the Great Gods (which likely are connected with the Samothracian Great Gods) and honored the Lares Permarini (who may be allied with the Samothracian Great Gods) with a splendid temple, they

⁸⁶ COLE 1989, 1582-1583.

did not set aside places in the capital specifically to honor the Samothracian gods, in the fashion of the several Samothrakeia created from the Aegean up into the Black Sea⁸⁷. Where the Samothracian connection permeated Roman identity especially was in the construction of ethnic and religious origins. The identity of the Penates was perplexing and their relationship to the Capitoline triad vexed. One resolution was to tie them both to Samothrace. So Macrobius could claim that “those who pursue the truth of the matter” connect the two sets of divinities in the story that L. Tarquinius Priscus, fifth king of Rome (rule 616-579 B.C.), who had been initiated into the mystic rites on Samothrace, first joined together Jupiter, Juno and Minerva in a shrine on the Palatine⁸⁸. Historical realities are here immaterial; the important point is that the Samothracian mysteries had become such a central part of Roman religious heritage that they could be imagined as the generating force behind the formation of the Capitoline triad.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

On Samothrace, a bilingual prohibition inscription discovered near the Anaktoron provides a final opportunity to assess one of the major themes of this volume, the formation and transformation of collective identities within a sacred context (Fig. 16). Although originally dated to the early imperial period, Nora Dimitrova has recently assigned it to the 2nd to 1st cent. B.C.⁸⁹ The inscription bears the prohibition in both Latin and Greek and is completed by the image of a kerykeion/cadeceus flanked by rampant snakes:

deorum • sacra
 qui non acceperunt • non intrant.
 ἀμύητον μὴ εἰσιέναι.

In assessing the inscription, Fraser writes:

“There seems to be no parallel to this, and its uniqueness is not surprising, since it implies an unusual state of affairs, that Romans visiting the

⁸⁷ *Supra* n. 32.

⁸⁸ MACR. *Sat.* 3, 4, 7-9 (LEWIS 1959, 84, no. 182); also SERV. *in Aen.* 2, 296 (LEWIS 1959, 84, 182a). See discussion, COLE 1989, 1597.

⁸⁹ FRASER 1960, 118-120, n^o 63; CLINTON (2002, 61) relocates the inscription outside the Anaktoron. DIMITROVA 2008, 240, n^o 169.



Fig. 16 - Bilingual prohibition inscription found near the Anaktoron. 1st-2nd century A.D.
 (After LEHMANN 1969, fig. 346)

Sanctuary were not assumed to understand Greek. This is an interesting sidelight on the difference, as a cult-center, between Samothrace and, say, Delos. The Roman merchants and members of corporations who visited Delos were no doubt mostly, or all, Greek-speaking. It is a very different class of person to whom the Latin part of the Samothracian prohibition is addressed: the proconsular Roman and his staff, who might be ignorant of Greek. This is a further aspect of the phenomenon previously stressed, namely that Samothrace was unaffected by those political and social trends of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which led to the growth of syncretism, and that just on this account it forms a significant element in the total picture of Hellenistic religion, in which the survival

of the traditional in religious practice is of no less importance than the development and Hellenization of exotic cults.”⁹⁰

In light of the discussion above, we may take issue with nearly all of Fraser’s statements. At Amphipolis in 167, Aemilius Paulus delivered Roman terms in Latin, while Gnaeus Octavius translated them into Greek. Aemilius Paulus had good command of Greek; he chose to speak in Latin to make clear that Rome was the dominant power⁹¹. Publishing the Samothracian prohibition in both languages – Latin first, then Greek – acknowledged not Roman ignorance but Roman authority. Samothracians recorded the names of initiates in whatever language the initiate (presumably) chose; Roman initiates who registered their names in Latin did so to broadcast their ethnicity. This imposition was perhaps less keenly felt on Samothrace than it would have been in other sanctuaries in Greece, for in the cult of the Great Gods, certain names given to the gods and some of the rites themselves relied on non-Greek words⁹². Romans were a significant part of the clientele; they shared kinship and gods with the Samothracians. They appear to have been received on their own terms.

Eliminating Fraser’s first bias helps nullify his second, that the inscription is specifically directed to the proconsular Roman and his staff. Granted, our chief literary evidence tends to focus on the politically significant pilgrims to the island, and some of the initiate lists do record the names of Roman officials⁹³. But many more lists record Roman initiates who are not officials. The Samothrakeion on Delos, as well as the several Samothrakeia on the islands, Asia Minor and lining the Black Sea littoral offer abundant proof that initiation into the cult of the Great Gods on Samothrace was also vital to businessmen, Greek and Roman, whose movements formed the connective tissue binding the Mediterranean in the late republic and early empire⁹⁴. As for Fraser’s claim that the cult served as a kind of bastion of tradition in the face of exotic cults, the cult of the Great Gods on Samothrace gained strength in the Hellenistic and Roman periods precisely because it stood outside the traditional and because it could respond, in a pan-

⁹⁰ FRASER 1960, 17.

⁹¹ LIV. 45, 29, 1-4; discussed by PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN 1984, 84.

⁹² See D.S. 5, 47, 1-48, 3. Note also evidence for inscriptions in a non-Greek language, recently reviewed by GRAHAM 2002, 250-252.

⁹³ *Supra* n. 45.

⁹⁴ COLE 1984, 75-86. *Contra* COLE 1984, 68, recent archaeological work on Kythnos by A. Mazarakis-Ainian suggests that the inscription mentioning Theoi Samothrakes does indicate a temple.

Mediterranean way (not just for Greeks and Romans, but also, e.g., Thracians)⁹⁵, to personal needs and desires in a way that traditional Greek religion or Roman state religion did not. It is a challenge to speak of the ‘traditional’ in a cult whose divinities hovered between the Olympian and the daimonic, and for which attempts to find equivalencies generated a host of contradictory and confounding speculations.

The arrival of the Romans coincided with, and possibly served as a catalyst for, the Samothracians’ sharpening of their own religious and cultural identity. We know only a little of how the Samothracians imagined themselves, but as it is, the evidence chiefly highlights their awareness of being part of a world richly permeated by ‘others’. Legendarily descendents of Titans or Pelasgians, they were formed from a mix of autochthonos, Thracian, Aeolian, and Samian stock⁹⁶. Their hero Dardanos was founder of the non-Greek Trojan people to whom the non-Greek Romans ultimately fixed their ancestry. Their sacred language included non-Greek words and their divinities were hard to fix upon in Olympian terms. They fought valiantly on the Persian side during the battle of Salamis (HDT. 8.90.2); in confronting Athens over their tribute, they employed Antiphon to describe their island as small, poor, and far away (ANTIPHON *Or.* 15, frg. 50). They could claim an historical role in bringing together the Macedonian royal house (PLU. *Alex.* 2, 2). Their heroic initiates, especially the Argonauts, were on the move northeastward (A.R. 1, 915-921). The locus of cult energy was also to the north and the east⁹⁷. Geography, cult, and ethnic stock had always distanced Samothrace from the heart of classical Greece; this remoteness made it easier for the lofty-peaked island to become the fulcrum between Rome and Troy. Perhaps they had little choice; as Livy observes in the matter of Perseus, the Samothracians act in full awareness that they, their whole island, and their sanctuary were in the power of the Romans. Nevertheless, the Samothracians of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. must have seen that they had less to lose and more to gain than the rest of Greece in the coming of Rome, if they played their cards right. And they did.

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⁹⁵ DIMITROVA 2008, 115-119, n^o 46, for Thracian royal initiates.

⁹⁶ HEROD. 2, 51-52 for Pelasgian connection. GRAHAM 2002, favoring Samian colonists, but note G2-3 were Aeolic fabric, KARADIMA *et al.* 2002.

⁹⁷ DIMITROVA 2008, for maps locating *theoroi* and initiates.

ZUR TOPOGRAPHIE HELLENISTISCHER 'EHRENSTATUEN' AUF DELOS*

Kaum ein anderer Ort in der Ägäiswelt bietet für Fragen nach der räumlichen Inszenierung hellenistischer Porträtstatuen so vorzügliche Bedingungen wie die kleine "offenbare" Insel im Zentrum der Kykladen. Dank ihrer deutlich zurückgesetzten Bedeutung während der Kaiserzeit lassen sich hier noch ungewöhnlich viele Statuenträger ihren ursprünglichen Aufstellungskontexten zuordnen. Die folgenden Ausführungen sollen einen skizzenhaften Überblick über die chronologische Entwicklung der Porträtstatuen im Hinblick auf ihre Platzierung innerhalb des Apollon-Heiligtums und der ringsum entstandenen Polis leisten, um deren markanteste Veränderungen zu erfassen und zu deuten. Der Einfachheit halber wird dabei von 'Ehrenstatuen' die Rede sein, da dieser Begriff am ehesten der Funktion der Bild-

* Dieser Beitrag geht auf einen Vortrag zurück, den ich auf dem 17. Internationalen Kongress für Klassische Archäologie 2008 in Rom gehalten habe (s. GRIESBACH 2011). Er resultiert aus meiner Habilitation zur Topographie von Ehrenstatuen im hellenistischen Osten an der Universität München und wurde für die vorliegende Publikation entsprechend aktualisiert und überarbeitet. Hilfreiche Hinweise zu den Statuenbasen im Apollon-Heiligtum verdanke ich Frédéric Herbin, der zu diesem Thema in Bälde seine Dissertation (Univ. Athen/Paris, Sorbonne) veröffentlichen wird. Für ihre großzügige Unterstützung meiner Untersuchungen auf Delos danke ich den Verantwortlichen der École française d'Athènes, Dominique Mulliez und Arthur Muller sowie dem Leiter der 21. Ephorie, Panajotis Chatzidakis.

FO = Fundort. Zur Kennzeichnung der Monumente auf Delos folge ich den Konventionen der Nummerierung im GUIDE DE DÉLOS (im Folgenden = GD + Nr.), der inzwischen in der 4. überarbeiteten Ausgabe vorliegt (= BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005); für die Inschriften wird neben den einschlägigen Corpora auf die Sammlung von F. Durrbach, *Choix d'Inscriptions de Délos* (1921/22. Nachdruck 1976) verwiesen (im Folgenden = DURRBACH 1976, Nr.). Die nach VALLOIS 1923 angegebenen Nummern beziehen sich auf die Denkmäler auf VALLOIS 1923, Taf. 1 und Taf. 9. Auf Beiträge einer noch unveröffentlichten Tagung zur Topographie hellenistischer Ehrenstatuen in München (Institut für Klassische Archäologie, 4. – 6.12.2009) wird mit dem Kürzel POLIS & PORTRÄT verwiesen. Eine Berücksichtigung der jüngst erschienenen Untersuchungen von DILLON – PALMER 2013 zu den Denkmälern am 'Dromos' war aus redaktionellen Gründen leider nicht mehr möglich.

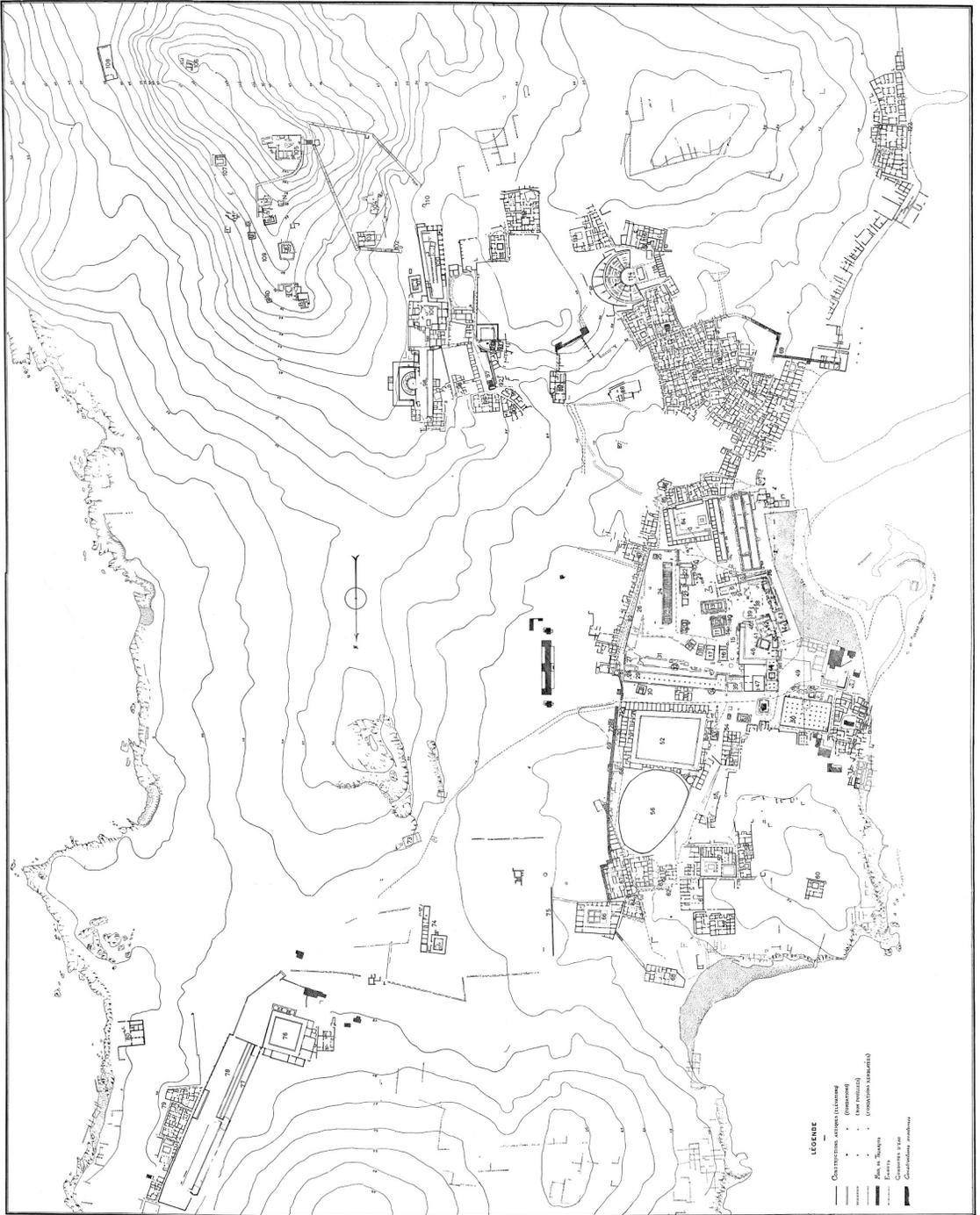


Abb. 1 - Plan von Delos mit Nummerierung GD (BRUNEAU 1970, Taf. A)

nisse gerecht wird, obwohl man einwenden kann, dass es sich bei der Mehrzahl um Weihgaben einzelner Personen handelt, sofern man darin einen Widerspruch erkennen möchte¹.

DIE ANFÄNGE: ANKNÜPFEN AN VERGANGENE ZEITEN

Wenn man nach den Ursprüngen der hellenistischen Ehrenstatuen auf Delos (Abb. 1) Ausschau hält, kommt man nicht umhin, sich über die klaffende Lücke zu wundern, die sich zwischen der reichen Überlieferung archaischer Zeit und dem Hellenismus auftut². Nach so prominenten Werken wie der 'Nikandre' oder dem 'Naxier-Koloss', denen eine dichte Reihe von Koren und Kouroi und sogar Reiterstatuen des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. gefolgt ist³, erreicht das überkommene Material statuarischer Votive repräsentativen Anspruchs mit einer Gruppe von stark bewegten Athletenbildern, die eindrucksvoll den Übergang von archaischer zu klassischer Körperauffassung markieren⁴, sein vorläufiges Ende⁵. Dieser Eindruck bestätigt sich vor allem

¹ Mit dem Terminus 'Ehrenstatue' lassen sich auch solche Denkmäler einschließen, die man nach der herkömmlichen Klassifizierung nicht als Porträt ansprechen würde, obwohl sie gewiss eine bestimmte historische Person verkörpern sollten (z. B. Statuen von Athleten). Auch wenn viele der hier behandelten Monumente auf private Weihungen zurückgehen und somit nicht durch eine politische Institution veranlasst sind, kann man ihnen die Absicht einer ehrenden Herausstellung aus der Allgemeinheit kaum absprechen. An o. g. Stelle werde ich auf die Problematik ausführlicher eingehen.

² Vgl. HERMARY 1984, 1 f.

³ Unberührt von der umstrittenen Frage, wen diese großformatigen Bildnisse darstellen, ist ihr repräsentativer Anspruch in den Inschriften nicht zu verkennen: s. z. B. DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 2 zur 'Nikandre'. Zur archaischen Plastik auf den Kykladen s. jüngst KOURAYOS – PROST 2008; zu Delos in archaischer Zeit s. GALLET DE SANTERRE 1958.

⁴ HERMARY 1984, 8-19 Nr. 5-8; MARCADÉ 1996, 58-63 Nr. 20-22. Der homerische Hymnos erwähnt neben Tänzen und Chorgesängen auch Faustkämpfe während der Feiern für Apoll (s. BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 56), aber Hermary wird wohl richtig liegen, die Haltungen der Figuren auf Wurfdisziplinen zurückzuführen, was eventuell auf andernorts gewonnene Agone delischer Athleten hindeuten könnte; vgl. RAUSA 1994, 77-80.

⁵ In der Folgezeit dominieren Bildnisse von Göttern attischer Prägung das Heiligtum, wenn auch in überschaubarer Zahl: Hermes Propylaios (= *I.Délos* 42, 341/40 v. Chr.): HERMARY 1984, 54 f. Nr. 33; MARCADÉ 1996, 74 Nr. 28; CHAMOIX 1996, 37-53; 'Schlangengöttin': HERMARY 1984, 55-60 Nr. 34 (Athena Hygieia?); VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 20 Abb. 27; beide an den Propyläen (*GD* 5) postiert; s. außerdem HERMARY 1984, 59-61 zu den Hermen aus dem Prytaneion (*GD* 22).

bei Durchsicht der inschriftlichen Quellen⁶. Angesichts der historischen Hintergründe erscheint naheliegend, die Ursache für das unvermittelte Ausbleiben ähnlicher Weihgaben mit dem politischen Einfluss Athens in Verbindung zu bringen, das mit der Gründung des attisch-delischen Seebundes de facto die Vorherrschaft über die Insel und ihr berühmtes Apollon-Heiligtum gewonnen hatte⁷. Zumindest hat es den Anschein, dass die junge Demokratie in Athen, die in Fragen der Bildnisrepräsentation klare politische Grenzen zu setzen suchte⁸, ihren Einfluss genutzt hat, um hier einen ähnlichen Schlagabtausch der Anatheme wie in anderen panhellenischen Heiligtümern zu unterbinden⁹. Mit dem “Tempel der Athener” und den Propyläen südlich des Altarplatzes drückten die neuen Herren – so wie im 7. und frühen 6. Jh. v. Chr. die Naxier – dem Heiligtum ihren Stempel auf¹⁰, während sie ebenso darauf bedacht waren, den religiösen Betrieb neu zu organisieren und die Alteingesessenen zu beseitigen¹¹. Als deutlichstes Symbol für

⁶ Unklar ist das Aussehen der choregischen Weihgeschenke *I.Délos* 44 – 46 (vgl. *I.Délos* 98), auch wenn DreifüÙe (oder Phallos-Pfeiler?) naheliegend erscheinen; zu dieser Denkmälergattung auf Delos s. AMANDRY – DUCAT 1973. Um Hermen handelt es sich bei den Weihungen des Phanodikos (= *I.Délos* 36, um 350 v. Chr.) und des Simos (= *I.Délos* 37, 326 v. Chr.): MARCADÉ 1969, 146 Anm. 3; wohl um Götterbildnisse bei den Weihungen des Atheners Thrasyllos (= *I.Délos* 51, 5. Jh. v. Chr.), der Archippe aus Mykonos (*I.Délos* 52, 4. Jh. v. Chr.; MARCADÉ 1957, 113; s. auch 114) und der Krino aus Paros (= *I.Délos* 53, 4. Jh. v. Chr.): MARCADÉ 1969, 46 Anm. 2. Mit den letzteren wird die Tradition statuarischer Votive an Artemis wieder aufgegriffen (s. z. B. *I.Délos* 2. 9. 17); allerdings legt die Weihinschrift der Krino durch die Angabe, dass die Statue die Größe des Mädchens habe, eine entsprechende Identifizierung nahe, auch wenn sicherlich nicht von einem Porträt auszugehen ist.

⁷ CHANKOWSKI 2008, 29–44.

⁸ Bekanntlich ließ man dem konstitutiven politischen Monument der attischen Demokratie, den Tyrannenmördern, erst zu Beginn des 4. Jhs. zusätzliche Ehrenstatuen auf der Agora folgen, wobei man weiterhin recht restriktiv verfuhr. Großzügiger, auch gegenüber ‘Fremden’, gewährte man ihre Aufstellung in Gestalt von Votiven im Heiligtum der Athena Polias auf der Akropolis; s. KRUMEICH 2007; allg. zur Verbreitung von Porträtstatuen in klassischer Zeit s. KRUMEICH 1997; LÖHR 2000.

⁹ s. jüngst zu Delphi: JACQUEMIN 1999; zu Olympia: HÖLSCHER 2002, bes. 341 f.; zur Akropolis in Athen KEESLING 2003; zu Delos als ‘panhellenischem’ Heiligtum s. SCHACHTER 2000, 10.

¹⁰ Der kleinere Neubau (*GD* 12) könnte zur Einstellung der Arbeiten am ‘großen’ Apollon-Tempel (*GD* 13) geführt haben, der wahrscheinlich auf die Gründung des attisch-delischen Seebundes zurückgeht. Es wird vermutet, dass die eigentümliche Gestaltung des Tempels einer Vereinnahmung von sieben (Kult-) Statuen (s. Benennung des Gebäudes in den Inschriften) aus dem nördlich benachbarten ‘Porinos’-Tempel geschuldet ist; s. dazu die Ausführungen in BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 183–187; CHANKOWSKI 2008, 72–74.

¹¹ Th. 3, 104; 5, 32; 8, 108 zur Vertreibung der Delier und der ‘kultischen Reinigung’ der Insel insbesondere mittels der Entfernung aller Gräber.

diesen 'Neuanfang' in Gestalt der 426 v. Chr. eingerichteten Delia ließ wenige Jahre später die berühmte bronzene Palme (sc. der Leto) ihren Schatten auf den Altarplatz fallen, die der Athener Feldherr und Architheoros Nikias vor dem Zwickel der zweiflügeligen Naxier-Stoa errichten ließ¹². Weitere Monumente einzelner Personen oder gar konkurrierender Poleis waren in diesem Rahmen in enge Schranken verwiesen¹³, es sei denn, sie dienten vornehmlich der Bereicherung des Tempelschatzes, womit sie bis auf Weiteres im Innern eines der zur Aufnahme solcher Votive vorgesehenen Gebäude bzw. in den Inventarlisten der Heiligtumsverwaltung verschwanden¹⁴.

Vor diesem Hintergrund lässt sich besser verstehen, dass man sich am Ende des 4. Jhs. v. Chr., als Delos die Unabhängigkeit von Athen erlangt hatte, zunächst an den archaischen Vorbildern orientierte, um dem Bedürfnis nach individueller Selbstdarstellung die nötige Legitimation zu verschaffen. Der Archon des Jahres 305, Stesileos, ließ in dieser Zeit abseits des Apollon-Heiligtums, in noch unbebautem Terrain am nördlichen Fuß des 'Theater-Hügels' einen kleinen wie schlichten Tempel für Aphrodite errichten¹⁵.

¹² *GD* 37 (*I.Délos* 41): HERMARY 1984, 1 Taf. 1, 1. 2. Die von Plutarch überlieferte Anekdote, dass die Palme bald darauf durch Windböen auf den Naxier-Koloss gestürzt sei, mag mehr als alles andere eine Anspielung darauf sein, dass man diese Konkurrenz der Denkmäler wahrgenommen hat. Freilich war Nikias nicht weniger darauf bedacht, dass sein Wirken auf Delos, nicht zuletzt durch großzügige Spenden, in Erinnerung blieb; s. PLU. *Nic.* 3 (begleitende Säule) und *I.Délos* 101, Z. 38 f.

¹³ Wenige Fundamente vor den Bauten am Altarplatz sowie im Umfeld der Tempel und Schatzhäuser dürften durchaus der archaischen und klassischen Zeit zuzuordnen sein, doch bleibt ganz ungewiss, wie die einst darauf angebrachten Monumente vorzustellen sind; zur Chronologie der Basen im Apollon-Heiligtum s. F. Herbin in: POLIS & PORTRÄT; s. auch die vorläufigen Angaben in ÉTIENNE 2006, 742 Abb. 13; zur Situation an den Schatzhäusern s. VALLOIS 1944, 58.

¹⁴ Die tabellarischen Aufstellungen von CHANKOWSKI 2008, 344-349 zeigen sehr deutlich, dass die inschriftlich überlieferten Votive klassischer Zeit vor allem aus wertvollen Spende- und Trinkgefäßen, insbesondere Phialen, sowie anderen Gegenständen aus Edelmetall bestehen. Dabei dominieren Weihungen von Athenern und Deliern. Eine prominente Ausnahme bildet der spartanische Heerführer Lysander, der verschiedene goldene Kränze ins Heiligtum stiftet. Erst ab dem 2. Viertel des 4. Jhs. nehmen Votive von 'außerhalb' zu, wobei vor allem die benachbarten Inseln (wieder) in Erscheinung treten, nicht zuletzt Naxos, das den Koloss (nach der Reparatur?) mit einer neuen Inschrift würdigt (*GD* 9, *I.Délos* 49). Die auffälligste, wenn auch nicht sicher ins 4. Jh. zu datierende Weihung (= *I.Délos* 50; *CIS* I 1, 114 Taf. 21) geht auf eine 'heilige Gesandtschaft' aus der Levante zurück, die im Rahmen einer Kleinarchitektur (statuarische?) Darstellungen der Städte Tyros und Sidon präsentierte; s. MESSERSCHMIDT 2003, 125 f. 199 Kat. Nr. Ty 5; skeptisch dagegen MEYER 2006, 141 Anm. 711.

¹⁵ *GD* 88: BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 261; BRUNEAU 1970, 334-341.

Während Tochter und Sohn der von ihm gestifteten Kultstatue noch zwei Standbilder der Göttin an die Seite stellten¹⁶, verewigte Stesileos seine Eltern in Form von Porträtstatuen beiderseits des Eingangs zur Cella (Abb. 2)¹⁷.

Von den beiden Denkmälern haben sich die Basen *in situ* erhalten, die je aus einem kubischen Schaft bestehen, der auf zwei flacheren Quaderlagen größerer Tiefe und Breite ruht. Es handelt sich somit also um den Typus der Stufenbasis, der besonders in Attika zwischen 560 und 480 v. Chr. verbreitet war, am Ende des 4. Jhs. jedoch recht altertümlich wirken musste¹⁸. Dasselbe lässt sich über den säulenlosen Tempel sagen, der auffällige Parallelen



Abb. 2 - Aphrodision des Stesileos, Ansicht des Tempels von S (VALLOIS 1953, Abb. 37)

¹⁶ IG XI 4, 1277. 1278.

¹⁷ IG XI 4, 1166. 1167.

¹⁸ JACOB-FELSCH 1969, 51 f.; KISSAS 2000, 13-15; SCHMIDT 1995, 80-82 verzeichnet ganze drei Beispiele für die hellenistische Zeit. Diese Liste ist sicherlich um zahlreiche Stücke zu ergänzen: s. z. B. eine Stufenbasis auf der Südseite des Asklepiostempels in Epidauros: PEEK 1972, 44 Nr. 80 Taf. 19 Abb. 47 (2. Jh. v. Chr.), sowie weiter unten. Dennoch handelt es sich um eine unzeitgemäße Form, die sicherlich in allen Fällen einen entsprechenden Reiz ausüben sollte.

zum delischen Heraion aus archaischer Zeit aufweist¹⁹. Offenbar war der ambitionierte Archont und zweifache Chorege, der für Aphrodite wenig später auch ein Fest stiftete, das seinen eigenen Namen tragen sollte, bemüht, das für Delos noch ungewohnte Ausmaß der Selbstdarstellung durch die formale Antikisierung zu entschärfen²⁰. In ähnlicher Weise wird von etwa zeitgleich gestifteten Monumenten die antiquierte Ausdrucksform einer Personifikation des Votivs "*m(e) anétheken*" aufgegriffen, um bald darauf endgültig außer Gebrauch zu kommen²¹.

DIE DENKMÄLER DES 3. JHS. V. CHR. – KONKURRENZ DURCH INDIVIDUELLE GRÖSSE

Mit der Befreiung von der attischen Suprematie und der sich anschließenden Formierung des Nesiotenbundes wurde Delos als dessen sakrales Zentrum alsbald zu einem Ort, an dem die neuen Königreiche in Form von Stiftungen aller Art ihren Wettstreit um den größten Einfluss im Ägäisraum austrugen. Vor allem das Apollon-Heiligtum (Abb. 3) profitierte von dieser Entwicklung und wurde zu einer Art internationaler Begegnungsstätte der hellenistischen Mittelmeeranrainer. Deutlichstes Zeichen ist eine erste Erweiterung des Temenos nach O, die durch den Bau eines neuen, als Neorion bezeichneten Schatzhauses ungekannter Dimensionen zur Unterbringung

¹⁹ DURVYE 2009, 202 verweist insbesondere auf die Orientierung nach S und die übereinstimmende seitliche Ausrichtung des jeweiligen Altars.

²⁰ BRUNEAU 1970, 342-344 zu den Stesileia bzw. zu den von der Tochter gestifteten Echenikeia. – In gewisser Weise bildet das altarartige Monument für Tritopator (= *I.Délos* 66), den mythischen Stammvater der attischen Familie der Pyrrhakiden südöstlich des Apollon-Heiligtums (*GD* 85) einen Vorläufer für die Denkmäler des Stesileos; die einflussreiche Familie tritt an anderer Stelle (*GD* 92) nochmals in ganz ähnlicher Form repräsentativ in Erscheinung mit einer Weihung an die Nymphen (= *I.Délos* 67). Bezeichnend ist in diesem Zusammenhang nicht nur die Platzierung der Monumente außerhalb des zentralen Heiligtums, sondern auch ihr retrospektiver Charakter.

²¹ s. insbesondere die auch metrisch nobilitierten Hermen-Weihungen der Archonten an Hestia aus dem Prytaneion (*GD* 22), die dort u. a. an den Säulen des Eingangsbereichs angebracht waren: *IG XI* 4, 1137-1142 bzw. noch vor 314 v. Chr. (= *I.Délos* 36. 37. 39), vgl. hier Anm. 6 und HERMARY 1984, 1 Anm. 4; s. dazu VIAL 1984, 203; FEYEL 2000, 247-252; vgl. die bereits genannten Weihungen *I.Délos* 36 und *I.Délos* 53 sowie *IG XI* 4, 1148; zu den archaischen Inschriften s. *I.Délos* 1. 2. Ganz ähnlich verändert sich beispielsweise das Formular der Weiheinschriften auf der Athener Akropolis: s. KEESLING 2007, 142; die einfache Formel "*anétheken*" bleibt dagegen erhalten und erscheint im späten Hellenismus u. a. auch auf Delos wieder häufiger.

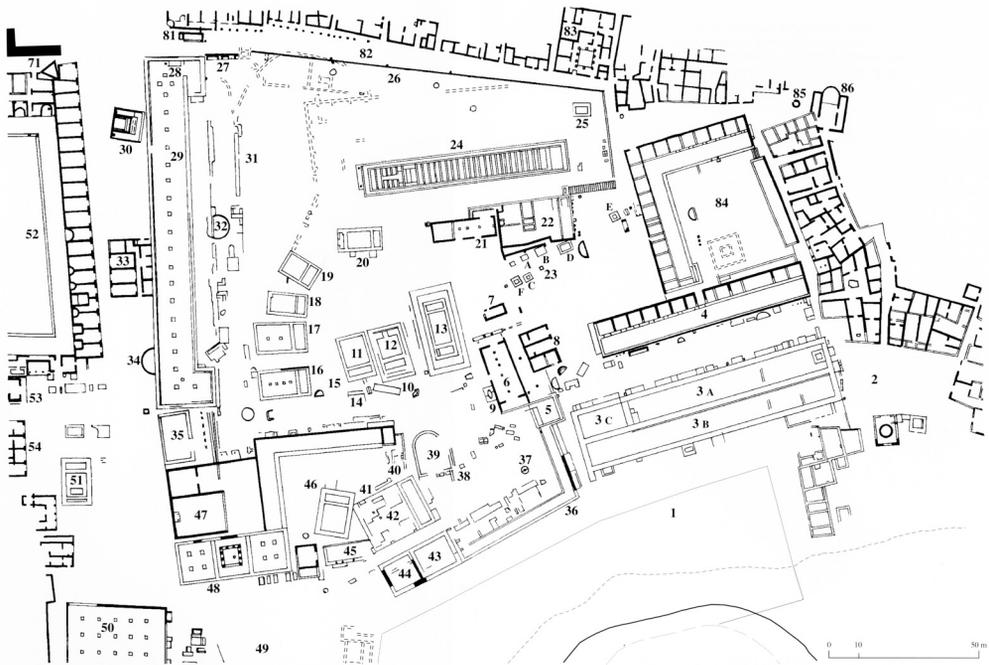


Abb. 3 - Apollonheiligtum (BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, Faltplan I)

einer Schiffsweihung notwendig wurde. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach geht diese Stiftung auf einen der makedonischen Soteres der Insel zurück²².

Die bedeutendsten Anlässe, zu denen die Menschen von überall her auf die Insel strömten, bildeten dabei die Feste, die alljährlich zu Ehren des delischen Gottes abgehalten wurden, die Apollonia²³. Ihre große Anziehungskraft schlägt sich in den Inventarlisten des Heiligtums nieder, in denen wiederum die zu diesem Anlass geweihten Phialen der offiziellen Kultgesandtschaften verschiedenster Poleis verzeichnet sind²⁴. Neben den Opfern und dem anschließendem Bankett sahen die Feiern sportliche Wettkämpfe,

²² BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 191-193 (GD 24); s. dazu TRÉHEUX 1987, der eine Weihung des Demetrios Poliorketes favorisiert, sowie weiter unten. Weniger plausibel erscheint mir die von CHANKOWSKI 2008, 264-273 jüngst wieder aufgegriffene Überlegung, dass es sich um eine letzte große Weihung der Athener handelt, die hier ihr Schiff für die Kultgesandtschaft der Theseia stillgelegt hätten.

²³ BRUNEAU 1970, 65-75.

²⁴ BRUNEAU 1970, 93-114. bes. 109-111.

Chorgesänge und schauspielerische Darbietungen vor und nicht zuletzt die Proklamation von Ehrungen sowie die Verleihung von Ehrenkränzen, die man bis dato beschlossen hatte²⁵.

Mit zusätzlichen Festen im Namen der jeweils präpotenten Herrscherhäuser wussten die Nesioten nicht nur ihre außenpolitischen Allianzen zu konsolidieren, sondern animierten diese auch zu weiterem Engagement, das sich auf die Gestaltung des Heiligtums nachhaltig auswirken sollte²⁶. Für die Aufstellung von Porträtstatuen als Geste der Anerkennung von Wohltaten wurde vor allem der zentrale Kultplatz um den legendären Hörneraltar (Abb. 4) genutzt, der seine Stellung als *epiphanéstatos tópos* schlechthin auch in der Folgezeit behalten sollte. Das wird aus der deutlichen Konzentration von Herrscherstandbildern ersichtlich, die hier bis in die Kaiserzeit hinein errichtet worden sind. Die Nähe zum Altar setzt dabei nicht nur eine alte Tradition griechischer Votivtätigkeit fort, sondern ist wohl vor allem mit dem Höhepunkt der religiösen Handlungen verknüpft, der auf besondere Aufmerksamkeit und die feierlich erregte Stimmung der Kultgemeinschaft rechnen kann. Zu den frühesten Denkmälern zählen neben einem aufwendigen postumen Monument für Alexander d. Gr. und vermutlich seinen Vater²⁷ Statuen für Stratonike, die Tochter des Demetrios Poliorketes²⁸, und für Ptolemaios II. Philadelphos²⁹. Nicht weniger prä-

²⁵ BRUNEAU 1970, 71 f.

²⁶ Zu den politischen Hintergründen der Antigoneia, Demetrieia und Ptolemaieia s. BRUNEAU 1970, 531-533. 564-568 sowie 579-583 allg. zu den Herrscherfesten; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 41 f. 45 f. 75-77.

²⁷ IG XI 4, 1072 (FO: im W des Heiligtums); DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 14 (Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr.); KOTSIDU 2000, 450 f. Nr. 326.

²⁸ Das möglicherweise im Tempel aufgestellte *agalma* "aus Marmor" wird erwähnt in einem Ehrendekret für den Athener Künstler Telesinos (IG XI 4, 514; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 16: Anfang 3. Jh. v. Chr.), der außerdem die Anfertigung einer Asklepiosstatue und auf eigene Kosten die Ausbesserung aller reparaturbedürftigen Statuen im Apollon-Heiligtum übernommen hatte. Ungewiss ist die Ergänzung einer weiteren Basis dieses Bildhauers zu einer Porträtstatue des Pyrrhos: IG XI 4, 1201; MARCADÉ 1957, 124; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 225 Nr. 6 (272 v. Chr.).

²⁹ IG XI 4, 1123. 1124; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 17 (um 280 v. Chr.). Für die ursprüngliche Lokalisierung der Basen gibt es zwar keine Anhaltspunkte mehr, doch machen die Feststiftungen des Philadelphos und die kostbaren Weihungen seiner Frau Arsinoë in den Apollon-Tempel eine Aufstellung auf dem Altarplatz sehr wahrscheinlich; s. außerdem IG XI 4, 1117; KOTSIDU 2000, 454 Nr. 330, vermutlich die Basis eines frühen ptolemäischen Herrschers, die an der 'Heiligen Straße' gefunden wurde. Zu den neuen Ptolemaieia und den Philadelphiea s. BRUNEAU 1970, 523. 528-530; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 81 f.

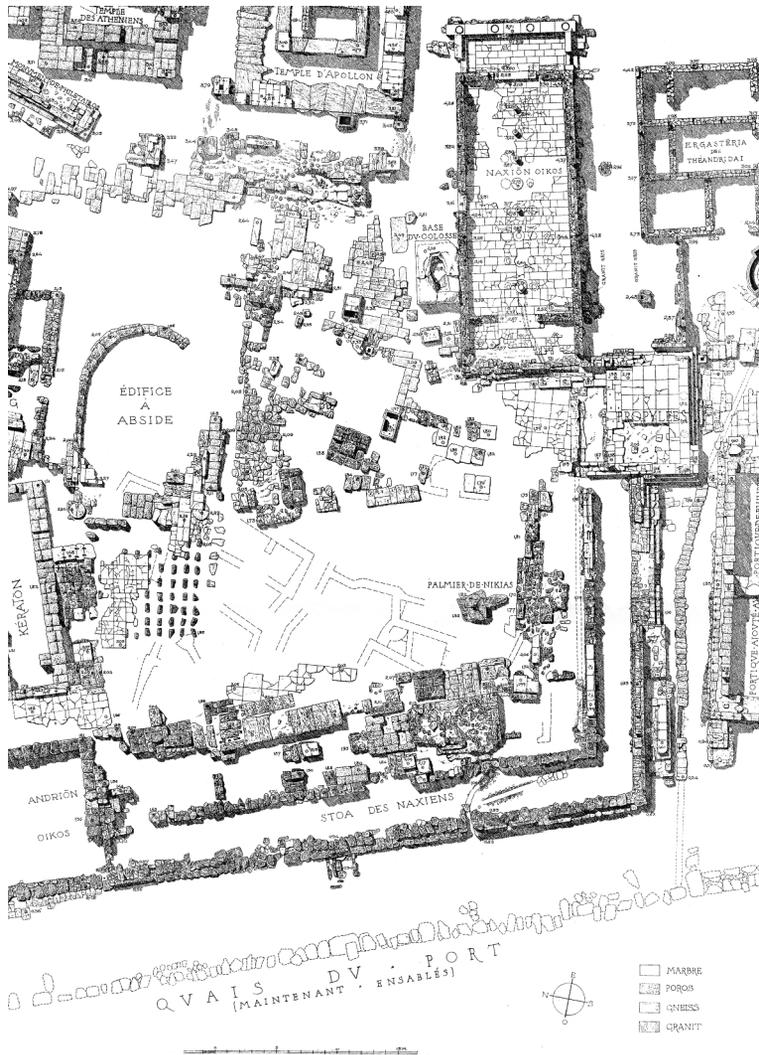


Abb. 4 - Apollonheiligtum, Altarplatz (VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 3)

sent sind hier die Bildnisse von Personen aus dem näheren Umfeld der Herrscher, die erkennen lassen, dass die politischen Geschehnisse des Nesiotenbunds entscheidend vom Aufbau und der Pflege diplomatischer Beziehungen abhingen. In den Genuss solcher Ehren gelangten sowohl die ptolemäischen Admiräle als auch die eigenen Anführer, z. B. in Gestalt des Nesiarchen, der selbst nicht von den Inseln stammte³⁰. Aber auch einzelne

³⁰ IG XI 4, 1127 (FO: südwestlich Italikeragora); DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 25: Nesioten für den

Akteure und Poleis beteiligten sich an diesem Austausch von Gefälligkeiten. Das beste Beispiel liefert der berühmte Architekt des Pharos, Sostratos von Knidos, der zu den Beratern am ptolemäischen Hof zu zählen ist und gleich zweimal von unterschiedlichen Seiten mit einer Statue bedacht wurde³¹. Und schließlich kamen auch begehrte Spezialisten wie Ärzte hier zu Ehren³².

Konkret greifbar ist erst die Aufstellung einer Statue für Ptolemaios III. Euergetes, die vermutlich auch in einer Abrechnung der Heiligtumsverwaltung aus dem Jahr 246 v. Chr. erwähnt wird³³. Die wahrscheinlich *in situ* wieder aufgestellte Basis muss einst nur wenig unterhalb der Krepis des großen Apollon-Tempels gestanden haben und flankierte auf der Südseite den zentralen Aufgang zum Pronaos³⁴. Somit blickte die Bronzestatue, deren linkes Spielbein auf einer kleinen bossenartigen Erhebung ruhte, von erhöhter Stelle auf Altarplatz und 'Heilige Straße' zugleich und war ihrerseits von dort für alle gut sichtbar. Offenbar wurde sie vom Demos der Delier zum Dank für die neuerliche Stiftung eines Festes errichtet, wobei in der Inschrift die Frömmigkeit gegenüber dem Heiligtum einerseits und das Wohlwollen gegenüber dem Demos andererseits als Verdienste des Herrschers hervorgehoben sind. Das Beispiel verdeutlicht, dass man zwischen den nutznießenden Institutionen sehr wohl unterschied, im Übrigen aber die Grenzen zwischen Hieron und Polis nicht allzu strikt auslegte³⁵.

Nauarch Kallikrates von Samos (um 270 v. Chr.); s. auch *IG XI 4*, 1129 (FO: westlich des Artemision); Koinon der Nesioten für ? (um 250 v. Chr.). *IG XI 4*, 1125 (FO: im NW des Heiligtum) und 1126 (FO: im SW des Heiligtum); DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 19: jeweils Nesioten für Nesiarch Bakchon aus Böotien (um 280 v. Chr.).

³¹ *IG XI 4*, 1130 (FO: 'Heilige Straße'); DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 23: seitens des Demos von Kaunos; *IG XI 4*, 1190; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 24: seitens Etearchos aus Kyrene (beide 1. Viertel 3. Jh. v. Chr.).

³² *IG XI 4*, 1078 (FO: nordwestlich Propyläen; Anfang 2. Jh. v. Chr.); vgl. *IG XI 4*, 1200 (FO: in Antigonosstoa; 3. Jh. v. Chr.).

³³ *IG XI 4*, 1073 (= *I.Délos* 290, Z. 129-131); KOTSIDU 2000, 211 f. Nr. 136. Etwa zur selben Zeit muss in diesem Areal auch eine Statue der Seleukidin Phila, Gattin des Antigonos Gonatas aufgestellt worden sein: *IG XI 4*, 1098 (fälschlich FO-Angabe: Artemision, s. HOMOLLE 1880A, 210 Nr. 1); MARCADÉ 1957, 83. Inwieweit es tatsächlich eine vorübergehende *damnatio memoriae* für ptolemäische bzw. Ägypten nahe stehende Geehrte gegeben hat, muss bis zu genaueren Vorlagen der Inschriften offen bleiben: s. BLANCK 1969, 70 f.; s. auch SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 173-175 zur vermeintlichen Ausgrenzung ptolemäischer Weihgeschenke.

³⁴ VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 3; MARCADÉ 1969, 419 Taf. 74; zu den jüngsten Untersuchungen hinsichtlich des noch ungeklärten Übergangs zwischen Tempel und 'Heiliger Straße' s. ÉTIENNE 2007B, bes. 1005 f. (Sondage an der betreffenden Basis).

³⁵ s. ÉTIENNE 2007A zu Verhältnis und Entwicklung von sakralem und zivilem Raum auf Delos in archaischer und klassischer Zeit.

Tatsächlich könnten die Gebäude der städtischen Verwaltung kaum näher mit dem Temenos verbunden sein als hier, doch zeigen die noch *in situ* befindlichen Statuenbasen des. 3. Jhs. v. Chr. vor dem Prytaneion, dass diesem Platz eine andere Kategorie von Ehrungen zugeordnet war³⁶. Während die Basen für einzelne Statuen so vor die Säulen des Vestibüls gesetzt sind, dass nur noch ein schmaler Durchgang in der Mitte das Betreten des Gebäudes ermöglichte, geben die hier aufgestellten Exedren zu erkennen, dass vor dem Amtssitz der Prytanen eine kleine, in etwa rechteckige Freifläche für öffentliche Zwecke genutzt wurde, u. a. für Opfer an die Götter der Stadt, wenn die Deutung von Fundamentresten eines mehr oder weniger zentral gelegenen Monuments als archaischer Altar des Zeus Polieus und der Athena Polias zutreffend ist³⁷. Die Inschriften hier erweisen überwiegend den Demos von Delos als Auftraggeber der Denkmäler, und bei den Geehrten handelt es sich, soweit ersichtlich, um Bürger der eigenen Stadt. Zu den frühesten Statuen gehört erneut eine Stufenbasis, und zwar die des Kallidikos, die am äußersten Punkt links vor dem Eingang platziert wurde³⁸. Zudem tragen auffällig viele der Basen in feinem Relief angegebene Kränze, die den öffentlichen Charakter der Ehrung unterstreichen³⁹. Wie so oft sind aber auch hier weitere Angehörige der Geehrten an den Kosten für die Statuen beteiligt⁴⁰, wenn sie nicht sogar selbst im Rahmen eines Familienmonuments zur Darstellung gelangt sind, worauf die beiden Exedren hindeuten.⁴¹ Es ist recht wahrscheinlich, dass dieses Ensemble von Monumenten ursprünglich

³⁶ VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 4.

³⁷ *GD* 23 E: BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 191. 194 Faltplan 1; s. dazu ÉTIENNE 1989, 39-47; ÉTIENNE 2006, 744-747. Ein entsprechendes Priesteramt ist durch *I.Délos* 2607 bezeugt. Der Altar wird von den Bodenplatten der benachbarten rechteckigen Exedra *IG* XI 4, 1091; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 53 (3. Jh. v. Chr.) berücksichtigt, indem sie entsprechend abgeschrägt sind.

³⁸ *IG* XI 4, 1084 (um 250 v. Chr.); die Angabe dort, dass die übliche Bekrönung fehle, trifft in diesem Fall nicht zu, die Fußspuren der Statue befinden sich vielmehr unmittelbar auf der Oberseite des Inschriftenblockes.

³⁹ s. z. B. MARCADÉ 1957, 103; weitere Kränze befinden sich an der Basis *IG* XI 4, 1092 (um 200 v. Chr.) und am linken Risalit der bereits genannten Rechteckexedra.

⁴⁰ *IG* XI 4, 1182 (1. Hälfte 2. Jh. v. Chr.): Neben dem Demos treten die Geschwister des Geehrten als Stifter auf.

⁴¹ *IG* XI 4, 1085. 1170; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 127 (Halbrundexedra: Mitte 3. Jh. v. Chr.); die rechteckige Exedra s. oben Anm. 37. Derartige Konstellationen können aber auch durch einzeln nebeneinander gestellte Denkmäler zustande kommen, wie *IG* XI 4, 1171 (2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr.) belegt, wonach der Enkel des benachbarten Kallidikos von seiner Mutter und seinem Bruder eine Statue erhielt, in diesem Fall wohl in einem größeren zeitlichen Abstand. Dieses Verfahren erinnert an die Praxis in Ehrendekreten die zugestandenen Privilegien auch auf die Nachkommen zu übertragen.

einen Teil der Agora von Delos bildete, die erst im 2. Jh. v. Chr. ihren heutigen architektonischen Rahmen erhielt. Anlass zu dieser Vermutung gibt eine weitere halbkreisförmige Exedra, die den Mittelpunkt auf der N-Seite dieser neuen Platzanlage besetzt, aber sicherlich älter ist⁴². Auf der Rückenlehne der Sitzbank standen einst die vom Demos gestifteten Statuen von vier Männern aus vermutlich zwei Generationen einer Familie, die anderen inschriftlichen Erwähnungen zufolge zur bürgerlichen Elite der Polis zählten, u. a. die des Familienoberhaupts Phanos, der als ehemaliger Agoranomos den Ausschlag für die Platzierung des Denkmals gegeben haben könnte⁴³.

Wie ausgeklügelt die Ortswahl für Ehrenstatuen seitens der Polis ausfallen konnte, verdeutlicht die Statuenbasis für den Proxenos Admetos, Sohn des Bokros, aus Makedonien, die einzige auf Delos, zu der auch das zugehörige, dreiteilige Ehrendekret so gut wie vollständig überliefert ist⁴⁴. Sie befindet sich noch heute *in situ* vor der südöstlichen Einfriedung des Temenos und damit *vis-à-vis* des Neorion. In seinem Beschluss, der die Aufstellung von zwei Bronzestatuen, einer im Apollon-Heiligtum und einer in der Heimatstadt des Admetos, in Thessalonike, vorsah, hatte sich der Demos darauf festgelegt, dass die Statue auf Delos beim Altar des Zeus Polieus aufgestellt werden sollte, weshalb man lange davon ausgegangen ist, dass es sich dabei um den großen vor der SO-Ecke des Temenos gelegenen hellenistischen Altar handeln müsse⁴⁵. Da der Altar des Zeus Polieus aber tatsächlich eher mit dem oben angesprochenen Monument vor dem benachbarten Prytaneion zu identifizieren ist, erweist sich die Ortsangabe im Dekret zwar als fragwürdig, das Aufstellungskonzept dafür als umso tiefergründiger: Die Platzierung vor dem Neorion kann sicherlich nicht als die prominenteste Lösung erachtet werden, da sie buchstäblich im hintersten Eck des Heiligtums erfolgte. Sollten die Delier für die Statue ebenso einen

⁴² DURRBACH 1902, 505-508 Taf. 2/3 "e" (die drei benachbarten Sockel "z" zeigen an, dass in derselben Flucht nach W weitere Monumente standen); von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 123. Zu der in den Inschriften (= *I.Délos* 1709. 1725) als "tetrágonos" bezeichneten Agora der Delier s. BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 258 f. (*GD* 84). Die L-förmige Halle auf der N- und O-Seite wird in das frühe 2. Jh. v. Chr. datiert.

⁴³ *IG XI 4*, 1080-1083 (um 250 v. Chr.). Die Identifizierung der Dargestellten mit den anderweitig überlieferten Namensträgern aus mehreren Generationen dieser Familie ist nicht auf Anhieb ersichtlich, scheint aber aus den Anbringungsspuren der Statuen in etwa eingrenzbar: von THÜNGEN 1994, 145. Der außen rechts dargestellte Sohn des Phanos, Bion, ist um 250 als Vorsteher einer Volksversammlung überliefert: *IG XI 4*, 621.

⁴⁴ *IG XI 4*, 1076 (240 – 230 v. Chr.); zu den Dekreten *IG XI 4*, 664, 665 und 1053 s. DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 49.

⁴⁵ BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 193 f. (*GD* 25).

“*béltistos tópos*” vorgesehen haben, wie sie ihn dem Rat in Thessalonike empfehlen, dann muss es hier um einen anderen Aspekt als den der Auffälligkeit gegangen sein. Obwohl die Inschriftentexte wie gewöhnlich den konkreten Anlass der Ehrung im Dunkeln lassen, wird das Verdienst des Admetos in einer vermittelnden Tätigkeit zwischen Delos und dem makedonischen Herrscherhaus zu suchen sein⁴⁶. Diesem Einsatz für die guten Beziehungen beider Parteien wurde Rechnung getragen, indem das Bildnis des Admetos einerseits in die Nähe zu den Ehrenstatuen der Stadt, andererseits in die Nähe makedonischer Monumente wie dem Neorion gerückt wurde. Denn die Statue war aufgrund ihrer Position nicht nur auf die herrscherliche Schiffshalle ausgerichtet. Das Denkmal flankierte auch den zum Platz erweiterten Weg, der durch die monumentale Toranlage im W⁴⁷ vom Vorplatz des Prytaneion geradewegs zu dem hellenistischen Altar führte, in dem nach neuerer Lesart der Kultort für Zeus Soter und Athena Soteria bzw. für die als Retter betrachteten makedonischen Herrscher gesehen wird⁴⁸. Dadurch dass ein einziger Priester für beide Kulte, den der Polis und den der Sotere, zuständig war, scheint diese topographische Verbindung auch durch die rituelle Praxis mit Leben erfüllt worden zu sein⁴⁹. Die ähnliche Begründungsformel bei der etwas späteren Statuenbasis eines Kreters unweit der SW-Ecke des Neorion lässt die Vermutung zu, dass sich auf diesem Platz noch weitere solcher ‘diplomatischer’ Ehrenstatuen seitens der Polis Delos bzw. des Nesiotenbundes befunden haben⁵⁰.

⁴⁶ Vgl. DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 48.

⁴⁷ An dieser Stelle befindet sich eine lange, rechteckige Fundamentierung aus Poros, die in BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, Faltplan II als ein Portal mit drei Durchgängen (Bögen?) rekonstruiert wird; vgl. ÉTIENNE 1989, 46 Anm. 15 Abb. 1 e.

⁴⁸ ÉTIENNE 1989, 45-47 mit Bezug auf das Stiftungsdekret der oben erwähnten Demetria: IG XI 4, 1036; s. dazu auch BRUNEAU 1970, 564-568.

⁴⁹ *I.Délos* 2607. 2608 (Listen mit ausgewählten Prozessionsteilnehmern auf Anten eines Altars, vermutlich von GD 23 E; Anfang 1. Jh. v. Chr.).

⁵⁰ IG XI 4, 1077 (Ende 3. Jh. v. Chr.); VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 4; MARCADÉ 1957, 19; gemeint ist die Differenzierung zwischen Arete und Eusebeia gegenüber dem Heiligtum und der Eunoia gegenüber dem Demos (hier ergänzt!). Die Basis, deren Inschrift heute nicht mehr ohne Weiteres zu erkennen ist, bestätigt im Übrigen die Durchgangssituation, da sie nach Ausweis älterer Beobachtungen nach W ausgerichtet war: ROUSSEL 1910, 396 Anm. 3. Nicht mehr *in situ* liegt in diesem Areal der Schaft einer Rundbasis aus dem Jahr 258 v. Chr., die vom Koinon der Nesioten für den rhodischen Admiral Agathostratos gestiftet wurde: IG XI 4, 1128; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 38; MARCADÉ 1957, 89; s. außerdem ein Siegesmonument Philipps V. von hier: IG XI 4, 1101 (vgl. 1100); s. auch IG XI 4, 1103. Völlig ungesichert ist die Annahme einer weiteren Konzentration von Antigoniden im Areal des Dodektheon (GD 51): VALLOIS 1944, 77; SIEDENTOPF 1968, 42 Abb. 5; S. 45 f. Kat. II Nr. 110. 111, in dessen weiterem Umkreis ebenfalls eine Reihe solcher Inschriften gefunden wurden: IG XI 4, 1125. 1127. 1129.

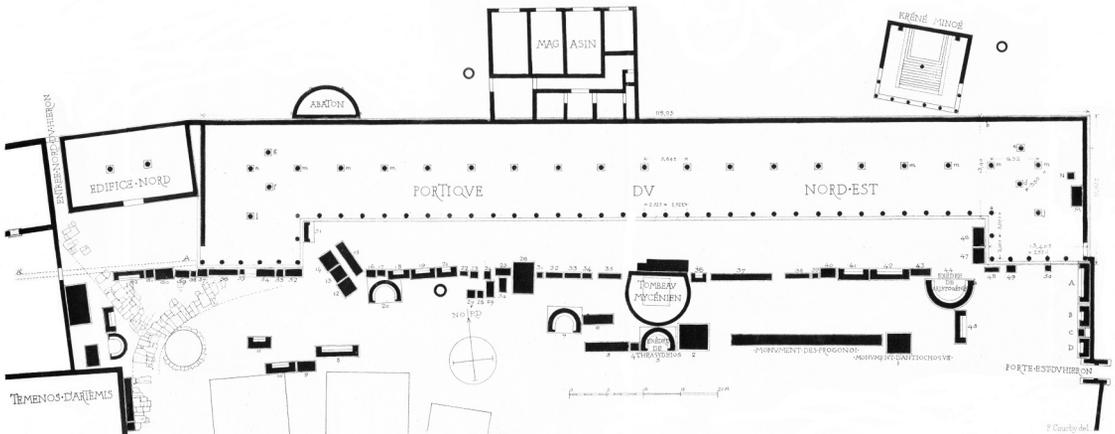


Abb. 5 - Apollonheiligum, Antigonosstoa mit Statuenbasen (COURBY 1912, Taf. 2)

Trotz einer gewissen räumlichen Konzentration bestimmter Denkmäler in Arealen wiederkehrender Rituale und fester Konnotationen, sollte man nicht davon ausgehen, dass es diesbezüglich rigore Richtlinien gegeben hat. Ehrenstatuen, die von der Stadt Delos beschlossen wurden, finden sich genauso im Apollon-Heiligtum wieder⁵¹, wie auch die Denkmäler vor dem Prytaneion an Apoll geweiht sein konnten⁵². Eine Trennung zwischen profanem und sakralem Raum im engeren Sinne findet im Formular der Statueninschriften keinen Niederschlag, wie im Folgenden noch deutlicher werden wird.

Angesichts dieser ersten Verdichtung der Monumente um die Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. erlebte das Apollon-Heiligtum eine tiefgreifende Veränderung. Nach der Erweiterung des Areals durch das Neorion seiner Vorgänger wagte sich der makedonische Herrscher Antigonos Gonatas an ein noch umfangreicheres Bauprojekt, indem er den Temenos im NO um eine gewaltige Risalithalle (Abb. 5) bereicherte⁵³. Damit sorgte er nicht nur für eine neue Grenzziehung des Hieron, sondern schuf durch die architektonische Klammer einen neu definierten Raum für die sakralen Akte⁵⁴, insbesondere für

⁵¹ s. oben Anm. 32 (*IG XI 4, 1078*). 33 (*IG XI 4, 1073*).

⁵² *IG XI 4, 1089*; MARCADÉ 1957, 13, 2; SCHMIDT 1995, 296 Nr. IV 1.6.

⁵³ *GD 29*; COURBY 1912; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 195.

⁵⁴ VON HESBERG 1990, 234 f. Abb. 2; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 87-90. 99; vgl. SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 163 f. 165 f.

das Rahmenprogramm der großen Feste im Apollon-Heiligtum, denen er gleich vier neue hinzufügte, 253 v. Chr. die Antigoneia und Stratonikeia, acht Jahre darauf die Paneia und Soteria⁵⁵. Wahrscheinlich diente die Stoa vor allem der Verköstigung der Festteilnehmer und bot den so angenehm im Schatten Verweilenden den Blick auf allerhand Darbietungen⁵⁶. Wo dieser neue Festplatz die größte Ausdehnung erreichte, vor der Osthälfte der Halle jenseits des Heroengrabs für die Hyperboräischen Jungfrauen, ließ der König zudem ein Bathron nie dagewesener Länge errichten, auf dem er den Besuchern des Heiligtums außer sich selbst und den Gott eine ausführliche Galerie seiner Ahnen präsentierte⁵⁷. Schließlich platzierte er nur wenige Meter weiter westlich in einem mächtigen Sockel verankert den Mastbaum eines Kriegsschiffes⁵⁸, der als Pendant zur Palme des Nikias unterstreichen sollte, dass das Heiligtum nicht nur einen neuen Schauplatz erhalten hatte, sondern auch unter den Vorzeichen einer neuen Vormacht stehen sollte⁵⁹.

Tatsächlich gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass sich nun die Gravitationsverhältnisse veränderten, da zunehmend Monumente die Nähe der 'Heili-

⁵⁵ BRUNEAU 1970, 558-563; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 99. 106 f.

⁵⁶ Geringe Spuren an der Rückwand der Halle könnten für die ursprüngliche Anbringung von Sitzbänken sprechen: COURBY 1912, 36 f. Zudem verweist der Bildschmuck des Gebälks in Form von Boukephalien auf die Opfertiere: COURBY 1912, 23 Abb. 27; S. 39 f.; SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 1994; s. außerdem ATHEN. 4, 172 f. zu den legendären 'Bauchladenverkäufern' von Delos.

⁵⁷ Zu den "Progonoi" s. COURBY 1912, 74-83; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1990, 138-140; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 196 (GD 31); zum Heroon s. COURBY 1912, 63-74; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 197 f. (GD 32).

⁵⁸ COURBY 1912, 95 f.; COUCHOUD – SVORONOS 1921, 279 f.; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 98.

⁵⁹ Die Progonoi behielten offenbar für lange Zeit eine Art Monopolstellung vor der Antigonosstoa. Als einziger Hinweis auf ein weiteres frühes Ehrenmonument kann eine auffällig schräg zur Halle platzierte große quadratische Fundamentierung nahe des westlichen Risaliten gedeutet werden (COURBY 1912, 89 Abb. 109), die später zu einer Plattform für mehrere, kleinere Monumente umgebaut wurde; VALLOIS 1946, 577-582 hält sie für eine Erweiterung des in der Mitte von ihm identifizierten archaischen Altars (des Apollon Genetor?; vgl. SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 167 f.). Angesichts der Dimensionen fühlt man sich an die wuchtige Basis mit dorischem Fries erinnert, die heute an der 'Heiligen Straße' verkehrt (Hinweis F. Herbin) zusammengesetzt ist; vgl. Teile eines dorischen Frieses, die COURBY 1912, 91 Abb. 113 mit der großen Basis Nr. 26 vor der Stoa in Verbindung bringt. Eine auffällige Gruppe bildet eine Reihe von späthellenistischen Basen des ptolemäischen Hofes: *I.Délos* 1528. 1529. 1533; COURBY 1912, 89 Anm. 1, wobei die Schäfte der ersten beiden etwas zu klein erscheinen; vgl. die vermutete Massierung von makedonischen Gefolgsleuten vor der Südstoa: SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 178.



Abb. 6 - Apollonheiligtum, Basis für Philetairos von Pergamon (Verf., Frühjahr 2008)

gen Straße’ suchten und damit der Bewegung durch das Heiligtum den Vorzug vor den Opferhandlungen am Altarplatz gaben. Bezeichnend ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Orientierung der etwa 8 m langen Orthostatenbasis (Abb. 6) vor der NW-Ecke des Tempels der Athener, die geradezu brüsk von der Ausrichtung der Tempelreihe hinter ihr abweicht, um eine Art Scharnierstellung zwischen Altarplatz und der ‘Heiligen Straße’ im N einzunehmen⁶⁰. Das auf den *in situ* verbliebenen Orthostaten der Basis erhaltene Epigramm erweist das Denkmal als postume Hommage an den pergamenischen Herrscher Philetairos, dessen Bildnis gewiss im Kreise weiterer Angehöriger der von ihm begründeten Dynastie aufgestellt war⁶¹. Nicht zuletzt die Wahl des auffälligen bläulichen Marmors macht deutlich, dass das Monument in Konkurrenz zu den Progonoi vor der Antigonosstoa entstanden ist⁶², deren Basis sich ihrerseits durch den blau-grauen Stein von

⁶⁰ IG XI 4, 1105; VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 3; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 182 Abb. 47 (GD 10).

⁶¹ Das 263 v. Chr. gestiftete Fest in seinem Namen könnte noch auf seine eigene Initiative zurückgehen: BRUNEAU 1970, 570-572.

⁶² Konzeptionell näher steht ihm allerdings das ‘Teuthrania-Anathem’, ein am Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. errichtetes Bathron, das wohl ebenfalls an der ‘Heiligen Straße’, aber vermutlich etwas weiter nördlich gelegen hat und neben Attalos I. und Eumenes I. Heroen der pergamenischen Genealogie versammelte: IG XI 4, 1107. 1108. 1206-1208; WILHELM 1914; SCHALLES 1984, 127-135; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1990, 140 f. Zu den in dieser Zeit gestifteten Attaleia s. BRUNEAU 1970, 572 f.

der bläulich-weißen Säulenhalle dahinter absetzte⁶³. Dieses *eye-catching* setzte Maßstäbe für die nachfolgenden Postamente von Herrscherstatuen im näheren Umfeld, die ebenfalls um außergewöhnliche Farben bemüht waren⁶⁴, auffälligstes Beispiel ein hoch aufragende Orthostatenbasis aus rosarotem Marmor, die einst mehr oder weniger gegenüber dem Monument des Philetairos gestanden haben dürfte⁶⁵.

Aber auch an anderer Stelle blieb der bauliche Eingriff des Antigonos Gonatas nicht unbeantwortet: Nur wenige Zeit später wurde im S des Heiligtums vor den Propyläen mit einem weiteren Hallenbau (Abb. 7) begonnen, der sich zum 'Heiligen Hafen' hin öffnete und so die dort ankommenden Besucher des Heiligtums schon im Vorfeld des Eingangs in Empfang nahm, während er das Areal der Agora im Hintergrund abschirmte⁶⁶. Auch dieser einladende Prospekt der sog. Südstoa wurde sogleich von weiteren Monumenten als Kulisse genutzt. Die frühesten Statuenpostamente liegen beiderseits der Hallenmitte, wo ein Korridor zwischen den im rückwärtigen Teil integrierten Ladenzeilen weiterhin den Zugang zur Agora erlaubte und somit einen typischen *epiphanéstatos tópos* bildete⁶⁷. Ähnlich attraktiv müssen die beiden Enden der Stoa gewesen sein, da hier ebenfalls frühzeitig Postamente errichtet wurden: Weil man für die beiden Denkmäler, die jeweils die Eckpunkte besetzen, aufgrund der Inschriften auf einen pergamenischen Hintergrund schließen kann, besteht die Vermutung, dass die Halle selbst auf eine Stiftung der Attaliden zurückgeht⁶⁸. Allerdings

⁶³ Laut COURBY 1912, 14 sind alle erhaltenen Teile des Aufgehenden der Fassade aus dem bläulichem Marmor der Nachbarinsel Tenos bis auf die Boukephalien, die aus einem plastisch besser bearbeitbaren weißen Marmor sind. Bereits die oben erwähnte Basis der Kaunier für Sostratos von Knidos (s. Anm. 31), die an der 'Heiligen Straße' gefunden wurde, besteht aus bläulichem Marmor und könnte das 'Farbenspiel' ausgelöst haben.

⁶⁴ z. B. IG XI 4, 1111 (Antiochos d. Gr.). 1116 (Massinissa). *I.Délos* 1537 (Ptolemäerin).

⁶⁵ SIEDENTOPF 1968, 68 Abb. 17 f; S. 121 Nr. 99; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 182. Nach den Beobachtungen von Siedentopf war das Pferd der Reiterstatue aufgebäumt; leider fehlt die Frontplatte mit der Inschrift.

⁶⁶ BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 168 (GD 4).

⁶⁷ IG XI 4, 1088; MARCADÉ 1957, 128; SCHMIDT 1995, 294 Kat. IV.1.3 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 19; um 240 v. Chr.); IG XI 4, 1194 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 20; sein Sohn für Autokles von Chalkis, bekannt als Proxenos und Euerget der Delier sowie als Philos Demetrios' II. von Makedonien, 239 – 229 v. Chr.); IG XI 4, 1172 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 24?; 3. Jh. v. Chr.). IG XI 4, 1193; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 45 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 25; Minister des Antigonos Gonatas für seinen Vater, 250 – 230 v. Chr.).

⁶⁸ SCHALLES 1985, 64-68; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 110 f.; BRINGMANN – VON STEUBEN 1995, 477 f. Nr. 415; SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 176-179.

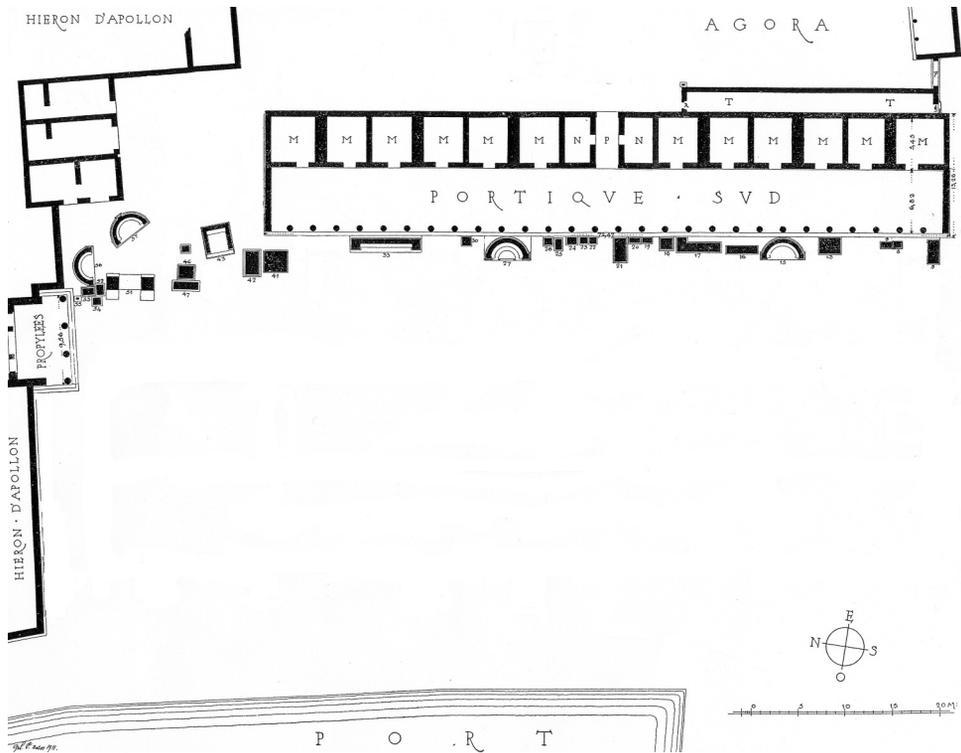


Abb. 7 - Plan der 'Südstoä', Phase I: 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr.
(Verf. nach VALLOIS 1923, Taf. 9)

muss man betonen, dass die vermeintliche Kampfgruppe Attalos' I.⁶⁹ und die Reiterstatue seines Generals Epigenes⁷⁰, die wohl beide durch einen gemeinsamen Sieg über die Galater motiviert sind, keineswegs einem ästhetisch aufeinander abgestimmten Aufstellungskonzept folgen⁷¹. Vielmehr wird deutlich, dass die Monumente des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. mit verschiedenen Mitteln um die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikumsverkehrs buhlten. Das gilt auch für die großen Familiengruppen, die in unterschiedlicher Größe, Form

⁶⁹ IG XI 4, 1110; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 69 (bald nach 228 v. Chr.); MARCADÉ 1957, 141; SCHMIDT 1995, 437 Kat. VII.6 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 41).

⁷⁰ IG XI 4, 1109; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 53 (229/228 v. Chr.); SCHMIDT 1995, 436 Kat. VII.5 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 5).

⁷¹ Vgl. SCHALLES 1985, 60. 62 Abb. 1; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 121; SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 177-179.

und Aufstellung der Statuenträger die verbliebenen Plätze vor der Stoa großzügig besetzten und deren Säulenreihe als Hintergrundfolie nutzten⁷². Besonders deutlich wird der Konkurrenzkampf der Monumente in dem nördlich benachbarten Abschnitt, wo zwischen Propyläen und Südstoa eine breite Passage Richtung Prytaneion bzw. Agora belassen worden war⁷³: Die unregelmäßige Anordnung der Fundamente und Sockel hier zeigt an, dass es den Auftraggebern vor allem auf den bestmöglichen Anschluss an den Eingang zum Apollon-Heiligtum ankam, wodurch Monumente, die zugleich die Passage nach O berücksichtigten, nach und nach ins Hintertreffen gerieten⁷⁴. Mindestens eines der frühen großen Denkmäler hier ist sogar demontiert und von den nachfolgenden Postamenten überbaut worden⁷⁵. Auch hier zeigt sich im Formular der Inschriften, dass zwischen politischer und sakraler Sphäre keine deutliche Grenze verlief. Die Weihungen an Apoll bzw. die delische Trias setzten sich hier ähnlich fort, wie sie auch im Innern des Hieron begonnen haben, neue Areale zu erschließen⁷⁶. Man kann davon

⁷² *IG XI 4*, 1168; (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 16); *IG XI 4*, 1090; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 125 (=VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 27; 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr.); die Inschrift weist auf eine Ehrung des Demos von Delos und war ebenfalls in einem Kranz angebracht wie die oben genannten Beispiele vor dem Prytanaion); *IG XI 4*, 1203; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 52 (=VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 33; 2. Hälfte 3. Jh. v. Chr.). Weitere Statuenbasen sind aufgrund ihrer Sockelprofile wahrscheinlich in das 3. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren: VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 8. 9. 17. 37. Weitere Inschriften des 3. Jhs., die hier gefunden worden sind: *IG XI 4*, 1175. 1202. 1204. 1205.

⁷³ VALLOIS 1923, Taf. 1. 9; an anderer Stelle (VALLOIS 1944, 66; 1953, XIII Nr. 13) identifiziert er das große Monument VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 43 mit einem literarisch überlieferten Altar der Athena Pronaia und bringt es mit der oben erwähnten Statue der 'Schlangengöttin' in Zusammenhang, doch scheint er selbst von dieser These nicht überzeugt.

⁷⁴ Das gilt z. B. für die beiden Halbrundexedren VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 56. 57; letztere trug die Familiengruppe des im späten 3. Jh. v. Chr. amtierenden Archonten Soteles und zählt zu den Basen mit einer offiziellen Ehrenstatue für diesen seitens des Demos – allerdings mit dem bemerkenswerten Zusatz, dass es sich um eine Weihung handelt – und zusätzlich von ihm aufgestellten Statuen seiner Familienangehörigen: *IG XI 4*, 1086. 1173. 1174; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 124.

⁷⁵ Es handelt sich um das langrechteckige Fundament aus Granit unter den Basen VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 46. 48. 49, die ihrerseits ins frühe 2. Jh. v. Chr. datieren und einen entsprechenden *terminus ante quem* liefern. Allerdings kommen hier unter den Denkmälern nicht ausschließlich Porträtstatuen vor: s. die Weihung aus Beutestücken des rhodischen Nauarchen Peisistratos und seiner Mitstreiter *IG XI 4*, 1135 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 53; um 250 v. Chr.). Weitere Inschriften des 3. Jhs. aus diesem Areal: *IG XI 4*, 1169 (um 250 v. Chr.). 1179 (Ende 3. Jh. v. Chr.).

⁷⁶ Weihungen an Apoll: *IG XI 4*, 1109. 1110. 1135. 1194; an die Götter: *IG XI 4*, 1173/74; s. auch *IG XI 4*, 1175.

ausgehen, dass die Kultgesandtschaften an diesem Platz in Empfang genommen wurden bzw. sich vor den Propyläen formiert haben, um dann im festlichen Zug das Heiligtum und den Altarplatz zu betreten.

Zu den verschiedenen Stationen des Festbetriebs zählt seit dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. auch das steinerne Theater, für dessen Zuschauerrund ein großer Hügelvorsprung westlich unterhalb des Kynthos genutzt wurde⁷⁷. Die choregischen Agone, die einen festen Bestandteil der Feiern bildeten, haben auch hier frühzeitig die Aufstellung von Ehrenstatuen motiviert: Zu den noch lokalisierbaren Denkmälern vor dem Proskenion zählen beiderseits der Mitteltür die Statue eines Eumenes für einen seiner Angehörigen im attalidischen Herrscherhaus⁷⁸ sowie die vom delischen Volk gestiftete Statue des samischen Auleten und Dionysospriesters Satyros, der, nach dem auffälligen Reliefschmuck auf der Basis – ein Kranz zwischen zwei Dreifüßen – zu urteilen, als Wettkampfsieger geehrt worden sein könnte⁷⁹. Wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, dass beide Monumente umfangreichere euergetische Leistungen zur Realisierung von Choraufführungen honorieren, wie ein wenig späteres Ehrendekret mit ähnlichem Hintergrund nahelegt⁸⁰. Zumindest ist der Bezug zum Aufstellungsort bei der Basis des Satyros ganz klar durch dessen Tätigkeit gegeben⁸¹.

Wenn man von der weitgehend ungeklärten Situation des frühhellenistischen Gymnasion von Delos absieht, sind damit die Aufstellungsorte für

⁷⁷ BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 296-298 (GD 114).

⁷⁸ IG XI 4, 1106; FRAISSE – MORETTI 2007, 78-80 Nr. I Taf. 12 Abb. 22; Taf. 43. Die Dübellöcher auf der Oberseite der profilierten Deckplatte dürften außer der Tieferenstreckung dafür sprechen, dass die Basis ursprünglich eine Sitzstatue getragen hat; nur müsste die Platte dann genau entgegengesetzt aufgelegt haben.

⁷⁹ IG XI 4, 1079; FRAISSE – MORETTI 2007, 80 f. Nr. II Taf. 12 Abb. 22; Taf. 44 Abb. 174. 175. Auffällig ist die Ähnlichkeit der Dreifüße zu denen auf dem dorischen Fries des Proskenion: BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 298 Abb. 99. Zu Choregie und Ehrungen während der Apollonia s. BRUNEAU 1970, 71 f.

⁸⁰ IG XI 4, 1061. 1136; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 75. Von den drei Statuen der ionischen Schauspielergilde (die von den Attaliden gefördert wurde) für den Dionysos-Priester, Auleten und Agonotheten Kraton von Chalkedon sollte eine im Theater von Teos, eine auf Delos und eine an einem Ort, der dem Geehrten beliebt, aufgestellt werden. Leider ist der Fundort der Statuenbasis nicht mehr genau auszumachen: MICHON 1911, 347 f. Der Faible der Herrscher für das Theater liegt in demselben Popularitätsgewinn begründet, der auch von ihren Festen ausgehen soll: s. SCHWINGENSTEIN 1977, 111-113. Zu den Dionysia s. BRUNEAU 1970, 312-322.

⁸¹ In Delphi wird er als konkurrenzloser Interpret (und Euerget?) ebenfalls mit einer Statue bedacht: JACQUEMIN 1999, 48. 312 Kat. Nr. 53. Zur dritten Basis *in situ* (ohne Inschrift): FRAISSE – MORETTI 2007, 81 Nr. III.

Porträtstatuen im 3. Jh. v. Chr. erfasst⁸². Im Wesentlichen konzentrieren sie sich auf das zentrale Heiligtum und wenige weitere Plätze, die zu den wichtigsten öffentlichen Institutionen und Begegnungsstätten der Polis zählen. Wo die Überlieferung es zulässt, ist ein starker Zusammenhang zwischen dem Ort der Ehrenstatuen und dem Wirkungskreis der sie rechtfertigenden Euergeries erkennbar. Unberührt von Einfluss und Vermögen der Geehrten zeigt sich bei allen Denkmälern des 3. Jhs. das Streben nach möglichst publikumswirksamen Positionierungen. Das äußert sich durch die Nähe zu Plätzen bedeutender, wiederkehrender kollektiver Akte bzw. zu Knotenpunkten des Verkehrs, insbesondere durch die Ballung der Monumente vor Ein- und Durchgängen. Das Bemühen um Aufmerksamkeit wird durch individuelle Lösungen unterstrichen. Allein anhand der Basen ergeben sich bereits recht abwechslungsreiche Reihungen von Monumenten. Freilich spielten Einfluss und Vermögen der Auftraggeber bei der Wahl der Mittel eine nicht unwesentliche Rolle, wie die Herrscheranatheme eindrucksvoll beweisen. Nicht von ungefähr fällt die Konkurrenz der Monumente im Hinblick auf Ausrichtung, Dimensionierung und Materialwahl vor dem Prytaneion deutlich zurückhaltender aus als im näheren Umfeld von Altarplatz und Propyläen. Dabei kann man beobachten, dass die Wege selbst neben den Plätzen immer mehr an Bedeutung gewinnen, nicht zuletzt weil bauliche Eingriffe eine veränderte Nutzung des zur Verfügung stehenden Raumes herbeiführen. Eine wesentliche Rolle spielen dabei die großen Hallenbauten, die den Plätzen nicht nur neue Bezugspunkte setzen, sondern auch in neuer Weise zur Bewegung wie zum Aufenthalt einladen und dabei auf eine umfängliche Personenzahl ausgelegt sind⁸³.

DIE DENKMÄLER DER ERSTEN BEIDEN DRITTEL DES 2. JHS. V. CHR. – ELITEN UNTER IHRESGLEICHEN?

Am Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. erfuhr das Areal südlich des Heiligtums erneut eine wesentliche Veränderung mit der Errichtung der Halle Philippos

⁸² Das Gymnasion (*GD* 76) wurde in seiner jetzigen Fassung erst in späthellenistischer Zeit errichtet: BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 249. Wenn die Statue des Sosilos *IG* XI 4, 1087 mit der im Inventar des Kallistratos (= *I.Délos* 1417 A I Z. 133 f.) genannten nackten Figur mit Stock (*Paidotribes*?) gleichzusetzen ist, dann wurde sie später in den neuen Bau verbracht, hätte aber zuvor schon im früheren Gymnasion (*GD* 67?) gestanden; s. dazu von den Hoff 2004, 375-378 Anm. 35.

⁸³ Vgl. VON HESBERG 1990, 236 f.

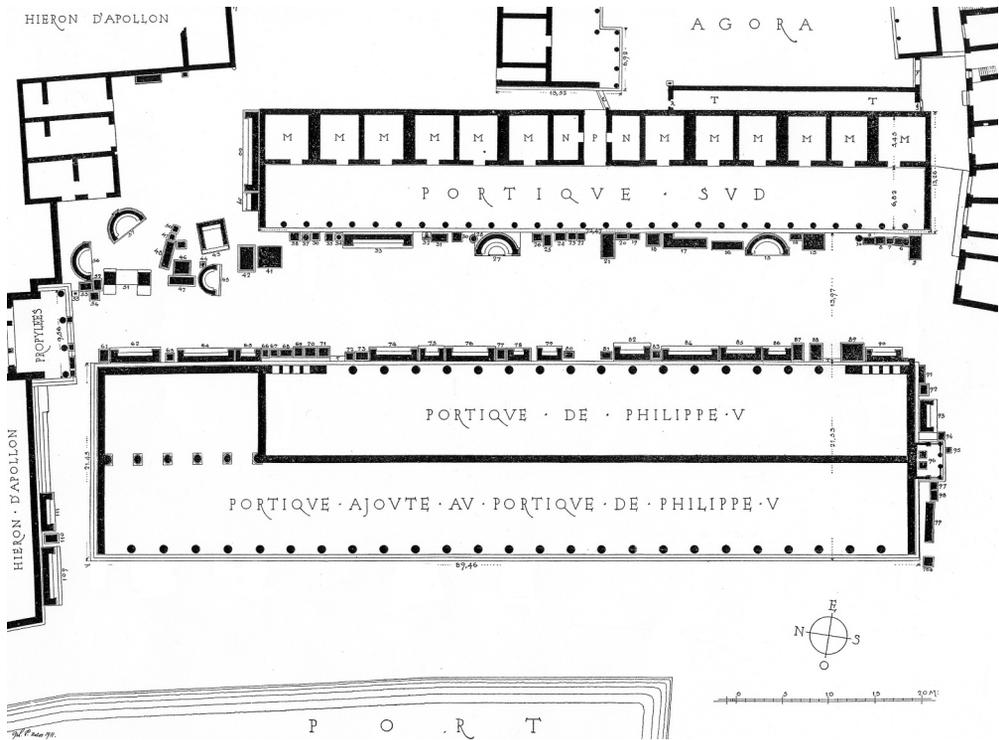


Abb. 8 - Plan des 'Dromos', Phase II: 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Verf. nach VALLOIS 1923, Taf. 9)

V. (Abb. 8) genau gegenüber der Südstoa⁸⁴. Aus der Platzanlage war damit unvermittelt eine Straße, der sog. Dromos, geworden. Die Südstoa war so buchstäblich in den Schatten gestellt und ihre Prospektwirkung Richtung Meer plötzlich obsolet. Man hat darin schon immer einen Akt herrscherlicher Rivalität sehen wollen, was sich durch die bald darauf erfolgte Erweiterung der Philippsstoa auf der Hafenseite und nach N hin durch den Annex des 'Ionischen Saals' zu bestätigen schien⁸⁵. Für unseren Zusammenhang ist jedoch viel bedeutsamer, dass die Statuenbasen, die seit dem Beginn des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. vor der Halle errichtet wurden, ein verändertes Aufstellungs-

⁸⁴ VALLOIS 1923, 27-75. 149-166; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 167 (GD 3 A).

⁸⁵ GD 3 B und C: VALLOIS 1923, 163-166 (um 180 v. Chr.); VON HESBERG 1994A, 139 mit einem späteren Ansatz nach 166 v. Chr.; vgl. DURRBACH 1976, 162. Weitgehend unklar sind Rekonstruktion und Zeitstellung der großformatigen Fundamente vor der westlichen Halle: VALLOIS 1923, 143 Taf. 9 Nr. 102-108.

konzept aufweisen⁸⁶. Die Rekonstruktion lässt auf den ersten Blick erkennen, dass die Monumente im Vergleich zu ihren Pendants auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite, in ihrer Tieferenstreckung nahezu einer einheitlichen Linie folgten. Gewiss war dieser Umstand nicht zuletzt den neuen räumlichen Gegebenheiten geschuldet, wollte man die Benutzbarkeit des ‘Dromos’ auf einer dem Weg zum Haupteingang des Heiligtums angemessenen Breite sicherstellen. Der neue ‘Sinn für Ordnung’ zeigt sich darüber hinaus aber auch in Einzelheiten, die durch keine praktische Erfordernis zu erklären sind. So fällt weiterhin auf, dass sich die Statuenbasen aus einem engen Typenspektrum zusammensetzen und oft entsprechend gruppiert sind⁸⁷. Augenfällig sind gleichsam paarweise Aufstellungen wie die der Basen beiderseits des Mittelingangs, die sich deutlich von der vergleichbaren Konstellation vor der Süd-stoa unterscheiden, wobei eine synchrone, durch persönliche Beziehungen begründete Angleichung ausgeschlossen werden kann⁸⁸. Die einheitliche und regelrecht dominante Verwendung rechteckiger Exedren zeigt besonders deutlich, dass hier eine Abstimmung zugrunde liegt, sei es dass es eine entsprechende Direktive gab, sei es dass man aus anderen Beweggründen nunmehr um ein vergleichsweise einheitliches Erscheinungsbild der Postamente bemüht war. Bezeichnend ist jedoch, dass man auch im Hinblick auf die Höhe der Basen auf ein weitgehend übereinstimmendes Niveau geachtet hat (Abb. 9)⁸⁹. Es scheint naheliegend, dieses Phänomen mit der veränderten Wahrnehmungssituation der Straßenführung in Zusammenhang zu bringen. Anders als noch bei den früheren Monumenten war nun unvermeidlich ein Abschreiten der Denkmäler bzw. der Blickwinkel von Passanten zu berücksichtigen⁹⁰. Für das Auge mochte es da gefälliger sein, die Porträtstatuen

⁸⁶ Zu den frühesten Monumenten zählen VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 62 (= *IG XI 4*, 1197/98). 69-71. 74. 75. 79. 82. 84-86; s. außerdem *IG XI 4*, 1178. 1184. Vermutlich stand auch eine Statue Philipps V. vor der Halle, doch lässt sie sich nicht mehr genau lokalisieren: *IG XI 4*, 1102; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 55; VALLOIS 1923, 155 f.; s. auch *IG XI 4*, 1118; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 56; KOTSIDU 2000, Nr. 126 Abb. 39.

⁸⁷ s. z. B. VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 66-68. 69-71. 74-76. 84-86. 87/88.

⁸⁸ VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 80 (= *I.Délos* 2009; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 161: C. Fabius Hadrianus, römischer Prätor oder Münzmeister?; 1. Viertel 1. Jh. v. Chr., Wiederverwendung?). VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 81 (= *I.Délos* 1716; MARCADÉ 1957, 104: Bankier Herakleides von Tarent; um 160 v. Chr.).

⁸⁹ s. VALLOIS 1923, 123-135. bes. Abb. 186. Die Höhe der Basen beträgt, die Bodenplatte mitgerechnet, durchschnittlich ca. 1, 50 m mit geringen Schwankungen.

⁹⁰ Die Rekonstruktion der Statuenbasen VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 39 und Nr. 45 suggeriert, dass einige Monumente, die nach der Einrichtung des ‘Dromos’ aufgestellt wurden, eine entsprechende Ausrichtung nach S bevorzugt hätten, doch die spärlichen Fundamentreste vor Ort geben keinen sicheren Aufschluss zugunsten dieser Annahme.



Abb. 9 - Basen Nr. 76 – 81 vor der Philippsstoa (VALLOIS 1923, Abb. 186)

wie eine Art Galerie zu betrachten, während die unterschiedlich vorspringenden bzw. aufragenden Monumente östlich der Straße daneben leicht unbeholfen wirken konnten⁹¹. Bemerkenswert ist in dieser Hinsicht, dass die Statuenbasen, die im 2. Jh. v. Chr. auf der O-Seite errichtet wurden, möglichst nahe an die Krepis der Halle gerückt sind bzw. die vorhandenen Lücken ausschöpfen, anstatt Profit aus günstigeren Positionen vor den älteren Denkmälern zu schlagen, wie es später wieder der Fall ist⁹².

Um zu begreifen, wie stark die Gestaltung der Statuenbasen vor der Philippsstoa von den spezifischen Bedingungen am ‘Dromos’ abhing, muss der Blick auf weitere Beispiele des 2. Jhs. gerichtet werden. Erst in dieser Zeit wagte man sich daran, das Areal vor der Antigonosstoa für weitere Statuenaufstellungen neben den Progonoi zu nutzen. Dabei fällt erneut auf, dass eine große Zahl von Monumenten in einheitlich fluchtenden Aneinanderreihungen zusammengefasst sind, sei es vor den Eckrisaliten, sei es inmitten des Platzes vor der Halle⁹³. Bei letzteren ist sehr auffällig, dass die nördlich

⁹¹ Hier erreichen die früheren Basen durchschnittlich eine Höhe zwischen ca. 1,00 und 1,20 m mit sehr viel deutlicheren Schwankungen.

⁹² VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 6 (= *I.Délos* 1547/48) und Nr. 7 (= *I.Délos* 2012); dasselbe gilt vermutlich für VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 10. 14. 28. 31. 32. 34-38.

⁹³ Bislang ist es mir nicht möglich gewesen, Vorhandensein und Beschaffenheit der unmittelbar nördlich der Schatzhäuser (COURBY 1912, Taf. 1 Nr. 8-11) sowie östlich der ‘Heiligen Straße’ rekonstruierten Statuenträger zu verifizieren bzw. zu überprüfen.

gelegenen Denkmäler auf die Stoa selbst ausgerichtet sind, wobei sie einige Meter Abstand zu dem Gebäude einhielten. Offenbar sollte der Anblick der Statuen vom zentralen Abschnitt der Halle aus gewahrt bleiben, indem hier – anders als bei den zuvor behandelten Stoai – die Fläche vor der Krepis freigehalten wurde. Mit der Zeit verdichteten sich hier die Monumente auf zwei Seiten, d. h. Rücken an Rücken, zu einer Art Spina, wobei genügend Spielraum belassen wurde, dass man die Denkmälerreihen umkreisen konnte. Sogar vergleichsweise auffälligere Monumente wie die halbkreisförmigen Exedren ordneten sich dem unter⁹⁴. Es wäre möglich, dass man die Prozessionen oder andere Umzüge anlässlich der großen Feste entsprechend leitete, eventuell unter Einbeziehung der Stoa selbst. Bemerkenswert ist in dieser Hinsicht die Kurve, die das Pflaster der ‘Heiligen Straße’ an der NW-Ecke vollzieht, als gelte es einen Bewegungsfluss zu unterstützen⁹⁵.

Eine besondere Nähe zu den Basen vor der Philippsstoa veranschaulicht der Befund der außergewöhnlich gut erhaltenen Denkmäler, die links der kleinen Pforte im NO des Heiligtums vor die Peribolosmauer gesetzt sind (Abb. 10)⁹⁶. Denn die Statuenträger, drei rechteckige Exedren und ein Einzelpostament aus dem fortgeschrittenen 2. Jh. v. Chr., stehen wiederum nicht nur in einer Linie, sondern sind auch sonst sehr einheitlich gestaltet, nicht zuletzt was ihre Höhe betrifft. In diesem Fall muss es nun ganz auf das Erscheinungsbild angekommen sein, da keine alternativen Beweggründe für eine derart ausgeprägte Angleichung der Statuenbasen zu ersehen sind⁹⁷.

Diese Tendenz zur Vereinheitlichung lässt sich aber noch an anderen Stellen beobachten: Ein besonders kuriozes Monument (VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 51) führt zurück zu der Gruppe von Basen unmittelbar südöstlich der Propyläen⁹⁸. Hier könnte man auf den ersten Blick meinen, dass die Verlegung der großen

⁹⁴ *I.Délos* 1965. 1968; COURBY 1912, Taf. 1. 2 Nr. 3. 7. 20. 44; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 88-91.

⁹⁵ COURBY 1912, 61 Taf. 1. 2. Der rechte Winkel, der hier durch die Bebauung hervorgerufen wurde, ist nicht einfach rationell ausgepflastert worden. Stattdessen biegt das Pflaster um den ‘Brunnenschacht’ nach O und endet nach den bisherigen Aufzeichnungen vor dem Eingang in den W-Risalit der Antigonosstoa; entsprechend beschreibt das Pflaster lediglich einen Stichweg “X” zu dem schmalen Eingang im NW; vgl. VON HESBERG 1994A, 57 f.

⁹⁶ COURBY 1912, 50-54 (Monumente A-D). bes. Abb. 68. 70; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 74-76.

⁹⁷ So gibt es hier z. B. keinerlei Anhaltspunkte für persönliche Beziehungen über die einzelnen Anatheme hinaus, die zu einem einheitlichen Konzept hätten führen können: s. *I.Délos* 1962 (= A). 1967 (= D). 1984 (= C). Die Auftraggeber stammen aus Attika, Ionien und vom Schwarzen Meer.

⁹⁸ VALLOIS 1923, Abb. 218.



Abb. 10 - Basen A – D vor der NO-Ecke des Temenos (VON THÜNGEN 1994, Taf. 50)

Bodenplatten aus hellblauem Marmor mit ihren auffälligen seitlichen Vorsprüngen dafür gesorgt hätte, dass die Passage Richtung Prytaneion endgültig zugestellt worden sei. Tatsächlich zeigen die einzelnen Anbringungs- und Abnutzungsspuren jedoch, dass das Monument selbst in seiner Mitte zwischen zwei Pfeilern bzw. Postamenten einen Durchgang eröffnete⁹⁹. Diese originelle wie einmalige Lösung entspricht ihrem Charakter nach noch ganz den Denkmälern des 3. Jhs., während die Basenreihe aus dem frühen 2. Jh. v. Chr., die sich unmittelbar dahinter entsprechend der neuen Wegführung gebildet hat, bereits die neue Tendenz zur linearen Reihung vertritt¹⁰⁰. Dasselbe gilt dann auch für die Rechteckexedren, die schließlich vor die nördliche Seitenwand der Südstoa gesetzt wurden¹⁰¹. Zwar ist die östliche der beiden mit ca. 8,90 m von geradezu unerhörter Breite, doch in der Wahl des Ortes und in der Ausrichtung äußert sich eine gewisse Zurückhaltung, die insgesamt für die Denkmäler im 2. Jh. kennzeichnend ist.

⁹⁹ Denkbar wäre auch, dass es sich um ein Bogenmonument in der Art eines *formix* handelte: vgl. SEHLMAYER 1999, 124 f. 168-171.

¹⁰⁰ VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 48 (= IG XI 4, 1199). 49 (= IG XI 4, 1183). 50 (= IG XI 4, 1181); s. auch die ähnlichen Einzelbasen *I.Delos* 1526. IG XI 4, 1094 und 1185, die heute diese Reihe fortsetzen und nach dem Plan von HOMOLLE 1880B, Taf. 15 schon bei den Ausgrabungen hier vorgefunden worden sein dürften.

¹⁰¹ Von den beiden Exedren sind heute nur noch die Bodenplatten aus Marmor erhalten, auf denen allerdings die Spuren des Aufbaus abzulesen sind; vgl. die ganz ähnlich positionierten Exedren in der Seitenstraße westlich der Propyläen: VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 109. 111; VON THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 81.

Selbst auf dem Altarplatz, wo die verbliebenen Spielräume zusehends enger wurden, ist der Trend zu einer linearen Auffüllung der Lücken entlang der Wegführungen spürbar. Zu Beginn des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. trat hier noch einmal ein besonders eigenwilliger Basentyp in Form des Pfeilermonuments für Antiochos d. Gr. in Erscheinung, das unmittelbar südlich des Hörneraltars errichtet wurde¹⁰². Die späteren Herrscherstatuen griffen zwar ähnlich wie ihre Vorgänger zu auffälligen Materialien, fügten sich aber sonst dem Trend zur Reihung und begnügten sich auch mit bescheideneren Dimensionen, wie das Reiterstandbild des Massinissa westlich der Heiligen Straße vor dem großen Apollon-Tempel erkennen lässt¹⁰³.

Insgesamt führen diese Beobachtungen zu der Vermutung, dass die Tendenz zu einer gewissen Vereinheitlichung bzw. Ordnung der Denkmäler im 2. Jh. v. Chr. mit generellen ideologischen Veränderungen einher gegangen sein müssen. Offenbar hatte sich der Wettstreit der Bildnisträger um die Aufmerksamkeit der Betrachter um die Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jh. v. Chr. angesichts der zunehmenden Anreicherung der Plätze mit statuarischen Denkmälern in gewisser Weise erschöpft. Fortan mochte es ausreichen bzw. dem Publikum besser zu vermitteln sein, wenn man 'lediglich' seine Zugehörigkeit zur Gruppe der Vorbilder signalisierte. Auslöser dafür könnte ein neuerliches Erstarken der Polisideologie sein, indem sich die Eliten wieder mehr darauf besannen, Teil eines Kollektivs zu sein oder sich zumindest entsprechend nach außen zu geben. Dafür könnte auch die zunehmende Beliebtheit der Exedren sprechen, die in aller Regel Statuengruppen führender Familien getragen haben, eher jedoch im Sinne des Oikos als die vergleich-

¹⁰² *GD* 38: *IG* XI 4, 1111; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 59; SCHMIDT 1995, Kat. XII.4. POLYB. 26, 10, 2 lässt vermuten, dass ihn sein Sohn und Nachfolger, Antiochos IV. Epiphanes, noch zu übertrumpfen suchte. Man ist versucht, bei den "um den Altar auf Delos (errichteten) Statuen", die mit dem Olympieion in Athen in einem Atemzug genannt werden, an die beiden Säulen vor den Anten des Hörneraltars (*GD* 39) zu denken, doch scheinen diese älter zu sein: s. BRUNEAU – FRAISSE 2002, 52. 75. Auch der seleukidische Minister Heliodoros, den er als Rivale und Mörder seines Bruders, Seleukos' IV., hinrichten ließ, muss auf dem Altarplatz sehr präsent gewesen sein: *IG* XI 4, 1112/13, 1114.

¹⁰³ SIEDENTOPF 1968, Kat. II Nr. 100; ÉTIENNE 2005, 879 Abb. 9; 2006, 742 Abb. 13 Nr. 125 (vgl. die Basis aus grauem Marmor Nr. 113 = SIEDENTOPF 1968, Kat. II Nr. 101). Die neuen Beobachtungen auf dem Altarplatz lassen inzwischen verschiedene Phasen erahnen, wobei zuletzt eine neue Pflasterung der 'Heiligen Straße' und eine gewisse 'Begradigung' der an der Weggabelung nördlich der Propyläen orientierten Denkmäler festzustellen ist.

¹⁰⁴ s. von THÜNGEN 1994, 32-36 mit der tabellarischen Übersicht Abb. 2; vgl. HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1990.

baren Herrscheranatheme, denen vorzugsweise das Konzept dynastischer Legitimation zugrunde lag¹⁰⁴. So gesehen könnte man die 'Exedra der Prinzen von Pontos', die den auf Delos besonders verbreiteten rechteckigen Typus aufgreift, als Kennzeichen einer 'Verbürgerlichung' der Herrscherrepräsentation auffassen¹⁰⁵.

Der Erfolg der Exedren dürfte aber auch eng mit der zusätzlichen Komponente verknüpft gewesen sein, die diese Denkmäler im Gegensatz zu anderen Statuenträgern zu bieten hatte, nämlich der Sitzgelegenheit. Der darin enthaltene Komfort konnte im Alltag dazu einladen, sich eine Pause zu gönnen und somit die Chance erhöhen, dass der Betrachter den Bildnissen um sich herum mehr Aufmerksamkeit widmete. Umgekehrt mochten die Bänke zu verschiedenen Anlässen, insbesondere den schon vielfach angesprochenen Festen, den Zuschauern zur Verfügung gestanden haben, eventuell sogar im Sinne von Ehrenplätzen¹⁰⁶. Das würde ihre verstärkte Präsenz an Wegen und Plätzen erklären, die in diesem Zusammenhang Prozessionen und anderen 'Spektakeln' gedient haben. Vielleicht ist es daher kein Zufall, dass sie am Altarplatz fehlen. Von der zunehmenden Bedeutung der Bewegung war bereits oben die Rede. Sie findet ihren Niederschlag auch in der Aufwertung der Wege durch aufwendige Pflasterungen, wie sie für die 'Heilige Straße' und den sie nach außen verlängernden 'Dromos' nachgewiesen werden können¹⁰⁷. Das ordentliche Spalier der Statuenbasen könnte so dem geordneten Zug der Kultgemeinschaft entsprochen haben, dessen vornehmste bzw. vorbildlichste Teilnehmer hier vielleicht sogar ihren statuarischen Widerklang erfahren¹⁰⁸. Schließlich dürfte auch die Verwendung während der Opferbankette eine gewisse Rolle gespielt haben, wie die Präsenz eines 'Abstellisches' inmitten des Halbrunds einer der Exedren östlich des 'Dromos' vermuten lässt¹⁰⁹. Diese Überlegungen sollen nicht etwa ausblenden, dass die Aufstellung der Ehrenstatuen zugleich 'alltagstauglich' sein musste. Aber sicherlich waren die Denkmäler auch beim eingehenderen Studium von Bildnis und Inschrift zu einem ruhigeren Zeitpunkt darauf angelegt, die gehobene Stimmung der Feiern mit ihren Proklamationen und Bekränzungen zu evozieren.

¹⁰⁵ *I.Délos* 1555/56; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 74; VALLOIS 1923, 136 f.; von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 70.

¹⁰⁶ s. dazu von THÜNGEN 1994, 36-39.

¹⁰⁷ VALLOIS 1923, 145-148.

¹⁰⁸ Vgl. ZIMMERMANN 2009, 32 f.

¹⁰⁹ von THÜNGEN 1994, Nr. 125 Taf. 80 Beil. 54 (= VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 27) hingegen interpretiert den halbrunden Marmorblock mit eigenen Löwenfüßen als zusätzliche Sitzgelegenheit.

DIE DENKMÄLER IN SPÄTHELLENISTISCHER ZEIT – EXKLUSIVITÄT UND OMNIPRÄSENZ

Im weiteren Verlauf des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. scheinen sich die Verbindlichkeiten der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte, insbesondere die Konzentration auf wenige zentrale Routen und Versammlungsorte der politischen und sakralen Lebensgemeinschaft zunehmend aufzulösen. Aus dem Blickwinkel der Bildnisrepräsentation erscheint das lediglich konsequent, da die bisher in Frage kommenden Aufstellungsorte für Porträtstatuen nahezu vollständig besetzt waren und neue Räume erschlossen werden mussten, wollte man sich der älteren Denkmäler nicht einfach entledigen. Am ‘Dromos’ war man bald auf die unmittelbar angrenzenden Straßen und Plätze zum ‘Heiligen Hafen’ hin ausgewichen, wie man besonders gut an der Fortsetzung der Monumente auf der S-Seite der Philippsstoa erkennen kann¹¹⁰. Ähnliches dürfte sich auch an den nordwestlichen Zugängen des Heiligtums abgespielt haben¹¹¹. Das Areal vor der Antigonosstoa wurde in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. soweit wie möglich von den Basen in Beschlag genommen¹¹². Daneben mehren sich jedoch die Hinweise auf neue Aufstellungskontexte, die nicht bloß als Erweiterungen der hergebrachten Funktionsräume angesehen werden können. Im Verlauf der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. wurden die beiden Plätze am ‘Heiligen Hafen’, die ‘Agora der Kompetaliasten’ und die ‘Agora des Theophrast’, durch kleine Heiligtümer und Monumente verschiedener Kultvereine von Händlern vereinnahmt, so dass sie nun stärker denn je einen

¹¹⁰ Die Basen haben sich beiderseits eines vor die Nahtstelle der beiden Stoen gesetzten ionischen Naiskos ausgebreitet: VALLOIS 1923, 112-117 Taf. 10; VON HESBERG 1994A, 161 Nr. 4.1.3.; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 166 Abb. 40 D; von den beiden Denkmälern mit erhaltenen Inschriften VALLOIS 1923, 120-123 Nr. 93 (= *I.Délos* 1971). 99 (= *I.Délos* 1602) lässt sich bisher nur erstere sehr vage in die Zeit um 126/27 v. Chr. datieren, d. h. früher als die umgebenden Basen VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 91. 92. 94; VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 98 wurde aufgrund der Beobachtungen von Vallois nach VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 99 errichtet und VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 97 und 100 sind noch jünger.

¹¹¹ VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 2 zur Situation im W; zum Korridor im NW zwischen *GD* 35 und 47 s. Anm. 93.

¹¹² Andererseits hat man sich aber offenbar auch nicht darum bemüht, jeden erdenklichen freien Platz im Heiligtum zu diesem Zweck zu nutzen. Z. B. scheinen den archaischen Weihungen im Artemision (*GD* 46) in hellenistischer Zeit kaum noch Denkmäler gefolgt zu sein: s. VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 2, wo nur wenige Fundamentreste vor der hellenistischen Tempelfront zu erkennen sind, die zum archaischen Altar der Göttin gehören: BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 209 *Faltplan II*.

Eigenwert erhielten und nicht mehr in erster Linie als Vorposten des Heiligtums wahrgenommen werden konnten¹¹³. Im Falle der nördlichen Platzanlage ließ sich der attische Epimelet von Delos, Theophrastos, auf seiner mehr oder minder zentral aufgestellten Statuenbasis rühmen, dass er sich um 126/25 v. Chr. um die Neugestaltung dieser Agora und der angrenzenden Hafenanlagen gekümmert hat¹¹⁴. Obwohl der gegen Ende des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. errichtete 'Hypostyle Saal' im N des Platzes mit seiner Kolonnade förmlich dazu einlud, vor seiner Front Statuen aufzustellen, weisen die frühesten, mit Sicherheit hier aufgestellten Inschriften tatsächlich erst in das fortschrittene 2. und ins 1. Jh. v. Chr.¹¹⁵. Die Aufwertung des Platzes als eigene Agora mag dazu beigetragen haben, dass hier neben den kleinen Kult-Niederlassungen der Händler¹¹⁶ eine Gruppe von Denkmälern installiert wurde, die zwar aufgrund ihrer Ausrichtung einen stärkeren Bezug zum Apollon-Heiligtum erahnen lässt, formal aber ein in sich geschlossenes Ensemble bildete. Dabei handelt es sich vor allem um die eigentümlichen mehrfach gestuften Sockel von Reiterstatuen, die im N und O aufgereiht den Rand des Platzes säumten und damit eine Art Vorhof zum westlichen Eingang des Hieron markierten¹¹⁷. Doch könnte diese Inszenierung auch erst im weiteren

¹¹³ Zur Agora der Kompetaliasten s. BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 163-166 (*GD* 2); HASENOHR 2002; zur Agora des Theophrast s. DURRBACH 1976, 162; EAD 39; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 213 (*GD* 49); zu den verschiedenen Kulturen s. HATZFELD 1912, 109. 166 Anm. 6. In beiden Fällen verunklärt die kaiserzeitliche und spätantike Bebauung die Befunde durch eine Vielzahl von spolierten Inschriftenblöcken.

¹¹⁴ *I.Délos* 1645; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 95.

¹¹⁵ LEROUX 1909, 45-47. 72-74. bes. Taf. 1 "B" (= *I.Délos* 1753: Weihung von Italikern an Herakles) und "R" (= *I.Délos* 1969: Rechteckexedra). Zum 'Hypostylen Saal' s. BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 214 (*GD* 50).

¹¹⁶ Aufgrund des Altars des Poseidon Nauklarios (= *I.Délos* 2483) und der vermutlichen Benennung des 'Hypostylen Saals' als 'Stoa beim Poseideion' dürfte der zentrale Schrein als Poseidon-Tempel anzusprechen sein: LEROUX 1909, 74 Taf. 1 "G", weiter östlich könnten sich noch zwei kleinere Schreine ("I" und "N") hinzugesellt haben. Zumindest der Altar des Poseidon ist bereits ins 3. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren: s. VALLOIS – POULSEN 1914, 29-34 Taf. 3.

¹¹⁷ REINACH 1884, 170 f.; LEROUX 1909, Abb. 2 Nr. 8; Abb. 106 Taf. 1 "M" und "O" (s. auch die Säulenbasis "L" mit ebenfalls getrepptem Sockel); VALLOIS – POULSEN 1914, Taf. 4; VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 2; SIEDENTOPF 1968, 58. 60 Kat. II Nr. 116-122. Auch hier darf man einen Archaismus vermuten: vgl. KISSAS 2000, 55 f. Nr. 21. Die genannten Monumente auf der N-Seite scheren leicht aus der vorgegebenen Linie des 'Hypostylen Saales' aus und folgen darin eher der Randbebauung im NW des Hieron. Auch die oben (Anm. 115 "R") genannte Antenexedra war Apollon geweiht; s. auch *I.Délos* 1869.

Verlauf des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. erfolgt sein¹¹⁸. Die ‘Agora der Kompetaliasten’ wurde dagegen so sehr von den neuen Kultbauten sowie begleitenden Votiven und Ehrenstatuen geprägt, dass der zuvor noch so bedeutsame Anschluss an das Hieron kaum mehr ins Gewicht fiel¹¹⁹. Und durch neue Baumaßnahmen konnten jetzt förmlich überall kleine Platzanlagen entstehen bzw. für die Aufstellung von Porträtstandbildern aktiviert werden¹²⁰.

Etwa zur gleichen Zeit begann man damit, auch andere Heiligtümer abseits des großen Hieron für die Aufstellung von Ehrenstatuen als geeignet zu befinden, von denen einige bereits lange Bestand hatten, aber eher peripher gelegen und nur mit einem gewissen Aufwand zu erreichen waren. Das gilt z. B. für das Heiligtum des Zeus und der Athena auf dem Kynthos, das seit dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. als Kultstätte belegt ist, seinen heutigen terrassenartigen Ausbau aber erst dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. verdankt¹²¹. Die auffälligste Weihung hier ist eine kolossale Statue Ptolemaios’ IX. in bewegter Schrittstellung, die kurz vor oder nach der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. von einem Gefolgsmann aus dem Kreis “der ersten Freunde” des Königs gestiftet wurde und eventuell zentral in einem nachträglich auf dem östlichen Sporn des Gipfels hinzugefügten, mosaizierten Raum aufgestellt war¹²². Daneben begegnen die Statuenbasen von Priestern des Zeus und der Athena, die vor allem der attischen Oberschicht zugeordnet werden können¹²³. Die zahlrei-

¹¹⁸ Die Statuenpostamente auf der O-Seite bilden eine Flucht mit den Basisfundamenten, die dem großen Monument für L. Cornelius Sulla (= *I.Délos* 1850; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 147 a: 87 – 83 v. Chr.) vorgelagert sind: VALLOIS 1953, Taf. 2. Auf eine Spätdatierung der beiden Reiterstatuen auf der N-Seite deutet die Verlagerung der Kanalisation an dieser Stelle: LEROUX 1909, 72 Taf. 1.

¹¹⁹ Zu den Kultbauten und Denkmälern auf der Kompetaliasten-Agora s. HASENOHR 2002, die einen Zusammenhang mit den Baumaßnahmen des Theophrast herstellt und darauf hinweist, dass die betreffenden Inschriften nicht vor 125 v. Chr. datiert werden können, vielmehr sogar auf ein Einsetzen um 100 v. Chr. hindeuten. Zur zeitgleichen Entwicklung des ‘Dromos’ s. unten.

¹²⁰ Bezeichnend ist z. B. die Aufstellung der Reiterstatue eines nicht identifizierten Ptolemäers vor dem Propylon der neu geschaffenen ‘Italiker-Agora’: *I.Délos* 1536; SIEDENTOPF 1968, Kat. II 112.

¹²¹ BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 285-287 (*GD* 105).

¹²² *I.Délos* 1532; PLASSART 1928, 104-106 Abb. 78; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 287 Abb. 95 “M”. Vergleichbar dazu ist der Schrein, den der Priester Helianax aus Athen für Mithridates VI. und seine Entourage 102/101 v. Chr. im Kabirion errichten ließ, wobei hier erstmals eine klare Gewichtung zwischen der Ehrenstatue für den Herrscher und den Clipeusporträts für seine Gefolgsleute zu beobachten ist: CHAPOUTHIER 1935, 13-42; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 272 (*GD* 94); s. zuletzt KREUZ 2009. Eine weitere Statuenbasis des Mithridates Eupator wurde im entlegenen Asklepieion (*GD* 125) an der Bucht von Fourni gefunden: *I.Délos* 1568.

¹²³ *I.Délos* 1885. 1887. 1891. 1892; PLASSART 1928, 129-138.

chen Stiftungen des ausgehenden 2. Jhs. v. Chr., die der Ausschmückung des Heiligtums zugute kamen¹²⁴, hatten offenbar auch den mit ihm verbundenen Priesterämtern neuen Glanz verliehen, der die Ehrung durch Bildnisstatuen rechtfertigen mochte. Doch zeigen die Inschriften aus weiteren Heiligtümern, dass nun überall auf der Insel die Übernahme von Kultdiensten zum Anlass solcher Statuenaufstellungen genommen werden konnte¹²⁵. Besonderer Beliebtheit muss sich in dieser Hinsicht das offizielle 'Heiligtum der Ägyptischen Götter' östlich des Inopos erfreut haben, das mit seinen hintereinander geschalteten Innenhöfen bzw. Hallenanlagen vielfältige Möglichkeiten zur Platzierung von Ehrenstatuen bot¹²⁶. Bislang ist jedoch lediglich für die marmorne Gewandstatue der Athenerin Diodora verbürgt, dass sie in einer nicht genauer lokalisierten Nischenarchitektur gemeinsam mit einem Bildnis der Tochter Aristion untergebracht war¹²⁷.

Die Aufstellung von Ehrenstatuen im Innern geschlossener Architekturkomplexe bzw. innerhalb von Hallenanlagen ist überhaupt kennzeichnend für diese Periode und fand in allen möglichen Kontexten Verbreitung. Dabei ging es offenbar darum, der Überfüllung der Plätze mit Porträtstandbildern und dem damit drohenden Aufmerksamkeitsverlust neue Lösungen entgegenzusetzen. Die Statuen wurden nun allenthalben durch eigens dafür konzipierte architektonische Rahmungen gefasst und aufwendig hervorgehoben¹²⁸. Den

¹²⁴ PLASSART 1928, 93-128; vgl. ähnliche Stiftungen im 'Heiligtum der Syrischen Götter': WILL 1985, 98-108.

¹²⁵ So vermutlich auch im Fall einer Statuenbasis aus dem etwas abseits gelegenen Asklepieion (GD 125): *I.Délos* 1914. Ein früher Vorläufer scheint die Statuenbasis des Euboulos von Marathon (= *I.Délos* 1981) im Kabirion zu sein, wenn die Datierung um 162/61 v. Chr. zutrifft (vgl. *I.Délos* 1498). Eine gewisse Fixierung auf die Ämterhäufung äußert sich auch in der nun verbreiteten Praxis, die Weiheinschriften mit Angaben zu allen möglichen zur Zeit der Stiftung amtierenden Funktionären anzureichern; s. z. B. *I.Délos* 2157. 2364.

¹²⁶ s. z. B. *I.Délos* 2058 (für Sohn, der als Priester fungiert hat; bald nach 116/115 v. Chr.). 2061 (Priester für seine Tochter, Kanephorin des Dionysos; 110/109 v. Chr.). 2070 (für Sohn, der Kleidouch gewesen ist; 111/110 v. Chr.). 2078 (Melanophoren und Therapeuten für Priester; 116/115 v. Chr.). Zum 'Sarapeion C' s. ROUSSEL 1915, 47-69 Taf. 3; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 277-279 (GD 100); zu den neuen Untersuchungen s. zuletzt Siard 2009. Ähnliche Möglichkeiten zur statuarischen Selbstdarstellung muss auch das benachbarte Heiligtum der Syrischen Götter geboten haben: *I.Délos* 2245. 2246; WILL 1985, 49 Abb. 36; S. 79 Abb. 51 Taf. 11,3; 40, 4.

¹²⁷ *I.Délos* 2095. 2096; ROUSSEL 1915, 65. 193 Nr. 186; MARCADÉ 1996, Nr. 95.

¹²⁸ s. z. B. die zentral in die Rückwand des großen Saals "G" (*apodyterion*?) des Gymnasion (GD 76) eingebaute Nische für die Ehrenstatue des Sarapion aus Neapolis: *I.Délos* 1931; AUDIAT 1970, 57 Taf. A, die durch das dreibogige Portal auch vom Peristyl aus gut zu sehen war; vgl. eine ähnliche Nische im südlichen Peristylbau des Asklepieion (GD 125): ROBERT 1952, 53 Abb. 38. 39.

Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung bilden die teilweise verschließbaren Nischen bzw. Separées in den Hallen der ‘Italiker-Agora’ (Abb. 11), die mit zusätzlichem Wand- und Bodendekor die Wirkung der oftmals überdimensionierten Denkmäler noch zu steigern suchten¹²⁹. Im Gegenzug scheute man sogar nicht davor zurück, Lokalitäten zu wählen, deren Zugang sicherlich nicht für die breite Öffentlichkeit vorgesehen war wie Vereins- oder auch Privathäuser¹³⁰. In diesen Fällen drängt sich die Frage förmlich auf, welche Zielpersonen hier überhaupt angesprochen werden sollten, um dem Anspruch auf eine repräsentative Wirkung der Porträts Genüge zu leisten. Jedenfalls lassen weder die Bildnisträger noch die statuarischen Zeugnisse selbst aus diesen Kontexten daran zweifeln, dass man es den Pendants im öffentlichen Raum gleich tun wollte.

Das Bemühen um Exklusivität in späthellenistischer Zeit ist selbst an den bereits etablierten Aufstellungsorten von Ehrenstatuen zu beobachten. So erhielt der römische Prokonsul Billienus am Anfang des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. eine Panzerstatue auf einer breit angelegten Orthostatenbasis am östlichen Ende der Antigonosstoa, die so in die Blickachse des vorderen Schiffes gerückt war, dass sie völlig isoliert von der Masse der Monumente außerhalb der Halle wahrgenommen werden konnte¹³¹. Vergleichbar, jedoch in den Abmessungen nochmals gesteigert, sollte wenig später eines der Denkmäler für Sulla die Philippsstoa an deren S-Ende okkupieren¹³². Für die Aussicht auf eine Sonderstellung nahm man also unter Umständen in Kauf, dass man die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums erst über Umwege gewinnen konnte. Parallel dazu gibt es aber auch klare Anzeichen dafür, dass man selbst an den überkommenen Plätzen die verbliebenen Möglichkeiten zur Errichtung weiterer Denkmäler auszuschöpfen suchte¹³³. So erlebte der südlich des Hie-

¹²⁹ s. dazu ausführlich TRÜMPER 2008, 138-225 sowie ihren Beitrag in POLIS & PORTRÄT.

¹³⁰ Zu den Ehrenstatuen im vorderen Hof vor den Kulturnischen im Vereinshaus der Poseidonianen von Berytos s. PICARD 1921, 25-33; zu Porträts in den Wohn- und Vereinshäusern von Delos s. MICHALOWSKI 1932, Taf. 10-19. 23/24? 25. 31-35 42-45; KREEB 1988, 69-71; MARCADÉ 1996, Nr. 86. 93. 94. 96? 97. 99 und einen gesonderten Beitrag des Verf. in POLIS & PORTRÄT.

¹³¹ COURBY 1912, 41-45 Taf. 1. 2 “M”; MARCADÉ 1996, Nr. 88. Die später nördlich daneben platzierte Basis “N” hatte nur noch wenig Spielraum zum Erreichen eines ähnlichen Effekts, suchte diesen Nachteil aber durch eine gesteigerte Höhe zu kompensieren.

¹³² VALLOIS 1923, 151 Abb. 221-223 (= *I.Délos* 1851; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 147 b; 149).

¹³³ Für die Herrscherhäuser ist es offenbar immer leichter gewesen, an privilegierte Platzierungen für ihre Monumente zu gelangen: s. z. B. die große Basis für den Seleukiden Antiochos VIII. unmittelbar östlich der Progonoi: *I.Délos* 1549; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 120; COURBY 1912, 95 Anm. 1 Abb. 120 Taf. 1. 2 Nr. 1; vgl. *I.Délos* 1551; KOTSIDU 2000, 216-218 Nr. 141 Abb. 50.

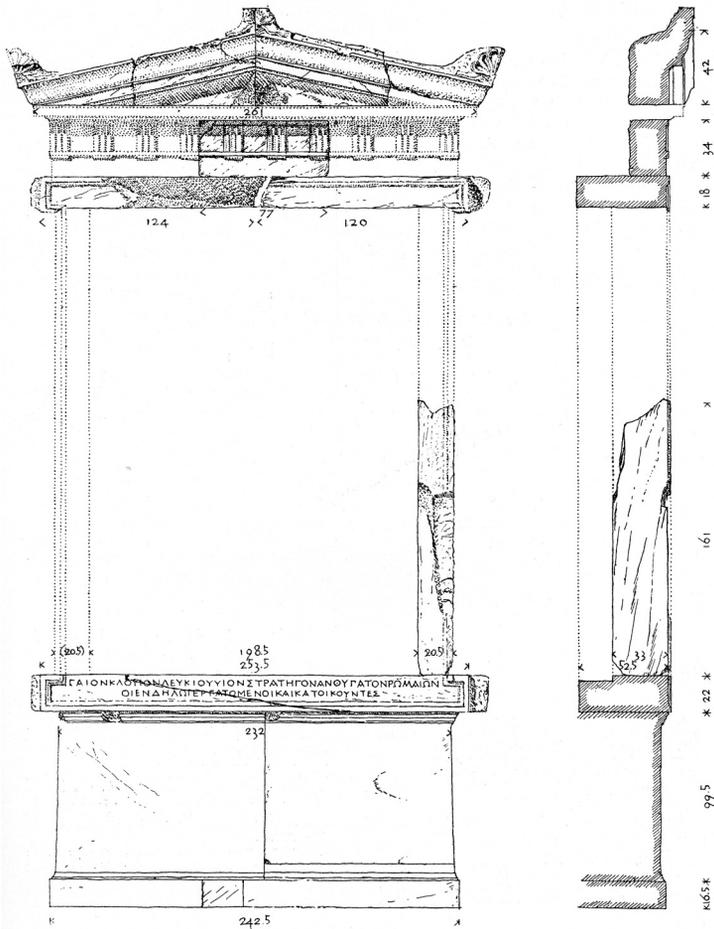


Abb. 11 - Rekonstruktion der Statuennische in Exedra Nr. 15 der 'Italikeragora' (LAPALUS 1939, Abb. 41)

ron gelegene 'Dromos' im ausgehenden 2. Jh. v. Chr. einen letzten maßgeblichen Eingriff, indem der Zugang von S her durch eine Gruppe weiterer Statuenbasen zugesetzt wurde (Abb. 12)¹³⁴. Für die betreffenden Monumente war damit ein neuer prominenter Aufstellungsort geschaffen, jedoch die Benutzung des 'Dromos' als Prozessionsweg sicherlich hinfällig. In der Konsequenz fand die Abkoppelung des 'Dromos' von der 'Kompetalisten-Agora' zu ihrem endgültigen Abschluss, indem man den neben der neuen Denkmälergruppe verbliebenen Durchlass mit einer Tür versah¹³⁵. So wurde

¹³⁴ VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 1-4 (VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 4 = *I. Délos* 1603; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 123).

¹³⁵ VALLOIS 1923, 123 f.

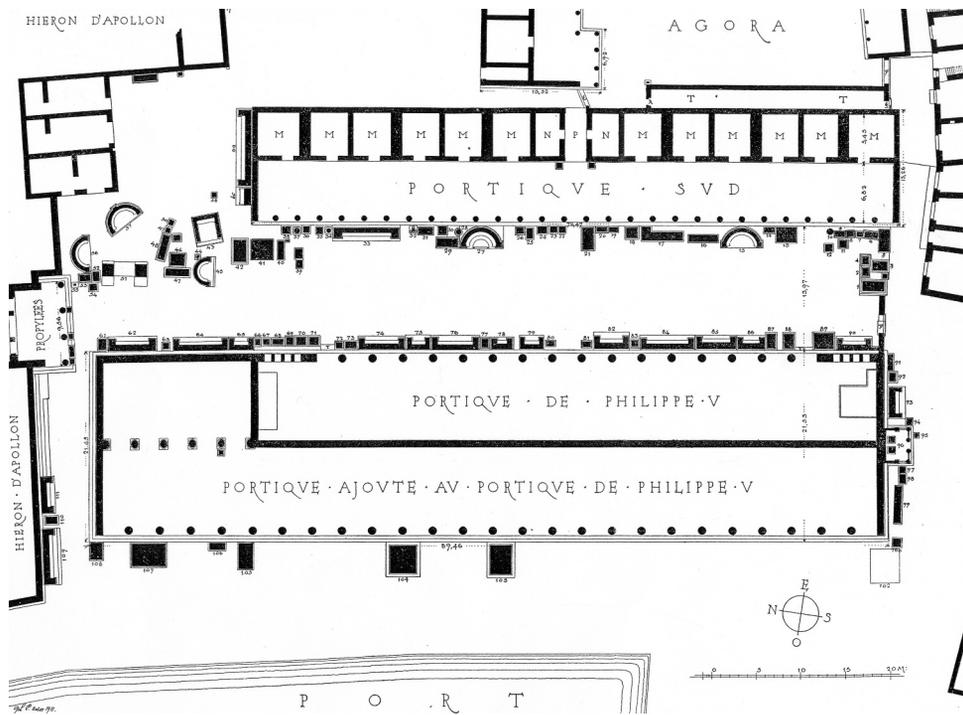


Abb. 12 - Plan des 'Dromos', Phase III: Ende 2. Jh. v. Chr. (Verf. nach VALLOIS 1923, Taf. 9)

die ehemalige Feststraße selbst zu einer Art Platzanlage, deren Besuch mehr denn je von der Nutzung der flankierenden Hallen und der benachbarten Agora abhing¹³⁶. Die neue Verkehrsführung zwischen den Stoen muss aber weiterhin genügend Attraktivität besessen haben, da man im 1. Jh. v. Chr. alle Hemmungen verlor, neue Postamente vor die älteren zu setzen oder diese sogleich umzuwidmen¹³⁷. Auch wenn sich die Anzahl wiederverwen-

¹³⁶ Eventuell stammen aus dieser Zeit auch die beiden Postamente, die in der Südtoa den Durchgang zur Agora flankieren. Einem Vorschlag von VALLOIS 1944, 67 Anm. 6; 424 zufolge wurden die Lokale hier u. a. von der für das Heiligtum wie den Freihafen so bedeutsamen Zunft der Bänker genutzt: ROUSSEL 1916, 176 f.; Vial 1984, 211 f. Anm. 87; daher erklärt sich vielleicht die Platzierung von VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 81 (= *I.Délos* 1716).

¹³⁷ Das gilt z. B. für VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 11. 12 (= *I.Délos* 1726?) sowie *I.Délos* 1843 (vor VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 25). 2007 (vor VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 7). Etwas unklar ist die Situation am südlichen Anfang des 'Dromos' vor der Südtoa, da hier – eventuell aufgrund der Errichtung von VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 1-4 – Basen zusammengeschoben wurden, die von VALLOIS 1923 (s. dort Taf. 13) nicht berücksichtigt worden sind, weil er sie offenbar nicht *in situ* wählte, darunter die ältere Rundbasis IG XI 4, 1195 und eine kleine, schmale Basis dahinter (beide vor VALLOIS

deter Statuenbasen noch nicht zuverlässig bestimmen lässt, dürfte diese Praxis auf Delos allerdings nicht die Ausmaße erreicht haben, wie sie andernorts zu beobachten sind¹³⁸.

Zu den wesentlichen Mitteln der neuen Kommunikationsstrategie späthellenistischer Ehrenstatuen zählte offenbar die Redundanz in bildlicher und inschriftlicher Präsenz. War es schon im 3. Jh. v. Chr. keine Seltenheit, dass einzelne Personen – vor allem Herrscher und ihnen nahe stehende Personen – in den Genuss mehr als nur einer Bildnisstatue (an einem Ort!) gelangten¹³⁹, so erlebte dieses Phänomen am Übergang zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. nochmals eine deutliche Steigerung. Dabei war die Wiederholung auf engstem Raum bzw. in geringen Abständen offensichtlich ein maßgeblicher Gesichtspunkt¹⁴⁰. Während man in Kleidung und Haltung vermutlich verschiedene Rollenbilder zu besetzen suchte, dürfte man sich von dem Wiedererkennungseffekt bei der Wahrnehmung von Bildnis und Benennung einen Vorteil für die kommemorativ Wirkung der Porträts versprochen haben.¹⁴¹ Freilich mochte die schiere Quantität der Ehrenstatuen auch für sich eine Art Regulativ in der inflationär gewordenen Verbreitung solcher

1923, Nr. 6). Eine seltsame Wiederverwendung weist die Exedra VALLOIS 1923, Nr. 78 auf, die laut Inschriften auf dem linken Risalit einen seleukidischen Höfling (= *I.Délos* 1543; 162 – 150 v. Chr.) und auf dem rechten einen römischen Legaten (= *I.Délos* 1702; 2. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.) trug; allerdings passt der r. Schaft der Breite nach nicht zu den Anschlussblöcken.

¹³⁸ Nur wenige Basen tragen beidseitig Inschriften (z. B. *I.Délos* 1644/2341) oder Spuren sukzessiver Statuenanbringungen (z. B. *I.Délos* 1698); s. auch BLANCK 1969, 76 f.; MARCADÉ 1957, 27 Taf. 30, 3. Wo die Aufstellung von Ehrenstatuen auch in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. bzw. deutlich darüber hinaus anhält, ist das Phänomen sehr viel häufiger zu beobachten: s. z. B. PEEK 1969 (Epidauros); PETRAKOS 1997 (Oropos); MAREK 2006 (Kaunos). Zu den besonders eigentümlichen Wiederverwendungen auf der Athener Akropolis s. KRUMEICH 2008 sowie seinen Beitrag in POLIS & PORTRÄT.

¹³⁹ s. z. B. Anm. 29 (Philadelphos II.). 31 (Sostratos). 102 (Heliodoros).

¹⁴⁰ s. z. B. drei Statuen für den gleichnamigen Großvater des Mark Anton am 'Dromos' (auf drei Seiten?): *I.Délos* 1603. 1700 (= DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 139). 1843 (vgl. Anm. 137) oder die beiden Basen für den Epimeleten Epigenes von Melite am 'Dromos' (= *I.Délos* 1643. 1703), der ein weitere Statue an der 'Heiligen Straße' vor dem Apollon-Tempel erhielt (= *I.Délos* 1644); s. auch MARCADÉ 1957, 32 Taf. 30, 5; S. 58. 139; SCHMIDT 1995, Kat. IV.1.34. 42. 43. Zu den Monumenten Sullas s. Anm. 118. 132. Für andere war die Präsenz an verschiedenen Standorten wichtiger: *I.Délos* 1722-1724; DURRBACH 1976, Nr. 132 (Statuen des italophilen Bankiers Philostratos von Askalon auf der 'Italiker-Agora', dem Kynthos und in seinem Wohnhaus).

¹⁴¹ Vgl. RAECK 1995, bes. 233 f.; ein extremes Beispiel liefert Iollas von Sardes mit gleich 10 rundplastischen und vier gemalten Porträts, darunter unterschiedliche Materialien, Formate und Statuentypen: BUCKLER – ROBINSON 1932, 50 f. Nr. 27. Zu den Rollenbildern s. ZANKER 1995, bes. 254-263.

Standbilder darstellen. Die Häufung ehrwürdiger Ämter und Aufgaben insbesondere durch die Ausdifferenzierung und Institutionalisierung immer neuer Gemeinschaften mit jeweils eigenen Niederlassungen erhöhte auch die Aussichten auf mehrfache Bildnisehrungen. Dabei blieb die Bindung an den Ort aufgrund von euergetischen oder anderen Leistungen nach wie vor eine entscheidende Voraussetzung. Auch in traditionellen Einrichtungen der Polis wie im Gymnasion oder im Theater nahmen die statuarischen Ehrungen jetzt zu, erfolgten aber nicht beliebig, sondern trugen zur Bestätigung der etablierten Strukturen und Handlungsmuster bei: Im Gymnasion sind es die leitenden Figuren und die Auszubildenden, die wohl in erster Linie Sponsoren mit Bildnissen ehren¹⁴². Im Theater hängen die verschiedenen Weihungen nach wie vor mit den Dionysien bzw. Leistungen bei den choregischen Agonen zusammen¹⁴³.

Bei aller Tendenz zur Zersplitterung des Kollektivs der Inselbewohner und -besucher in verschiedene Teilgemeinschaften, darf man sich diese keineswegs hermetisch vorstellen. Die Namen der führenden Familien und einflussreichen Funktionäre begegnen in ganz unterschiedlichen Kontexten wieder und zeigen an, dass es vielmehr darauf ankam, sich vielseitig zu engagieren, um den eigenen Bekanntheitsgrad und Status auszubauen. Erst durch die redundante Präsenz in Wort und Bild konnte man sich der Zugehörigkeit zur Elite vergewissern und erst die Vernetzung der verschiedenen Präsenzen mittels darüber kursierender Gespräche verlieh den Denkmälern auf das Gesamt gesehen ihren Stellenwert.

¹⁴² s. z. B. zwei Basen von Gymnasiarchen für Herrscher von Pontos (= *I.Délos* 1558. 1560) oder eine von den Aleiphomenoi gestiftete Statue für den attischen Priester Sokrates (= *I.Délos* 1936); s. ausführlicher dazu VON DEN HOFF 2004, 379 f. Eine Reihe solcher Basen wurde später in die nahegelegene Synagoge verschleppt: *I.Délos* 1923bis. 1928; vgl. oben Anm. 82 (Sosilos). Nur wenige Fundamente im Innenhof von *GD* 76 deuten auf mögliche weitere Aufstellungen von Ehrenstatuen hin: s. AUDIAT 1970 Taf. A. Auch das angrenzende Stadion (*GD* 78) könnte zu diesem Zweck genutzt worden sein: s. eine Rundbasis vor der NO-Ecke der westlichen Tribüne nahe der Mitte der Laufstrecke, MORETTI 2001, 357 Abb. 2. 7. 10.

¹⁴³ FRAISSE – MORETTI 2007, 81-86: Neben Statuen und Statuetten des Theatergottes und seines Gefolges sowie Dreifußweihungen gibt es diverse Basen von Ehrenstatuen, darunter die einer Kanephorin des Dionysos, die auch ein Priesteramt der Artemis übernommen hatte (= *I.Délos* 1873).

RESÜMÉE

Der chronologische Überblick über die räumliche Entfaltung hellenistischer Ehrenstatuen auf Delos, genauer gesagt der Statuenträger, führt zu dem Ergebnis, dass es sich dabei um einen sehr dynamischen Prozess gehandelt hat, in dem die Errichtung neuer Gebäude oder auch nur einzelner Monumente erheblichen Einfluss auf die nachfolgenden Denkmäler ausüben konnte. Andererseits werden aber auch zeitspezifische Tendenzen erkennbar, die sich als wechselnde Strategien im Bemühen um die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums begreifen lassen. Diese Veränderungen können zwar ebenfalls als Reaktion auf die jeweiligen räumlichen Voraussetzungen verstanden werden, finden aber erst in der Annahme sich ablösender Leitideen eine sinnvolle Erklärung. So ist für die ab der Mitte des 3. Jhs. v. Chr. rasch steigende Anzahl von Bildnisstatuen kennzeichnend, dass bei ihrer Besetzung der *epiphanéstatoi topoi* auf individuelle Gestaltungen in Formgebung, Umfang, Sujet etc. sowie unterschiedliche Lösungen bei der Ausrichtung geachtet wurde. Das eigene Monument sollte sich möglichst von den anderen abheben, um bevorzugt wahrgenommen zu werden und sich der Erinnerung einzuprägen. Hierin setzt sich wohl eine Tendenz des späten 4. Jhs. zu einem wachsenden Selbstbewusstsein des Einzelnen fort, das aus der Erfahrung einer umfassend neu definierten Oikoumene und der zugleich in Frage gestellten Bedeutung der Polisgrenzen resultieren dürfte. Auch im Apollon-Heiligtum und im Bereich der benachbarten Agora werden zeitgleich die konventionellen Grenzen überschritten bzw. neue gezogen, um den traditionellen Handlungsabläufen neue Möglichkeiten unter veränderten Koordinaten zu eröffnen. Der kollektive Bezugsrahmen, sakral oder politisch, bleibt davon unberührt. Der Festkalender wird lediglich um eine Reihe zusätzlicher Feiern erweitert, die den Spielraum zu immer mehr Stiftungen und Ehrungen vergrößern.

Mit der Wende zum 2. Jh. v. Chr. setzt ein gegenläufiger Trend ein, der zu einer zunehmend linearen Reihung und Vereinheitlichung im Erscheinungsbild der Statuenträger führt. Das 'geordnete Auftreten' hängt wohl ebenfalls sehr stark mit den geregelten Abläufen der Feiern und ihrer einzelnen Elemente zusammen, da die Denkmäler vor allem deren wichtigste Stationen sowie den sie verbindenden Parcours säumen¹⁴⁴. Das neue

¹⁴⁴ Zur linearen Anordnung im 2. Jh. vgl. LÖHR 1993, 209 f. Beil. 14 (Oropos, Amphiaraiion); VON KIENLIN 2004, 118 Abb. 1. 4. 5 (Priene, Agora).

Bedürfnis nach Orientierung und Verbindlichkeit mag einfach aus einer Krise des 'Individualismus' im 3. Jh. v. Chr. hervorgegangen sein, spricht aber in seiner Betonung bürgerlicher Werte für eine Wiederbelebung von Idealen der klassischen Polis mit dem Unterschied, dass es eine eher kleine, elitäre Oberschicht ist, die diesen Wertekanon demonstriert. Selbst die zeitgenössischen Monumente für Herrscher wirken bisweilen vergleichsweise zurückgenommen oder lassen sich sogar von den neuen Idealen inspirieren. Entsprechend richten sich ihre finanziellen Zuwendungen immer mehr an 'zivile' Einrichtungen oder Maßnahmen, die betont der Allgemeinheit zugute kommen. Im letzten Drittel des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. nimmt die Zahl möglicher Aufstellungskontexte für Ehrenstatuen geradezu explosionsartig zu und mit ihr auch die Zahl der Ehrenstatuen selbst. Damit verlieren die Denkmäler ihren Anspruch auf eine kollektiv erfahrene Wahrnehmung. Sie richten sich jetzt vielmehr gezielt an vereinzelte Adressatenkreise, deren Identitätsbildung an neue Räume jenseits des Apollon-Heiligtums gekoppelt ist bzw. nicht auf der Ebene einer allgemeinverbindlichen Öffentlichkeit stattfindet. Fraglos hängt dieses Phänomen auch mit der besonderen multiethnischen Bevölkerung auf Delos zusammen bzw. mit der Tatsache, dass sich diese Polis durch den Einfluss der athenischen Verwaltung einerseits und die starke Präsenz der römischen Machthaber im selbst geschaffenen Freihafen andererseits kaum zu einer starken Einheit entwickeln konnte¹⁴⁵. Dennoch zeigt gerade das reiche Inschriftenmaterial überdeutlich, dass zwischen den verschiedenen Ethnien und Interessensverbänden auf der Insel allein schon auf der Ebene der Ehrungen und Zuwendungen ein so reger Austausch stattfand, dass die Zugehörigkeit zu einer einzigen dieser Gruppen für das Selbstverständnis des Individuums nicht ausschlaggebend gewesen sein dürfte. Die einflussreichsten Vertreter der Elite gehörten nicht einer, sondern vielen Vereinigungen zugleich an. Sie beschränkten ihr Engagement nicht auf den Kult einer bevorzugten Gottheit, sondern investierten nach Möglichkeit in kostspielige Votive für verschiedene Heiligtümer, selbst wenn die dort verehrten Götter nicht der eigenen kulturellen Tradition angehörten. Das Bemühen um Exklusivität, das mit der Wende zum 1. Jh. v. Chr. durch die Aufstellung der Standbilder in Nischen und anderen architektonischen Rahmungen zum Ausdruck kommt, findet sein Pendant

¹⁴⁵ Allerdings muss man festhalten, dass die Präsenz fremdländischer Händler (und ihrer Kulte) schon im frühen Hellenismus ausgeprägt war. Auch bildet die politische Wende in Form der neuerlichen Vertreibung der Inselbewohner durch die Athener 166 v. Chr. offenbar nicht die entscheidende Zäsur in der Ehrenpraxis.

entsprechend in der Vielseitigkeit bzw. in der Multiplikation der Ehrenstatuen an verschiedenen Orten, ohne diesen ikonographisch Rechnung zu tragen¹⁴⁶. Die immer gleichen Bildtypen tragen so die 'Öffentlichkeit' selbst in die privatesten Elementarteilchen des städtischen Raums. Der betriebene Aufwand bei der Hervorhebung des Einzelnen erinnert an das Konkurrenzverhalten der Denkmäler im 3. Jh. v. Chr.¹⁴⁷ Im Unterschied dazu wird jetzt aber nicht mehr der direkte Vergleich angestrebt, sondern eine Alleinstellung. Diese erfolgt insbesondere durch die Übertragung der Statuen in Innenräume, insbesondere in Nischen oder andere Formen architektonischer Rahmung, wobei oft über die Statuenträger oder zusätzliche Verschlussvorrichtungen eine gewisse Entrückung der Geehrten angestrebt wird¹⁴⁸. Daneben kommen aber auch andere Mittel zur Herausstellung einzelner Personen zum Einsatz wie die Vervielfältigung der Bildnisse oder die Verwendung ungewöhnlicher, meist altertümlicher Formen¹⁴⁹ bzw. die Vereinnahmung älterer Denkmäler. Um die gewünschte öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit selbst auf die entlegenen bzw. nicht einfach erreichbaren Ehrenstatuen zu lenken, musste darüber stärker kommuniziert werden als in der Vergangenheit. Von diesem Teil der Überlieferung sind wir weitge-

¹⁴⁶ Entsprechend beobachtet VON DEN HOFF 2004, 382 in der späthellenistischen 'Bebildung' des Gymnasion eine Anpassung an den öffentlichen Raum, während zuvor Götter- und Athletenbilder das Ambiente in seiner Eigenheit kennzeichneten.

¹⁴⁷ Vgl. GAUTHIER 1985, 59 f., der hervorhebt, dass die großen bürgerlichen Euergeten dieser Zeit dieselben Ehren erhalten, die früher nur den hellenistischen Herrschern zustanden.

¹⁴⁸ Die Aufstellung von Ehrenstatuen im Innern von Gebäuden erinnert in gewisser Weise an die alte Praxis, Bildnisse in Tempel zu weihen, wie es auch in Delos bezeugt ist. Das konnte in Form von (vergoldeten) Statuen, weitaus häufiger aber wohl in Form von bemalten Pinakes geschehen: s. dazu PALIOMPEIS 1997, 139 f. 366 f. 380. 388 f. 392. 395. Wie bei der Bronzestatue der Arsinoë, der späteren Gemahlin Ptolemaios' II. (= *I.Délos* 1417 A I 9 f. 29 f. im Oikos [*GD* 35?]) beim 'Ekklesiasterion' [*GD* 47]; vgl. SCHMIDT-DOUNAS 2000, 174 f.), handelt es sich aber in erster Linie um wertvolle Votive, bei denen die Sichtbarkeit im Sinne eines *epiphanéstatos tópos* eine nachrangige Rolle spielt (s. dazu K. Sporn in: POLIS & PORTRÄT). Durch die Verschließbarkeit ihrer Nischen erhalten die Bildnisstatuen auf der Italikeragora oder im Haus der Kleopatra und des Dioskourides ebenfalls eine sakral anmutende Inszenierung, behalten aber gegenüber den Votivstatuen in offiziellen Schreinen den Vorteil der Exklusivität (vgl. M. Trümper in: POLIS & PORTRÄT). Die späteren Kaiserstatuen knüpften im Hinblick auf ihre Aufstellung sicherlich an die hellenistischen Vorläufer an, genossen aber per sé eine privilegierte Behandlung: s. z. B. *I.Délos* 1591 (Augustus, im Tempel der Athener); GRIESBACH 2011, Anm. 12; BRUNEAU – DUCAT 2005, 210 (Basis vor Rückwand des Ekklesiasterion, *GD* 47).

¹⁴⁹ s. oben Anm. (Reiter Theophrast); s. auch *I.Délos* 1664. 1930 (Säulenmonumente?); vgl. KRUMEICH 2008, 355 f. Abb. 3. 4.

hend ausgeschlossen. Aber die Ausführlichkeit und Beredsamkeit der spät-hellenistischen Inschriften mag von dem Bemühen zeugen, der Erfahrung eines zunehmend institutionell ausdifferenzierten städtischen Lebensraums durch die redundante Dokumentation erbrachter Leistungen und eine Vernetzung der sozialen Beziehungen über verschiedene Teilgemeinschaften entgegenzutreten.

Jochen Griesbach

Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg

FUORI DALL'ALTIS. TENDE, BAGNI E PROPILEI A OLIMPIA IN ETÀ ELLENISTICA

A partire dal III sec. a.C., e con una certa continuità nei decenni a venire, un'attenzione del tutto privilegiata è destinata ad Olimpia all'erezione di impianti adibiti allo svolgimento delle pratiche agonistiche. Sebbene la natura stessa del santuario e la fama dei giochi che ivi si svolgevano a cadenza periodica avesse reso indispensabile da tempo lontano la costruzione di impianti utili allo svolgimento degli agoni medesimi (stadio¹, ippodromo²), bisogna aspettare la metà circa del III sec. a.C. (e ringraziare verosimilmente la munificenza dei sovrani di stirpe tolemaica³) per assistere alla realizzazione della prima palestra⁴, in un settore esterno dell'*Altis*, come si conviene nei pressi di un corso d'acqua⁵ e di un *heroon* (Fig. 1)⁶.

L'area, compresa tra le pendici del Kronos e lo scorrere delle acque del Kladeos, era ancora relativamente sgombra di edifici, ove si eccettui un primo nucleo di vani in qualche modo funzionali alla gestione amministrativa del santuario (*theokoleon* ed edificio G)⁷, e alcuni ambienti utili ad una immersione in acque fredde (piscina, bagni greci)⁸ che dovevano rendere più sopportabile i giorni di allenamento preliminare e l'ultimo riscaldamento.

¹ MALLWITZ 1972, 180-194, ove bibl. prec.

² MALLWITZ 1972, 66, 93, 99; EBERT 1989, 89-107.

³ Ad un sovrano di stirpe tolemaica facevano già riferimento E. Curtius e H. Graef nella prima edizione del complesso. Cf. DELORME 1960, 108. Più cauto invece MALLWITZ 1972, 282: *Dieser schöne Bau gehört ins 3 Jhs.v. Chr. und dürfte die Stiftung eines bedeutenden Mannes, vielleicht eines hellenistischen Königs sein.*

⁴ MALLWITZ 1972, 278-284; WACKER 1996.

⁵ Il legame tra la localizzazione di un impianto ginnasiale e un corso d'acqua è stato a più riprese sottolineato. In generale, si vedano i riferimenti di GINOUVÉS 1962, 125, con raccolta di fonti letterarie e documentazione archeologica.

⁶ Il legame privilegiato tra *heroa* e ginnasi e palestre è ben noto. Per una raccolta dei casi principali si rimanda al commento di DELORME 1960, 448-50.

⁷ MALLWITZ 1972, 266-269 (*Theokoleon*); 263-264 (Edificio G).

⁸ MALLWITZ 1972, 270-273.

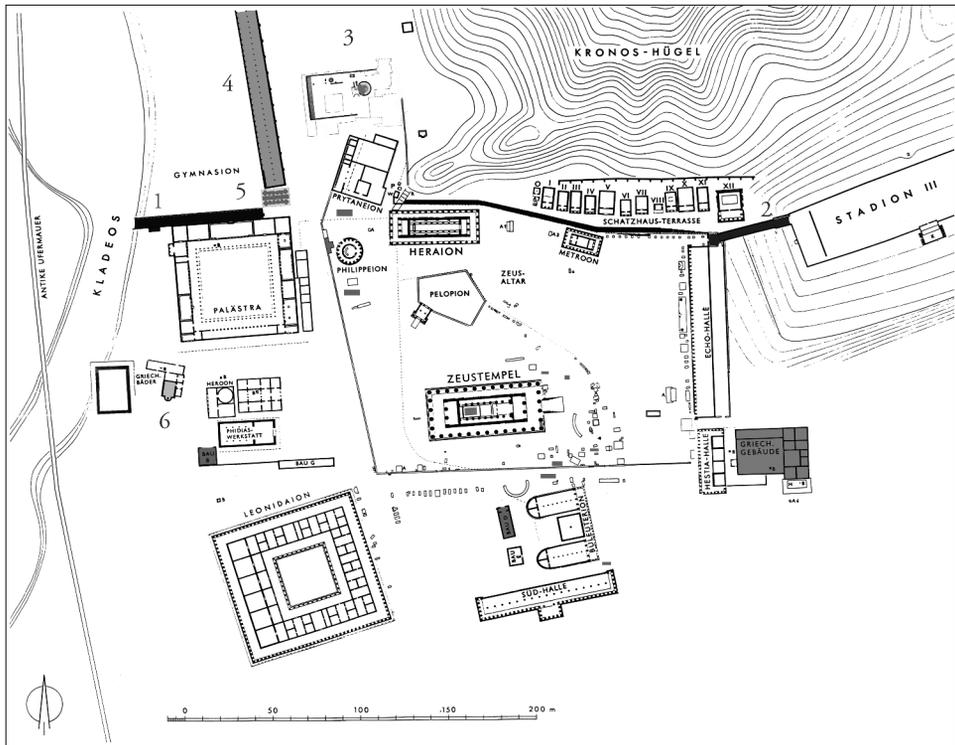


Fig. 1 - Olimpia, santuario di Zeus: localizzazione della palaestra (HERRMANN 1972).

mento all'effettivo svolgimento degli agoni⁹, nell'umido e caldissimo mese di Agosto¹⁰.

È in questo settore che si concentra l'attività edilizia tra il II e il I sec. a.C., sostanzialmente volta all'erezione del ginnasio, di nuovi impianti balneari, e di accessi festivi e monumentali alle nuove aree in tal modo delimitate.

⁹ CROWTHER 1991, 161-66. Grazie ad alcuni accenni di Pausania (5, 24, 9; 6, 23, 2), Filostrato (VA 5.43) e di Giovanni Crisostomo (*in princ. Act.* 51. 76, 5-10), sappiamo che nel mese precedente gli atleti si radunavano a Elide, nel cui ginnasio procedevano all'allenamento conclusivo e a una sorta di selezione preliminare. Sul tema, cf. WACKER 1997, 103-117 e LEE 2001, 7-29.

¹⁰ La data dello svolgimento dei Giochi è calcolata in base ai giorni della seconda luna piena dopo il solstizio di estate. In tal modo, essa può ricadere nei giorni finali di Luglio o in Agosto, mesi ai quali uno scoliasta di Pindaro fa riferimento con l'indicazione di Παρθενίου ἢ Ἀπολλωνίου μηνός (Pi. O. 3, 35a, 2). Cf. MILLER 1975, 220-221.

Non è del tutto evidente se si tratti di un progetto unitario, frutto di una pianificazione preventiva: i cantieri, in ogni modo, sembrano muoversi senza soluzione apparente di continuità, passando da un edificio all'altro senza subire arresti di rilievo: *stoà* meridionale del ginnasio (inizi del II sec. a.C.)¹¹, ingresso allo stadio (intorno al 160 a.C.)¹², bagni circolari (metà del secolo)¹³,

¹¹ La *stoà* meridionale, a una sola navata, si apre a nord con un colonnato dorico, in origine probabilmente rivestito di stucco. A causa delle esondazioni del Kladeos non è nota la sua estensione originaria, non essendo conosciuto il limite occidentale: le possibilità oscillano tra la lunghezza massima di 120/130 m, e la ricostruzione di H. Schleif di 96 x 5,23 m di profondità (in DÖRPFELD 1935, 269, fig. 76). Come muro posteriore è utilizzato il muro settentrionale della palestra, collegata funzionalmente al ginnasio tramite un nuovo ingresso (cf. P. Graef in ADLER – CURTIUS 1892, 127-8 (datazione contemporanea di entrambe le *stoai* al II sec. a.C.; DELORME 1960, 102-116; MALLWITZ 1972, 284-289 e WACKER 1996, 45).

¹² Lungo cento piedi, il passaggio utilizzava un muro di sostegno al *thesauròs* di Gela sul suo lato settentrionale. L'accesso, con volta a botte e cunei radiali, ricordato ancora da Pausania con l'appellativo di κρυπτή ἔσοδος (PAUS. 6, 20, 8), era preceduto in direzione dell'Altis da un ingresso monumentale: un *propylon* in calcare conchigliifero a triplice fornice (R. Borrmann in ADLER – CURTIUS 1892, 1, 68-70, tavv. 46 e 48). Sia gli elementi architettonici che i capitelli erano decorati con una vivace policromia, conservata a tratti, con intonaci rosastro, giallastro e verde, menzionati nei primi rapporti di scavo; il passaggio mediano costituiva l'accesso vero e proprio all'area dello stadio, mentre i due laterali non risultavano percorribili. Schizzi a china dei capitelli corinzi delle semicolonne dei fornicci sembrano testimoniare l'impiego dello stesso tipo di capitello utilizzato per l'ingresso tra l'Altis e il Ginnasio (R. Borrmann in ADLER – CURTIUS 1892, I, 69, figg. 32 e 33): si tratta infatti di un capitello a doppia corona di foglie d'acanto con la cima superiore ripiegata verso l'esterno, privo dei caulicoli, e con *helices* che convergono al centro sul fiore d'abaco. Le datazioni proposte oscillano tra una cronologia 'alta' tra la fine del III e gli inizi del II sec. a.C. proposta da Mallwitz (MALLWITZ 1972, 188), la datazione media di Heilmeyer agli anni sessanta del II sec. a.C. (HEILMEYER 1984, 251), e LAUTER 1999, 211 (seconda metà del II sec. a.C.) e le datazioni più basse di HESBERG (1994B, 154, intorno al 100 a.C.) e R. Borrmann (in ADLER – CURTIUS 1892, I sec. a.C.).

¹³ Il complesso si trova sulle pendici occidentali della collina del *Kronos*, a nord del Pritaneo. La struttura è compresa all'interno di un più vasto complesso di età ellenistica (21 x 34,5 m), racchiuso da un muro di recinzione, e comprendente anche un pozzo circolare di due metri di diametro, molto profondo (7,10 m) (SCHAUER 2001). L'edificio termale si articola in un ambiente circolare, dal diametro di 5,75 m, scavato solo in parte e pavimentato a ciottoli, sul cui lato occidentale sono state individuate due vasche a semicupio, dalle misure analoghe agli esemplari conosciuti di età ellenistica (1,08 x 0,64 m). Le pareti sono intonacate con malta frammista a frammenti ceramici. Le vasche sono realizzate in un blocco calcareo, tagliato in blocco superiore per la seduta, piano inferiore e incasso circolare più profondo destinato all'alloggio di una ciotola, ma prive di canale di deflusso per l'acqua. Sebbene le successive fasi di età imperiale ne abbiano di fatto impedito lo scavo in estensione, è stato

stoà orientale del ginnasio¹⁴, ingresso al ginnasio¹⁵, fino al primo impianto di bagni ad ipocausto¹⁶ (fine del II/inizi del I sec. a.C.).

Come è logico, per l'impianto del ginnasio è prescelta la vastissima area ancora a disposizione immediatamente a nord della palestra: è del tutto naturale erigere i due edifici uno contiguo all'altro, e addirittura correlarli

calcolato un diametro del radiale che permette la restituzione di 13 vasche affiancate le une alle altre. All'interno della circonferenza, un piccolo impianto circolare (diam. o. 84 m) a sud delle vasche è stato letto come pozzo di acqua calda. La funzione di *laconicum* era probabilmente svolta da un ambiente circolare dal diametro di 2.10 m, immediatamente all'esterno del complesso termale, riscaldato da un sistema di afflusso di aria calda tramite una canalizzazione (0.65 x 0.80 m) che giungeva in direzione nord-sud, collegata a un *praefurnium* al di fuori dall'area indagata. Al di sopra della conduttura di aria calda, era un apprestamento in cui erano allestite due vasche rettangolari, piuttosto allungate (1.40 m), riscaldate dal contatto diretto con la canaletta, e dunque destinate a bagni caldi per immersione.

¹⁴ La *stoà* orientale, a una quota di 0.40 m superiore rispetto alla *stoà* meridionale, è scandita in due navate dal colonnato dorico (mis. 10.11 x 210.51 m; cf. COULTON 1976, 76 e MALLWITZ 1972, 285), con un orientamento determinato dal percorso dell'antica strada che correva in direzione nord (WACKER 1996, 20, n. 33). L'interno, pavimentato probabilmente in terra battuta, doveva essere utilizzato come ξυστός, come provano alcuni segni di partenza e di arrivo individuati sulla base delle colonne, oltre allo straordinario sviluppo in lunghezza del portico. La trabeazione era probabilmente lignea; le pareti interne erano rivestite con intonaco rosso, di cui si è conservato qualche elemento sporadico.

¹⁵ Settore occidentale del santuario, sulla sinistra entrando dalla strada da nord. Costruzione di una porta anfigipstila in calcare conchigliifero, a tre navate, più larga la centrale (2.49 m), più strette le laterali (1.38 m), inquadrata sulle fronti orientale e occidentale da quattro colonne corinzie su base attica (mis. ricostruite: 15.50 x 9.81 m, da WACKER 1996, 22), al di sopra di una crepidine ad un solo gradino. L'architrave, policroma, era decorato con bucrani e ghirlande. Frammenti del soffitto cassettonato policromo, con un semplice profilo o decorati con rosette, furono rinvenuti reimpiegati nell'accesso allo stadio. La datazione dell'intervento è piuttosto controversa: una data alta, tra la fine del II e gli inizi del I sec. a.C. era stata proposta da R. Borrmann (in ADLER – CURTIUS 1892, 126), poi ribassata tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e l'età augustea da GARDINER (1925, 292-93) e DELORME (1960, 108). Da ultimo WACKER (1996, 47-52) sembra preferire una datazione "media", circoscritta alla prima metà del I sec. a.C. La tipologia dei capitelli tuttavia, sembrerebbe un indizio a favore della cronologia "alta", tra la fine del II sec. a.C. e gli inizi del I sec. a.C. (a favore della quale anche MALLWITZ 1972, 289). RAKOB e HEILMEYER avevano proposto una datazione ancora più alta, alla seconda metà del II sec. a.C. (RAKOB – HEILMEYER 1973, 26).

¹⁶ Intorno al 100 a.C. nel settore orientale del complesso fu realizzato il primo ambiente riscaldato a ipocausto (7.92 x 9.51 m), accessibile da nord-est, su fondazioni in ciottoli, frammenti di mattoni e pietre, con copertura a botte e abside sul fondo. Al di sotto del pavimento è un sistema di *suspensurae* ben conservato, 90 pilastri in mattoni (50 x 50 x 8) per un'altezza di 0.80-0.85 m, disposti a serie di 7 su 13 file. Sul lato nord-ovest, una grande vasca rettangolare (1.26 x 3.30 m) era costantemente rifornita di acqua calda tramite una *testudo*

fisicamente tramite un ingresso che da uno degli ambienti settentrionali (XII) consenta l'accesso alla *stoà* meridionale del ginnasio e da qui alla corte interna.

Frattanto, alle pendici del Kronos, di fronte alla *stoà* orientale del ginnasio, si allestisce un moderno impianto di bagni¹⁷ (Fig. 2): un'area all'interno della quale si può usufruire di bagni caldi in vasche rettangolari allungate

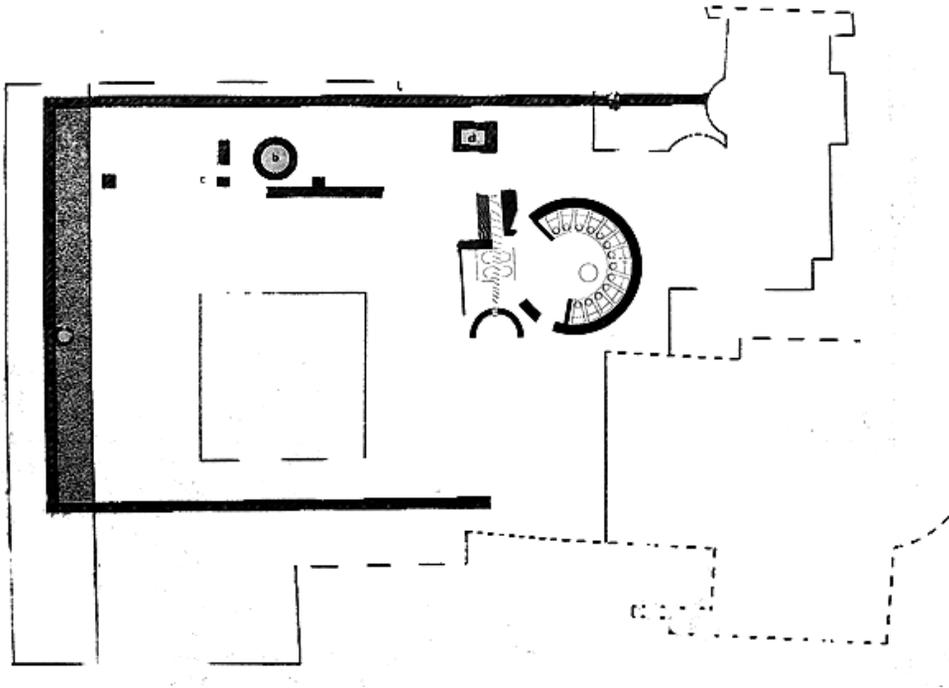


Fig. 2 - Olimpia, santuario di Zeus: impianto dei bagni alle pendici del Kronos (SINN 2003, 621 fig. 9)

semicilindrica, in comunicazione con un ambiente retrostante, nel quale era stato sistemato il *praefurnium*. Il *labrum* circolare collocato nell'abside della parete meridionale era riscaldato dall'esterno con aria calda. L'ingresso avveniva dalla stanza nell'ala orientale, mentre l'ambiente contiguo fungeva da *apodyterium*. La realizzazione dei bagni ad ipocausto era datata intorno al 100 a.C., grazie al rinvenimento di piatti buccheroidi e di sigillata nel riempimento di una vasca (KUNZE-SCHLEIF 1944, 79-80). Una datazione differente è stata proposta da Ladstätter al Convegno *Constructions publiques*, tenutosi ad Atene nel maggio del 1995: nel suo intervento (G. Ladstätter, *Das sog. Griechische Hypokaustenbad im Zeusheiligtum von Olympia – eine Neubetrachtung in Verbindung mit der frühen italischen Thermenarchitektur*), purtroppo non edito negli Atti del Convegno, egli proponeva di abbassare l'ultima fase negli anni immediatamente successivi al 40 a.C. (notizia comunicata in AW 2003, 623, n. 2).

¹⁷ SINN 2003.

riscaldare da una canaletta alimentata da un *praefurnium*, forse un *laconicum*, e un ambiente circolare, pavimentato a ciottoli, alle cui pareti sono addossate 13 vasche in calcare a semicupi, contigue le une alle altre: esse, prive di canale di deflusso, sono rifornite manualmente d'acqua (forse riscaldata) attinta da un piccolo pozzo realizzato immediatamente a sud.

Sebbene non si tratti del primo impianto di bagni nel santuario (i più antichi sono eretti a ridosso delle posteriori terme del Kladeos già alla metà del V sec. a.C.¹⁸), planimetria e contiguità al ginnasio meritano qualche riflessione ulteriore.

Siamo ancora molto lontani dall'esplosione della moda che a partire dalla prima età imperiale porterà le città della *provincia Asia* ad aggiornare la decorazione architettonica e la stessa planimetria dei ginnasi e delle palestre con l'aggiunta di settori specificamente termali dal volume monumentale¹⁹: splendide ed enormi sale, rilucenti di marmo e abbellite da complessi programmi figurativi, che, destinate alla cura del corpo, esaltavano con la loro stessa enfasi architettonica la magnanimità dei committenti.

Nella Olimpia di età ellenistica non si può a buon diritto parlare di una unitaria pianificazione edilizia, né riferire l'erezione di bagni e ginnasi all'operare di un singolo, prestigioso committente: gli edifici sono contigui, ma non si agglutinano giustapponendosi gli uni agli altri, e la loro stessa erezione non è simultanea, ma differita nell'arco di alcuni decenni.

Eppure, pian piano il settore occidentale esterno all'*Altis* sembra acquisire una sua precisa fisionomia: è l'area del *training* e del ristoro, funzionale ad esercizi fisici, rigeneranti bagni, ed attività culturali. Per bagnarsi (e forse nuotare) in acqua fredda già dalla metà del V sec. a.C. era a disposizione nei pressi del Kladeos una grande piscina rettangolare accessibile mediante gradini e relativamente profonda; ad essa è affiancato un edificio con i primi bagni a semicupi²⁰, più volte ristrutturato in funzione di un incremento della capacità recettiva dei vani. Riflettendo sulla tipologia degli interventi, risalta l'attenzione che viene riservata al riscaldamento dell'acqua destinata alle abluzioni: acqua tiepida è utilizzata nella struttura circolare, acqua calda nelle vasche ad immersione orizzontale immediatamente al suo esterno. La stessa adozione della struttura circolare dei bagni deve essere letta in rapporto alla necessità di usufruire dei bagni in acqua tiepida, in modo da osta-

¹⁸ SCHLEIF 1944; MALLWITZ 1958, 12-73.

¹⁹ Sul tema, cf. da ultimo BARRESI 2007, 137-151.

²⁰ 16.40 x 24.60 m; prof. 1.64 m. Cf. KUNZE-SCHLEIF 1944, 40-46 fig. 15; MALLWITZ 1972, 270-273.

colare la dispersione del calore: per lo più (a parte il caso paradigmatico di Gortyna), non è previsto alcun impianto di riscaldamento esterno, ma semplicemente l'utilizzo di acqua calda in bracieri e calderoni mobili: così è nel caso di Cirene²¹ e di Oeniadaï²². L'assenza di condutture di riscaldamento sembrerebbe far escludere la pur interessante idea di Delorme²³ di riferire a tali impianti circolari la funzione di πυριατήρια, cioè di ambienti nei quali fosse possibile praticare un bagno di vapore. Al riguardo, siamo in possesso unicamente di documenti letterari (come nel caso di Cheronea²⁴) o epigrafici (Kythira²⁵ e Thespieae²⁶) che non permettono alcuna considerazione più approfondita su planimetrie e utilizzi specifici dei vani.

La parzialità dello scavo, ulteriormente complicato dalla sovrapposizione del padiglione di età imperiale, rende difficile al momento una visione complessiva dell'articolazione dell'area: non è chiaro, ad esempio, se alla struttura circolare ne fosse affiancata una seconda, come nei casi di Eleusi²⁷, Eretria²⁸ o Oeniadaï²⁹ (Fig. 3), destinata ad ampliare la capacità recettiva e in qualche caso a differenziarne la fruizione per sesso. La localizzazione 'esterna' nei pressi della strada di accesso da nord, a ridosso dell'entrata nel *temenos* all'Altis, rientra in un panorama noto, che non pone problemi di particolare natura: una localizzazione subito all'esterno delle mura e nei pressi dell'entrata è infatti prescelta anche nei casi di Atene (edificio databile al V sec. a.C. al *Dipylon* presso il *Pompeion*³⁰) ed Eleusi (edificio di età tardo-ellenistica, subito all'esterno del peribolo³¹). Del resto, l'impianto si trovava così a essere immediatamente dirimpetto all'ingresso monumentale del complesso ginnasio-palestra: non può trattarsi di una mera coincidenza, se, come ritengo verosimile, una delle funzioni delle sale circolari fosse quella di ottemperare anche a pratiche igieniche in vista del *training* all'interno di ginnasio e palestra³². Nella stessa direzione pare indirizzare una

²¹ Impianto di prima età ellenistica, realizzato all'interno del santuario di Apollo (WRIGHT 1957, 301-310; STUCCHI 1975, 479-480).

²² *AJA* 8, 1904, 216 ss.; DELORME 1960, 313.

²³ DELORME 1060, 312-314.

²⁴ *PLU. Cim.* 1, 7-8.

²⁵ *IG V* 1, 938.

²⁶ *IG VII* 1777, ll. 47-48 (inizio dell'età imperiale).

²⁷ GINOUVÉS 1962, 185.196, fig. 159.

²⁸ GINOUVÉS 1962, 185. 190. 207, fig. 160.

²⁹ GINOUVÉS 1962, 159, 194; YEGÜL 1992, 25.

³⁰ *AJA* 40, 1936, 547-549. Ricordato anche da PAUS. 1, 36, 3.

³¹ *AA* 46, 1931, col. 238.

³² DELORME 1960, 315.

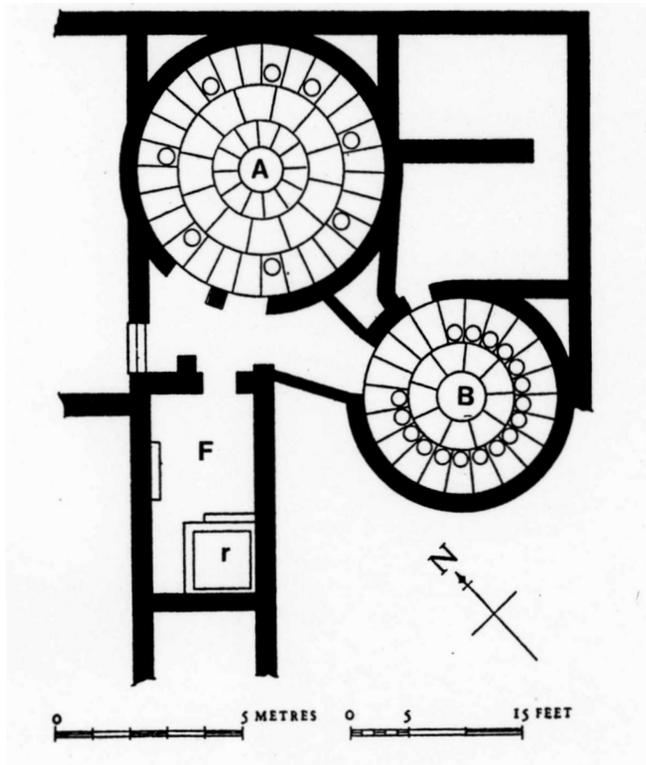


Fig. 3 - Oiniadai, bagni circolari (YEGÜL 1992, 28 fig. 29).

certa oscillazione terminologica che interessa, già a partire da età ellenistica, i termini *gymnasion* e *balaneion*³³: in altre parole, pian piano divengono una parte integrante dell'altro, tanto che, indicando la parte per il tutto, si può ricorrere indifferentemente all'uno o all'altro termine.

È proprio in età ellenistica che l'impianto di bagni circolari, peraltro ben attestato in Grecia già da età classica, conosce un vertiginoso incremento, attestato dall'Asia Minore ai centri della Grecia propria, certo trainato dal contestuale e rapido incremento del costume del bagno in acqua calda³⁴, che negli stessi decenni esplose su larga scala.

È la munificenza di sovrani e di ricchi cittadini a permettere la realizzazione all'interno dei ginnasi dei necessari impianti serviti da acqua riscaldata: il primo caso noto è il generoso contributo di Attalo I a Chio, che nel 239/36 a.C.

³³ YEGÜL 1992.

³⁴ YEGÜL 1992, 23.

consente la realizzazione di un dispositivo di riscaldamento dell'acqua all'interno del ginnasio locale³⁵. Per lo più, le onerose spese di ristrutturazione dei vecchi impianti e forniture ricadono sulle spalle dei ginnasiarchi locali³⁶: nei decreti in loro onore, tra i loro incarichi sono ricordati il restauro degli edifici ginnasiali, la contestuale costruzione di λουτρὰ e ληνοί, l'approvvigionamento di olio e la fornitura di legna, che doveva essere indispensabile al funzionamento dei *praefurnia* per il riscaldamento dell'acqua. Non è forse un caso che gli stessi personaggi, preoccupati anche del riammodernamento della suppellettile mobile di questi vani, si interessino contestualmente alla fornitura di porte in legno di varia misura³⁷, forse funzionali a evitare proprio la dispersione del calore all'esterno. I casi di Peparethos³⁸, Hypata³⁹, Beroia⁴⁰, Eretria⁴¹, Delos⁴², Assos⁴³, Pergamo⁴⁴, Mileto⁴⁵ e Sestòs⁴⁶

³⁵ LAUM 1914, II, 71 n. 62: εἰς τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς καῦσιν τὴν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, “per la combustione del fuoco nel ginnasio” (239-236 a.C.).

³⁶ DELORME 1960, *passim*.

³⁷ Sono infatti attestati πυλίδες (SAUCIUC 1914, 134 n. 4, l. 7) e θύρωματα e δίθυρα (Theadelphia du Fayoum, *Sammelbuch* 6157). Cf. i casi raccolti da ROBERT 1970, 77-79.

³⁸ IG XII 8, 642: Εὐκρατίδης Καλλικράτου / γυμνασιάρχης / ἀνέθηκεν τὸν λουτρῶνα, “Eukratides figlio di Kallikrates, essendo stato ginnasiarca, dedicò il bagno” (III sec. a.C.).

³⁹ IG IX 2, 31: Εὐάνδρος Ἀγαθοκλέος γυμνασιάρχης τὰν ἐξέδραν, / τὸν οἶκον, τὸν λουτρῶνα καὶ τὸ ἐγκόνιμα Ἑρμαῖ καὶ τᾷ Πόλει. , “Euandros figlio di Agathokles, essendo stato ginnasiarca, (dedicò) ad Hermes e alla città l'esedra, l'oikos, il bagno e l'ambiente destinato alla lotta”.

⁴⁰ GAUTHIER - HATZOPOULOS 1993, datata intorno al 180 a.C.

⁴¹ Nella seconda metà del II sec. a.C., all'impianto del vecchio ginnasio è aggiunto il grande vano circolare G, con probabile funzione di *aleiptirion* / *pyriaterion* (MANGO 2003, 57-59, diam. 9.95 m).

⁴² Una ristrutturazione della palestra del lago tra il 150 e il 125 a.C. consente la realizzazione di un ambiente (E1) con pavimento a mosaico su un sistema impermeabilizzato, coperto a volta e dotato di un sistema di deflusso delle acque, che è stato letto come sala da bagni caldi (*I.Délos* 25, 142-149).

⁴³ Sala circolare inserita nella porzione orientale del ginnasio in una fase del II sec. a.C. Cf. DELORME 1960, 169.

⁴⁴ Subito dopo il 133 a.C., il ginnasiarca *Metrodorus* figlio di *Herakleon* rinnova gli edifici da bagno del ginnasio e si incarica della fornitura di nuove vasche e di spugne (AM 1907, 273, n. 10): i vani sono riconoscibili negli ambienti K-L-M dell'ala occidentale del ginnasio (AM 32 1908, 340 e tav. 18). Qualche anno più tardi, nel 127-126 a.C., è *Diodoros Pasparos* a donare un λουτρον μαρμαρινον, fornito di tetto e di σανισιν disposte in cerchio intorno ai muri (IGR IV 293, 15 ss.; OGIS 764).

⁴⁵ HERRMANN 1965, 73, l. 7. (II sec. a.C.).

⁴⁶ OGIS 339, 33 ss.: dedica del ginnasiarca Menas di vasche, di un edificio e di un *agalma* in marmo (135-130 a.C.).

indicano con chiarezza che si trattò di un fenomeno su vasta scala, non legato a una tendenza regionale o alla munifica volontà di una specifica dinastia. L'esplosione della nuova moda sembrerebbe trainata piuttosto dalla diffusione di nuove pratiche mediche. Tale è il senso che traspare, tra l'altro, in un decreto pergameno in onore di un evergeta locale: il testo assicura che λουτρὰ e ληνοί sono concepiti appositamente in funzione di pratiche idroterapiche, come θεραπεΐα funzionale ad assicurare la agognata ὑγίεια ai convenuti⁴⁷. E ancora, non è certo casuale se nello stesso scorcio cronologico, tra la metà del II e la metà del I sec. a.C., sia riferita al celebre medico Asclepiade di Prusa l'invenzione dei bagni sospesi, a dire di Plinio allora molto amati dalla gente⁴⁸.

Le proprietà benefiche di bagni di vapore e acqua calda erano già da tempo ricordate in diretta relazione allo svolgimento di attività fisiche, e agli impianti di palestre e ginnasi: Aristotele ne fornisce una descrizione sommaria a proposito dei benefici del sudore e dell'attività della corsa⁴⁹, Aristofane mette in scena un serrato scambio di battute tra Discorso Debole e il Discorso Forte, in cui la nuova moda dei bagni caldi viene stigmatizzata in quanto responsabile della mollezza dei costumi in opposizione all'antico e virtuoso costume degli allenamenti nella palestra⁵⁰.

Ma c'è di più. La chiara connessione tra θερμαί λουτρὰ e competizione agonistica e palestre, certo funzionale e attestata tra l'altro in scritti di Pin-

⁴⁷ AM 32, 1907, 273, n. 10.

⁴⁸ PLIN. nat. 26, 7-8: "escogitò anche altri espedienti gradevoli: ... introdusse la pratica dei bagni, molto desiderati dalla gente ... egli per la prima volta introdusse l'uso dei bagni sospesi, che piacque infinitamente". Lo stesso Plinio ricorda *Sergius Orata*, vissuto tra la seconda metà del II e gli inizi del I sec. a.C. quale inventore dei *balneae pensiles* (PLIN. nat. 9, 168: "per esempio fu quello che per primo inventò i bagni sospesi: con essi allestiva le ville, e subito dopo le vendeva"). Parere analogo è espresso da CIC. Phil. 5, 76, VAL. MAX. 11, 1, 1: *C. Sergius Orata pensilia balinea primus facere instituit. quae impensa <a> leuibus initiis coepta ad suspensa caldae aquae tantum non aequora pene- trait*, "C. Sergio Orata fu il primo che decise di fare bagni pensili. Questa impresa, inizialmente dai costi modesti, arrivò quasi a sospendere mari di acqua calda" (trad. V. Irmici); infine, MACR. 3, 15, 2: "Si tratta di quel Sergio Orata che fu il primo ad avere i bagni pensili (...)". In effetti, i passi citati sembrerebbero concordemente riferire al personaggio non tanto l'invenzione, quanto l'introduzione quasi imprenditoriale degli impianti con *suspensurae* all'interno delle residenze private.

⁴⁹ *Probl.* 2, 29-32.

⁵⁰ AR. Nu. 1029-1054: "Discorso debole: per quale ragione tu disapprovi i bagni caldi? Discorso forte: non c'è di peggio per infiacchire l'uomo.... ecco, ecco perché i bagni si riempiono di ragazzi! Stanno tutto il giorno a chiacchierare senza fine: e le palestre sono vuote!".

darò⁵¹ e Plutarco⁵², è verosimilmente motivata da una più antica relazione tra le sorgenti calde e il culto di Eracle⁵³: in tale direzione sembrano confluire alcuni accenni ricavabili da passi di Erodoto⁵⁴, Aristofane⁵⁵ e Ateneo⁵⁶.

Ecco allora perché Olimpia: la presenza dell'eroe intride infatti la stessa geografia mitica della regione e del santuario. Secondo una antica tradizione risalente almeno a Pindaro⁵⁷ sono di sua mano proprio alcuni interventi che modellano lo spazio del santuario: la delimitazione dell'area dell'Altis mediante la realizzazione di un recinto sacro, l'attribuzione di un nome alla collina di Kronos, la stessa fondazione dei giochi e l'introduzione nell'Altis della pianta dell'olivo sacro, con le cui foglie sarebbero state intrecciate da lì in avanti le corone dei vincitori dei giochi (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 - Olimpia, corona bronzea in foglia di ulivo destinata ai vincitori.

⁵¹ Pi. O. 12, 19: “Ma, cinto di corone in Olimpia e altre due volte, a Delfi e all’Istmo, ora, Ergotele, dà il lustro ai tiepidi lavacri delle Ninfe e vivi ad essi compagno nei tuoi poderi” (trad. F. Ferrari).

⁵² PLU. Marc. 27, 3, 2: “Marcello, dopo essersi un poco esercitato alla guerra, si era dedicato alla cura di se stesso come fanno gli atleti che passano dalla palestra al bagno caldo”; cf. PLU. Prov. 21 (*Corpus Paroemiographorum graecorum*, I, p. 324) Ἡράκλειος ψώρα: ἡ τῶν Ἡρακλείων λουτρῶν δεομένη πρὸς θεραπέϊαν· ἡ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πολλαχοῦ ἀνῆκε θερμὰ λουτρά: “scabbia di Eracle: bisognosa per la cura dei ‘bagni d’Eracle’. Atena, infatti, fece fare ad Eracle in molti luoghi bagni caldi” (trad. V. Irmici).

⁵³ CROON 1953; CROON 1956, 210-217.

⁵⁴ HDT. 7, 176: “ci sono poi in questo passo delle sorgenti calde, che gli abitanti del luogo chiamano *Pentole* (τὰ Χύτρος) e presso di esse sorge un altare sacro ad Eracle” (trad. D. Fausti).

⁵⁵ AR. Nu. 1048-1052: “tra i figli di Zeus chi consideri l’uomo più forte d’animo, chi ha affrontato innumerevoli prove? Eracle: nessun uomo io giudico più grande di lui. Già: e dove hai visto mai dei bagni d’Eracle di acqua fredda? Eppure, chi fu più valoroso?”.

⁵⁶ ATHEN. 12, 6, 8: “o perché mai le sorgenti d’acqua calda che sgorgano dalla terra tutti le chiamano sacre a Eracle (...) se avesse disprezzato coloro che vivono piacevolmente?” (trad. M.L. Gambato).

⁵⁷ Pi. O. 3, 19; 5, 4; 10, 45-46; 10, 48-49.

Se al riguardo non ci inganna la documentazione archeologica, stupisce registrare un'assenza di tali impianti negli altri santuari panellenici, al più equipaggiati con vasche destinate a immersioni più o meno complete in acqua fredda. A partire dal terzo quarto del IV sec. a.C. si iniziano infatti a costruire a Delfi⁵⁸, Nemea⁵⁹ e Isthmia⁶⁰ λουτρὰ all'interno di complessi multifunzionali a vocazione ginnasiale, come a Delfi⁶¹, o in edifici a sé stanti, come a Nemea⁶² e verosimilmente a Isthmia⁶³.

Sembra verosimile che la loro funzione avesse una qualche relazione con esigenze legate alla purificazione dei partecipanti, certo connessa in origine a una precisa normativa a vocazione igienica: ciò spiegherebbe infatti la presenza di tali complessi non solo in santuari a specifica vocazione salutare (l'*Asklepieion* di Gortyna ne è il caso più celebre), ma anche in santuari misterici (Eleusi, Andania⁶⁴), o in funzione rituale (Apollo a Cirene⁶⁵).

Non è escluso che il fenomeno dell'impianto dei bagni caldi sia da leggere in parallelo a un più generale processo di trasformazione che nel II sec. a.C. sembra riguardare la stessa natura e funzione degli impianti ginnasiali: il fenomeno in età augustea è ormai compiuto, se Vitruvio⁶⁶ nella redazione

⁵⁸ JANNORAY 1953, 83; WEIR 2004, 100. Il vano circolare di Delfi, eretto nel 334/33 a.C., risulta inserito in un complesso multifunzionale a vocazione compiutamente ginnasiale: esterno all'area sacra vera e propria, ed articolato su due terrazze adiacenti, esso prevedeva ambienti adibiti all'attività ginnica (corsa nello *xystòs* e allenamenti nello *sphairisterion*), una palestra con corte a peristilio sulla quale si affacciano esedre dotate di banchine ed infine un *loutron*, una vasca circolare piuttosto profonda (1.80 m, diam. 10 m), destinata al bagno per immersione totale in acqua fredda. Impianti riscaldati non sembrano presenti a Delfi prima del IV sec. d.C. (WEIR 2004, 80).

⁵⁹ Cf. MILLER 1982, 106-107.

⁶⁰ MILLER 1982, 258 n. 39.

⁶¹ DELORME 1982, 53-73.

⁶² L'erezione dell'edificio destinato ai bagni nell'ultimo quarto del IV sec. a.C. rientra nel medesimo programma edilizio della realizzazione di stadio, *xenòn* e altri edifici a destinazione funzionale: una sala centrale era riservata al bagno in immersione totale, e due ambienti laterali consentivano l'abluzione parziale utilizzando l'acqua raccolta nei bacini allineati contro la parete.

⁶³ Una piscina di età greca è stata individuata al di sotto dei bagni di età romana.

⁶⁴ IG V 1, 1390; cf. ZUNINO 1997 e LO MONACO 2009A, 714-724: "Dell'unguento e del bagno: L'agoranomos abbia cura a che coloro che vogliono fornire il necessario per il bagno all'interno del santuario non esigano da coloro che compiono il bagno più di due monete di bronzo, e forniscano fuoco e una vasca temperata e a coloro che si immergono acqua temperata" (trad. M. L. Zunino).

⁶⁵ WRIGHT 1957, 301-310.

⁶⁶ VITR. 5, 11, 5.

delle pagine dedicate all'impianto delle palestre greche descrive con terminologia ed esposizioni differenti i λουτρὰ per bagni ad immersione fredda e i vani esposti a sud destinati al bagno umido (*calda lavatio*).

Non bisogna inoltre trascurare la necessità di continui riammodernamenti, anche alle infrastrutture, che doveva richiedere un santuario oggetto di una tale frequentazione. Una folla inusitata di spettatori si accalcava nel santuario ogni quattro anni⁶⁷: era proprio l'area ad ovest dell'Altis, intorno alla palestra, il settore prescelto per il loro pernottamento, in tende occasionali e strutture effimere. Il dato, ricordato in un'orazione in riferimento alla tenda di Alcibiade⁶⁸, trova un riscontro archeologico nel rinvenimento di numerose buche destinate all'alloggiamento di supporti in ferro utili a sostenere bastoni ai quali erano fissate le tende⁶⁹: così, anche sulla scia di una considerazione del poeta Enioco (fr. 5 K-A)⁷⁰, è verosimile richiamare alla mente il paesaggio di una vera e propria tendopoli⁷¹. Nel corso delle *πανηγυρίαις* che attiravano una grande quantità di pellegrini, era previsto un pernottamento all'interno di aree di sosta appositamente delimitate: ne riferisce Aristofane a proposito di *Isthmia*⁷². Nella stessa direzione, va una legge di Delfi che proibisce la sistemazione di tende all'interno della *stoà* di Attalo⁷³,

⁶⁷ “La più numerosa adunanza dei Greci”, dirà Luciano (*Peregr.* 1).

⁶⁸ PS. AND. *Alc.* 30, 2: “Osservate ancora come organizzò il prosieguito del suo viaggio ad Olimpia: Gli abitanti di Efeso gli innalzarono una tenda persiana, doppia rispetto a quella dei nostri inviati ufficiali” (trad. F. Gazzano).

⁶⁹ ANGELI BERNARDINI 1997, 179-190, in part. 184 n. 18, che riporta una segnalazione di Ch. Wacker.

⁷⁰ HEN. *Fragm.* 5K: τὸ χωρίον μὲν γὰρ τόδ' ἐστὶ πᾶν κύκλω Ὀλυμπία, τῆνδὶ δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐκεῖ σκηνὴν ὄραν θεωρικὴν νομίζετε, “tutto questo spazio circolare è Olimpia; questa tenda qui, invece, immaginate che sia la tenda dei theoroî che c'è là” (trad. V. Irmici). La datazione dell'opera dell'autore è ancora molto discussa: nella SUDA (392 Adler) egli è descritto come un κωμικὸς τῆς μέσης κωμωιδίας, definizione che ne circoscriverebbe l'opera al secondo quarto del IV sec. a.C. Sul complesso problema, cf. HUNTER 1979, 34-35 n. 61.

⁷¹ ANGELI BERNARDINI 1997, 183.

⁷² AR. *Pax* 879-880: “Delimitare un posto ove piazzare la mia tenda (σκηνὴν), ai giochi istmici”.

⁷³ Si tratta di SIG 523 riedita recentemente in CID IV 85: εἰς τὰν παστά[δα τὰν ἀνατεθεῖσαν τῶι θεῶι] | ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέ[ω]ς Ἀττάλου μηθὲν εἶν[αι ἐξουσίαν πλὴν τοῦ(?) βασιλέω] | ἀναθεῖναι μηθέν, μηδὲ σκανοῦν μηδὲ π[ύρ ἀνάπτειν(?) ἐντὸς ἢ ἐκτὸς] | τὰς παστάδος ἐ[π]ὶ τῶι τόπ[ωι τ]ῶι ὑπὸ Ἀτ[τάλου τῶι θεῶι περιωρισ(?)]μένου, “nel portico consacrato al dio dal re Attalo non sia permesso a nessuno tranne che al re di consacrare alcuna offerta, né di sistemare tende né di accendere un fuoco dentro o fuori il portico, sul luogo che è stato delimitato da Attalo per il dio” (trad. G. Tozzi). MAASS 1993, 29; WEIR 2004, 80, n. 526.

mentre in un apposito paragrafo del regolamento culturale di Andania in Messenia, intitolato “delle tende”, sono registrate con accuratezza la misura massima della tenda e il valore delle suppellettili ammesse all’interno⁷⁴. In qualche caso, erano addirittura previsti appositi settori riservati a città e confederazioni etniche, come si deduce dalla sistemazione di *parembolai* nell’*alsos* di Apollo ad Azio, ricordata in un decreto della lega acarnana del III sec. a.C.⁷⁵. Il caldo afoso, in queste precarie condizioni, doveva essere un problema notevole. A Delfi, una legge vieta ai visitatori di bagnarsi nell’acqua della fontana dell’angolo sud-occidentale della terrazza del tempio⁷⁶. A Olimpia, in una pianura immobile e non ventilata lontana dal mare, il problema rimane una costante almeno fino alla seconda metà del II sec. d.C., quando contestualmente alla donazione della maestosa esedra marmorea, Erode Attico provvede a una monumentale opera di canalizzazione delle acque⁷⁷, addotte dai vicini villaggi di Linaria e Muria, a Est di Olimpia, collegati con alcuni condotti di cui si trovarono resti sulla pendice meridionale della collina. Fu inoltre utilizzato un piccolo sistema di bacini, alimentati dalle sorgenti della valle del Kladeos e collegati a un serbatoio non lontano dall’angolo nord-occidentale dell’*Heraion*.

Fino a questo momento, l’*Altis* era servita unicamente dai numerosi pozzi temporanei (oltre 150), dislocati soprattutto nell’area sud-orientale, tra il muro di contenimento settentrionale dello stadio e il settore sud-est⁷⁸: scavati direttamente nella terra e in genere privi di rivestimento esterno, furono trovati colmi di materiale di riempimento (*pithoi*, anfore, ceramica da mensa e da banchetto, lucerne) che ne indicano un utilizzo dalla prima metà del VII al secondo quarto del IV sec. a.C.⁷⁹ A ciò si aggiunga unicamente un sistema di canalizzazione che correva all’interno e all’esterno dell’*Altis*, dalla terrazza dei *thesauroi* al *Bouleuterion*, con fasi che ne indicano rimaneg-

⁷⁴ IG V 1 1390, ll. 35-40, su cui cf. ZUNINO 1997, 304-305 e LO MONACO 2009A, 721.

⁷⁵ HABICHT 1957, 101.

⁷⁶ MAASS 1993, 29; in una descrizione del santuario delfico fatta pronunciare da Eliodoro ad un pellegrino sono citate in sequenza *dromoi*, *agorai* e fontane: tra esse, è alla Castalià che il personaggio fa qualche abluzione prima di entrare all’interno del tempio e ascoltare il responso dell’oracolo (HEL. Aet. 2, 26, 24).

⁷⁷ Cf. al riguardo un passo di Luciano (LUC. Peregr. 19) relativo alla narrazione dello scenario del santuario in occasione della morte del filosodo Peregrino: “(scil. Erode Attico) è stato benefattore dei greci in vari modi, e in modo particolare perché portò l’acqua ad Olimpia, impedendo che i visitatori del festival morissero di sete (...)” (trad. L. Settembrini).

⁷⁸ MALLWITZ 1972, 100-101.

⁷⁹ GAUER 1975.

giamenti tra V e III sec. a.C., e, nel settore occidentale, fino all'area della palestra e ai bagni. L'acqua, alimentata da un bacino posto sul margine settentrionale del santuario, scorreva nel santuario a cielo aperto.

La circostanza dello svolgimento dei giochi in una settimana che oscilla tra la fine di luglio e il mese di agosto aiuta a restituire un valore più compiuto alle voci di quanti, da età arcaica a medio-imperiale⁸⁰, insistono nell'utilizzare termini come πνῖγος (afa)⁸¹, ἀκτῖνος (arsura)⁸², καύματος (calore)⁸³, εὐδείελον (assolato)⁸⁴. Non a caso, scorrendo le accurate indicazioni contenute nel *corpus Hippocraticum*, ci si imbatte nella raccomandazione di usufruire dei *loutrà* soprattutto nel corso dell'estate⁸⁵: in tali condizioni, il refrigerio dall'arsura, tanto acuta da potere causare gravi e violente malattie, doveva essere ricercato anche a Olimpia con ogni cura. Nonostante gli iterati tentativi, la situazione non dovette migliorare di molto, se in età tardo-ellenistica Epitteto⁸⁶ esclama ancora: "E a Olimpia non accadono (cose spiacevoli e difficili da sopportare)? Non andate a fuoco? Non state pigiati? Non fate i bagni in maniera scomoda?"

E così, pian piano, il settore occidentale esterno all'*Altis* acquisì una sua fisionomia peculiare, che nella sostanza inalterata nel corso dei secoli a venire. La scelta dell'erezione di questi impianti all'esterno del 'cuore' sacro del santuario pare inserirsi all'interno della stessa logica che, a partire dalla fine del IV secolo a.C., aveva determinato lo spostamento di palestre e gin-

⁸⁰ LUC. *Peregr.* 19-20: "Tornato così in Grecia, ora ingiuriava gli Elei, ora persuadeva i Greci a levare le armi contro i Romani, ed ora derideva un uomo ragguardevole per sapere e per dignità, perché costui, tra gli altri benefici fatti alla Grecia, aveva condotta l'acqua in Olimpia, e ristorata la gran gente che qui si adunava e moriva di sete: egli diceva che costui effeminava i Greci; che gli spettatori dei giochi olimpici debbono sopportare la sete e crepare ancora delle malattie violente che per l'aridità della contrada vi sono frequentissime; e diceva questo mentre egli si abbeverava di quell'acqua. Tutti gli corsero addosso, e stavano per accopparlo; ma il prode uomo si rifugiò sull'altare di Giove, e vi trovò uno scampo" (trad. L. Settembrini).

⁸¹ LUC. *Herod.* 8: "Pisa con le sue strettoie, le sue tende (σκηνὰς), le capanne, e l'afa" (trad. L. Settembrini).

⁸² AEL. *VH* 14, 18: "Un uomo di Chio, adirato con il suo servo, esclamò: "non ti piizzerò a girare la macina, ti condurrò invece ad Olimpia". Egli infatti come è evidente, riteneva una pena molto più dura venire arsi dai raggi del sole assistendo ai giochi ad Olimpia che non essere relegati al mulino a macinare farina" (trad. C. Bevegini).

⁸³ D.L. 1, 39: "Nell'assistere ad un agone ginnico, il sapiente Talete ormai vecchio morì oppresso dal caldo, dalla sete e dalla debolezza" (trad. M. Gigante).

⁸⁴ PI. *O.* 1, 111.

⁸⁵ LITTRÉ 1978, IV, 77.

⁸⁶ EPICT. 1, 6, 26-27.

nasi dal centro alla periferia delle città, ai margini delle mura, se non addirittura all'esterno degli abitati, in qualche caso attratti dalla presenza, nelle stesse aree, di stadi e ippodromi⁸⁷.

Tale consuetudine rese di primaria importanza il ricorso alla costruzione di fastosi accessi monumentali, capaci di integrare i nuovi edifici al tessuto urbanistico circostante e al tempo stesso di esaltarne il carattere festivo. Ciò determinò, ovviamente, una sostanziale modifica anche nell'uso e nella percezione dei volumi degli edifici: sguardo all'interno e percorsi di avvicinamento divennero in qualche modo scelte obbligate, indirizzate entro maglie prestabilite. Il fitto ordine di colonne, la chiusura parziale di alcuni battenti o delle griglie, lo stesso sviluppo in altezza, di norma su crepidini a più gradini, dovevano chiudere la visione dall'esterno, e amplificare al tempo stesso l'effetto a quanti, entrando, si trovassero ad ammirare lo spazioso interno della corte. Così, dalla seconda metà del II sec. a.C., propilei, pilastri e porte monumentali furono l'oggetto privilegiato della munificenza di evergeti locali e sovrani, di cui è trasmessa memoria tramite l'affissione di iscrizioni sulle ante o nel campo degli architravi⁸⁸. Dovette trattarsi di un fenomeno non esclusivamente locale, se Cicerone, commentando in una lettera ad Attico il progetto dei piccoli propilei di Eleusi promessi da Appio Claudio Pulcro, riflette sull'opportunità di una sua donazione a favore della realizzazione di propilei al ginnasio dell'Accademia ad Atene. L'idea è destinata a rimanere un pio desiderio, ma dietro di essa si legge con chiarezza il dibattito culturale che animava il *milieu* intellettuale della Roma tardo-repubblicana⁸⁹.

È certo in questa prospettiva che si comprende come, parallelamente alla definizione degli spazi di ginnasio e stadio, si lavori fuori dall'*Altis* all'erezione di ingressi monumentali, che divengono delle vere e proprie cerniere tra lo spazio fisico dell'agone e quello del culto. Così, l'architrave dell'accesso al ginnasio, policromo e decorato con bucrani e ghirlande (Fig. 5), sembra accentuare il valore di soglia, di confine dinamico tra lo spazio del sacro e lo spazio della festa. Stessa operazione di *lifting* è compiuta sul lato orientale del santuario, ad esaltare con una nuova quinta scenografica il vecchio accesso

⁸⁷ V. HESBERG 1994A, 16-18.

⁸⁸ DELORME 1960, 357-61 con ampia raccolta di casi.

⁸⁹ Cic. Att. 6, 1, 26: "Sento dire che Appio sta edificando il vestibolo di un tempio a Eleusi. Farei forse una scempiaggine se anch'io ne costruissi uno per il recinto dell'Accademia? Penso di sì dirai tu. Benissimo: allora dovrai scrivermelo chiaro e tondo. Da parte mia sento un vivo attaccamento per la città di Atene. A ricordo del quale desidererei che sorgesse colà una qualche costruzione: ho in uggia le iscrizioni, che suonano false, apposte sulle statue altrui".



Fig. 5 - Olimpia, *propylon* al Ginnasio: architrave con bucrani e festoni (foto autore).

allo stadio: traspare con ogni evidenza la volontà di sottolineare i luoghi della competizione agonistica, parti integranti del rituale festivo, e di raccor-darli in un insieme armonico ai luoghi sacri e venerabili della 'vecchia' *Altis*.

Nuovi scenari, nuovi sontuosi edifici. A permettere la loro erezione do-vette essere indispensabile una grande disponibilità di liquidi di cui igno-riamo la provenienza: in questa fase la cassa elea, lo sappiamo, non era certo più sufficiente. Nessuna traccia degli Attalidi, pure munifici elargitori di beni liquidi e di interventi nei confronti della cassa dei santuari di Delfi e di *Delos*: ricompensati con erezione di statue onorarie e di feste in loro onore (*Attaleia*⁹⁰ ed *Eumeneia*⁹¹), essi si fanno lì carico dell'erezione di portici⁹², della manutenzione del teatro, stanziando fondi destinati all'insegnamento⁹³.

⁹⁰ *Attaleia* a *Delos*, in onore di Attalo I (*I.Délos* 366 A 63, HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 230 n. 36); a Delfi in onore di Attalo II (HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 217 n. 55 *Syll*³ 672). Per intervento di Attalo I a Chio cf. n. 35.

⁹¹ *Eumeneia* a Delfi in onore di Eumene II (HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 217 n. 54 e *Syll*³ 671).

⁹² Delfi: terrazza ad Est del tempio di Apollo (HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 212 n. 29 con bibl. prec.; iscr. *Syll*³ 523); Delo: Portico sud, completato da Eumene I (HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 228 n. 25 con bibl. prec.).

⁹³ DAUX 1936, 682-698.

Si deve dunque registrare con una certa sorpresa una loro totale assenza dal santuario di Olimpia, ove si eccettui una statua colossale donata dal demo di Atene in favore di *Philetairos*⁹⁴, terzo figlio di Attalo ed *Apollonis*: tale dedica è però un riflesso diretto della politica ateniese del momento, mentre non può essere certo considerata traccia di un interessamento diretto degli Attalidi nei confronti del santuario.

Unica presenza continua nel santuario di Olimpia è quella dei Lagidi, preoccupati – pare esclusivamente – della dedica di statue in onore di membri della propria famiglia⁹⁵ e di alleati in guerra⁹⁶: sebbene la loro presenza appaia costante nel corso di qualche decennio, scarseggiano i dati per potere riferire loro un qualsiasi interesse specifico nella dedica o nel finanziamento di uno degli edifici in questione. L'unico segno della presenza dei Seleucidi è la dedica di un velo di lana, “ornato di ricami assiri e del colore della porpora dei Fenici⁹⁷”, sospeso all'interno della cella del tempio di Zeus e manovrabile tramite un sistema di carrucole che ne doveva consentire l'esposizione in tutta la sua ampiezza: nessun dato concorre a chiarire se, secondo una vecchia teoria di Dinsmoor⁹⁸, allo stesso Antioco III andasse imputato anche il finanziamento dei restauri di Damophon ed eventualmente l'esborso di una notevole quantità di denaro nei confronti della cassa del santuario di Olimpia⁹⁹.

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⁹⁴ *I.Olymp.* 312, e HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 223 n. 32.

⁹⁵ Tolomeo I dedica la statua di un personaggio il cui nome non è riportato (PAUS. 6, 3, 1 e HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 219 n. 4), forse Tolomeo II dedica statue del padre Tolomeo I con i figli (HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 221 n. 16).

⁹⁶ Tolomeo II dedica la statua di Areos I di Sparta (*I.Olymp.* 308; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 221 n. 18), Tolomeo III in onore di Glaukon (*I.Olymp.* 296; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 221 n. 19), e di Kleomene III di Sparta (*I.Olymp.* 309; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 223 n. 29).

⁹⁷ PAUS. 5, 12, 4; HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1992, 223 n. 30.

⁹⁸ DINSMOOR 1941.

⁹⁹ Doni di Antioco ad alcune *poleis* del Peloponneso sono ricordati da Polibio (28, 22: dono di 100 talenti alle città della Grecia) e Livio (41, 20: restauro delle mura di Megalopoli e del teatro di Tegea).

RELIGION AND COMMUNICATION IN THE SANCTUARIES OF EARLY-ROMAN GREECE: EPIDAUROS AND ATHENS

The years between 146 and the mid 1st cent. B.C. were among the most dramatic within the history of those parts of Greece that were to constitute the Roman province of Achaia. Wars, pillages and destructions affected many sites, especially in the territories of the cities that had opposed Rome in the Achaian war¹. This study opens with the exemplary punishment of Corinth in 146 – a crucial event which changed the nature of Roman presence in Greece – and closes with the period of the Civil Wars – which had profound effects in the political geography of Greece. The aim is that of using the archaeological and documentary data to describe the characteristics of the communication established in this difficult period between Greeks and Romans in the sanctuaries of the gods, the most traditional sites of public display.

Sanctuaries are particularly interesting areas of investigation because they uninterruptedly played the role of powerful arenas of communication and were invested with exceptional visibility. The range of archaeological and epigraphical documents there available does not only cover traditional categories such as building activity, rituals and dedications, but also attests phases of abandonment, destruction and subsequent reuse or resemantization of areas and monuments. The actors and recipients of the processes of communication which took place in the sanctuaries of Greece were invariably three: 1. the Roman state, often acting through the generals deployed in military operations in Greece; 2. the worshippers, who participated in the cult; 3. the local patrons or benefactors, praised in honorary dedications or recorded in decrees. Their interaction will be examined in two sites, Epidaurus and Athens, chosen because they have the obvious advantage of being rich in epigraphical and archaeological data, and can offer us quite different scenarios of investigation. The archaeological study of the strategy

¹ GRUEN 1984, 517-523; KALLET-MARX 1995, 89-94.

used by the Romans in placing themselves in the context of pre-existing networks of communication will ultimately demonstrate how Rome's political control over Greece was almost entirely based on a deep knowledge and understanding of the local background.

EPIDAUROS

During the 3rd and the 2nd cent B.C. the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidaurus appears to be a very vital cult place. After the completion of the large 4th cent. building programme, testimonies of further monumental building activity are lacking, but the practice of votive-giving continues uninterrupted, and the popularity of the festivals is confirmed by the enforcement of the *theodorokia* and by the enlargements of both the theatre and the stadium².

In the 2nd cent. B.C., the main difference from the previous periods is that honorary and political monuments prevailed over votive dedications. These are mostly exedrai and monumental statuary groups, which border the northern stretch of the sacred way and define the open-air areas around the main cultic buildings. From the point of view of the topography of the sanctuary, they mark the acquisition of a new monumental area to the north and emphasize the processional routes within it³ (Fig. 1).

On the one hand, their role was that of celebrating and representing the main local families. On the other hand, they recorded and displayed documents and honorary decrees of the Achaean League⁴. The League incorporated, at the time, most of the regions of the Peloponnese, including Corinth, and was, together with Macedonia, the most serious contender to the Roman hegemony over Greece⁵. Since the mid 3rd cent. B.C. the sanctuary seems to have become a sort of federal sanctuary of the Achaeans⁶.

This was the scenario found by Lucius Mummius when he arrived in Epidaurus in 146 B.C., the year of the final defeat of the Achaean League, when

² MELFI 2007B, 64-65.

³ MELFI 2007B, 61-63.

⁴ MELFI 2007B, 56.

⁵ SCHWERTFEGER 1974.

⁶ From the mid 3rd cent. B.C. the sanctuary was a privileged location for the publication of decrees and documents of the Achaean League such as *IG IV*² 59-61; 70-72. See *infra* for *IG IV*² 306a, probably connected with a naval victory of the Achaeans against Nabis of Sparta, and *IG IV*² 28, the casualty list of 156 Epidaurians fallen in the battle of the Isthmus.

– after the battle of the Isthmus, in which the Epidaurians took part – the city of Corinth was conquered and raised to the ground. It was a crucial event which strongly influenced all future developments of Roman policy in Greece: the first time that the Romans intervened directly to punish a major Greek city, and imposed territorial arrangements aimed at the annexation of Greek territory⁷. Mummius' visit was part of a longer journey, similar to Aemilius Paullus' tour of Greece, and apparently aimed at paying his respect to one of the main sanctuaries of Greece⁸. Eventually it resulted in the relocation of spoils and pre-existing monuments, not unlike what he had previously done with the cities that had opposed Rome in the Achaian war⁹. In Epidauros Mummius offered at least two inscribed dedications¹⁰ (Fig. 1, nn° 1-2). Both consist of re-used materials – statue bases of different shape – and show the appropriation of pre-existing sculptural or building material readily available in the sanctuary or made available after the pillage of the Roman troops. They are placed in two meaningful zones of the sanctuary, particularly popular at the time for the display of honorary monuments: one near the temple of Asklepios, the other along the sacred way.

The rectangular base found near the temple because of its size, and judging from the holes and marks left on its upper surface, must have borne a smaller than life-size statuary group of two figures¹¹. This was probably an earlier representation of the god Asklepios, with a snake, a dog, or of one of his children, rededicated by the Roman general. The dedication, possibly bearing a religious image, accompanied by a canonical Greek inscription to Asklepios, Apollo and Hygiea, and exhibited next to the temple might have looked like a traditional votive. It was therefore meant to show to the Greek viewers the piety of the new ruler(s), although the later sources often highlight how inappropriate Mummius' dedications were. For example Dio Chrysostomus [37. 42] writes “the Isthmian Master of the Games, Mummius tore from his base and dedicated to Zeus – disgusting ignorance! – illiterate

⁷ In the current debate on Roman hegemony in Greece, the most recent opinions, following Gruen and Kallet-Marx, highlight the disinterest of Rome in the annexation of Greek territory and in Greek politics in general, still in the years following the third Macedonian war. This state of affairs seems to change only in 146 B.C., when the conflict reached its break-point (for the most recent survey of the bibliography on the subject see CAMIA 2009, 169).

⁸ PHILIPP – KOENIGS 1979; TZIPHOPoulos 1993; KALLET-MARX 1995, 89-90; LIPPOLIS 2004.

⁹ On the recurrence of this phenomenon in various sanctuaries of Greece see JACQUEMIN 2001, 160-165.

¹⁰ PEEK 1972, n° 47 and *IG IV*² 306 = PEEK 1969, n° 128.

¹¹ Description in PEEK 1972, n° 47.

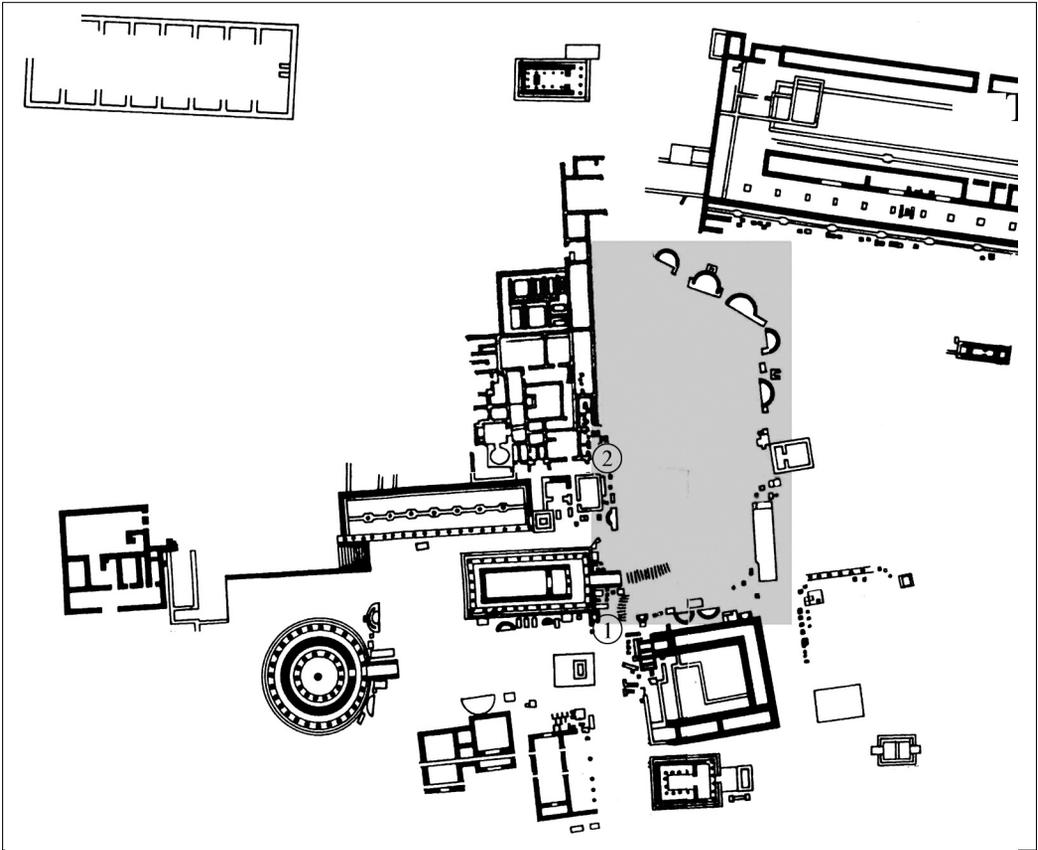


Fig. 1 - Asklepieion of Epidauros: in grey the area defined by *exedrai* and honorary monuments; nn° 1-2: Mummius' dedications.

creature that he was, totally unfamiliar with the properties, treating the brother as a votive offering” (transl. J.W. Cohoon).

Mummius' second dedication requires a more complex interpretation (Fig. 2). The inscription is carved on an earlier monument in the form of a ship's prow, probably the base for a victory statue, and is placed along the sacred way¹². Judging from the similarity in the letter form of the successive dedications, the monument had been dedicated only a few years earlier by the Achaean *koinon* to commemorate a victorious naval battle¹³. This might

¹² *IG IV² 306* = PEEK 1969, n° 128.

¹³ Three successive uses of the stone have been identified, but one of these is too fragmentary to be of use.



Fig. 2 - Mummius' dedication n° 2: *IG IV2, 306* (photo M. Melfi).

have been one episode of the war which had opposed the Achaeans and Nabis of Sparta until his assassination in 192¹⁴. On the occasion of the same war the Achaeans also honoured Telemnastos Gortynios, commander of the Cretan auxiliaries, with a statue in the same area of the sanctuary¹⁵. This was the area most frequently used by local notable families and Achaean political leaders for their self-representation, and its extent was marked by a row exedrai. Mummius, therefore, appropriated a particularly meaningful and visible monument aimed at the celebration of the same Achaean League that promoted the anti-Roman rebellion and opened the way to the battle of the Isthmus. Here, according to Pausanias, the Achaeans suffered enormous losses¹⁶. A long inscription found in Epidauros, and probably origi-

¹⁴ GUARDUCCI 1937, 56.

¹⁵ *IG IV2* 244.

¹⁶ PAUS. 7, 16.

nally displayed close to Mummius' prow dedication, commemorated 156 of the Epidaurian and Achaean soldiers who died in the battle¹⁷.

This choice of appropriation and resemantization of a monument of local importance gives way to different interpretations, especially in consideration of the fact that the original inscription was not erased, but still readable next to Mummius' dedication. The easiest interpretation would be that of an aggressive act: the appropriation of the victory monument of the Achaeans would reveal the *imperator's* desire to show his superiority over local authorities and to punish the Achaean *koinon* for rising up against the Romans. The Roman general disseminated his message in the very heart of the 'federal' sanctuary of the Achaean League, where its workings were published and its history was recorded. This operation appears to be very similar to that of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi, where he had the monument of the defeated Perseus reworked and rededicated¹⁸. An alternative and not conflicting interpretation would be that Mummius wanted to appropriate, together with the Achaean monument, also the earlier Achaean victory, placing his own victory within the glorious local history and tradition, ultimately presenting himself to the Greeks as their victorious successor.

Whatever the message was, in both his dedications, the votive and the military one, the Roman general used the language and visual code of the losers to mark in an apparently non invasive fashion the passage to a new order. In reality, the attitude of the Romans towards Epidauros was one of subversion of the historical order of things: despite the sanctuary's long panhellenic tradition, Mummius revealed himself immediately as the new owner, treating the votives of the sanctuary as his own possessions, rightfully his through the conquest of war. Some he sent to Rome, and others he re-dedicated in his name with an obvious political purpose. This purpose was probably that of marking the newly acquired territory, in a way that was the most understandable for the locals.

Such an attitude towards Epidauros bore important consequences for the later history of the sanctuary: the events of 146 B.C. started a period of decline of the cult place. The Asklepieion did not resurge from the 2nd cent. B.C. crisis until much later in the Roman Imperial period¹⁹. Differently from other Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Delphi and Olympia – that were proclaimed *liberi et immunes* shortly after the Achaean war and where valuable

¹⁷ IG IV² 28.

¹⁸ COURBY 1927, 302-305; KÄHLER 1965.

¹⁹ MELFI 2010.

dedications were made by the *imperatores*²⁰ – the Asklepieion of Epidauros was for a long time neglected by Rome and continued to struggle in the course of the 1st cent. B.C. This seems to be confirmed by at least three decrees honouring Epidaurian ambassadors, who went to plead in Rome for different reasons and did not manage to get any substantial change in the status of the sanctuary, except for vague indications of benevolence from the Roman Senate²¹.

The absence of Rome from the Epidaurian scene for many years after Mummius' visit suggests that the sanctuary had been in this way isolated and punished as a centre of Achaean sedition. In those years, Rome's disinterest – if not neglect – was not a light punishment. At one point in the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C., the sanctuary even struggled to survive. Recent archaeological investigations revealed layers of destruction and abandonment dated to the first half of the 1st cent. B.C. in the hostel (*katagogion*), the monumental *hestiatorion* (so-called *gymnasium*) and the system of water adduction of the Asklepieion²². In the same period, also most of the 4th cent. buildings of the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, on the hill overlooking the Asklepieion, were destroyed, abandoned and never rebuilt²³. The sequence of destruction and abandonment is confirmed, in both cult places, by the contemporary massive re-use of earlier statue bases and exedrai: many monuments must have been neglected and possibly damaged (or the statues had been tore away from their bases) and were ready for re-dedication shortly afterwards²⁴. Such a situation is probably best illustrated in the words of Livy, who writes that at his time the monuments and the votives of the sanctuary laid in waste and in a state of abandonment – *uestigiis reuolsorum donorum, tum donis diues erat*²⁵.

²⁰ ACCAME 1947, 145. For the dedications of the Roman *imperatores* see, for example, Mummius' golden metopes at Olympia or Flamininus' silver shields at Delphi (GUARDUCCI 1937, 42 and 54).

²¹ *IG IV*² 63, 64, 65; ACCAME 1947, 160; SCHWERTFEGER 1974, 50-51.

²² For the Asklepieion: LAMBRINOUDAKIS 1988A, 22-35 and n. 21, KRAYNAK 1991, 1-4, and PEPPA-PAPAIOANNIOU 1990, 553-554. For an overview of the 1st cent. B.C. events, see MELFI 2007B, 68-70.

²³ Destructions in the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas are reported in LAMBRINOUDAKIS 1988B, 299-300 and Id. in *PAAH* 1983, 152-154.

²⁴ The phenomenon was already noticed by KAVVADIAS 1900, 19-20. For a more recent discussion, see MELFI 2007B, 68-70.

²⁵ LIV. 45, 28.

These destructions have been differently explained by the excavators as the result of the pillages of either Sulla's troops, or the Cilician pirates, recorded for Epidauros by Diodorus²⁶, Plutarch²⁷ and Pausanias²⁸. Probably both events affected the sanctuary dramatically, but the Romans certainly did not help²⁹. On the contrary, in 74 B.C. they established in the city of Epidauros the garrison of Marcus Antonius Creticus, sent to fight against the Aegean pirates³⁰. The consequences were disastrous, because the Roman general, in his vain attempt of securing the coasts of the Mediterranean, exhausted all the remaining financial resources of the city and the sanctuary, as the inscriptions attest³¹.

The sanctuary of the Epidaurians was eventually saved only by the most traditional benefactions by local notables: distributions of grain and donations of money for the restoration of the social and religious order. The inscriptions celebrate these local patrons in exceptional terms. Evanthis Eunomou, for example, appears in at least six inscriptions and has been defined by Lafonde as the only *grand évergète* in the whole Peloponnese, and possibly Greece, comparable only to contemporary examples in Asia Minor³². The turn of events determined therefore the resurfacing of the traditional structures of Greek civic life, and the adoption of an appropriately traditional language in their communication. Evanthis is honoured at Epidauros for his *kalokagathia*, *philagathia* and many other qualities typical of a Hellenistic civic environment³³. This fictitious return to the world of the Greek polis, in open contradiction to the historical events, might be read as a reaction to the desemantization of the sacred space and the objects within operated by the Romans in the last one hundred years.

²⁶ D.S. 38, 7.

²⁷ PLU. *Syl.* 12 and *Pomp.* 24.

²⁸ PAUS. 9, 7, 5.

²⁹ Most recently Lambrinouidakis and his collaborators of the *O.E.Σ.M.E.* seem to prefer as an explanation the incursions of the Cilician pirates, in the period immediately after 67 B.C.

³⁰ Mention of his presence is contained in *IG IV² 66*.

³¹ On the general context of the fight against the pirates and the role of Creticus see MARÓTI 1971, 259-272. The most vivid picture of the dramatic economic situation at Epidauros is given by *IG IV² 66*.

³² LAFOND 2006, 57-58.

³³ LAFOND 2006, 57-58.

ATHENS

Athens played no role in the Achaean war, on the contrary, as *civitas libera et foederata*, enjoyed relative autonomy. The city even experienced an economic renaissance, after the Roman creation of the free port in Delos and the ratification of its control over the island, which increased the volume of trade and the circulation of money. The contacts with the Hellenistic kings and the Romans were flourishing, and an increasing number of Romans visited Athens as official guests of the state, mostly en route to or from the Province of Asia³⁴. But in 88 B.C. the city decided to enter the war against Rome on the side of King Mithridates VI and, as a consequence, in 86 was sacked by the troops of Sulla³⁵. Many buildings in Athens and Attica were damaged or even burned down³⁶. Sulla could have destroyed the city: the precedent of Corinth was before the eyes of all Greeks. Athens received a particularly lenient treatment, probably because it was a revered cultural capital, and the Athenians hastened to set up a statue and found new games in honour of the new ruler³⁷.

The reconstruction of those parts of the city destroyed during the war did not start immediately: securely attested restorations are only dated from the seventies, and mostly involve the rebuilding of areas of public interest³⁸. The only extant documentation concerning the restoration of a sanctuary damaged during the Mithridatic war seems to be that of the Asklepieion on the south slopes of the Acropolis, where two rare examples of Athenian building inscriptions, certainly dated after the events of 86 B.C., were found (Fig. 3).

During the 2nd cent. B.C. the epigraphic documentation confirms the uninterrupted performance of rituals and dedications in honour of Asklepios

³⁴ Fundamental works for the study of Athens in this period: FERGUSON 1911; GEAGAN 1979; HABICHT 1999.

³⁵ On the Athenian political crisis of the 90s: ACCAME 1946, 165-170; KALLET-MARX 1995, 205-212; HABICHT 1999, 194-245.

³⁶ HOFF 1997A; BALDASSARRI 1998, 3-11.

³⁷ KANTIRÉA 2007, 31-32; statue: *SEG* 24, 214; games: *IG* II² 1039, 5.

³⁸ BALDASSARRI 1998, 10 and n. 31; STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU 2008, 15. The best attested building programme of this period was the reconstruction of the Odeion of Perikles, thanks to the donation of King Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia. Other interventions might have included the restoration of King Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia. Other interventions might have included the restoration of the stoa of Eumenes and of the section of the city-walls destroyed by Sulla. The period, in general, was not favourable for embarking in large public expenses (MARCHETTI 1995, 146-147).

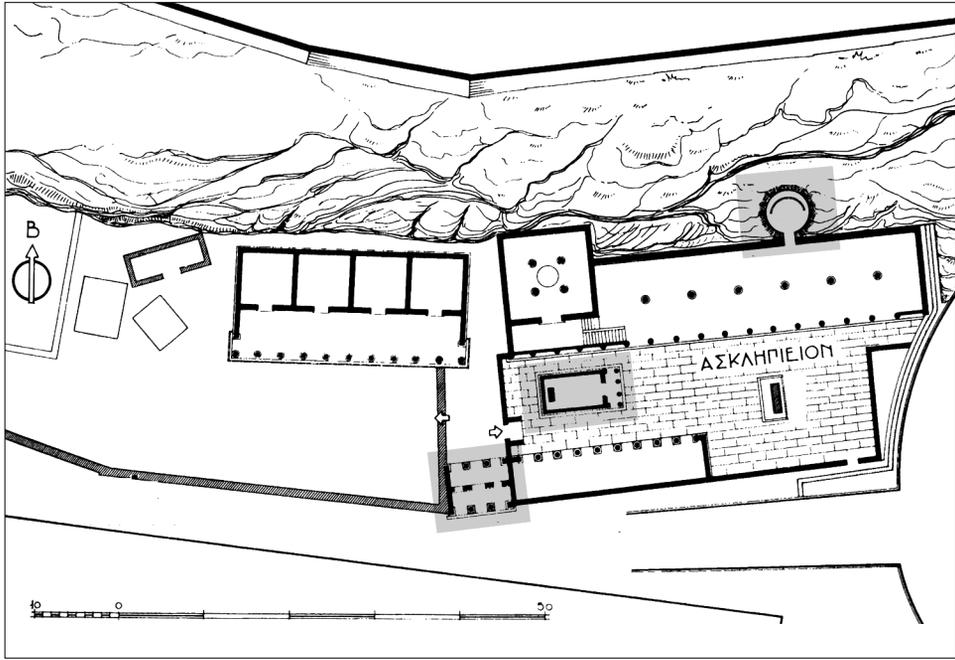


Fig. 3 - Asklepieion of Athens: in grey the areas reconstructed in the 1st cent. B.C.
(after ALESHIRE 1989).

in the Athenian sanctuary³⁹. A break in the life of the cult-place might correspond to the year 86 B.C., when the Acropolis was centre to a fierce resistance and its south-slopes were subject to fire and devastation⁴⁰. Two successive phases of reconstruction suggest that the main buildings of the sanctuary were heavily damaged in the event. The reconstructions were carried out under the auspices of the polis and financed by two priests of Asklepios.

A first restoration affected the sacred spring and its entrance, and was carried out by Sokrates Kephisiaeus, priest in 63/62 B.C.⁴¹ Ten years later, a second restoration was authorized by a decree of the polis, which entrusted Diokles Kephisiaeus, priest in 51/50 B.C., with the reconstruction of parts of

³⁹ MELFI 2007B, 354-358.

⁴⁰ HOFF 1997, 41.

⁴¹ *IG II²* 4464 and ALESHIRE 1989, 34-35; for the archaeological identification of the intervention, see MELFI 2007B, 358-359.

the propylon and temple of Asklepios⁴². The latter decree provides details on the conditions of the sanctuary before Diokles' intervention. The doors and the roof of the propylon are described as 'damaged' (l. 11), and the temple is defined as 'old' and in need of repairs (l. 13-14). The Boule ultimately allows Diokles to carry out the restorations with his own money, in order 'to give the pristine order back to the sanctuary' (l. 18). A final prescription also invites Diokles to inscribe his dedications to Asklepios, Hygiea and the Demos on both the propylon and the temple of the sanctuary (l. 23-30).

That in the 1st cent. B.C. the buildings and furnishing of the sanctuary of Asklepios were in bad conditions is further confirmed by the use of *spolia* or reused building material in both Sokrates' and Diokles' restorations. The architectural member reused by Sokrates for the restoration of the spring was defined by Koumanoudes at the time of its discovery as an epistyle or door lintel, and according to Aleshire the piece was carved out from a triangular base originally sustaining a tripod⁴³. The fragmentary dedication, generally identified with the inscription set on one of the buildings restored by Diokles, is equally inscribed on a reused architectural piece⁴⁴. The availability not only of architectural material from damaged buildings, but also of votive dedications enforces this scenario of decay and abandonment of the sanctuary and its furnishings. In the mid 1st cent. B.C., for example, the priest Diophanes Apolloniou from Azenia rededicated in his name at least three 4th cent. votive reliefs and two other objects⁴⁵.

The documents from the Asklepion find – to my mind – direct comparisons in the long, fragmentary and controversial inscription *IG II² 1035* from the Athenian Acropolis. The stele has been differently dated from 100 B.C. to the mid 2nd cent. A.D.⁴⁶. An Augustan date is the most commonly

⁴² *IG II² 1046* preserves the decree of the polis, while *IG II² 3174* might bear testimony of a second building dedication by the same priest. See also ALESHIRE 1989, 32-33.

⁴³ I was not able to find *IG II² 4464* in the Athenian Asklepion, but I report the descriptions of Koumanoudes (Koumanoudes 1876, 528: l. 0.90; h. 0.21; d. 0.16) and Aleshire (ALESHIRE 1989, 34).

⁴⁴ *IG II² 3174*. According to Aleshire (ALESHIRE 1991, 106) and Follet (FOLLET 1989, 43) this inscription is to be identified with the dedication authorized by the Demos in the above-mentioned decree. For a different interpretation, which sees *IG II² 3174* as the testimony of a third building intervention by Diokles, see MELFI 2007B, 360-361.

⁴⁵ According to Merkel, they all belonged to the same monument (MERKEL 1947, 76-77). Votive reliefs: *IG II² 4482, 4483, 4484*. Other bases: *IG II² 4485; EM 9552* (National Museum).

⁴⁶ The relevant literature is summarized in BALDASSARRI 1998, 241-243.

accepted, although I believe that the subject and language of the decrees the stele contains are better placed some time after the Sullan sack⁴⁷. This has been convincingly demonstrated by Joachim von Freeden on the basis his reassessment of the historical and archaeological data, and by Paola Baldassarri, in view of her reexamination of Augustan building policy in Athens⁴⁸.

The stele contains two decrees on the restoration of sacred property, both stating the necessity of reestablishing the pristine order in the cult places of Attica. A list of sites, where structures were in disrepair and sacred land had been neglected or illegally appropriated by neighbours, follows, and includes localities of Athens, Piraeus, Salamis, Eleusis etc.⁴⁹. This need for restorations of buildings and property borders is closely echoed in the well dated inscriptions recording the interventions of Sokrates and Diokles in the Asklepieion. Both the priests – and Diokles in the 50s in particular – aimed at restoring (κατασκευάζω) and reinstate the pristine order (τήν ἀρχαίαν ἀποδοθῆναι τῷ ἱερῷ τάξι) in the sanctuary, as it is made clear by the repeated use of wordings closely comparable with those used in *IG II² 1035*⁵⁰. Similarly, Diokles and Sokrates appear particularly concerned with the repair of propylaia, doors and entrances, all essential elements to mark the boundaries of the sacred space. It might not be a coincidence that a similar concern is expressed in the same period in another important cult place of Attica: at around 51 B.C., the year of Diokles' priesthood in the Athenian Asklepieion, Appius Claudius Pulcher started the construction of the lesser propylaia in Eleusis⁵¹.

There is also a common formal background to *IG II² 1035* and the building inscriptions from the Asklepieion: in both cases restorations are to be carried out under the auspices of the polis, and as part of the regular workings of Athenian democracy. Sokrates and Diokles act as benefactors, but

⁴⁷ The most recent voices in support of an Augustan date are those of STEWART 2004, 226-228, and STEFANIDOU-TIBERIOU 2008, 25-26.

⁴⁸ FREEDEN 1983 places the inscription in the years between 74 and 65 B.C., when a gap exists in the list of the attested archons. For Baldassarri's criticism of the Augustan date, see BALDASSARRI 1998, 242-249.

⁴⁹ The most complete edition in CULLEY 1975, 207-223.

⁵⁰ In general: restore-ἀποκατισθῆμι; old-ἀρχαῖος; reinstate the pristine order-ὄν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχε. An accurate list of the words used to indicate a general need of restorations in *IG II² 1035* is to be found in FREEDEN 1983, 153.

⁵¹ CLINTON 1997, 164.

in their institutional role of priests of Asklepios⁵². The decrees recorded in IG II² 1035 similarly speak the language of the polis: the *archon basileus* and the *strategos* of the *hoplites* are in charge of the publication and execution of the decrees; the funding for putting into effect the different prescriptions comes from the treasury of the state; two copies of the documents are to be set up in the temple of Athena Polias on the Athenian Acropolis, and at the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena *Soteiroi* in Piraeus, both highly symbolic places of Athenian democracy⁵³. In addition to this, the inscriptions bear no reference to Roman rule – a peculiar detail if we were to believe that the decision was triggered by Augustan initiative⁵⁴. It seems, therefore, that both the repairs of the Asklepieion and the restorations prescribed in IG II² 1035, whether or not they are to be interpreted as the earliest post-Sullan interventions on the sanctuaries of Athens, were part of a concerted programme of restoration, carried out under the aegis of the polis, through the workings of her highest representatives.

Finally, the sites listed in the second part of IG II² 1035, and for which restoration and maintenance are urged, mostly belong to those areas of Attica affected by the movements of the Roman troops in and around 86 B.C. In fact, Sulla first directed his attention towards Piraeus, then retired to Eleusis, where clashes with the Greeks continued, finally entered Athens through the Agora, and besieged the rebels who had taken refuge on the Acropolis⁵⁵. This suggests even more convincingly that the subject and concerns of the stele from the Acropolis should be interpreted in the context of damage and neglect of Attic sanctuaries which followed the Sullan sack—a context well illustrated by the Asklepieion inscriptions.

For these many reasons – in addition to those presented by Baldassarri and von Freeden – I would like to place the programme of IG II² 1035 in coincidence with the restorations of the Athenian Asklepieion, that is to say

⁵² In this period, only individuals from the most privileged background could be invested with the priesthood of Asklepios, which carried the burden of a heavy liturgy, ALESHIRE 1989, 72-85; MELFI 2007B, 356-357.

⁵³ The cult of Zeus and Athena *Soteira* in Piraeus had become, by the Hellenistic period, very closely linked to a major institution of democratic government in Athens, the Boule: their priest made the Boule's inaugural sacrifice for the safety of the Boule and the Demos (MIKALSON 1998, 110-111).

⁵⁴ As Beate Dignas recently underlined, especially on the basis of the comparison with similar decrees from Asia Minor, cf. in particular the Cyme decree often mentioned in relation to IG II² 1035 (DIGNAS 2002, 127-128).

⁵⁵ HOFF 1997, 38-44.

around or shortly before the mid 1st cent. B.C. This is a period when a new flow of wealth and support, mostly from Roman benefactors and political figures, is attested in the old Greek capital. By the 1st cent. B.C., Romans played a substantial role in Athenian economy. Titus Pomponius Atticus moved his wealth to Athens, lived in the city from 85 to 65 B.C. and attempted in any possible way to help the local economy⁵⁶. Pompey, after having definitively defeated the pirates in 62 B.C., and before returning to Rome, made a donation of fifty talents to the city specifically “for the reconstruction of the monuments”, destroyed by Sulla’s troops⁵⁷. Caesar, on the other hand, attempted to ingratiate himself with the Athenians and infringe on their alliance with Pompey by giving them the same sum of fifty talents, in 51 B.C.⁵⁸. It is interesting to notice that, both these donations are only documented in Roman sources, and we do not have any Athenian epigraphic record of the events, the nature and final scope of which remain unclear⁵⁹. Although the Romans must have played some role in the rebuilding of Athens, contemporary Athenian public documents – such as the inscriptions from the Asklepieion (and *IG II² 1035?*) – keep failing to mention any Roman intervention.

With this in mind, it is worth noting that the dates of the two building interventions on the Athenian Asklepieion are surprisingly close to those of the money donations of Pompey and Caesar. If we were allowed to link the restorations of the Asklepieion – and possibly other contemporary interventions – to the flow of money coming from the *imperatores*, the case of Athens would introduce a very interesting new element. Roman politicians in Athens might have chosen that their benefactions should not be mentioned. Such an understated contribution can be explained with the political status of the city of Athens in the 1st cent. B.C., as *civitas libera ed foederata*, free and allied, not yet officially subject to the Roman state. The case of post-Sullan Athens might therefore be considered exemplary of the way through which Roman interventions could have been disguised behind the traditional systems of communication of the polis, of course through the workings of an obliging local elite. This confirms the special role played by Athens in the political geography of the Roman conquest, as revered cultural capital, seat

⁵⁶ HABICHT 1999, 346.

⁵⁷ PLU. *Pomp.* 42, 11.

⁵⁸ CIC. *Att.* 6, 125.

⁵⁹ The difficulty in dating and interpreting Caesar’s donation is clear in the existing literature (BALDASSARRI 1998, 8-9; RAWSON 1985; HOFF 1989, 271).

of democratic and philosophic thinking, where disruptions were kept to a minimum for as long as it was allowed by the historical circumstances.

CONCLUSIONS

Rather than imposing foreign language and rules, Rome's communication strategy was that of establishing herself within pre-existing networks. In the Greek sanctuaries Roman generals and patrons adapted to the historical and political situation of the site at which the message was addressed. This meant involving the local elite in the proceedings of the conquest, and addressing the worshippers with the language and the signs that they would most easily understand. The conclusions drawn from the archaeological investigation of the chosen sites are therefore completely in line with the results of the most recent historical analysis, which, following Gruen's reassessment, stresses the importance of the knowledge of local contexts in the establishment of Roman hegemony in the Hellenistic world⁶⁰.

In the Asklepieion at Epidauros the appropriation of dedications, spaces and historical events on the part of Mummius transmitted a strong signal of political subjection. The use of the language and visual means proper to the Greek polis world enforced the message because it addressed and singled out the Greek viewers, in particular the Achaeans who had used the sanctuary beforehand for their own propaganda. Such a strategy reflects the political condition of Epidauros and large parts of the Peloponnese, which were actually considered conquered lands despite the formal attribution of freedom after 146 B.C. Athens was a free city, apparently unaffected by Roman intervention in her sanctuaries. Local magistrates were responsible for the general reconstructions after the Sullan sack, although these were only possible by Roman consent and through Roman financial backing. The documents of the polis concerning Athenian building policy offer a striking contrast to the reports of Roman contemporary sources illustrating Roman patronage in the city. Thanks to a sophisticated strategy of communication, two parallel images of Athens – the free and allied democratic polis and the subject cultural capital – existed and were simultaneously divulged to two different audiences. Both examples suggest that in the general dearth of documentary and archaeological sources for this complex and little-studied

⁶⁰ See in particular, GRUEN 1984 and KALLET-MARX 1995.

period of Greek archaeology, only a very careful consideration of all the available data, both positive and negative, allows one to identify and single out phenomena such as these. Absence and presence, abandonment and use or re-use, destruction and construction, all need to be taken into account, and constitute important elements in the reconstruction of the cultural communication between Greeks and Romans between the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C.

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FROM ELEUTHERIA TO THEOS KAISAR SEBASTOS. ROME AND THE SANCTUARIES OF NORTHERN GREECE

The social, institutional, and devotional values of Greek religion not only made Greek sanctuaries the religious stages for the performance of rites, but also transformed them into places for more complex political and social dynamics. In certain circumstances, they became central to specific communicative strategies employed by those who were holding political power. In classical Greece examples of sanctuaries with significant political character are numerous. The list is rather long and can start with the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and incorporate also less famous religious centers located in outlying areas of the Greek peninsula. Such examples include the recently studied sanctuaries in Epirus¹, the federal sanctuary of the Thessalian *Koinon* in Philia-Karditsa², the temple of Zeus Olympios in Dion, Macedonia (where Philip and Alexander celebrated their victories with Olympic games as well as impressive sacrifices to Zeus and the Muses³), and the temple of Eukleia in Vergina, whose connection with the Macedonian royal family is evidenced by the inscriptions of Eurydice, wife of Amyntas III and mother of Philip II⁴.

This article aims to investigate whether or not religious sites in Greece maintained their functions after the Roman conquest (Fig. 1). Moreover, it will explain how the Romans, depending on their various conquest strategies and forms of interaction, decided each time in a slightly different way to introduce and incorporate themselves in Greek religious activities. For this reason, the following article will focus on the first centuries of Roman

I wish to thank Ioannis Mylonopoulos for very helpful suggestions.

¹ MOUSTAKIS 2006.

² INTZESILOGLOU 2006.

³ D.S. 16, 55, 1; D.S. 17, 16, 3-4; D. CHR. 1, 313. On the political role of the sanctuary, see also MARI 2002, 51-60. For an overview on the sacred landscape of Roman Macedonia, see FALEZZA 2012. For a historical analysis about the religious life of the province of Macedonia, see TSOCHOS 2012.

⁴ SAATSOGLOU-PALIADELI 1987.



Fig. 1 - Map of the Greece with sanctuaries cited in the text (drawing E. Falezza)

dominion in Greece – starting from the moment Roman troops first entered Greece at the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. and reaching down to the establishment of the principate –. It will be outlined, how in this period the Romans formulated and developed a specific ideology associated with the conquest of the Hellenistic world. The geographical area selected is northern and central Greece (Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus). Compared to the Hellenic center (Attica and Peloponnese), the aforementioned areas are

often considered remote zones, so that studies concerning the Roman period are still lacking. This is all the more surprising, if one considers how crucial these regions and especially Macedonia were in the Eastern Mediterranean political, economical and social life.

THE DEFENCE OF GREEK ELEUTHERIA AND THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS IN LARISA

It is well-known that from the second Macedonian war onwards the issue of Greek *eleutheria* became a decisive component of Rome's plan to conquer Greece⁵. By the time of Flamininus' negotiations on Aous-river in spring 198 B.C.⁶, in Locris in winter 198 B.C.⁷, and later by the *senatus consultus* in 196⁸, Rome did not introduce itself as a hegemonic power replacing Philip V, but as a promoter and defender of the freedom giving back to the Greeks (Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Achaeans, Magnesians, Thessalians, Perrhaebians), saved from Macedonian domination. In this phase, the Romans' reason for being in Greece was to free the Greek population, and at this point, there is not yet an obvious intention to annex the territory⁹.

According to the briefly addressed political situation, we should reconsider what happened in Larisa, one of the main urban centres in Thessaly. In the Classical and Hellenistic times, the city had two main places of worship: one dedicated to Athena Polias, which was situated on the acropolis, and the other one dedicated to Apollo Kerdoos in the agora (called *eleuthere*). So far, the remains of these two temples are poor, but the sites have been securely identified thanks to inscriptions found¹⁰. Apparently, the cult sites were functioning as some kind of the city's archives as well. The cults of Apollo and Athena probably included great annual games. Our sources refer

⁵ See FERRARY 1988, 58-117.

⁶ LIV. 32, 10, 2-9.

⁷ LIV. 32, 32, 5-9.

⁸ PLB. 18, 46, 5.

⁹ The use of the term *libertas* in Livy's report is remarkable: *Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyros, ut omnibus gentibus appareret arma populi Romani non liberis servitutem, sed contra servientibus libertatem adferre* (LIV. 45, 18, 1). On Roman imperialism in the Greek East during the 2nd cent. B.C., see also CAMIA 2009, especially 167-171.

¹⁰ This refers to the decrees IG IX² 512, 517, 521 and BCH 1935, 55-64 indicating their collocation in the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos; IG IX² 517, ll. 22-45 comes from the sanctuary of Athena Polias.

to them only by using the term οἱ ἀγῶνες, so that their names remain unknown¹¹. They consisted of athletic and equestrian competitions (*stadion*, *diaulos*, running races in which the participants held torches, *hoplitodromos*, *prosdrome*, boxing and pancratium, archery competitions, bull fighting, *aphippolampas* and *aphippodroma*, *apobatikos agon*)¹² as well as intellectual competitions in prose and epic narration (*logika enkomia*, *epika enkomia*)¹³.

The records on the sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena do not date beyond the 2nd cent. B.C. when a new temple dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios¹⁴ was erected in the *agora eleuthere*. Scholars¹⁵ have unanimously associated the foundation of new cult site with both Flamininus' declaration of freedom for the Greeks (and especially for the Thessalians) in 196 B.C. and the creation of a new Thessalian *Koinon* located – probably intentionally – in Larisa. Based on a number of stelae (*synedrion* decrees)¹⁶ found in the interior of the temple, the cultic center of the *Koinon* must have been the new temple of Zeus. The sanctuary was also the place where the *Eleutheria* took place. The festival was organized every four years and consisted of athletic and musical competitions¹⁷. Established in 196 B.C., the *agones* recalled activities performed in much older ancient festivals. It is a significant fact that the *agonothetes* of the games was also the *strategos* of the Thessalians, the most powerful authority of the league.

It is clear that the religious situation in Larisa changed with the arrival of Romans in Greece. The most significant facts that rather obviously point in this direction are a) the entirely new sacred area dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios, built at the time when the Romans declared the *eleutheria* of the Greek states and b) the choice of Larisa as the capital of the new Thes-

¹¹ See for example *IG IX*² 531, ll. 5 ff.; 536, ll. 6 ff.

¹² *IG IX*² 527, 531, 532.

¹³ *IG IX*² 531, ll. 43-49; *IG IX*² 531, ll. 11-12.

¹⁴ There are no archeological sources for a secure identification of the exact site of the sanctuary. However, Tzifalias considers a lot of land between the present Kouma, Alexandros Panagouli, and Palamà streets, where numerous architectural elements and almost 40 marble bases of statues have been found (14 Doric column drums, one geison, fragments of triglyphs and numerous fragments of euthyntheria marble) its possible location. Near this area, there have been found some stelae, which contained specifications about their placement inside the *temenos* of Zeus Eleutherios: TZIAFALIAS 1994, 170-172.

¹⁵ GALLIS 1988, 218; AGONES 2004.

¹⁶ *IG IX*² 507, 32; *SEG* 36, 547 and other unpublished inscriptions.

¹⁷ AXENIDIS 1947, 12-15, 26-32.

salian *Koinon*, a city the Romans have saved from years of submission to Macedonia. This was manifestly a conscious strategy: the Romans wanted to introduce themselves as liberators instead of dominators. They transformed the political balance of the Hellenistic world and tried to obtain the solid consent of the population. In the case of Larisa, they did so very successfully by astutely balancing innovations and traditions and transforming ancient village festivals, which did undergo name changes but maintained in their core the ancestral programs and schedules of competitions. Moreover, we must also consider that the role of the *agonothetes*, bestowed on the league's *strategos*, revealed and stressed the political meaning of the religious celebrations, which became the symbol of the new Roman age in Greece. It must be stressed that the name of the festival, *Eleutheria*, celebrated the liberation from the Macedonians and not Flaminius' victory. For this reason, the festival did not have a self-celebratory purpose, which the *Aktia* would certainly have many years later.

In addition, it is also important to underline how the new temple seems to have completely replaced the older sanctuaries that had previously played a very important role in the religious life of the area. Scholarship still tries to understand the exact causes and processes that led to the abandonment of the temples of Athena Polias and Apollo Kerdoos, but it is clear that the temple of Zeus Eleutherios was the only place for the publication of the *Koinon*'s decrees and the celebration of the *agones* since 196 B.C. The old poliadic gods that had been the symbols of civic identity and adored on the acropolis and in the agora were substituted by new divinity associated with Rome and a new phase of freedom. We will have to address the great influence this change had on the national pantheon further below.

THE NEW POLICY OF TERRITORIAL ANNEXATION: CHANGES AND CONSTANTS IN THE RELIGIOUS FIELD

The third Macedonian war is a crucial moment for Roman foreign policies. Rome fervently desired to put an end to Macedonian hegemonic tendencies and for this reason occupied with its troops Epirus¹⁸, entered Thessaly¹⁹ and defeated Perseus at Pydna in 168 B.C. After the Roman victory, northern Greece was reorganized with Macedonia divided in four *meri-*

¹⁸ Liv. 45, 26.

¹⁹ Liv. 44, 1-2; HELLY 2007.

dies under the control of a Roman governor, while in Thessaly and Epirus *koina* arose from the former Hellenic Leagues. In 148 B.C. all these regions were unified in single large province.

The consequences of war and the subsequent occupation can be traced in all kinds of materials from the area and especially with respect to religious life. After having abandoned the policy of respect and tolerance towards the Hellenic world, Rome violated also sanctuaries, even some very ancient and famous ones. The most significant examples are the sanctuaries of Zeus in Dodona and Zeus Areios in Passaron in Epirus, which were plundered by Roman troops in 167 B.C. and later by Charops's troops²⁰.

As far as Dodona is concerned, archaeological traces of the town's plunder (referred to by Strabo²¹) were found during at excavations of the theatre and the *prytaneion*. In the former, the above-mentioned traces consist of remains associated with a huge fire, which probably destroyed the stage area and the western *parodos*. The layer of destruction contained twenty-two bronze coins of the Epirotan *Koinon* dating to the period between 234 and 168 B.C.²² In the *prytaneion*, relevant traces were found in the area of the colonnaded court²³.

Similarly, a fire destroyed the sanctuary of Zeus at Passaron, the official cult center of Molossia²⁴. Traces of severe damage and calcification of numerous architectural elements and a layer of crushed limestone around the temple building point to a significant destruction of the site that could be identified with the one the sanctuary suffered in 167 B.C.²⁵

In Macedonia and Thessaly, the status of cult places during the Roman invasion is not very clear: ancient sources point, however, to a drastic change. The fate of Eukleia temple in Aigai, whose connection with the Macedonian family has been already mentioned, is very similar to the above-described events in Epirus. Excavators discovered traces of the sacred building, which collapsed in the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. or the beginning of

²⁰ Destructures that was so impressive as to be noted by all the main Greek and Roman historians: PLB. 30, 15; D.S. 7, 7, 3; LIV. 45, 34; STR. 7, 7, 3; PLIN. *nat.* 4, 39; PLU. *Aem.* 29; APP. *Ill.* 10, 9.

²¹ STR. 7, 7, 9.

²² DAKARIS 1960, 32-34.

²³ DAKARIS – TZOUVARA-SOULI – VLACHOPOULOU-OIKONOMOU 1999, 156 with n. 43.

²⁴ The kings and the Molossian people gathered here each year and, after offering sacrifices on the altar, swore an oath: the kings swore to govern according to law, the people swore to protect the royal power; PLU. *Pyrrh.* 5, 5; CATALDI 1990, 191-192.

²⁵ EVANGELIDES 1935B, 311.

the 1st cent. B.C. In a renovated state it was probably in use until at least the end of the 1st cent. A.D.²⁶ In the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. B.C., two other major monuments in Aigai were abandoned: the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods and the royal palace²⁷. We cannot but interpret these facts as evident signs of the city's decline.

This hypothesis can be substantiated by the case of the sanctuary of Artemis on Thasos, the only cult place in the city that experienced Roman influences. Thanks to an inscription from the 1st cent. B.C., it is known that the sanctuary was abandoned for a certain period of time. The text of the inscription celebrates a female benefactor under the name Epie for financing the reconstruction of the temple's propylaion, which had been in a bad condition²⁸. A further inscription refers to the enfranchisement of slaves, which was a common practice in periods of crisis or great peril²⁹. It was probably this crisis, which led to the *Artemision's* decline as well.

The case of the temple of Zeus Olympios in Dion is different but nonetheless emblematic³⁰. The cult site was the official and representative religious center for the Macedonian rulers, especially Philip and Alexander the Great. Here, they celebrated the military victories by arranging great sacrifices and Olympic games³¹. When the Romans entered Macedonia and reached Dion in 169 B.C., the consul M. Philippus ordered the encampment to be set up *sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in loco violaretur*³² in this way stating the absolute inviolability of the holy area (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, a few years later the temple was robbed of a very famous masterpiece, i.e. the one Alexander had commissioned to Lysippus representing the group of soldiers fallen at the Granicus river³³. In this case, the Roman's strategic approach becomes apparent: they avoided brutally destroying the ancient and famous sanc-

²⁶ SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 1993.

²⁷ DROGOU – SAATSOGLU-PALIADELI 2002, 21.

²⁸ SALVIAT 1959, 363, ll. 12-13.

²⁹ DUNANT – POUILLLOUX 1958, 35-37, n° 173. The inscription and further texts commemorating the official correspondence between Thasos and Rome are inscribed on the inner walls of the building with *paraskenia* in the agora.

³⁰ Concerning the sanctuaries of Dion between the Greek and Roman age, see FALEZZA 2012 and FALEZZA 2010.

³¹ D.S. 16, 55, 1; D.S. 17, 16, 3-4; D. CHR. 1, 313.

³² LIV. 44, 7.2.

³³ VELL. 1, 11, 3-4; PLIN., *nat.* 34, 19, 64. The group of statues paraded in 146 B.C. in Rome during Metellus' triumph. They were placed in the *porticus Metelli*, in front of the temple of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina (CALCANI 1989, 21-30).



Fig. 2 - Dion, aerial view of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios
(after PANDERMALIS 2009, 262, fig. 1)

tuary (in a first stage they rather protect it *manu militari*), but later they did not hesitate to plunder it, and this act probably caused its progressive decline. Indeed, Olympic festivals are no longer attested in Dion after 100 B.C.³⁴, and there are no traces of the sanctuary being frequented at least until the 2nd cent. A.D.³⁵

There are no precise reports about other cult places in northern Greece from the mid-2nd cent. B.C. Nevertheless, even a census of sanctuaries that were active in the pre-Roman period but without signs of ritual life after the arrival of the Romans can be significant for an overall evaluation of Greek religious life in the area. In Macedonia, some examples are the above-mentioned sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Aigai, the *Thesmophorion* in Amphipolis, the temple of Demeter at Lete, the *Nymphaion* in Mieza, the

³⁴ *SEG* 14, 1957, 478.

³⁵ In the 2nd cent. A.D., a Roman theater was built in the sanctuary area, very close to the *temenos*: PALAIOKRASSA 1986.

temple of Athena at Oisyme, the temples in Pella and the sanctuaries of Dionysos, Pan, Herakles and Demeter on Thasos. In Thessaly, the *Nymphaion* in Mieza, the *Asklepieion* in Gonnoi, the temples of Apollo Kerdoos and Athena Polias in Larisa, the temple of Apollo in Metropolis, the sanctuaries in Pherai, the *Asklepieion* on Skopelos, the temple of Athena Polias in Phthiotic Thebes, and the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Tempe are examples of sanctuaries active in the Hellenistic period but abandoned after the Roman conquest. Finally, in Epirus, in addition to the above-mentioned cases, the temple of Apollo Pythios in Ambracia, the temple of Kryeghiata, and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Apollonia were not in use after the Hellenistic period.

The above-mentioned examples of the abandoned sanctuaries were either poliadic temples or places of worship with an important political role in their area, such as the *Asklepieion* in Gonnoi³⁶, the large Archaic temple of Apollo near Metropolis³⁷, the temple of Enodia and Zeus Thaulios in Pherai³⁸, the temples of Apollo Kerdoos and Athena Polias in Larisa, the temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes³⁹ and the temple of Apollo in Ambracia⁴⁰. Although the available data are insufficient to prove that there was a connection between the sanctuaries' decline and the Roman occupation, it is undeniable that at the time of the Roman annexation a change in the religious field occurred in northern Greece.

In conclusion, we can outline the changes effecting sacred sites during the 2nd cent. B.C. Military operations that involved the Roman invasion and the subsequent subjugation of their Greek adversaries made a mark on sanctuaries – especially in Epirus, but also in Thessaly and Macedonia –. Cult sites were sometimes destroyed, sometimes simply abandoned. At the same time, we can detect in our evidence a strategy to weaken or annihilate the

³⁶ The priests' names of Gonnoi appear in all the official acts of the city : HELLY 1973, I, 149; HELLY 1973, II, nn° 197-200.

³⁷ According to INTZESILOGLOU 2002, 115 the temple of Apollo in Metropolis dates to the mid-6th cent. B.C. and was built before the synoecism of the city, which occurred in the 1st half of the 4th cent. B.C. Apparently, it belonged to one of the *komai* and later became the most important sanctuary at Metropolis – as demonstrated by the image of Apollo on its coins –.

³⁸ The goddess En(no)dia was the main divinity of Pherai. She was called *Enodia Pheraia* or *Pheraia Thea* as shown in the literary and epigraphic sources (also outside Thessaly). On this cult see CHRYSOSTOMOU 1994 and CHRYSOSTOMOU 1998.

³⁹ STAHLIN 2001², 221.

⁴⁰ The town's public decrees were displayed in the temple located in the agora: CABANES – ANDRÉOU 1985.

identity of the population to be conquered by means of depredating the most famous religious areas. This scenario is confirmed by the analysis of the most famous religious sites, such as Dodona, sacred areas that embodied Greek identity, such as poliadic sanctuaries, or represented political authority, such as Dion and Passaron. Many sanctuaries experienced an apparent break in their use in the examined geographical area. Subsequently, but certainly not before the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C., a completely new religious scenery emerged.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPATE AND THE INTRODUCTION
OF THE IMPERIAL CULT.

The battle of Actium in 31 B.C. meant the end of a long period of war and the beginning of a new area of peace and political stability. After 27 B.C., northern Greece area was divided into two different administrative units, the *Provincia Macedonia* in the north that included southern Illyria as well and the *Provincia Achaia* in the south that incorporated Thessaly and the south as well as central Epirus.

The conquest of the territory and its reorganization were followed by the creation of a truly united empire (at least this was the intention), close-knit and loyal to the central government, enjoying a thriving economic and cultural life. One of the most successful strategies adopted by the Romans arose from the study of the cult places and it found its best possible expression in the cult of the emperor. Because our aim is to examine only the major manifestations of this phenomenon in northern Greece, this study will exclusively deal with the cases of Actium, Thessaloniki, Kalindoia, and Aphytis.

The foundation of a sanctuary and the festival at Actium (Fig. 3) are the first signs of a new kind auto-celebrative act from the *princeps*. This process takes its place somewhere between the traditional triumphs of the Hellenistic rulers and those that Roman generals celebrated like the one of Lucius Aemilius Paullus in Amphipolis in 167 B.C.⁴¹ The new celebrations maintained, however, their denomination and program at the sanctuary of Apollo Aktios⁴². They were dedicated to Apollo, Ares, Poseidon – whose help made the defeat of Anthony's fleet possible⁴³ – and inserted (almost immediately)

⁴¹ LIV., 45, 32, 8-10; PLU. *Aem.* 28, 7; on this point see FERRARY 1988, 554-572.

⁴² PAVLOGIANNIS – ALBANIDIS 2007, 59.

⁴³ SUET. *Aug.* 18.

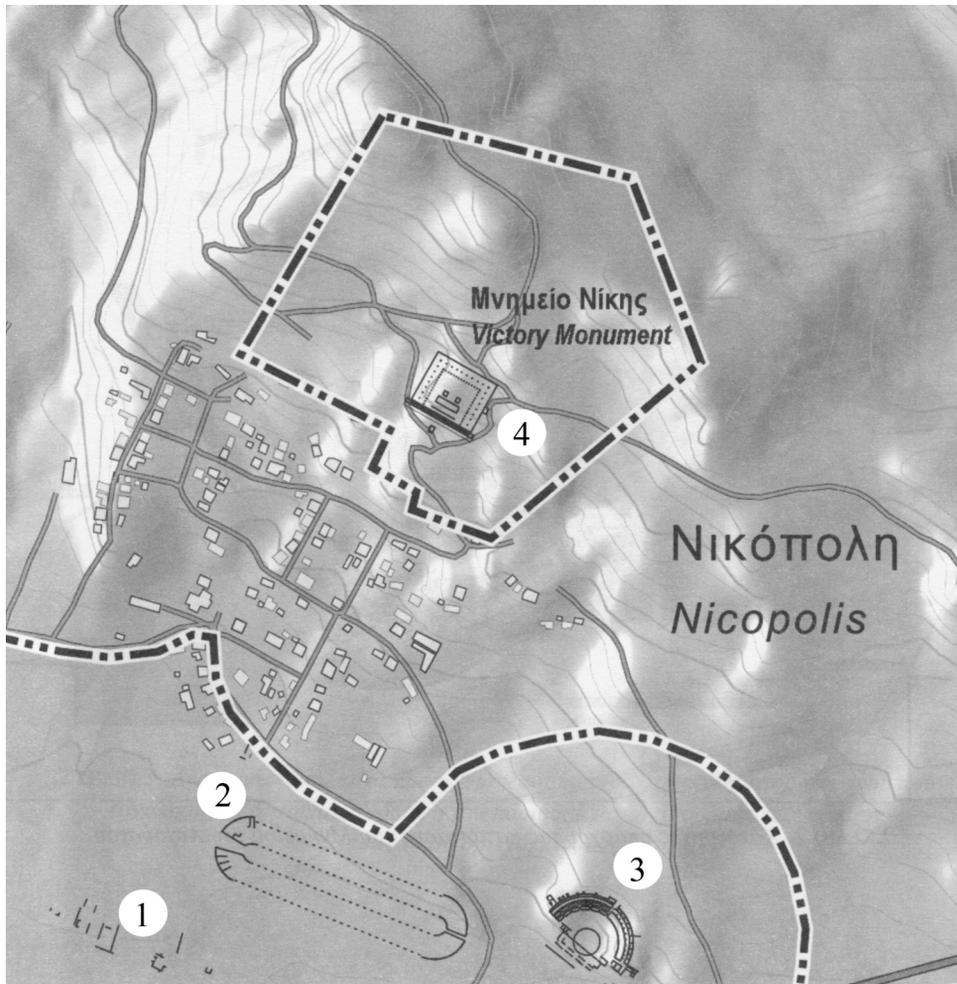


Fig. 3 - Nikopolis, map of the Northern area of the city with the complex for *Aktia*:
 1 Gymnasium; 2 Stadium; 3. Theatre; 4. Victory Monument (*tropaeum*)
 (after ZACHOS 2007, 307, fig. 1)

in the *periodos*, which traditionally included the Pan-Hellenic celebrations at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea⁴⁴. In religious affairs, the Romans did deliberately avoid breaking with the past, – even though the *Neoi Aktiakoi Agones* were actually celebrations in honor of the emperor –. The latter is inferred from the fact that the same person was both the *agonothetes* and

⁴⁴ PAVLOGIANNIS – ALBANIDIS 2007, 66-71.

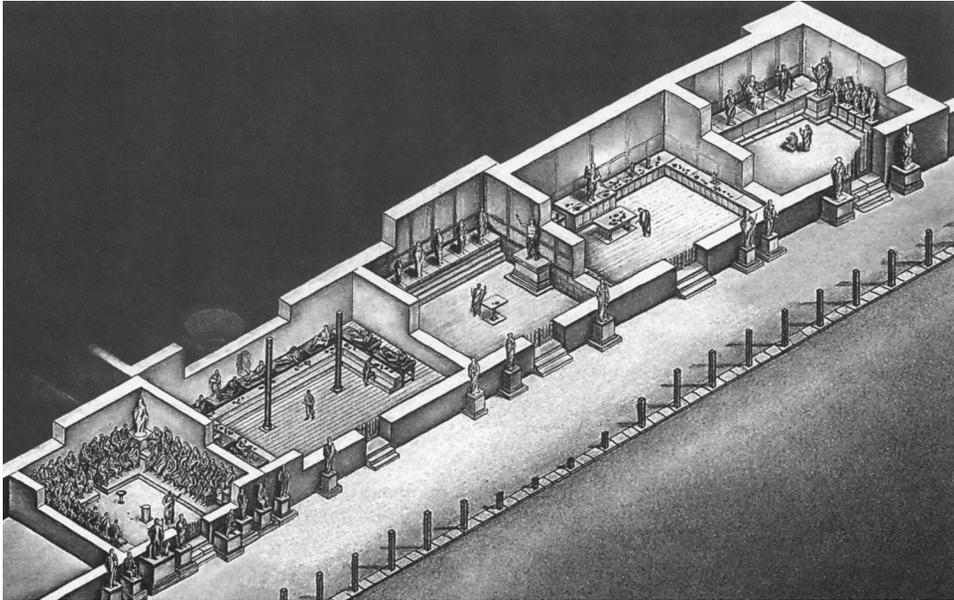


Fig. 4 - Kalindoia, *Sebasteion*: Reconstruction arch. I. Niauris (after *AERgoMak* 22, 2008, 382, fig. 1)

the priest of the imperial cult; the *xystarches Aktion* (the supervisor of the festival) was directly appointed by emperor⁴⁵; the sanctuary of Nikopolis was officially the place for the emperor's celebration, as indicated by an inscription from Mytilene (29 B.C.)⁴⁶ that refers to the places where the decrees relevant to the imperial cult had to be exhibited. Besides Aktion, the inscription names Pergamon, Brundisium, Tarraco, Massalia and Syrian Antiochia.

In the first years following the establishment of the principate, two additional sacred areas dedicated to the imperial cult were built in Macedonia. The *Sebasteion* in Kalindoia (Fig. 4), a small town not far from Thessaloniki, seems to be the oldest building to house the cult of the *princeps* in the entire province. Significantly, an armored bust of Augustus that can be dated to the last two decades of the 1st cent. B.C. was found here in 1961 (prior to excavation)⁴⁷. The sanctuary, which is still being excavated seems to have included a building with a series of luxurious rooms decorated with poly-

⁴⁵ PAVLOGIANNIS – ALBANIDIS 2007, 62-63.

⁴⁶ *IG XII 2*, 58.

⁴⁷ KARANASTASI 1995, 215-221.

chrome wall plaster, stuccoes, and marble surfaces. Pedestals for cult statues⁴⁸, fragments of statues found during the excavations⁴⁹, and an honorary decree from the 1st cent. A.D.⁵⁰ seem to indicate that Zeus, the goddess Rome, and the emperor were venerated inside the structure. Here, as opposed to the case of Nikopolis, the emperor was venerated together with Zeus. This could indicate an assimilation of Augustus with the most important divinity of the traditional pantheon, thus transforming the emperor into a supreme sovereign and savior.

The aforementioned honorary decree helps us understand further significant aspects of the cult ritual performed in Kalindoia. The document addresses the way in which the priest Apollonios, son of Apollonios, son of Kertimos, had to supervise the organization of processions, sacrifices, sacred banquets, and *agones* in honour of Zeus and the emperor⁵¹. Just like at Nikopolis and other areas of the Roman Empire, the imperial cult was celebrated with great festivals whose function was to attract many visitors and to increase the fame of the sanctuary and the cult. Many other distinguished citizens are cited in further inscriptions found at the site. For example Flavia Mysta and her daughter, who built at their expenses a new part of the *Sebasteion* in 48 A.D.⁵², and Arridaios and Kotys, sons of Sopatros, who together with Kotys' son, promoted the construction of an exedra, the *Bouleuterion* and a *stoa* in 88 A.D.⁵³. Their interventions mark the formation of a local upper-class which became the main actor to the emperor's cult. The members of this new elite came to the fore, consolidated their public image, and rose to the highest levels of a new society⁵⁴.

Different but equally significant is the case of Thessaloniki, the seat of the province's governor. Here, a monumental peripteral marble temple (Fig. 5) with a five-stepped crepidoma, six columns at the front, and a

⁴⁸ SISMANIDIS 2008.

⁴⁹ In particular, we refer to the fragments of a statue representing Octavian Augustus and one fragment with fingers holding a cylindrical object with holes, which has been interpreted as a lightning originally plated with metal. It could have been part of a statue representing either Zeus or the emperor in the form of Zeus (SISMANIDIS 2003, 148).

⁵⁰ The inscription was discovered on the site in the 1970s : SISMANIDIS 1983, 78-79.

⁵¹ SISMANIDIS 1983, 78-79.

⁵² SISMANIDIS 2004, 217.

⁵³ SISMANIDIS 2008, 164-165, n° 32.

⁵⁴ The very important function of the local elites in the diffusion of the imperial cult has been underlined many times with regard to the rest of Greece and to the whole empire: PRICE 1984A, 100, 126-132; ALCOCK 1999, 263-264; KANTIRÉA 2007, 196.

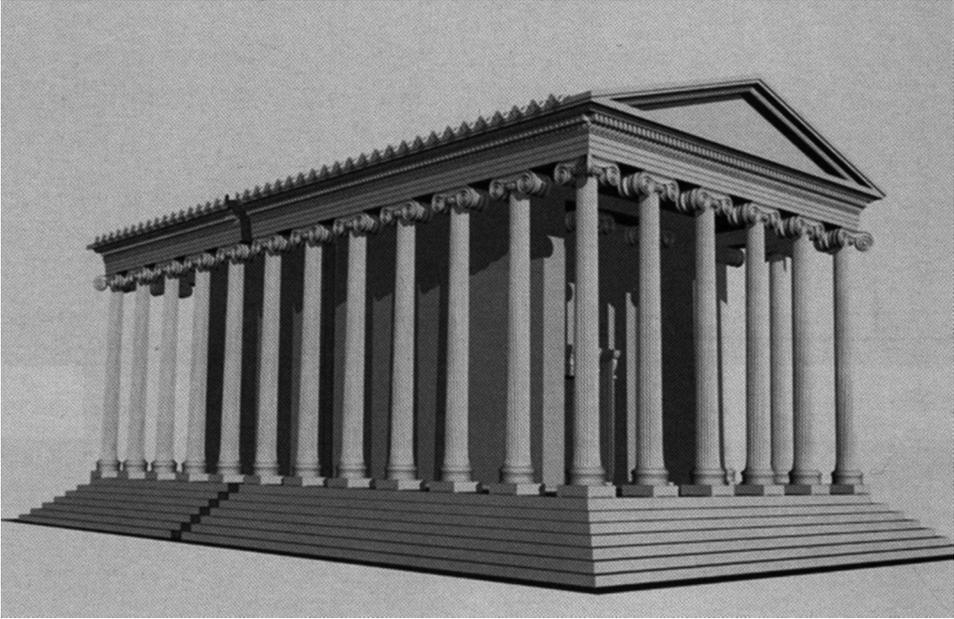


Fig. 5 - Thessaloniki, Late Archaic Temple: Hypothesis of reconstruction
(after KARADEDOS 2006, 330, fig. 10)

pronaos *in antis* was built and dedicated to the emperor. This act was not merely yet the construction of another cult building but part of a more complex ideological and political deal. Architectural studies of the temple's constitutive elements demonstrated that it was built in the 1st cent. A.D. through the assemblage and combination of various parts of the stylobate, the columns and the epistyle of two different Archaic temples⁵⁵. It has been suggested that one of these temples should be identified with the shrine of Aphrodite in Aineia, located to the south of Thessaloniki on the Thermaic gulf. According to this hypothesis, the old temple was dismantled, transferred to the center of the city, and rededicated to Caesar, who in this way ended up being venerated together with his mythical progenitor⁵⁶. Even if

⁵⁵ TASIA – LOLA – PELTEKIS 2000; KARADEDOS 2006.

⁵⁶ TIVERIOS 1998; VOUTYRAS 1999. *IG X 2, 1, 31* (seen in 1874 among the ruins of the eastern walls of the city and now lost), dated to the period between 27 B.C. and 14 A.D., and mentioning a ναόν Καίσαρος, and one coin from Thessaloniki bearing the head of Octavian on one side and the head of Caesar with the inscription Θεός on the other (WEINSTOCK 1971, 404, n° 2, pl. 30, 1-2) seem to support this hypothesis.

one chooses to reject this hypothesis, the impact of this act must have been extremely strong: an ancient temple was rededicated to the emperor, after it was moved from its original place. The same phenomenon occurred also in other parts of the Roman empire, in Athens, there were plans to finish the construction of the *Olympieion* and to re-consecrate it to Augustus and to transfer the temple of Ares from the demos of Acharnai to the agora⁵⁷. Welcoming the emperor's cult into an archaic building would have connected the Augustan age to the glorious history Greece. At the same, juxtaposing the emperor with Zeus would have created symbolic connections between Rome's hegemony and the celestial sovereignty of the king of the gods⁵⁸.

The three cases considered so far demonstrate how the imperial cult spread in northern Greece. One has to emphasize the respect for the pre-existing cultural and religious traditions. The Romans maintained old festivals, such as those in Actium, placed the emperor alongside the gods of the Greek pantheon, and dedicated older temples to the new imperial authority, like they did in Thessaloniki. Moreover, the role that ancient festivals played in this process was truly invaluable. They gave a decisive contribution to the integration of the imperial cult in the life of local communities: the citizens represented "figures of mediation"⁵⁹, i.e. efficient means to connect central and peripheral administration, helped make the new religion well-known, and introduced the local oligarchies into the structure of the Roman central administration.

The same propagandistic background was probably the reason for the renewed interest in the sanctuary of Zeus Ammon in Aphytis, near Kassandria in the Chalkidiki peninsula. The site is not a newly founded place of cult dedicated to the emperor but an ancient religious center in use since the mid-8th cent. B.C. In the early imperial period, the sanctuary experienced changes in the central part of the sacred area. A new altar was built on top of the existing one – which dated back to the end of the 5th cent. B.C. – and a great forepart was built on each side extending the two long sides

⁵⁷ On both acts, see KANTIRÉA 2007, 104-109, 110-113, and the bibliographical references. If we accept the hypothesis of Tiverios and Voutiras about the relocation of temple from Aineia to Thessaloniki, the comparison with the temple of Ares is a telling one.

⁵⁸ On the Jovian theology in the Augustan ideology exists a lengthy bibliography. We mention only the most important sources: FEARS 1984; ZANKER 1989, 245-254; CRESCI MARRONE 1993; KANTIRÉA 2007, 104-109, 195.

⁵⁹ For the role of the local notables as 'ritual mediators' see Galli in this volume.

of the temple to south⁶⁰. These alterations belong to a phase of intense development that should probably be associated with the foundation of the colony of Kassandria. A coin from this period shows the image of Zeus Ammon on one side and the inscription *Hort(ensius) col(oniam) d(educit)* (or *colonia deducta*, or *coloniae deductor*) on the other. It could recall the fact that Q. Hortensius Hortalus in 44-42 B.C. founded the colony under the protection of Jupiter Ammon⁶¹.

A different hypothesis may connect the development of the sanctuary with the new imperial ideology. The Romans could have probably wanted to re-interpret the cult of Zeus Ammon in its own favor. At the oasis of Siwa Alexander the Great had been declared to Zeus Ammon's son before his expedition to the East⁶², and it could be the case that the new ruling authority wanted to take the place of the famous Macedonian king and therefore link the imperial power to the sanctuary of the divinity that protected Alexander. This political strategy has to be seen within a wider propagandistic *imitatio Alexandri* of Antonius and later Augustus. In the words of Cresci Marrone it aimed at "to favour reconciliation with the East in the name of the legendary creator of the cosmos but also to pick up his ecumenical succession and inherit its universalistic conception"⁶³. Thus, it seems that the sanctuary, a renowned cult centre (perhaps of oracular character) during Classical and Hellenistic times, as demonstrated by sources and buildings⁶⁴, acquired new and more ideological connotations in the Roman imperial era. Probably, this raised its reputation, made it more famous, so that it was frequently visited until the 4th cent. A.D.

⁶⁰ GIOURI 1971.

⁶¹ GRANT 1946, 272.

⁶² STR. 17, 1, 43; PLU. *Alex.* 27, 5-8. On the connection Alexander the Great-Zeus Ammon, see PARKE 1967, 222-229 and BOSWORTH 1977.

⁶³ CRESCI MARRONE 1993, 30: "favorire una riconciliazione con il mondo orientale in nome del leggendario cosmocreatore ma anche a raccogliere la successione ecumenica e ereditarne la concezione universalistica". On the Augustan policy of *imitatio Alexandri*, see also CASARI 2004, especially 21-22, n° 43.

⁶⁴ About the siege of Aphytis by Lysandros (404-403 B.C.), Plutarch (*Lys.* 20, 4) tells us that the general lifted the siege because he saw Zeus Ammon in a dream ordering him to end the blockade. For this reason, he established the cult of the god. Pausanias (3, 18, 3) refers to the same events and inform us that the citizens of Aphytis venerated the god as the Libyans used to. Finally, Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v. Aphytis*) refers to the presence of an oracle of Zeus Ammon in Aphytis. On constructions in the sanctuary, see PETSAS 1969; PETSAS 1970; GIOURI 1971; GIOURI 1976.

CONCLUSIONS. FROM ELEUTHERIA TO THEOS KAISAR SEBASTOS

The brief study of specific aspects of the religious life in northern Greece showed the importance of analyzing cult places in order to retrace the connections between religion and Roman political strategies.

As far as sanctuaries are concerned, we can easily observe how the political functions that such sacred areas had during the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic times were maintained long after the Roman conquest. The establishment of a sanctuary and new festivals in Larisa, the buildings erected for the imperial cult, and in times of territorial annexation, the new rulers' obstinacy against the cult places with poliadic character that could consolidate identity certainly point in this direction. For these reasons sanctuaries remained places where the human and the divine spheres could be connected as well as cultural and institutional Greek identities forged. The Romans quickly realized that they had to react either constructively or destructively to the nature of Greek sanctuaries in order to be able to insert themselves into the Hellenic world.

The way in which the Romans entered the Greek religion affairs changed between the 2nd cent. B.C. and the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D. If they initially acted in total respect – and thus defence – of the existing religious and institutional contexts, later on they destroyed and/or transformed all those places (towns or sanctuaries) that were considered part of Greek identity. Therefore, we cannot but notice a transition from *constructive* acts, such as the establishment of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and the festivals in his honor, which were connected to the freedom the Romans had giving back to the Greeks, to *destructive* acts perpetrated against those religious centers that were considered symbols of Greek identity from the mid-2nd cent. B.C. on. The latter represents in way the beginning of a *constructive* process as well, because the erection of new buildings and the foundation of new festivals for the emperor's cult led to a creative interpretation of sanctuaries' political role and took up the thread that had been broken during and because of the military conquest.

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DODONA AT THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS. A FEW NOTES

1. The history of NW Greece at the time of Augustus is utterly dominated by the events following the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Until that moment the focal point of political, cultural and religious life in Epirus and the adjacent regions was the shrine of Dodona, which worked as a place of aggregation and self-representation as well as a symbolic *lieu de memoire*¹, especially for the Epirote tribes. Traditionally modern scholars consider the Roman attack on the sanctuary in 168/7 B.C. as the final part of a long declining parabola, culminating with the complete cessation of any religious and political function of the sanctuary in 88 B.C., when the Thracians sacked the shrine. The alleged decreasing importance and lack of activity in the sanctuary of Dodona, with all the possible political and ideological implications, are supposed to have contributed to shift the focus on other areas of political, cultural and religious aggregation, especially in the wake of the new rulers of the region. The creation of the monument in Nicopolis² after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. fits perfectly in this scenario as a new place of attraction and aggregation in an era during which Augustus succeeded in dominating both the region itself and his personal antagonists. Did Nicopolis, after the conversion of the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Actium into a monument of Roman propaganda, replace Dodona, at least as 'centre' of aggregation in Epirus³? And did the two cultures, Greek and Roman, find there a privileged field of mediation and interaction? More crucially, for this paper, did Dodona disappear completely and does the scenario, suggested above, correspond to what ancient sources tell us?

The aim of this paper is to correct the misconception of the complete inactivity of the shrine of Dodona after the attack of the Thracians in 88 B.C.

Drafts of these notes were read by Prof. Luisa Moscati Castelnuovo, to whom I am grateful for her valuable criticisms and suggestions. All errors and opinions remain strictly my own. I use standard abbreviations for epigraphical corpora from *SEG*.

¹ NORA 1997.

² For a complete bibliography on the subject, see MOUSTAKIS 2006, 187-202.

³ ALCOCK 2002, 45-48.

My research will focus on the time of Augustus, to see whether there is any sign of continuity in the activity of the sanctuary. Before accepting or denying the current view, it is paramount to consider all available evidence as well as to elucidate, even briefly, the situation of the oracle before the arrival of Aemilius Paulus in 168/7 B.C.⁴ and the Thracian attack⁵.

2. Apart from Strabo writing of general desolation in Epirus early in Augustus' reign and the 'virtual' extinction of the oracle of Dodona⁶, no literary evidence attests that the shrine, the most ancient oracle of the Greek world⁷, declined after the 2nd cent. B.C. Moreover, Strabo mentions specifically the oracle – τὸ μαντεῖον – and not the rest of the activities in connection with a shrine, like the festivals, and the political and symbolic function of the sanctuary as place of self-representation, which might have survived independently⁸.

The sanctuary of Dodona (Fig. 1), active as a cult place from the Late Bronze Age⁹, has its first literary attestation in the *Iliad*¹⁰. A holistic approach to the finds and literary evidence reveals that the oracle acquired a growing interregional importance and popularity from the 7th cent. onwards, reaching its peak in the 5th-4th cent. B.C.¹¹ A plethora of literary and archaeological evidence attests to communities and private individuals, not only from neighbouring regions¹², but also from more distant places, visiting and dedicating to Zeus Naios (and Dione) for both public and personal matters. Rich offerings to the god(s), namely bronzes, were attested as early as the first evidence of cult¹³, but monumental structures were lacking until very late. The first building dates to the end of the 5th - beginning of the 4th cent. B.C. and consists of a tiny *naiskos* (E1)¹⁴, whose function is still not com-

⁴ PLU. *Aem.* 29, 2-5 (sack of the Romans in Epirus).

⁵ D.C. 311, 101, 2.

⁶ STR. 7, 7, 9.

⁷ HDT. 2, 52.

⁸ Although the general decreasing importance of the sanctuary as oracular place is widely attested from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards (PRICE 1999, 74), it is wrong to state the total disappearance of most of the shrines during the Roman time (LEVIN 1989, 1599-1649).

⁹ HAMMOND 1997, 36-40.

¹⁰ HOM. *Il.*, 17, 233-235. As for the first archaeological evidence relating to a cult see most recently MOUSTAKIS 2006, 19-22.

¹¹ PICCININI 2011A; PICCININI 2011B.

¹² Even a cursory survey of the oracular tablets recently published will show the wide geographical range of provenance of the devotees.

¹³ For a complete list of archaeological evidence found in Dodona see DIETERLE 2007.

¹⁴ DAKARIS 1971, 39-40.

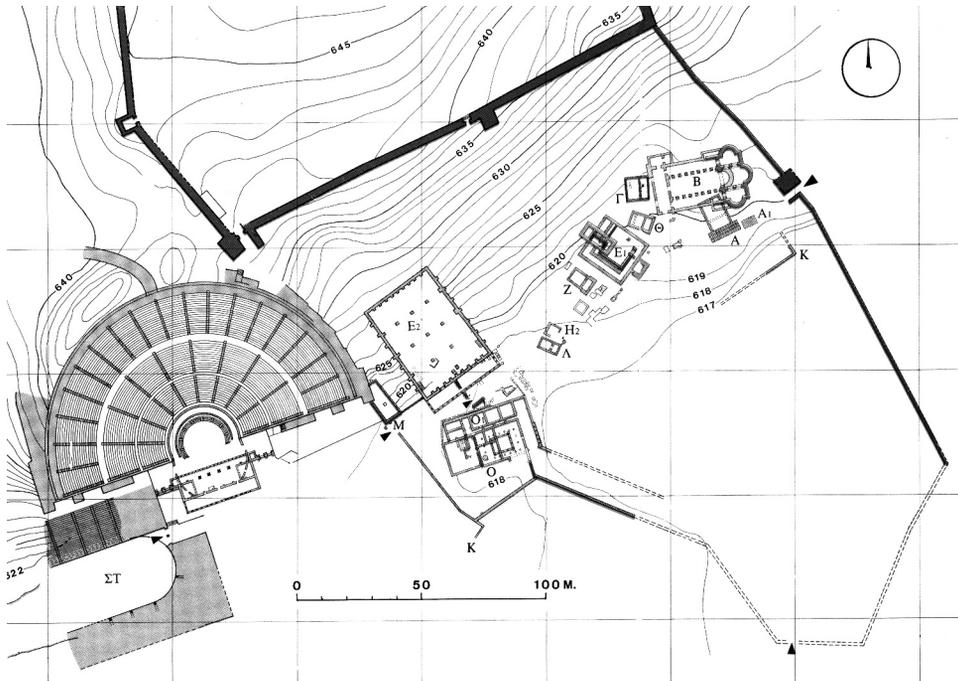


Fig. 1 - Dodona, sanctuary of Zeus Naios: general map (after DAKARIS 1996, 149 fig. 1)

pletely clear¹⁵. From the 4th to the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. the site, especially within the sacred area, was punctuated by a few small buildings that arose in correspondence with the political and economical growth of the Epirote tribes¹⁶: between 330 and 325 B.C. the Molossians, controlling the sanctuary, monumentalized the *naiskos* (E1), the so-called temple of Zeus, and erected building M, so far considered as the house of priests; between the end of the 4th cent. and 232 B.C., a few temple-shaped buildings – the temple of Aphrodite (Λ), Dione (Γ) and Themis (Z) – were systematically erected within the sacred area in a sort of semicircle around the building E1, which was also partially modified. In addition a *bouleuterion* (E2) was built at the NW limit of the sacred area. The city-walls up to the hill date to this period too¹⁷.

¹⁵ MYLONOPOULOS 2006A; DIETERLE 2007, 107-117; QUANTIN 2008.

¹⁶ For a diachronic study of the structures within the sacred area and a reinterpretation of the temple-shaped buildings see PICCININI (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Archaeological investigation, with the exception of the discovery of a cistern (DAKARIS 1971, 75), on the area within the city-walls is still lacking. Studies have been conducted only on the wall perimeter (DIETERLE 2007, 151-152).

A second building phase dates between 292 and 272 B.C., at the time of Pyrrhus, when the building E1 was again modified and the so-called temple of Heracles (A), the theatre (TH) – one of the largest of the ancient Greek world – and the *prytaneion* (O) were also erected¹⁸. Until the arrival of the Romans, the sanctuary flourished, especially after the Molossian royal family took over control of the region at some point in the 5th cent. B.C.¹⁹ The sanctuary became the political, social and religious centre of the Epirote confederacy,²⁰ as the decrees found in the sacred area²¹ and the documents attesting the celebration of the Naia²² show. The sack of the Aetolians in 219/8 B.C.²³ did not interrupt the blooming of the shrine, which was rebuilt with the money obtained following the revenge on the sanctuary of Thermos: a new temple of Dione (Θ) was erected and the temples Z and Λ were restored.

It is *communis opinio*²⁴ that Roman conquest of the territory marked discontinuance of frequentation and the breakdown of the activity of the sanctuary at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. But do ancient sources and archaeological evidence testify to this? Plutarch writes about Aemilius Paulus “that he might set upon them all at once by surprise and unawares, he summoned ten of the principal men out of each, whom he commanded, on such an appointed day, to bring all the gold and silver they had either in their private houses or temples (transl. J. Dryden)”, with no mention of destruction of structures, especially in the sanctuary of Dodona²⁵. On the contrary, Cassius Dio reports pillage in the sanctuary of Zeus Naios at Dodona in 88 B.C.: “the Thracians, at the instigation of Mithridates, overran Epirus and the rest of the country as far as Dodona, going even to the point of plundering the temple of Zeus (transl. E. Cary)”²⁶. Thus, what did happen at Dodona after 88 B.C.? Was Dodona, the most ancient oracle of the Greek world, completely forgotten?

¹⁸ Very short outline of the architectural and topographical development of the sanctuary in PICCININI *forthcoming*; FRIESE 2010, 136-137.

¹⁹ HDT. 2, 52-57.

²⁰ For an overall view of the political development of Epirus, see LEPORE 1962; CABANES 1976; GEHRKE 1996; SAKELLARIOU 1997; DAVIES 2002; DI LEO 2003.

²¹ CABANES 1976, 534-562; DAVIES 2002, 245-251; MEYER 2013.

²² For the festivals at Dodona see CABANES 1988, WEST 2010, PICCININI 2013.

²³ PLB. 4, 67, 1; 9, 35, 6.

²⁴ DAKARIS 1971; MOUSTAKIS 2006; DIETERLE 2007; LHÔTE 2006.

²⁵ PLU. *Aem.* 29, 2.

²⁶ D.C. 31, 101, 2.

The paucity of archaeological and literary evidence dating to the Augustan period, in stark contrast with its abundance in the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic times, might have underscored the lack of interest of modern scholars for this phase of development of the sanctuary. However, nor can we ignore the fact that these pieces of evidence might provide some interesting clues. I will analyse *in primis* literary sources from the time of Augustus mentioning the sanctuary of Dodona, and secondly, the material evidence found at Dodona dating between the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. My aim is to verify whether (and, if so, to what extent) the sanctuary and/or the oracle was patronized at the time of Augustus or whether the shrine and its antiquity were eclipsed after the monumentalization of Nicopolis.

3. Even a cursory survey of the Latin sources shows that, apart from Cicero²⁷, no author mentioning Dodona dates before the 1st cent. B.C. More specifically, the great majority of Latin attestations of the sanctuary of Zeus Naios lay within the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. Apart from Livy²⁸ and Nepos' works²⁹, in which the oracle is reported as a contextual 'character' in the historical events narrated – respectively, in Alexander the Molossus' consultation of the oracle before his final military expedition in south Italy in 331/0 B.C. and in the account of Lysander's attempt to bribe the oracles –, the allusions to Dodona, its oracle, sacred oak, and prophet(s) in Latin literature proliferate³⁰. From the 1st cent. B.C. onwards, thus, Dodona is listed among the most important oracular shrines, along with Delphi and the oracle of Ammon at Siwa. Its presence is 'registered', but only as an oracle frequently used by the Greeks – *de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphi oraculum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant*³¹ –. As for Virgil and Dionysius of Halicarnassus – both particularly attentive in including the shrine of Dodona in a crucial moment of Roman legendary history, i.e. the prophecy on the foundation of Rome by Aeneas³² –, their references to

²⁷ The first Latin literary mention of Dodona in a historical context is in Cic. *De div.* 1, 76, where a Spartan consultation of the oracle is attested (here Cicero's source of the episode is Callisthenes). Vague references to the oracle as often used by the Greeks, especially in the colonization movement, see Cic. *Div.* 1, 76 and 2, 68.

²⁸ Liv. 8, 24.

²⁹ Nep. *Lys.* 3, 2.

³⁰ Cic. *Div.* 1, 95; Verg. *Georg.* 1, 147; Ov. *Met.* 7, 623; Ov. *Tr.* 4, 8, 43; Prop. 2, 21, 3; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 104; Plin. *nat.* 4, 2, 1; 31, 92.

³¹ Cic. *Div.* 1, 95.

³² On the legend of Aeneas as the founder of Rome, see, for example, BIRASCHI 1982; MOMIGLIANO 1984; SOLMSEN 1986; AMPOLO 1992; ERSKINE 2001; ERSKINE 2004.

Dodona are different from the other sources, but do not add anything to the history of the shrine, especially for its links with the Romans in the Augustan period. All these sources attest to the importance and the popularity of Dodona in Rome. Although the ancient authors provide only faint evidence, nonetheless they demonstrate at this stage that Dodona was acknowledged by Romans and Greeks as being part of an ancestral and common background of religious memory.

More linked to the ‘real’ world is the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus³³ referring to a certain Lucius Mallius³⁴ who saw an oracle “engraved in ancient characters upon one of the tripods standing in the precinct of Dodona” – αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ἐπί τινος τῶν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διὸς κειμένων τριπόδων γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις ἐγκεχαραγμένον. The oracle, which was given to the Pelasgians, is reported *verbatim*:

στείχετε μαιόμενοι Σικελῶν Σατόρνιον αἶαν
 ἢδ’ Ἀβοριγινέων Κοτύλην, οὗ νᾶσος ὀχεῖται·
 οἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβω
 καὶ κεφαλὰς Κρονίδη καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα

“Fare forth the Sicels’ Saturnian land to seek,
 Aborigines’ Cotylé, too, where floats an isle;
 With these men mingling, to Phoebus send a tithe,
 And heads to Cronus’ son, and send to the sire a man
 (transl. C.H. Oldfather).”

If, on the one hand, the mention of a Roman man Lucius Mallius and his autoptic testimony are important in understanding the contacts between the Romans and Dodona, on the other, the passage is hardly fruitful in determining the date and the occasion of this visit. We are inclined to believe Dionysius and the historicity of the event because of the precise details given (the inscribed tripod, the name of the witness, the precise oracular words reported), also because the mythical people of the Pelasgians are marginally involved in the story. However, the occasion in which Lucius Mallius or Manlius³⁵, saw the tripod can be hardly dated to any historical period. Dionysius says that Lucius Mallius was a notable person for his audience – ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσημος –, but unfortunately he is unknown to us.

³³ D.H. 1, 19, 3.

³⁴ Perhaps Manlius.

³⁵ The gens Manlia was very popular in Rome, but it is hard to state what Lucius is here mentioned.

Thus, all the literary evidence is of no help in understanding the status of the shrine of Dodona and its relations with the Romans in the Augustan period. More effective arguments come from other classes of evidence.

4. From an archaeological standpoint the site did not undergo significant changes after the 3rd cent. B.C.: the Hellenistic structures in Dodona remained poor and understated, if compared with those found in other pan-Hellenic shrines. Moreover, votives dating between the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. A.D. are rarely attested³⁶. According to Dakaris³⁷ and Evangelides³⁸, who conducted most of the excavations at Dodona, little archaeological evidence is generically recorded as ‘Roman’: a couple of tombs of uncertain date found next to and within the Christian basilica, the small building H2 next to the so-called temple of Aphrodite (Λ), some structural changes of the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*, a couple of inscriptions³⁹, a base dedicated to Livia, wife of Augustus, and the transformation of the theatre into an arena. Of these Dakaris dated to Augustan time:

- The statue base dedicated to Livia, the wife of Augustus;
- The small structural changes in the *bouleuterion* and *prytaneion*;
- The adaptation of the theatre into an arena.

Dakaris’ assumption, however, should be revised in the light of recent studies. Very likely, the structure H2, reusing columns and stones from the near temple of Aphrodite (Λ)⁴⁰, the tombs in the area of the basilica and the *bouleuterion*’s interventions – probably due to the transformation of the structure into a workshop for the production of purple – and the changes in the *prytaneion*⁴¹ dated to the 4th cent. A.D.⁴²

Similar is the case of the re-equipment of the theatre as an arena. Such a drastic, indeed expensive, change in function was certainly promoted by

³⁶ So far, archaeological excavations brought to light only a strigil and the dedication to Livia.

³⁷ DAKARIS 1971.

³⁸ EVANGELIDES 1931; EVANGELIDES 1935A.

³⁹ A lead tablet with a single word engraved (DAKARIS 1952, 304) - ἱερᾶ - and a fragmentary limestone block (EVANGELIDES 1931, 86):

[— — — — —]

[— —]ΛΥΣ[— —]

[— —]ΦΙΛ[— —]

[— — — — —]

⁴⁰ DIETERLE 2007, 122-125.

⁴¹ A few common cooking vessels and several cups, both dating after 167 B.C., were also found in a pit in the N corner of the *prytaneion* (BCH 1982, 557).

⁴² BOWDEN 2003, 40-42.

a high authority, probably the imperial power, but its dating, as suggested by Dakaris, should be reconsidered. The theatre first devoted to dramatic festivals, at some point, was turned into a space more closely related to Roman cultural tradition. Besides conferring, ideally, a marked Roman character to a typical Greek structure – and consequently to a place –, the alteration also confirms, practically, that this specific space was aimed for use by Romans (or ‘Romanized’ people), either living nearby or visiting the place and certainly not for a few casual visitors of the area. Such interventions and the size of the theatre might suggest the presence of a large audience. The early dating of such a substantial change, as suggested by Dakaris, is supported by no strong evidence. On the contrary, in the light of recent studies⁴³ on the transformations of Greek theatres into arenas dating between the end of the 2nd and the 4th cent. A.D., the interventions in the theatre at Dodona should be dated to the same period.

Thus, among the ‘Roman’ interventions at Dodona listed by Dakaris, the dedication to Livia is the most interesting and unquestionable piece of evidence documenting the Roman presence at Dodona⁴⁴. To date the offering has received modest attention, perhaps because the statue representing the empress is missing. The statue base, whose upper part is not preserved⁴⁵, was found within the *temenos* next to the E1, the so-called temple of Zeus (Fig. 2). The base, the last of a row at W side of the porch of E1⁴⁶, bears a fragmentary dedicatory inscription⁴⁷:

ἀγωνοθετο[ῦντος — —]-
 του.μ. Μο[λ]οσ[σοῦ]
 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [— —]
 Λιβίαν τῆν [— — —]
 Καίσαρος Σε[βαστοῦ].

According to similar Greek inscriptions on statue bases dedicated to Livia⁴⁸ in the East and dating to the same period⁴⁹, that found in Dodona

⁴³ BRESSAN 2009, 336-338.

⁴⁴ According to CABANES 1976, 534-592, other inscriptions date to the Roman period. The fragmentary status of the documents, however, prevents from offering any precise dating.

⁴⁵ Very likely a life-size statue, HØJTE 2005, 122.

⁴⁶ PARKE 1967, 124 wrongly states that the statue base was found in the area of the theatre.

⁴⁷ DAKARIS 1960, 36; CABANES 1976, 337; BARTMAN 1999, 200.

⁴⁸ On the increasing importance of Livia in the Roman state see D.C. 49, 38, 1 and GREYHER 1946, 222-224.

⁴⁹ SEG 24, 212 (Eleusis); IG IV² 1, 593 (Epidauros); ROESCH, *I.Thesp* 423 (Thespiai, Boiotia); *I.Lindos II*, 387 (Lindos); *Salamine XIII*, 47 (Salamis, Kypros).

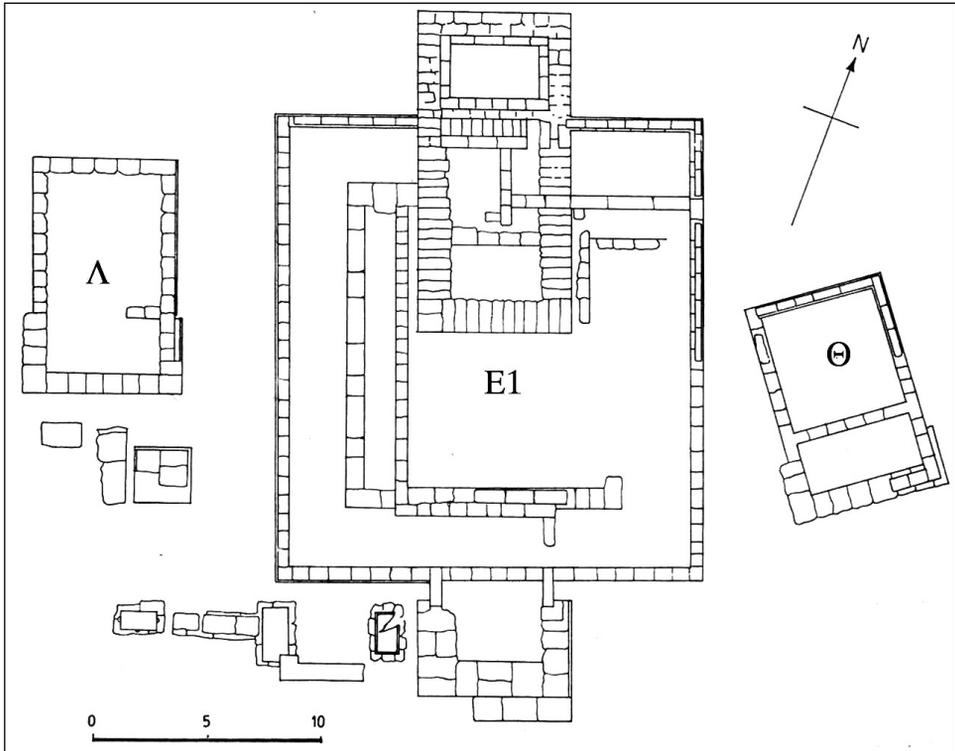


Fig. 2 - Dodona, sanctuary of Zeus Naios: building E1 (so-called temple of Zeus)
(after EAA III 151 fig. 182)

can be integrated cogently with the words γυναίκα τοῦ in l. 4. Other emendations seem not to be possible:

ἀγωνοθετο[ῦντος — —]-
του.μ. Μο[λ]οσ[σοῦ]
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν [— —]
Λιβίαν τῆγ [γυναίκα τοῦ]
Καίσαρος Σε[βαστοῦ].

Transl.: “When the Molossian [...] was *agonothetas*, the *koinon* of the [...] (dedicated the statue of) Livia, the [wife] of Caesar Augustus”.

The inscription can be dated because of the presence of the epithet Σεβαστός, ‘Augustus’, in the formula of the dedication. The title of Augustus gives the *terminus post quem* of the dating, i.e. 27 B.C., the year in which Octavian acquired the title of Augustus; moreover, since Livia here is not

named as *diva*, the *terminus ante quem* of the inscription is the death of Augustus. Thus, the dedication dates between 27 B.C. and 14 CE.

On the limestone base⁵⁰ a life-size portrait of Livia was likely standing. Although nothing of the statue is preserved, it might be that the material used was bronze, very much exploited for statues at Dodona in the Hellenistic period and probably, at some point, melted⁵¹. Either marble or bronze portraits of Livia are not common in Greece. In 35 B.C. Octavian granted Livia, his wife, and Octavia, his sister, the honour of receiving public statues⁵², but while marble busts and portraits of Livia in gems are numerous in the Rome and Italy, they are not similarly attested in Epirus, Greece and Asia Minor,⁵³ especially soon after the awarding of such grant. Moreover, single statues of Livia are altogether rare⁵⁴; she is more often identified in life-size dynastic groups statues with bases often bearing dedicatory inscriptions. The base of the statue of Livia at Dodona is the last of a row of eight similar stands, and, although it is difficult to demonstrate, in absence of further evidence *in situ*, it is likely that it was part of a dynastic group statue of the imperial family, as most of the representations of Livia in Greece. In this respect it is worth mentioning the group statue of Octavian, Agrippa and Livia found in the near Buthrint, where the marble portraits, whose only necks and heads have survived, were unearthed in front the *scaenae front* of the theatre. According to Rose, the dynastic group in Buthrint was probably set in commemoration of the Augustan victory in Actium in 31 B.C. and aimed at celebrating the mythological links between Rome and Buthrint, both founded by Trojans⁵⁵. Whether the statue(s) at Dodona wanted to recall a similar tie, by referring implicitly to the legend of Aeneas consulting Dodona

⁵⁰ The size is inferred roughly by some drawings (Fig. 2), no publication reports any measure.

⁵¹ A close inspection or a better drawing might give hints on the material used to build the statue.

⁵² D.C. 49, 38, 1. It was maybe a reaction to a gilded statue of Cleopatra set up by Caesar. For the paucity of portraits of 'real' Roman women in the West see the recent works of ROSE 1997, 7-8; WOOD 1999; FEJFER 2008, 331-351.

⁵³ See the catalogue in BARTMAN 1999, 146-196; HØJTE 2005, 229-429. In general for the representations of women in the Roman period, see FLORY 1993; BARTMAN 1999; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004; KANTIRÉA 2007, 71-78 (on the three *divae*); FEJFER 2008, 333; for the representations of *Augustae*, see PORTALE (in this volume).

⁵⁴ At Epidauros there were two statues of Livia as attested by the dedicatory inscriptions. The first (*IG IV² 594*), found in the theatre, coupled with one of Augustus; the other (*IG IV² 593*), dedicated by the *polis* of Epidauros was, if not linked to a dynastic group, can be explained with the assimilation of Livia to Hygea-*Salus*, see MELFI 2007B, 73, 79-80.

⁵⁵ ROSE 1999, 183-185.

before founding Rome, may be too hazardous to suggest. Certainly the donation was set up with a specific purpose, which is easily inferable by looking at its setting and the identity of the dedicants.

As mentioned above, the statue-base lays in a prominent position within the sacred *temenos* of the sanctuary of Dodona, on the W side of the so-called temple of Zeus (E1) porch, and it is the last of a row of similar stands. Whether it is not surprising to find a statue in a privileged position in a sanctuary⁵⁶, it is more notable to stress the proximity of the statue of Livia to the main cult pivot in Dodona: the precinct of the sacred oak. In this case, the statue(s) of imperial family member(s) cannot be seen simply as an honour granted, but, more likely, as a proof of imperial cult. The act of erecting a statue within the sacred *temenos* implies having the permission of the religious council in Dodona, which agreed, therefore, in endowing a special sanctity to the statue itself⁵⁷.

The identification of the donors, then, fits perfectly in this scenario and helps in understanding the importance and the purpose of the base set up in Dodona. The fragmentary inscription mentions a certain κοινὸν erecting the statue, but unfortunately the ethnic in genitive cannot be read. The *formula* at the beginning of the inscription mentioning the eponym *agonothetas* – ἀγωνοθετο[ῦντος — —]/του.μ. Μο[λ]οσσ[σοῦ]–, however, ties the statue-base with similar monuments, statues, decrees and official acts donated by local Epirote communities in the sanctuary of Dodona, from the end of the 5th cent. B.C. onwards⁵⁸. Thus, very likely the community here offering a statue or a dynastic statue group is a local one, but whether it is the κοινὸν of the Molossians, of the Thesprotians or of the Chaonians cannot be determined.

Political elites, wealthy private individuals or communities, could afford, indeed, the expenditure on imperial cult to grant honour in gratitude for political benefactions. When no reason is explicitly expressed, the act of

⁵⁶ Portraits are all found in special spots, which were considered particularly desirable and prestigious so to locate honorific statues: in the forum or *agora* of a city, in the *bouleuterion*, in the theatre, in the baths, in large public gardens and in shrines. The erection of a statue, particularly if representing someone of the imperial family, in a sanctuary enriches the action of further implications, especially if the statue is within the sacred area and nearby the major centre of cult. See FEJFER 2008, 51-63.

⁵⁷ Cult of rulers and his family - women included - was no novelty in the Greek world, but was established by the Hellenistic cities, see PRICE 1984A, 21-24. For female portraits in the Classical and Hellenistic Greece see DILLON 2010, 9-59.

⁵⁸ DAVIES 2002; MOUSTAKIS 2006, 60-68, 86-90.

setting up a monument or a statue to honour a king, a leader or someone of his family is strictly connected to the idea of ‘returning’ a favour which might have received or it is foreseen in the next future. The intention was to repay the (potential) debts of benefactions⁵⁹. In the case of our dedication, whether this Epirote *koinon* wanted to please the new power, maybe in the light of new order established by Augustus, or to express their gratitude to the new dynasty is hard to tell. However, the action was supposed to produce some benefit and was certainly known by the central power. And whether they decided to set up a single statue of Livia or a dynastic group is, at this point, superfluous to ascertain, as only the final purpose is paramount. Female members of the imperial family were equally important in this gift-exchange system, because were believed to plead and influence political and economical decisions and the patrons erecting their statues wished to get some benefit⁶⁰.

If, on the one hand, the erection of the statue and the establishment of an imperial cult is a product of the ‘locals’ – single individuals and communities –, on the other, the approval of such actions and, indeed, the spread of the imperial images came from the centre, from Rome⁶¹. Homage to the emperor and his family would have been valueless if the receiver(s) were unaware of such an honour.

The presence of a statue or a statuary group of the imperial family members, at Dodona testifies *in primis* the status of non-abandonment of the sanctuary. If the statue(s) attest the presence of some form of imperial cult there, the primary function of the sanctuary as a place of worship was still maintained in Augustan period. Moreover, the expenditure of money for the setting up of a statue indicates that the place was still visited, at least by local population, otherwise one might wonder the reason why someone had spent money for a statue that none would have ever seen.

5. The dedicatory inscription testifying to the donation of a statue to Livia introduces another interesting aspect documenting continuity of activity at sanctuary of Dodona during the Augustan period: the festivals of the Naia, also called Naa. According to the *incipit* of the inscription, mentioning the *agonothetas*⁶² that is to say ‘the superintendent of the games’, some festivals

⁵⁹ For the interpretation of the statue as a gift-exchange see PRICE 1984A, 54, 66-87; BARTMAN 1999, 22; FEJFER 2008, 48-49.

⁶⁰ BARTMAN 1999, 73; WOOD 1999, 315-319.

⁶¹ ROSE 1997, 51-58.

⁶² CABANES 1976, 333.

were performed between the last decades of the 1st cent. B.C. and the early 1st cent. A.D. Little archaeological and literary evidence attests the festivals between the 3rd cent. B.C. and the 3rd cent. A.D.⁶³ Apart from a passage of Athaeneus⁶⁴ and the presence of the typical structures for the performance of games – the theatre and the *stadion*⁶⁵ – (Fig. 1), the majority of information on Naia comes from a very few inscriptions, often of uncertain date, mentioning athletic and dramatic victories as well as the officials deputed to the organization of the festivals – the *agonothetas*, the *naiarcha* and the *naikoi euthynoi*. The documents have been found in the area of the sanctuary of Dodona and outside Epirus (Athens, Delos, Priene, Sikyon, Tegea), as a proof of the large participation to the festivals. Although sometimes the inscriptions are controversially dated⁶⁶, a cursory survey of the evidence shows that the Aetolian attack in 219/8 B.C. and the Roman conquest of Epirus in 168/7 B.C. did not affect dramatically the festivals, which continued to be performed⁶⁷. Among this cluster of evidence, a few inscriptions⁶⁸ present problems in the dating, so that the chronological range shifts between 146-130 B.C., as suggested by Cabanes⁶⁹, and the 1st cent. B.C., according to *IG*. To complicate the matter the fragmentary inscription on a marble stele, found by Evangelides⁷⁰ and roughly dated as ‘Roman’, might be very likely integrated with the word Μολοσσῶν in ll.3 - 4:

[ἀγ]ωνοθέταν
 ..του τοῦ Λυσσ-
 [νίου] τῶν δὲ Μο-
 [λοσσῶν — — —]

Transl.: “When was *agonothetas* [---] son of Lysanias [---] of the Molossians [...]”.

Although the dedicatory inscription to Livia is, thus, the only precisely

⁶³ CABANES 1976, 336-341; CABANES 1988.

⁶⁴ ATHEN. 5, 203 a.

⁶⁵ The hippodrome has not been found yet.

⁶⁶ CABANES 1988.

⁶⁷ *IG* IV 428; *IG* V 2, 118; *Priene* 254; *SEG* 37, 709; *SGDI*, 1370; *IG* II² 3147; *I.Délos* 1957; *IG* II² 3150; *IG* II² 3152 and 3153; CABANES 1976, 552. Perhaps also EVANGELIDES 1935A, 248-251. The last attestation is CABANES 1976, 552 dating to 241/2 A.D.

⁶⁸ *IG* II² 3150; *IG* II² 3152 and 3153. They are inscriptions listing the victories of two Athenian athletes.

⁶⁹ CABANES 1988, 62-78.

⁷⁰ EVANGELIDES 1935A, 252; CABANES 1976, 551.

dated, the rest of documents testify to the continuous performance of the festivals⁷¹ at least until the Augustan period.

A further proof of activity of the shrine both as oracular centre and as place where games were performed is a dedicatory inscription on an iron strigil dating c. 80 B.C.⁷²:

Ζηνικέτη βασιλεῖ χρῆ δῶμα Διὸς να[ός τε Διώ]νας·
 χρῆμα καὶ ἐργασία σὰ πᾶσ[α]ν [μίμν]ει ᾿ς ὥραν,
 αὐτὸς ἐπισταμένα τελέσας χερ[ί] πᾶν ὅταν ἀρκῆς]·
 σχέσθ[α]ι δὲ θρασ[έ]ων πέ[ρ]ας, ὧ̃ ξένε, τίμ[ιον] ἔξει.

Transl.: “To king Zeniketes, the temple of Zeus Naios and the shrine of Dione proclaims: Goods and business remain safe for all time, whenever you, having achieved everything with a skilful hand, prevail. O stranger, an honourable end will come (transl. E. Eidinow).”

The inscription in hexameters runs on the handle of this scraper, which was frequently used by athletes either after competitions to clean themselves from dust and sweat or before wrestling matches to rub sand into their skin. The identity of Zeniketes⁷³, dedicating the strigil, has been long debated. Whether, on the one hand, the dating of the inscription to the first quarter of the 1st cent. B.C. and the fact that Zeniketes is called ‘king’ (l. 1) and ‘stranger’ (l. 4) will support the hypothesis that he was the pirate-king of Lycia and Pamphylia, remembered for his revolts against the Romans in 77 B.C.⁷⁴; on the other, Tzouvara – Souli rightly pointed out the support on which the inscription runs: a strigil, the typical instrument of athletes. Thus, she believes that Zeniketes was an athlete⁷⁵. In favour of her hypothesis, the words mentioning his manual work (ll. 2 - 3) and the honourable end foreseen by the oracle (l. 4) are. Thus, Zeniketes was someone either participating in the games or a metal craftsman – and the strigil was a specimen of

⁷¹ CABANES 1976, 586-587, 455 believes that an inscription (EVANGELIDES 1935B, 248-251, l. 4) mentions an important historical event happened in Epirus from which the years started to be counted. According to him, this important fact of the history of Epirus should be the Aemilius Paulus’ conquest of the region. However, no element in the text is in support of this hypothesis.

⁷² Translation: EIDINOW 2007, 348; CARAPANOS 1878, 107; *SEG* 38, 530; PARKE 1967, 122-124; PEEK 1978, 247-248; TZOUVARA – SOULI 2004, 519; DIETERLE 2007, 97; TZOUVARA – SOULI 2008, 102.

⁷³ Only in Thrace, *LGPN* IV (1).

⁷⁴ STR. 7, 7, 6.

⁷⁵ TZOUVARA – SOULI 2004, 519.

his work left as a votive –; it remains the doubt of his self-definition as a ‘king’⁷⁶. But behind the speculation on his identity, it might be more challenging to investigate the reason bringing him to Dodona. Indeed, more interesting data emerge from this small item: the consultation of oracle and the implicit reference to games from the object itself. The iron strigil is dedicated after a consultation of the oracle of Dodona done at some point in the 80s of the first cent. B.C. Thus, the oracle was still functioning. The dedication of the typical instrument of the athletes⁷⁷, might be an implicit reference to games performed there. Zeniketes thus might have reached Dodona either in the desire of consulting the oracle and/or to donate part of his work as a craftsman to the gods or by his interest in competing at the Naia, or both. Whatever is the case, it is a fact that a certain Zeniketes from far away went to Dodona and consulted the oracle in c. 80 B.C.

6. From this review, the first data emerging are the paucity of evidence for a cohesive comprehension of Dodona after the 2nd cent. B.C. and the difficulties in dating the few available sources. However, the little evidence gathered for this period shed light on aspects hitherto too neglected or underrated. The first general observation is that the sanctuary of Dodona was not completely abandoned either after the Roman conquest of Epirus in 168/7 B.C. or following the Thracian sack in 88 B.C. If, on the one hand, literary sources, tending to stress the legendary glorious past of the oracle and the assimilation of Greek cultural heritage into Roman mythological past, supply no information on the relationships and ties between the contemporary Romans and the shrine or on the situation at Dodona, on the other, archaeological evidence testify to different areas of activity.

According to the inscribed votive left behind by Zeniketes, the shrine in first decades of the 1st cent. B.C. still worked as an oracle. A private individual consulted Zeus Naios and Dione about his fortune and future and wrote down the response on an object, in this case a strigil, which might be connected with his life. It is paramount to stress that Zeniketes did not come from nearby regions, but very likely from more distant places. Thus, still in the 1st cent. B.C. people afforded long distance journeys to reach the oracular shrine of Dodona. Whether it is an isolated case is difficult to tell, but it is a matter of fact that the answer of the oracle dated to the 1st cent. B.C. survived.

⁷⁶ PARKE 1967, 122-124.

⁷⁷ Strigils found in Dodona: Ath. NM 197; 198; 902.

According to a few inscriptions the shrine of Dodona, then, survived as centre of festivals in the Augustan period. What competitions were performed and who attended the Naia – Greek and non-Greek individuals – cannot be ascertained. Yet, it is evident that the site was not abandoned, but partly maintaining some of its peculiar activities, like the festivals.

Apart from the attestation of Zeniketes, consulting the oracle of Zeus Naios and Dione, evidence testifying continuity of cult is the dedication for imperial cult. The statue of Livia, erected by an Epirote community in a key position in the sanctuary, is very meaningful both because of its location within the sacred area, linking the imperial cult to the ancient worship, and in the wake of the implications of such an honour towards a member of the imperial family. The shrine, thus, maintained its ancient function of place where to exhibit wealth, devotion and gratitude. The establishment of a relationship between the locals and the Romans, a movement from the periphery to the centre, is here clearly expressed. Unfortunately we do not know whether it produced fruitful ties.

Admittedly, the splendour of the past was over and the shrine did not repeat a similar volume of offerings and participation as it had in the Classical and Hellenistic periods; however, the few archaeological data emerging from this short survey should not be quickly dismissed, as they hint a certain degree of continuity of use, at least for the Augustan period, in the main spheres of interest of the shrine.

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PROPAGANDA AND SELF-REPRESENTATION OF A CIVIC ELITE IN ROMAN GREECE: THE FLOGGING RITE OF ORTHIA IN SPARTA

Analysis of the changes Greece underwent following the rise and steadying of Roman power over the Mediterranean and the role it thereby assumed within Roman *universitas* has been a neglected field of inquiry in Classical studies¹. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that scholars have tended to overlook post-Classical Greece – particularly post-Hellenistic Greece – as well as the nearly impossible application of the analysis models already outlined for the Western provinces to the ‘province of Achaia’. In other words, the term ‘Romanization’ cannot have here the same cultural emphasis that could be assigned to it in the West; at most, it could have a strictly political meaning, referring to the gradual inclusion of Greece within Roman hegemony, that is always real and concrete in its substance, but shifting and shaded in its forms. In some ways, such hegemony was finally perfected, but the required time was undoubtedly long and it necessarily passed through acknowledgement of the unique aspects of the Hellenic world. Relevant data with regard to Greece’s changes include the success of the word ‘*Romei*’, which the Greeks finally came to use to define themselves, and the change of route from the colonial policy attempted by Caesar and Augustus to the Panhellenion of Hadrian and the Antonines.

Greece’s unique place within the Imperial universe, is certainly due to its strong cultural identity. To understand Greece under Roman rule, then, it is vital to analyze the developments of that identity during this period; it is an identity evolution that should be considered a new chapter in Greek history that, when considered from this perspective, flows without a real break.

It thereby seems natural to employ an analytic method that follows Pausanias’ footsteps—going beyond using his writings as an information source or retracing his travel itinerary in order to approach the search for Hellenic

¹ The best work on the subject remains ALCOCK 1993A.

identity as a means of understanding Greece during the Roman era². Despite the chasm that separates those of us piecing together a distant past and Pausanias, who described his own world first-hand, the necessity of replicating his methodology to uncover new truths is intriguing.

Following Pausanias' lead, then, we must begin by focusing on religious contexts as a main signifier of cultural identity. The evolution of religious pattern provides concrete evidence of the changes in the society expressing it, and therefore it offers the best starting point for analysis.

The sanctuary of Orthia in Sparta represents a precious and rare case study. The conspicuous archaeological remains, combined with abundant epigraphic documents and frequent literary testimonies, illuminate different aspects of a single religious context and, interestingly, its continuity or discontinuity through time. The abundance and concordance of all the three classes of information (archaeological, epigraphic and literary) is a rather rare event related to this kind of context and represents the real added value in the choice of this sanctuary and of its rites for analysis.

The monumental complex is located on the right side of river Eurotas, at the eastern end of ancient Sparta, in the area traditionally defined as *Limnai*. Because this site was the central ground for extremely unique social and religious rites in Sparta (particularly for the stages of the *agogé*), it underwent massive structural development, and we find descriptions of these ceremonies in several literary sources.

The area of the sanctuary was excavated by the British School in five different campaigns from 1906 to 1910³ whose final results were published altogether in 1929 by Richard Dawkins⁴. Almost all of the archaeological data that we have on this site are thanks to that work, John Boardman's⁵ subsequent re-examinations which reconfigured the dating of more ancient materials, as well as Paul Cartledge's research⁶. We refer to these works when presenting the archaeological data and their chronology⁷.

² See BAUDINI 2006.

³ Regular news were given (BOSANQUET 1906A; DAWKINS 1906; BOSANQUET 1906B; TILLYARD 1906; DAWKINS 1907; DAWKINS 1908; FARRELL 1908; WOODWARD 1908; DAWKINS 1909; WOODWARD 1909; WOODWARD 1910); one cleaning campaign of the site in 1928 has to be recorded either (*BSA* 29, 1928, 306).

⁴ DAWKINS 1929.

⁵ BOARDMAN 1963.

⁶ CARTLEDGE 2002, and for a recent recollection of archaeological data, see SOLIMA 2011, 183-189.

⁷ CARTLEDGE – SPAWFORTH 1989 and KENNEL 1995, as well, has to be pointed out here as milestones for the issues here examined and for understanding of Hellenistic and Roman Sparta.

The information collected by the British School traces a history of the sanctuary that can be followed through a long sequence of phases from the Geometric to Roman eras. The first signs of religious activity on the site appear through conspicuous traces of burning connected with geometric pottery dating back to the 9th cent. B.C., bones and badly preserved bronzes; these are placed directly above geological soil, at the lowest point of the natural depression in the area and very scarce structural evidence can be matched to them⁸. This foundation period is followed by what we can consider as the first monumental phase of the site, dating back to the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C. It consists in a remarkable widening of the area occupied by the sanctuary, marked by the so-called “first enclosure wall”, and in the construction of a first altar – the “earliest altar” – and the cobbling of the whole area. No temple has been identified for this phase, but one has been hypothetically placed where the following ones were built. To the next phase, whose dating is far from clear, a second altar of monumental size should belong – the “archaic altar” – and a first temple – the “early temple” – remarkably small if compared with the altar.

A sharp *caesura* in the history of the sanctuary can be placed around 570/560 B.C., when the whole site is covered by a stratum of sand, that looks like a complete levelling of the area for a complete reconstruction, possibly after a flood. The resetting of the site involves a new outer wall – the “later enclosure wall” – wider than the first one and a new temple – the “later temple” – whose foundations are preserved, since they were reused in all the following rebuilding or repairing of the structure. The old altar is also covered by sand, but no traces have been found of a new structure pairing the new temple⁹. Starting from the 5th cent. B.C., several buildings are then constructed outside the enclosure wall and were probably functioning as service spaces for the religion. Above the sand, finally, there are the remains of a third altar, whose phase of belonging is not clear.

The next Hellenistic phase is mainly marked by some canalization activities, the most relevant being the building of the huge drain to the south – dated to the 3rd cent. B.C., but only on criteria of depth – and by “several traces of floors”¹⁰. A partial rebuilding or repairing of the temple has also

⁸ Few Mycenaean materials are also reported (three engraved and pierced gemstones), but they are considered as hoarded and therefore not valid for dating (DAWKINS 1929, 18-19).

⁹ This phase (to which belong the renowned masks founded south of the temple) has been connected to the introduction of the Constitution of Lycurgus (VERNANT 1984, 1).

¹⁰ DAWKINS 1929, 36.

been postulated, on the basis of some technical differences noted in its foundations and of the finding of some tiles bearing stamps epigraphically dated to the 2nd cent. B.C. At the end of the 3rd cent. B.C., finally, we can place the building of the city walls that here bend widely to include the sanctuary inside the urban space.

The following Roman phases can be identified basically in the (amphi)-theatrical *cavea* erected in front of the temple and outlining the final area of the sanctuary, which constitutes the major feature of the site and whose construction seems to have heavily destroyed the more ancient evidences. The structure's typology can be placed halfway between the theatre and the amphitheatre and it is built as a ring centered on the area of the monumental altars, broken to the west in order to include the temple, whose façade thus comes to be inside the arena. Very little of the stands are preserved, with the exception of an element placed to the east – directly in front of the altars – and rising above the presumable level of the seats, which can be interpreted as the remains of the tribune reserved to magistrates and outstanding citizens. The preserved core of the *cavea*'s structure is a rough fabric whose covering was completely spoiled in ancient times, as nothing remains of the actual seats.

Particularly important are the materials used within the *cavea*'s foundations and recovered during the dismantling of some of its parts in order to reach the archaeological layers pertaining to the previous phases of the sanctuary. They are, mostly, inscribed stele and basis of statue, recording victories in the sanctuary's contests and dating from 4th cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D. The latest of these documents (*IG V¹ 314*) dates to 225 A.D., thus marking an important *terminus post quem* for the *cavea*'s construction, which has been hypothetically placed in the aftermath of the Herulian raids and possibly connected to the heavy repairs of Spartan theatre in the 3rd cent.¹¹ The high number of inscriptions found (over 150, mostly dating between 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.) confirms the intense activity of the sanctuary and its relevance, even more if we consider that the datum is not complete, since the foundations have been only partially dismantled. Most interesting, as well, is the finding of a row of seats – two complete and part of a third – which were also reused in the foundations – close to the spot where the notable's tribune was built afterwards – and that hints to the existence of a previous stable structure to attend the ceremonies. An inscription engraved on the

¹¹ See WOODWARD 1926, 205-206 and 208.

back of the seats (*IG V¹ 254*) recording their dedication to Orthia by a Soixiadas can be dated within the 1st cent. B.C., by the prosopography of the personality. Furthermore, the straight – and not curved – line formed by the seats could suggest a different shape – from the (amphi)theatrical one – for the previous attendance structure, but the hypothesis that we can make from it ends here.

Probably in this same phase are to be placed a repaving of the area and the last in the sequence of altars. This altar is founded directly on the blocks of the previous one and when discovered its state of preservation was quite poor, probably due to some later spoliation, so much so that at the beginning it was not even recognized as an altar. Its construction technique looks poor as well, with a (probably earthen) core that has completely disappeared and an irregular coating, made of reused blocks and bricks tied with mortar; among the blocks, one stone seat stands out, that was probably part of the first attendance structure.

During the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. A.D, then, an intense building phase is outlined not only by the construction of the *cavea*, but also by new pavement and a new altar. Each of these construction projects share the same carelessness in execution and the broad use of recycled material. An analysis of asymmetries shown by the plan of the *cavea* – mostly in the distances between the radial walls – even allows us to hypothesize an anticlockwise building process, from south to north, without a careful preliminary project and consequent changes during the construction. It would not be terribly off-target to attribute these shoddy features to the average impoverishment of late 3rd cent., but in the meantime it would not explain why, right in a period of crisis, such a monumental building project was undertaken. We are not talking about a simple renovation here but rather a radical reconstruction that completely altered the sanctuary's appearance. The British scholars' proposal of a link with the Herulian raids gains some traction here, although the sack of Sparta – at the opposite of the Athenian one – is far from being certain¹²: the plethora of materials ready to be recycled after destructions, ideological will to reconstruct, even if hastily, after an invasion, and comparison with the contemporary building phase at the theatre give some credit to the possibility that Sparta too had to suffer heavy damage by the Heruls. Moreover, the monumentality of the structures and the magnitude of the building project highlight the centrality maintained by the rites

¹² See CARTLEDGE – SPAWFORTH 1989, 122.

in this period and their strong civic value, on which reaffirmation of the community after a period of crisis was focused.

The archaeological data strengthen the information provided by literary sources¹³, from which to glean a concrete shape that allows us the rare opportunity to sketch the outlines of a rite that metamorphosed through Roman era.

The most complete description of the ceremony celebrated at Orthia's sanctuary, and the testimony more often quoted, is that of Pausanias (3, 16, 10-11): the *ephebi* of Sparta are flogged near the altar of the goddess, so much so that it is bathed in blood, while the priestess judges the strength of the blows holding in hand the goddess' *xoanon*, which gets heavier when the whip's violence slows down. Pausanias also provides an *aition* of the rite: after a fight that broke out between the *obai* of Sparta, ending up in blood on the altar of Artemis, the goddess bound the Spartans to soak her altar with human blood from then on. The initial practice of human sacrifice that followed the goddess' decree was later changed in the flogging of the younglings by Lycurgus, who thus cheated the law. According to Pausanias, this *aition* would confirm the barbarian and foreigner origin of the cult, brought in Sparta from Tauris by Orestes and Iphigeny. Pausanias, thus, tells us the version of the ritual – and of the myth bound to it – current in the mid-2nd cent. A.D.

This is radically different from the version recorded by Xenophon (*Lac. Resp.* 2, 9) in the 1st half of the 4th cent. B.C. This second one, in fact, describes a more specific goal for the ritual and a more complex structure: the *ephebi* have to steal from the altar as many pieces of cheese as they can from a team of floggers. The origin of this ritual contest, as well, seems to have nothing to do with original acts of violence of human sacrifices, but is naturally bound with some precepts of Lycurgan *agogé*, which instructed the *ephebi* to steal the food that they eventually wanted to add to the little that they were usually given. Xenophon, furthermore, never hints at blood or bloodshed in the ritual¹⁴. The remarkable distance between these two descriptions, separated by more than five centuries, is manifest and has often brought to question the authenticity of Xenophon's passage, usually considered as interpolation, since the many others sources in our possession

¹³ A selection is here presented. For a complete list, see KENNEL 1995, app. I.

¹⁴ On the role that whip and violence should nonetheless have in Spartan passage-rites, see VERNANT 1984 and BRELICH 1969, 136; on the connections between the cult of Artemis and the *ephebia*, see SOLIMA 2011, 222-228.

(every single one of Roman age) basically agree with Pausanias' version¹⁵.

In his discussion of resistance of physical pain, Cicero references the harshness of Spartan education (*Tusc. Disp.* 2, 24, 34), especially its 'graduation' flogging near the altar of Orthia, that involved bloodbath and sometimes (*non numquam*) death, and that was carried out without a murmur of protest from its young victims. Intriguingly, it is Cicero, i.e. the source chronologically closer to Xenophon, who highlights the link between the rite and Spartan education and places the news of the occasional deaths in an almost hyperbolic realm, close to that of rumors (*cum ibi essem, audivbam*). Completely in the same line of Cicero's testimony, is Plutarch's *Moralia* (239d; *Inst. Lac.* 40), which almost even seems a canonization of the previous one. Once again, the recorded ritual is composed exclusively by the flogging, which the *ephebi* face without complaint, despite the risk of death, which is now described as an all but rare eventuality (μέχρι θάνατος πολλάκις). Furthermore, the ceremony is now presented with precise agonistic features, where the winner is the one who withstands the greatest number of blows: it is therefore a contest (ἀμιλλα), with a specific definition (Διαμαστίωσις). The same aspects of this pride and endurance contest that we read in Plutarch can be found also Lucian's (*Anach.* 38) description, which is of particular interest for its parodist tone. The young men's relatives who attend the ceremony and urge their offspring to endure until death, form an image which is, if caricatural, particularly vivid in outlining the social and civic value of the rite, which is made even more explicit by the mention of statues erected at city's expense to honour the winners of the contest.

A description of the ritual written by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrr.* 3, 208) is in line with Pausanias' testimony and is slightly more recent than that one: while discussing the variety of men's costumes and listing a number of practices or mythico-historical events breaking Greek traditional morals, he puts Spartan flogging between cannibalism – with the memory of Tydaeus eating his enemy's Melanippus brain – and human sacrifices – such as those acted by the Scythians to honour Artemis. Once again, stress is on the bloody and somehow 'barbarian' features of Orthia's rite, since Greek tradition regards it as unholy to wash an altar with human blood.

¹⁵ There's a chance to put *PL. Lg.* I (633B) besides Xenophon's testimony, but it only tells of "stealing at risk of many wounds", thus fitting generally to the practices of the *agogé*, not necessarily hinting at Orthia's ritual.

The isolation of Xenophon's testimony, both for its tenor and for the facts described, should not necessarily lead us to consider it as a spurious passage or as an interpolation. On the contrary, the chronological distance that separates it from all the others Roman news, should make it particularly precious to us, since it doesn't record a different rite or a badly understood one, but rather a more ancient version of the same ritual. At the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C., in fact, the rite seems to be indeed more complex, focusing on stealing and on the cheese – thus, maybe, on an offering to the goddess; moreover, the whip itself plays a substantial role, but not the only one. The undeniable meaning of the ceremony as a 'passage rite', finally, has to be put on the background of Spartan's tripartite society¹⁶. The ritual practice of lashing and bloodshed was probably difficult to comprehend from a foreign perspective – such as many other peculiar practices on which Sparta has later built its own myth – and consequently it should have made a strong impression on occasional visitors, starting thus to spread its own legend. Cicero, who is still conscious of the rite's role within the Spartan educational process, but at the same time is struck by the whip's violence, offers a clear statement of this step of the ritual's evolution, which will later cause the bloody aspects increasingly to prevail, until, starting at least in the 2nd cent. A.D., they become completely identified with the whole ceremony. On the threshold of Roman era, then, a process of erosion of the rite seems to ensue, diverting it from its original meanings and isolating its spectacular aspects as the ritual's focus. In this evolution's course, we should not forget the central role that the reforms of Cleomene's III should have certainly played; among them a complete rearrangement of the *agogé* complex, plainly after a period of decadence or dismissal, is listed (PLU. *Cleom.* 11, 3-4). Moreover, the personality of the stoic philosopher Sphaerus of Boristhenes is strongly linked to that restoration, and to him should be ascribed some of the stress put on endurance and resistance that the Orthia's contest assumed. According to these data, the features of the ritual that we find in Roman era appear to be the final result of a process beginning very early, in the height of Hellenistic age, and should be necessarily related to the internal evolution of Spartan's society outlined by Cleomenes' reforms¹⁷. Such an evolution is that of a *polis* who's already slipped into the fringes of

¹⁶ On the border aspects of Orthia (either in an anthropological or geographical sense) and on the cognitive meanings of future Spartiates' degradation, for following acceptance within the ranks of ὀμοῖοι, see VERNANT 1984; on ritual death, see BRELICH 1969, 136.

¹⁷ For a more exhaustive analysis of Spartan *agogé*, see KENNEL 1995.

Hellenic world's power balance, who has already given up the leading role hold in the previous century, and who is thus starting to take shelter in the memory of past greatness and in the construction of its own myth.

The vanishing of the primeval meanings and context, then, is probably behind the creation of different *aitia*, meant to explain a ritual form now hardly understandable and that seems to exceed even the martial myth of Sparta¹⁸. The placing of the birth of rite at the fringes of civilized world attempted by Sextus Empiricus, the barbarian origin chosen by Pausanias and the myth of original human sacrifices find a perfect space in this context. The spectacular aspects have now the upper hand and the building of the great *cavea* in the second half of the 3rd cent. leads us chronologically slightly further than the sources so far examined, to the possible endpoint of the process: the disproportion between the stands and the temple and the stress thus put on the audience justifies, in my opinion, the aspects of (self)representation that can be ascribed to the ceremony.

One last passage by Philostratus (VA 6, 20) vividly paints the image of the performance. While talking with the local sage Thespesius, Apollonius answers to that one's curiosity about 'the laconic whips' and to the particularly shocked question about what the Greek might think of flogging free and noble men (ἐλευθέριοι καὶ εὐδόκιμοι), he answers: "They gather, as for the Hyacinthia and the Gymnopaediae, and they attend with great pleasure and enthusiasm".

Main character in that show is the offspring of the great families of Roman's Sparta aristocracy, which lacks the background of the ancient tripartite society and thus is something highly different from Classical age *homoioi*. In other words, even if the features of 'passage-rite' are surely not lost, the changes in social texture also transform the feedback of the ritual practice. The performance stage of Orthia's rituals, in fact, is now that of a province – that of Achaia – which finds a place and a justification within Roman *universitas* almost exclusively in its tradition and in the classicistic phenomenon linked to it¹⁹; more specifically, it is precisely in its military and eccentric myth that Spartan aristocracy finds self-representation. Against this backdrop, a third testimony by Plutarch is relevant (*Arist.* 17, 8), less for the description of the ceremony, which is again based on the simple flogging of the *ephebi*, and more for the reported *aition*, which is linked

¹⁸ See BONNECHÈRE 1993, 55.

¹⁹ See ALCOCK 1993A.

with the battle of Plataea, when Pausanias and his comrades, having been ambushed by a band of Lydians while performing sacrifices to the goddess and thus finding themselves armless, fought back with staffs and whips. In memory of that episode, the ceremony at Orthia's sanctuary and the 'Lydian *pompé*' who followed it were instituted. Reference to the Persian Wars is a powerful and constant element of propaganda in Roman Greece, represented in Sparta, among other examples, by the celebration of Leonidaeans ἀγῶνες, the rebuilding of the *Stoa Persiké* and the symbolic presence of Spartan military troops in Lucius Verus' and Caracalla's Parthian expeditions²⁰. Plutarch's testimony, then, seems to gather different threads of Roman Sparta's self-representation.

Archaeological and literary sources thus coincide when they tell the story of the evolution of Orthia's sanctuary ritual. An analysis of the many inscriptions coming from the partial dismantling of the *cavea*, punctually confirms many of the elements so far described and gives an even better contribution to put them in a wider context.

First of all, they confirm that the ritual by the altar was the major contest connected to the sanctuary, whose victory occasioned the erection of honorary statues, as recorded by Lucian (*Anach.* 38): mention of the rite, in fact, can be found mostly on statue bases honoring βωμονικά (*IG V¹ 653a-b*, DAWKINS 1929, 358, n° 144).

The majority of the inscriptions found, instead, are formed by some *stèle* which remember the youths' victories in the παιδικός ἀγών and include dedication of a small iron scythe, i.e. the very same prize of the competitions. Among those, we have only one explicit reference to the καρτερίας ἀγών (*IG V¹ 290*, which dates around 100 A.D. and where the presence of the scythe is uncertain), a number that could grow up to four if we accept the proposal of interpreting εὐβάλλκης (*IG V¹ 267, 268, 334*) as a previous name for διαμαστίγωσις²¹. Almost all the others documents, instead, refer to the other contests held in Orthia's sanctuary: καθηατόριον (some sort of hunting game), κελοῖα and μῶα (both musical or vocal contests). Epigraphic evidence, therefore, completes the sanctuary's celebrations frame, formed by different ἀγῶνες for the youth and culminating in the flogging rite, whose victory led to the highest honors, made concrete by the erection of a statue of the winner, at city's expense. Furthermore, epigraphy confirms also that the competitors in the contests were mostly "ἐλευθέριοι καὶ εὐδό-

²⁰ For the propagandistic use of the Persian Wars in Roman Greece, see SPAWFORTH 1994.

²¹ See A. M. Woodward in DAWKINS 1929, 289.

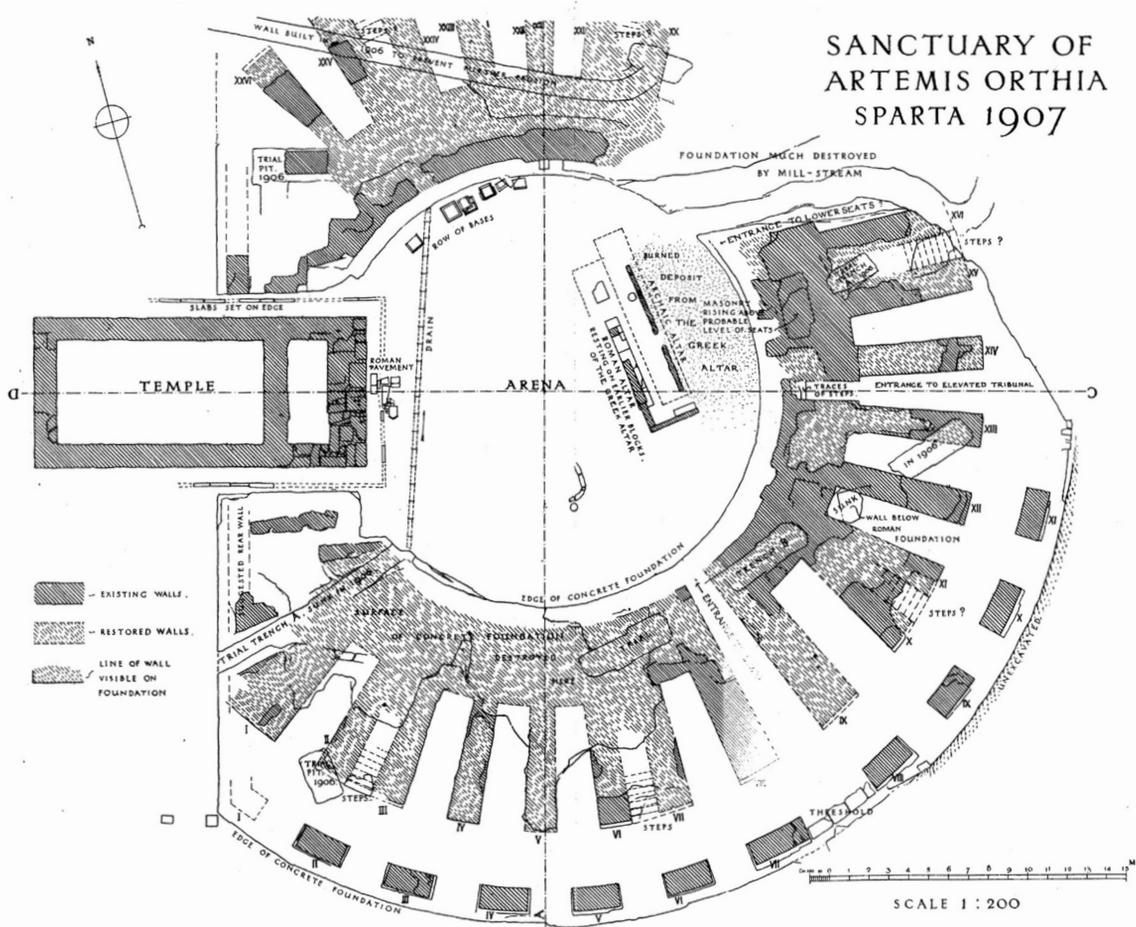


Fig. 1 - Sparta, sanctuary of Artemis Orthia: general plan (after DAWKINS 1929)

κτιοί²², since among the names of the winners we find those of the offspring of the best Spartan families, such as the Euryclids (*IG V¹ 265, 267*), the Claudii (*IG V¹ 283*), or, more generally speaking, those who had obtained the *tria nomina* of Roman citizenship.

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²² PHILOSTR. VA 6, 20.

AUGUSTAE, MATRONS, GODDESSES: IMPERIAL WOMEN IN THE SACRED SPACE

Several recent studies have emphasized how the image of the *Kaiserfrauen* is basically an idealized construction intended to the elaboration of guiding models for coeval society¹. First of all, it responds to “central” requests (official prototypes, approved representational forms), but it is also able to adapt itself to different environmental situations and needs through the Empire: its real success as *Leitbild* is based, in fact, on its malleability.

After the *Porträtforschung* has focused on the propagandistic component and on the centripetal force of the models made in the *Urbs* (within the emperor’s circle), there are many hermeneutical potentialities for a “pluralistic” evaluation of the same official portrait. As a matter of fact this, even caused by central reminders, is realized through an interaction, where the customer’s request and the specific context intervene also as active and “creative” factors.

Lately, the scholars involved in the conference entitled “*Augustus: der Blick von außen*” and O. Dally, in a critical review of the 20th century researches on the imperial iconography, have pointed out the various ways of representing the central authority in the peripheral sphere: the reception and the re-elaboration of the imperial concept in the local imaginary are, as a matter of fact, fundamental for accrediting the Augustan political system, and, more in general, for establishing a communication process where many voices take part (customers and inventors, prompters, addressees and actors of honours, executors and users of the figurative contexts)². In the Greek

¹ See ALEXANDRIDIS 2004; for modalities and media for disseminating the imperial image: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 7 ff.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000. For Julio-Claudian princesses see also WOOD 1999 and especially for Livia BARTMAN 1999.

² KREIKENBOM *et al.* 2008; DALLY 2007, esp. 225 ff., 243 ff., 254 f. See ALEXANDRIDIS 2005; also ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 9 f. The conspicuous epigraphic-numismatic record about honours for *Augustae* in the Greek East is collected by HAHN 1994. The imperial cult in the 1st cent. Greece has been dealt with in a recent monograph by KANTIRÉA 2007; also HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008; LO MONACO 2009A, 188-240 and *passim*; LO MONACO 2009B; especially for Athens LOZANO 2002; for Asia Minor see the classic monograph by PRICE 1984A; see also PRICE 1984B.

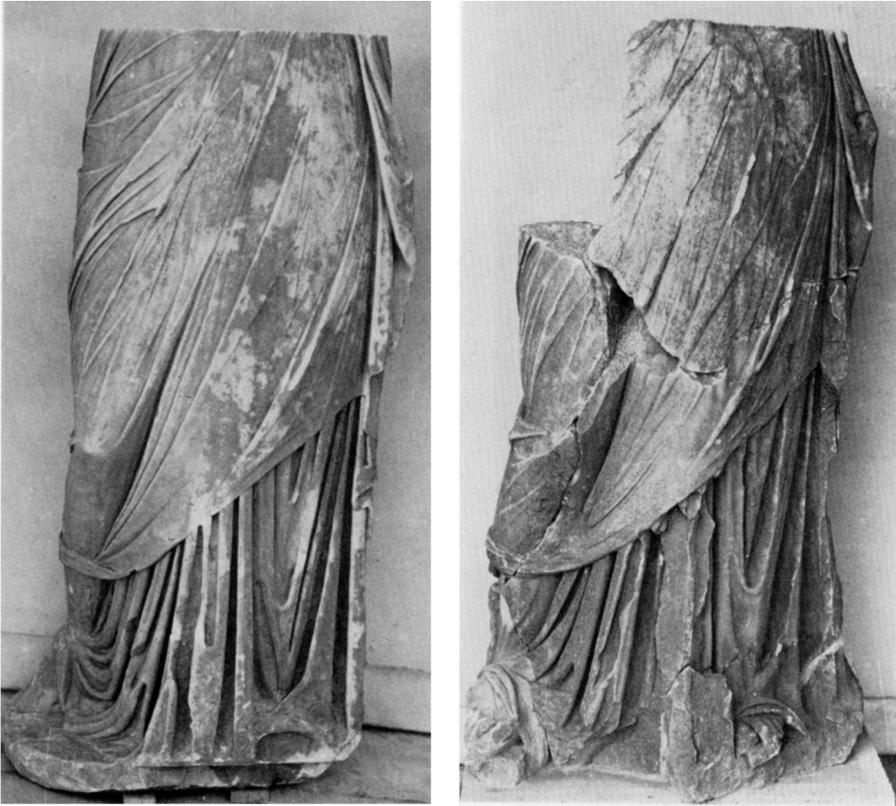


Fig. 1-2 - Lower fragments of two female statues from the *Poseidonion* at Tenos, Building D. Tenos Museum (after LINFERT 1976)

provinces, obviously, such dialogue fits in a rich and complex background both for the conspicuous tradition in the elaboration and use of images within the public and religious life (therefore each new initiative is included in a densely stratified context) and for the prestige of Hellenic artistic creations, which are *per se* an integral part of the imperial *aurea aetas*.

D. Boschung has recognized a triple modality of reception-assimilation-elaboration of the imperial models by the Greeks. The first trend consists in the insertion of the new authority of the *Augusti/Sebastoi* within the pre-existing tradition of the *timai* for the *basileis* or for the notables, underlining continuity, even with the re-use of ancient monuments, and anyway with the maintenance of a language mainly Hellenistic³. A second pattern adopts

³ BOSCHUNG 2002B, 135-138.

the new Roman schemes, such as the togate statue and the standardized types of the official portrait (not without any misunderstandings and simplifications)⁴. A third but more demanding modality involves a “translation” in images following the practice of expressing the sense of the actuality through mythological paradigms: the new rulers are therefore merged into contexts or scenes belonging to the traditional repertoire, such as mythical duels or allegorical representations⁵.

In fact for all three trends one can find parallels even for the female members of the *domus Augusta*; and, checking the documentation in comparison with the evidence given by the whole Roman world – lately arranged by A. Alexandridis –, it seems possible to notice a “Greek” approach in line with the visual traditions and the local perception of the imperial topic, encompassing a wide range of solutions and nuances.

Restricting our attention to the early Empire and to some samples, for the first trend detected by Boschung suffice it to mention some images of *Kaiserfrauen* based on the traditional formulas of the Hellenistic honorary and votive statuary, that were coupled with the cuirassed statues “Alexander type” used for Augustus and Agrippa or other characters of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially in the Aegean. The female figures adopt types with a richly draped *chiton* and *himation* placed over the head, like the fragmentary statues of the dynastic group from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tenos, to one of which the *velato capite* head of Agrippina I (Figg. 1-3)⁶ must have belonged; but we can also consider the Augustan statue of the *Grande Ercolanese* type, with an ideal head, from the Butrint theatre (Figg. 4a-b),

⁴ Cf. BOSCHUNG 2002B, 138 ff., esp. 140 ff., figg. 11 f. and BOSCHUNG 2002A, 174 for the so-called *Strategeion* in Cyrene and the adaptation of a female statue into a *togata effigies* for prince Tiberius (4 A.D.); BOSCHUNG 2002A, 193, for the toga as a distinctive sign for the imperial family members in the Greek East. See in general HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998 for *togati* in Greece.

⁵ See the *Sebasteion* complex at Aphrodisias: SMITH 1987; SMITH 1990; REYNOLDS 1996, 44-47; ROSE 1997, 164-169, 273-275, cat. n° 105, pls. 199-210; also MAVROJANNIS 1994, 337-341; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 17; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 196 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002B, 143-146; CHANIOTIS 2003A, 77 ff.; LENAGHAN 2008; SCHERRER 2008.

⁶ For the Tenos group see ETIENNE – BRAUN – QUEYREL 1986, 288-302, cat. nn° 30-55; MAVROJANNIS 1994. The female statues have received lesser attention: LINFERT 1976, 119 f., figg. 282-286, classes them as directly based on Hellenistic types, as one *Pudicitia* variant (LINFERT 1976, 114 f.; see EULE 2001, 16, *Schema der Baebia*; DILLON 2010, 87 ff., 101 f.), generally absent from the early-Imperial princesses’ iconography (BARTMAN 1998, 47, 51 [n. 82]; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 15 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 60 f.).

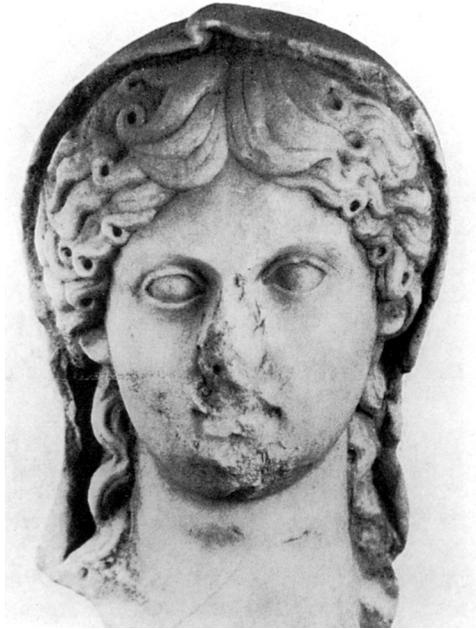


Fig. 3 - Head of Agrippina I from the *Poseidonion* at Tenos, Building D. Tenos Museum (after ÉTIENNE – BRAUN – QUEYREL 1986)

if it is an official character⁷; and the statue of Livia from the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias, recently restored (Figg. 5a-b)⁸.

Such representations appear since the first engagement with the imperial topic, that is inserted into the old set of family and royal groups erected in public and sacred buildings⁹, and, for the female component, into the tradition that conceives the public image of important women within the family

⁷ UGOLINI 2003B, 199 and 204 f. (find-spot), 212, figg. 8.6-8.10 (the torso is now missing); BERGEMANN 1998, 54 f., 135-137, cat. n° Th 6, figg. 78, 81a-b, excludes that it could have had an iconic destination.

⁸ LENAGHAN 2008; see *infra*.

⁹ LOHR 2000; LO MONACO 2009A, 271 f. Dynastic groups: HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1990; KOTSIDU 2000, 169-172, 430-432, 537-540, cat. nn° 104 f., *305; LOHR 2000, 115 ff., 123, 125 f., 223 ff., cat. nn° 137 f., 140, 142. Recent studies about the *gens Augusta's* cycles point at this Greek-Hellenistic tradition (BOSCHUNG 2002A, 197) and at the early adoption in the Greek East of “enlarged” groups including wives and sons: see for example the plentiful honours for Agrippa and his family (BOSCHUNG 2002A, 144-146, 154: *e.g.* at Thespieae [13-12 B.C.?] comprising Agrippa’s whole family, Livia, and perhaps Augustus, BOSCHUNG 2002A, 144 f.; ROSE 1997, 149-151, 271, cat. n° 82).

relationship network¹⁰. According to the well established Hellenistic procedure¹¹, even the imperial ladies' likenesses emphasize elegance and irreproachability, through the refined dress and the mimic¹²; the individuality of the features gives way to an idealization more or less strong, up to a standardization according to a model of female beauty that has nothing to do with reproducing real physiognomies¹³. This last option, corresponding to the Greek female portrait formula, is indeed rare for the imperial ladies – the Large Herculaneum Woman of Butrint¹⁴ (Figg. 4a-b) might be an exception¹⁵. As a matter of fact, it is not quite adapt for underlining the incomparably higher status of the honoured, “flattening” the image onto a canonical model shared *in toto* by the members of the local elites (although the dedicatory inscription could provide to some degree for the need of exaltation beside other aristocratic women)¹⁶.

¹⁰ EULE 2001, 133 ff.; DILLON 2007, 78; DILLON 2010, 30 ff., 41 ff., 133.

¹¹ EULE 2001; DILLON 2007; VORSTER 2008B; DILLON 2010.

¹² The interest for body types and drapery elaboration is clearly derived from Hellenistic iconic statuary: LINFERT 1976; EULE 2001; DILLON 2010, 5 f., 99 ff. and *passim*.

¹³ DILLON 2007, 76-80; DILLON 2010, 103 ff. Ideal heads, covered by the mantle, characterize also some early-Imperial iconic statues of Hellenistic fashion, recycled in the *Agora Gate* façade at Aphrodisias: SMITH 2006, 205-207, 287 f., cat. nn° 86+202, 203, pls. 68, 137 f. (cf. also the statue signed by *Menodotos*, SMITH 2006, 204 f., cat. n° 85, pls. 65-67); DILLON 2010, 149 ff.

¹⁴ VORSTER 2008A, 98 identifies her hypothetically with Julia. DAEHNER 2008, 104, 111-114, figg. 4.8-9 prefers a member of the local elite (as the eponymous *Grande Ercolanese*), for the lack of an official type of portrait (see instead the Livia's head [Fig. 6]). He seems to agree with TRIMBLE 2000, 62-64, who thinks that the type was “re-imported” into Greece through the spread of the Augustan ideology in the provinces (so also BERGEMANN 1998, 67-73), in spite of its restricted circulation in the early Empire (DAEHNER 2008, 104 f., 114). See also DILLON 2010, 82 ff., and 86 for the iconic destination of both the copies with an ideal head (cf. VORSTER 2008A, esp. 92-99, pls. 1-14, 19 f., figg. 3.8, 3.11 and VORSTER 2008B, 132, 146 ff., 157, 192 [n. 149], figg. 5.3-4), and the archetype of ca. 320 B.C. (see VORSTER 2008B, 136 ff.).

¹⁵ See also a statue comparable to the *Schema der Megiste* (EULE 2001, 35 f.), which was found in the agora of Gortyn together with an *effigies togata* of Caligula (PORTALE 1998, 286-293, cat. n° 2, pls. 35d-37; for the fringed mantle cf. DILLON 2010, 65, 100).

¹⁶ On the contrary, in certain periods and contexts the visual homogeneity between *Kaiserfrauen* and citizen aristocrats will be appreciated: at Perge, for example, “rather than Plancia Magna following imperial models, it is the imperial images that follow hers” (DILLON 2010, 155 ff., esp. 158 ff.; DAEHNER 2008, 118-120, fig. 4.15, doubts about the identities of the supposed Sabina and Faustina II; cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 16; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 59-61, 105 and *passim* about the tendency in Hadrianic-Antonine princesses' portraiture to get more “bourgeois” traits). VORSTER 2008A, 184 n. 72 points out that only the *Grande Ercolanese* type (rarely) is adopted for *Augustae*, for example Faustina I: DAEHNER 2008, 101, 116 f., 121 f., 126, figg. 4.1, 4.13, 4.18 (cf. DAEHNER 2008, 187 [nn. 62, 76], a possible Sabina in the guise of the *Piccola Ercolanese*); VORSTER 2008B, 154.



Fig. 4a - Great Herculaneum Woman from the theatre of Butrint (torso at present missing), (after GILKES et al. 2003)



Fig. 4b – Head of the Great Herculaneum Woman from the theatre of Butrint. Tirana Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)



80

Fig. 5a - Statue of Livia from the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias: Graphic reconstruction (after RATTÉ – SMITH 2008)



Fig. 5b - Portrait-head of Livia from the Propylon of the *Sebasteion*, according to the Marmaris type (courtesy R.R.R. Smith © New York, Institute of Fine Arts – Aphrodisias Excavation)

Rather leaving only to the epigraph the characterization of the subject of imperial rank¹⁷, generally it is preferred to make it recognizable through the official portrait scheme. Therefore, the urban archetype is adapted and modified with a kinder and aesthetically “normalized” physiognomy and a hairstyle that retouches in a classicizing way the main iconographic model. Sometimes, like in the supposed *Iulia Augusti* of Corinth, we can observe a connection rather forced between the classical face and the fashion *Nodus-frisur*¹⁸. A better result comes from a group of Microasiatic portraits of Livia, the so-called Marmaris-type (Fig. 5b), where the modern coiffure (derived from the urban Marbury Hall type), combined with individual features, is revisited with Hellenistic accents¹⁹. Like in this last case, even for the *Nodus-Zopftypus* Copenhagen NCG 616 of Livia herself (Fig. 6) – whose diffusion is also limited to the Greek speaking part of the Empire (Achaia and Asia) –, we are in the presence of an “approved” portrait, known by many copies and inspired by a successful urban type (the *Nodustypus*), but elaborated in a Greek context, and spread in the same area by the local workshops and mints²⁰.

Thanks to its Hellenistic *allure* and to the refined tone, given by the details of the fringe over the forehead, the Marmaris type may, however, match theomorphic representations, as the seated figure of Livia like *Hera-Iuno* from the *basilike stoa* of Ephesus, coupled with a statue of Augustus like *Zeus-Iuppiter*, that are part of a different category adopted officially only from Caligulan period²¹.

¹⁷ In the non-official portraiture in the Hellenistic fashion, on the contrary, the identity of the subject is specified exclusively through the inscribed base: DILLON 2010, 3, 26 and *passim*.

¹⁸ DE GRAZIA VANDERPOOL 2003, 378 f., fig. 22.12. See. *infra*, n. 68.

¹⁹ FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, 2, cat. n° 1, n. 7 with list of replicas (i, from Larissa; l, m-p microasiatic variant), dating archetype *ca.* 20-10 B.C.; also WINKES 1995, 25 f., 63; BARTMAN 1999, 21 f., 64 argues a Triumviral origin for this scheme, lasting long in Asia Minor. According to LENAGHAN 2008, 49 f. Tiberian replicas stress physiognomic similarity between Livia and her son.

²⁰ WINKES 1995, 35 ff. (scheme “Aa”); BARTMAN 1999, 80 (coins), 46 (braid-diadem): Livia (inscr. *Livian Heran*), according to the *Zopf-Nodustypus*, and Julia (inscr. *Ioulian Aphroditen*) appear on Pergamon coins issued 10-2 B.C. (RPC I, 2359; cf. HAHN 1994, 42, 108, nn° 75, 101). KÜNZL’S (2001) proposal of identifying as *Iulia Augusti* the type “*Butrint-Wien*” is not convincing; according to her, the heads in Butrint (see *infra* [Fig. 6]), Wien (formerly Este collection), Glanum (ROSE 1997, 128s., cat. n° 53, esp. pl. 166) are the only ones not re-worked.

²¹ For the imperial couple from Ephesus: ROSE 1997, 175, 276, cat. n° 115, pls. 214 f. (early Tiberian); BOSCHUNG 2002A, 66 f., cat. n° 18.1-2, pls. 52, 1-3 and 53, 3 (Caligulan-early Claudian); for Livia’s likeness see BARTMAN 1999, 21 f., cat. n° 60, fig. 20 (soon after 14 A.D.);

Still, a divine assimilation with Hera is made explicitly by the dedicatory inscription even in the case of the statue of Livia from the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (Figg. 5a-b), already mentioned as to the representations according to Hellenistic schemes²²: the *capite coperto* portrait of the empress, attributed to the torso with the inscribed base, repeats exactly the Marmaris type. This latter occurs again in one of the “porticos” reliefs from the same sanctuary, on an incomplete figure that was therefore identified with Livia by R. Smith, although other scholars seem reluctant to admit in the imperial iconography “inaccurate” versions such as the one in question²³. However, just like the aforementioned statue of *Iulia Sebaste Hera* dressed as a Hellenistic lady (Figg. 5a-b), even the possible joining between the “jovian” body and the portrait-head of Tiberius, recently discovered in the Southern portico of N agora of Aphrodisias (but maybe originally

ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 82 (n. 785), 130, cat. n° 36, pl. 10, 3 (before Livia’s death). See ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 50 ff., esp. 50 (n. 460), 54 f., 82 ff., 104, 109 f. and ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 10, 13 f. for the official adoption since Caligula’s reign of theomorphic schemes inspired by courtly Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) models. These formulas are formerly known only on court cameos or, randomly, on non-official monuments. For Livia-Hera assimilation see HAHN 1994, 42-44, 329 f., nn° 72-79.

²² SMITH 2006, 197-199, cat. n° 80, pls. 60-61; RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 737 f., figg. 23-25; LENAGHAN 2008 (the plinth, with the inscribed base, was reused within the Byzantine fortification wall right behind the stage of the theatre; the head was found nearby). The scheme *Moschine-Typus* (LENAGHAN 2008, 50; cf. LINFERT 1976, 20 ff., n. 36, figg. 5-7, and EULE 2001, 33 f., esp. cat. n° 32, fig. 50 for the torso from Miletus, according to Lenaghan identifiable perhaps as Livia, or as Hera) is ascribed to the *Artemisia-Delphi format* by DILLON 2010, 73 ff. (cf. DILLON 2010, 138, figg. 29, 69 for the “Statue A” from Thasian *Artemision*); DILLON 2010, 162 for Livia’s portrait. The connected inscription (HAHN 1994, 43 f., 330, n° 77) joins the divine concept, singled out on the last line, to the title *Iulia Augusta*-Augustus’s daughter following her adoption into the *gens Iulia* (14 A.D.). Near Livia’s statue there was probably a likeness of Augustus as *Zeus Patroos Sebastos Kaisar* (we have its epigraph, MAMA VIII 431; cf. REYNOLDS 1996, 45 ff.), and perhaps a “jovian” Tiberius (see *infra*). On *Sebasteion* temple dedication Livia (*Ioulia Sebaste*) is named *Nea Demeter* (REYNOLDS 1996, 47; LENAGHAN 2008, 49, with other ref.; also HAHN 1994, 45, 90, 324, n° 31).

²³ SMITH 1987, 125-127, n° 10, pls. 22, 23, 2-4; SMITH 2006, 47, pl. 152, 2; ROSE 1997, 165 f., cat. n° 105, n° 13, pl. 210 doesn’t admit the identification as Livia, preferring *Atia*, while Livia could be the Venus-like figure crowned by Rome or *Virtus* in another panel, which both SMITH 1987, 97, and SCHERRER 2008, 875, explain as the personification of Aphrodisias (ROSE 1997, 165 f., n° 4, and 274, nn. 25 f.; *idem* BARTMAN 1999, 134 f.). For another controversial example see the *velato capite* head with *Mittelscheitelfrisur* from Thespieae, Livia according to KALTSAS 2002, 317, cat. n° 663 (after her *deificatio* in 42 A.D.), and KANTIRÉA 2007, 143.



Fig. 6 - Portrait-head of Livia according to the Copenhagen NCG 616 *Nodus-Zopf*typus, found in the theatre of Butrint. Tirana Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

pertinent to the same *propylon* of the *Sebasteion*)²⁴, confirms the existence of some non-canonical representations (compared to Roman and Western standards), apt to eclectically combine features of all three trends (traditional/Hellenistic, official/urban, encomiastic/theomorphic) till now discussed, conceived and appreciated by a public that perceived the imperial figure according to a “Greek perspective”.

Therefore it is noteworthy the fact that Livia’s effigy, even if paralleled in the dedicatory inscription to Hera (similarly to the unknown emperor referred to as *Zeus Patroos Sebastos Kaisar* in a dedicatory inscription of the same origin, and to the above mentioned “jovian” Tiberius), updates again a model of female excellence rooted in the local Hellenistic context.

²⁴ See RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 745-747, figg. 4-5, esp. 714 ff. for the find-context (*North Agora, calchidicum* at the E end of S *stoa*). Style and “concept” could suggest that the statue formerly pertained to the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* complex (ca. 40 m off).

In fact the statue traces one of the traditional formats adopted for the local prominent citizens, suited for visualizing their involvement in ritual activities through the “active” pose which characterizes priestesses and offerers, and lends itself to the imperial subject, by now charged with the role of the female model of the elite²⁵.

So different needs seem to be balanced: the local custom of the *timai* for important ladies (for priesthood roles or euergetic acts), identified in the epigraph through family affiliations; the recognition of the imperial succession according to the line defined in Augustus’s will, which individuates in Livia (Augustus’s daughter) the guarantee of the heir (her progeny), renewing a mother-son relationship that is shown in the cycle of Aphrodisias since the archetypal couple *Aphrodite Prometor*-Aeneas²⁶; the ideal closeness of the rulers to the Olympian divinities and their being placed in the traditional *pantheon*, following an integration scheme well known by the dedications and legends of Eastern Greek coins²⁷. The statue of Livia gives a tribute to the tradition of the Greek female portrait²⁸, but with the addition of a *stola* to the *chiton* in order to signal a “historic” and “Roman-official” identity of the character²⁹, while the dedication and the context suggest more flamboy-

²⁵ AS KEARSLEY 2005 points out, esp. 107 ff., 103: “Her < Livia’s> life provided a model for women from the elite families of how to participate in public life... Identification with her must have been straightforward for those to whom the cultivation of *sophrosyne* had long been acknowledged as desirable”. RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 738 argue that in the Aphrodisian portrait “the fashion-hairstyle is Livia’s, the face is Hera’s”.

²⁶ For *Aphrodite Prometor/Venus Genetrix*: REYNOLDS 1996, 42, 50; CHANIOTIS 2003A, 77 ff. The Tiberian statue group of the *Propylon* of the *Sebasteion* included also *Aphrodite Prometor* and Aeneas, *Atia* (Augustus’s mother), Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Drusus Minor and Julia his daughter, *Agrippina Germanici*, Tiberius Claudius Drusus, Claudius as prince, *Aemilia Lepida*, Antonia (SMITH 2006, 44-47, 77; also ROSE 1997, 163 f., cat. n° 103).

²⁷ HAHN 1994; KANTIRÉA 2007, esp. 141. For the integration of the *Sebasteoi* into civic structures through religion see PRICE 1984A, *passim*; STEUERNAGEL 2010, esp. 254 f.: “The gods of the *polis* admitted the divine emperors to their circle so that the latter should not appear as superimposed representatives of a somehow abstract world order without relation to everyday experience”.

²⁸ See the 1st cent. A.D. female statues from the Agora Gate (*supra*, n. 13), esp. SMITH 2006, 205 ff., cat. nn° 86+202, pls. 68, 137; DILLON 2010, 149 ff., figg. 76-78.

²⁹ See FILGES 1997, 158 ff., 185. Note the sandals (FILGES 1997, 164): such blendings between ideal-Greek habit and elements of actual Roman dress, aberrant for 1st cent. Roman portraiture (ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 13 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 51 ff., esp. 54 f., 104), do appear on both relief representations of Agrippina II in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (*calcei* + *Göttertracht*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 89, 91, 95, 101, 158 f., cat. nn° 104 f., pl. 27; FILGES 1997, 45 ff., 256, cat. n° 66, fig. 66; SCHERRER 2008, 877 f.).

ant divine references. That seems to confirm the *ratio* existing between the abundant and explicit epigraphic and numismatic documents, and the generally scarce and ambiguous sculptural testimonies known: it could reflect the Greeks' inclination to exalt the *Augustae* including them in sacred contexts, and pairing them to traditional goddesses through epithets, more than exterior signs such as *götterangleichende* types or attributes. These latter are used with a certain parsimony³⁰, although occurring in the same building at Aphrodisias, for the images of Agrippina II on the reliefs of the inner porticos and for the statues of *Atia*(?) and *Aemilia Lepida*(?), in the Tiberian cycle of the *Propylon*, freely echoing classical types of Aphrodite (Munich-Syon House-Puteoli) and Tyche (*Braccio Nuovo*)³¹.

Even for the second trend identified by Boschung, the one that better shows conformity to Roman fashions, we can observe some signals of an active reception of the models, even when totally foreign to local tradition. For example, it has been noticed that Greek workshops often render the *velatio capitis* as a decorative device, both for the *togati*, more common since the Augustan age also in the Greek provinces³², and for their female parallels, which are instead mainly based on the statuary models of Hellenistic legacy, adopting the veil as a sign of *aidos* (and of the status of a married woman)³³. In several works of provincial make (portraits of *Nero Germanici* at Corinth, of Tiberius and of Livia at Gortyn, of Agrippina I at Tenos...) (Fig. 3), the drapery over the head show extra ornamental motifs³⁴ compared to the austere and solemn tone of the Roman types, more focused on

³⁰ HAHN 1994; MIKOCKI 1995, 123 f., 132-137; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 82 (nn. 787 f.), 93, 290 ff., tab. 3-8. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 35 ff., 46 ff., 49 f., 82 ff. Alexandridis notices such difference in the honorary praxis of the Greek East.

³¹ For Agrippina minor's likenesses on porticoes' reliefs (*supra*, nn. 23, 29): WOOD 1999, 301 f., figg. 141 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 158 f., cat. nn° 104 f., pl. 27; SCHERRER 2008, 877 f., with other ref. Among the *Propylon* statues, the likely *Aemilia Lepida* (SMITH 2006, 193 f., cat. n° 81, pl. 62), in ideal costume (*chiton* and *himation* with triangular overfold, sandals), depends on the *Fortuna Braccio Nuovo* scheme (see ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 232 f., Appendix 2.2.9, and 89 for its adoption in dynastic iconography).

³² Though with some idiosyncrasy, like the virtual non-adoption at Athens (apart a Julio-Claudian group from Eleusis): HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 20 ff. See BOSCHUNG 2002A, 193 about actual Roman dress functioning as a status symbol, and *velatio capitis* signaling *pietas* (by females too). ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 44-46 (cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 209 f.) argues a polyvalent meaning of this latter detail (status of married *matrona*, also divinization), but mostly a religious significance (*pietas*).

³³ DILLON 2007, 77; DILLON 2010, 105, 110 ff.

³⁴ HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 15 f., 64, 83, with other ref.; PORTALE 1998, 316, 333 f.



Fig. 7 - Statue of Agrippina II signed by *Dionysios athenaios*, found in the *Metroon* at Olympia. Olympia Museum (after Photothek DAI Athen, n°1986-0059)

the visualization of the *pietas*. Besides, as already remarked, the same faces of the *Kaiserfrauen* are re-shaped getting a generic physiognomy (which shed doubts about their identities), still along the line of the Hellenistic female iconography. However, examples of greater conformity to the predominant portrayal trend of the West are not lacking, like the Agrippina II from the *Metroon* of Olympia, signed by *Dionysios athenaios* (Fig. 7), or the colossal diademed head of the same empress discovered near the theatre of Kos³⁵.

³⁵ HITZL 1991, 43-46, 67 ff., pls. 14c-19, 39b, 40c; ROSE 1997, 147 ff., cat. n° 80, esp. n° 3, pl. 192; WOOD 1999, 297 f., figg. 105 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 101, 103, cat. n° 33.5, pl. 81, 2 (Olympia); ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 161 f., 160, cat. nn° 111 and 108, pl. 26, 3.1 (Olympia, Kos). For typological comments see FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 6 f., cat. n° 5, n. 4: Milan type, replicas g, j.

On the other hand, the Livia's Copenhagen NCG 616 type with *Nodus-Zopffrisur* (already mentioned for its Greek-Asiatic regional aspect) shows that even the most eye-catching feature of the urban fashion (the coiffure with a bulky roll of hair over the forehead and a *toupet*) can be re-arranged, adding a diadem-like braid (sometimes with long locks running down the neck)³⁶ that reminds Hellenistic styles, albeit leaving recognizable the Roman character. Moreover, in copies like the graceful head of Butrint³⁷ (Fig. 6), the face reveals a considerable adjustment in the classical sense.

The features of the modern *Tracht* symbolizing the status of the honoured (like the toga and the *calcei* for male figures) are certainly drawn from the official iconography. Just like elsewhere, even in the Microasiatic and Hellenic area the imperial ladies are portrayed using some classicistic types that adopt, as a sign of social distinction, Greek draperies arranged according to 4th cent. B.C. styles (sometimes with details of late 5th cent. "rich" style), but combined with a *stola* and/or the *calcei muliebres*³⁸ acting as a visual clue of the rank of Roman *matrona* and official personage³⁹. In that respect, the female figures of the dynastic cycle of the *Metroon* of Olympia (Fig. 7) show examples on the same wavelength as other representations of the *Kaiserfrauen* in Italic and Western contexts, where, on the other hand, Attic artists worked on the most prestigious orders⁴⁰.

³⁶ LINDNER 2006-2007, 60 ff., hypothesizes that proper *shoulder locks* are a signal of posthumous likenesses, differently from shorter *tendrils*, as those in the Livia's portraits on the *Ara Pacis* or the St. Petersburg gem, LINDNER 2006-2007, figg. 5, 10. For idealized hairstyles see ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 68-70.

³⁷ GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 5; BERGEMANN 1998, 52, 128 f., cat. n° *Th* 2, figg. 74a-c; BARTMAN 1999, 46, 74, 169 f., cat. n° 54, fig. 58; also ROSE 1997, 60, 136, cat. n° 66, pl. 185; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 82 f., esp. cat. n° 22.2, pl. 67, 3-4; UGOLINI 2003B, 199, 215 ff., cat. n° 3 ('*testa di Livia*'), and 221 ff., cat. n° 5 ('*testa femminile*'), whose descriptions are clearly inverted.

³⁸ ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 54 f. The "ideal" Sabina (?) from Perge (as the other Pergean *Grandi Ercolanesi* with ideal heads) is actualized by this dress element: DILLON 2010, 159 f.

³⁹ ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 39 ff., esp. 41-44 analyzes the problem "*des >gelebten< Klassizismus*", and the blending between Greek habit (*chiton* and *himation*) and Roman *Tracht* (*stola* and *calcei*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 51 ff.) which was highly appreciated, often with new classicistic types, for iconic use, in order to confer *dignitas* and *venustas* to imperial subjects. Only the *peplos* is generally not touched by these eclectic forms of actualization, maintaining a distinct Greek classical-divine character (see *infra*); ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 64 f. for the style.

⁴⁰ For the statues from the *Metroon* at Olympia see HITZL 1991, 43-46, 49-52, 55 f., 64 ff., pls. 14c-19, 26-29, 35-37, 39; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 161 f., 176 f., cat. nn° 111, 160 f., pls. 26, 3, 29, 1-2; LO MONACO 2009A, 233 ff., figg. 142-144. See also the imperial cycle of Naroná: MARIN- VICKERS 2004.



Fig. 8 - Torso according to the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus*, found in the theatre of Butrint. Butrint Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

Among the late Classical schemes reviewed and updated with modern dressing features we can quote, in the *Metroon* cycle itself, the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus* (named by the same and by another example of Greek origin), possibly already adopted in the Augustan age in the group of the theatre at Butrint (again with *calcei muliebres* indicating an iconic-Roman character)⁴¹ (Fig. 8), and later used for portraying Drusilla in the statue that has come to light in the area of the *Caesareum* at Cyrene (wear-

⁴¹ Butrint: UGOLINI 2003B, 228-230, cat. n° 8, figg. 8.31-8.33; BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 141-143, cat. n° Th 8, figg. 83a-c, sees stylistic similarities with the female statues of the Augustan group (GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 4, argued that Livia's portrait, *cit. supra* [Fig. 6], belonged to that torso).

ing sandals, more appropriate to the first *diva* of the *domus Augusta*), with other remains of a probable imperial cycle⁴². The type is also attested in the sanctuary of Eleusis by a torso (perhaps Hadrianic), which was valorized by Filges for the identification of the subject of the 4th cent. B.C. archetype as Kore/Persephone. Even here, however, its use for a portrait-statue seems significant, moreover in the building (unfortunately almost unknown) which also gave back a *peplophoros* and a group of *togati* representing Julio-Claudian emperors, once again in a context of honours to the imperial family⁴³.

A more “antiquarian” accent, compared with the above quoted female likenesses, characterizes the cuirassed Butrint type, a parallel creation of the Athenian workshops of Augustan age⁴⁴. It is worth considering briefly the statues that gave the name to this type, given their association with several female statues (some already mentioned, other discussed below), in the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Butrint (Fig. 15). The twin *loricati* – one signed by *Sosikles athenaios* – can be identified with Augustus and Agrippa, whose heads were found nearby. For Agrippa we can notice again an iconographical type created and spread in a Greek environment, like the Copenhagen NCG 616 type of Livia (Fig. 6)⁴⁵. The Butrint body type is also known in Greece and in some regions in close contact, where such a retrospective

⁴² WALKER 1994, figg. 1-5, identification as Messalina; *idem* FILGES 1997, 16, 163, 187, 243, cat. n° 11, fig. 11; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 150 f., cat. n° 84, pl. 20,1,3, more convincingly, recognizes Drusilla (cf. the classicistic statue perhaps of the same *Augusta* in the Naron group, the only one here with *stola* + sandals: MARIN – VICKERS 2004, 103-112, cat. n° 1, Agrippina II). For the honours given by Greek communities to Drusilla see HAHN 1994, 151-168, 341-344; KANTIRÉA 2007, 72.

⁴³ FILGES 1997, 14, 242, cat. n° 4, fig. 4, and 19 for the identification of the original subject as Kore/Persephone; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 266, Appendix 2.24A, n° 10 signals the *calcei* and possibly a *stola*, suggesting an iconic destination. KATSAKI 2002, 343, n. 122 reports its provenance from the same context as the Julio-Claudian *togati* (HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 32-35, 94-106, 147-150, cat. nn° 9-10, 31-32, pls. 8-9); the *peplophoros* remains unpublished.

⁴⁴ KARANASTASI 2004, 1054 f., 1062 f.; CADARIO 2004, 120-139, pls. 16, 2-4, 17, 1-2, 18, 4-6; LAUBE 2006, 119-126, 139, 228-230, 234 f., cat. nn° 7-9, 17, 26 f., 56, 58, pls. 50-52 for the distribution of this type in Western Greece-Macedonia-Adriatic region (Dyme, Herakleia Lynkestis, Brindisi) and also Herculaneum (posthumous likeness of M. Nonius Balbus) and Rome, and the revival of Hadrian's age in Greece, attested by three torsos in the National Museum of Athens, Epidaurus and Thessalonike (LAUBE 2006, pls. 53-54,1-2; KATAKI 2002, 116-118, 283-286, 480-484, cat. nn° 125 f., pls. 140-146; CADARIO 2004, 373-375, pl. 48, 2-6).

⁴⁵ BERGEMANN 1998, 54, 133 f., cat. nn° *Th* 4, *Th* 5, fig. 77, and 52, 65 f., 132, 126 f., cat. nn° *Th* 3, *Th* 1, figg. 75a-c, 73a-c the portraits; see also ROMEO 1998B, 69 f., 89 f., 109 f., nn. 211-214, and 186, cat. n° R20, figg. 152-154 for Agrippa's likeness; ROSE 1997, 136, 268, cat. n° 66, pls. 183-185, and BOSCHUNG 2002A, 83 f., cat. n° 22, pl. 67.

formula resuming the Classical citizen-hoplite model is understandably appreciated, being apt to place in heroic-ideal terms the *arete* of the *autokrator*: the emperor is not equated with a *basileus aniketos-soter* (like in the *Röhrenpanzer* type), but resembles an epic hero (Aeneas, Helenus)⁴⁶ and/or a *heros ktistes* (especially in the new colonies), although being recognizable in his “historical” identity through the portrait head and the *calcei patricii* (added as a status clue)⁴⁷.

In the same way, even if characterized through details of Roman *Tracht*, the female imperial image could refer to (through the adoption of typological variants or the place itself) a Greek cultural context, interwoven with ancestral memories to which the new authority must be attached. So, the iconic statue of Claudian period (Livia or Agrippina II) from the temple of Artemis in Aulis (Fig. 9) renews, adding the *stola* and the portrait head (not kept), a rare sculptural prototype of late 4th cent. B.C.⁴⁸ The placing within the *naos* of the goddess⁴⁹ and the sheer scale of the work, finely executed, may denote a cultic association with Aulidian Artemis, in the wake of the *basileis* elevated to *synnaoi theoi* of traditional gods⁵⁰. More still – following O. Palagia’s brilliant intuition – the selection of a scheme connected to the cult of *Themis* at Rhamnous, and to the memory of the early events of the *Troikà* (which represent the *trait-d’union* with the Beotic sanctuary), sheds light upon the mechanisms of appropriation and elaboration of the “central” impulses. If in theory even somewhere else we might conceive a classicistic imperial statue, we could hardly imagine outside the proper Hellenic *milieu* such an integration in an ancestral temple, and the anchoring to a local mythical-historical tradition, exhuming a meaningful type which anyway,

⁴⁶ LAUBE 2006, 119-122, 138 f., cat nn° 8-9, pl. 50. The prominence of the Trojan myth for Butrint’s civic identity, beside the success of the Virgilian poetry (VERG. *Aen.* 3, 493-305), is rightly emphasized by HANSEN 2007, 44-48, 55 f.; also HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 7.

⁴⁷ CADARIO 2004, 124 ff., esp. 126 f., dates the twin statues from Butrint 18 (or 23)-13 B.C. and argues, less convincingly, an urban model of them.

⁴⁸ PALAGIA 2003. She observes other eclectic “improvements” on the Rhamnousian archetype (one variant of it is already adopted for the statue of the priestess of *Themis, Aristonoe*: DILLON 2010, 14, 76, 106 f., figg. 1, 46 f.). The unusual combination *stola* + sandals is signaled by FILGES 1997, 160 f., 164; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 55, n. 506.

⁴⁹ Like other Artemis’s sanctuaries, the temple of Aulis contained votive statues of priestesses, but of more common scale and type: CONNELLY 2007A, 157-161, figg. 5.26-5.28 (CONNELLY 2007A, fig. 5.29 our statue); VORSTER 2008B, 147, fig. 5.9 and 190 (n. 90); DILLON 2010, 22 f.

⁵⁰ Such concept (STEUERNAGEL 2010, 250-253) shapes yet some Augustan likenesses of the emperor, for example the colossal one in *Juppiterkostüm* from the *Metron* at Olympia. For the transformation of the building into a *Sebasteion*, see BOSCHUNG 2002A, 100-105.



Fig. 9 - Torso representing an empress (Livia or Agrippina II) as *Themis*, from the temple of Artemis in Aulis. Thebes Museum (courtesy of V. Aravantinos)

at the same time, can be understood in Roman terms (*Themis/Iustitia*). The composite nature – a real character, whose official image is adopted, but placing it on the same level of the local cults and memories – appears through the peculiar synthesis made by the Attic artist between the ideal and iconic/official trends. That can clearly be seen also in the adoption of the sandals, a *Göttertracht* feature usually not combined with a *stola*, but indeed appropriated for the *Augusta* in this specific case.

Besides we have seen even how the new Livia-Hera (Fig. 5a-b) and the other statues of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias show, in different ways,

blending among divine associations, Hellenistic iconic tradition, status symbols and features of the official iconography. Yet more strikingly, in the porticos' reliefs the emperors, princes, and *Augustae* (Livia, and Agrippina II twice), recognizable by the portrait, appear in divine or heroic clothes in allegorical scenes within an impressive sequence of symbolic and mythological images that express the civic identity of the Microasiatic city and its relationship with Rome and the imperial power, perceived and re-created through a filter that projects it onto an ideal level and of universal validity⁵¹.

Further evidence, though sparse, reveals that such an eclectic approach, which aims at restyling the central model according to a "Greek" perspective, can operate in different manners, but always in the sign of a fusion between the Hellenic cultural heritage and the new Augustan ideology. The documents in question have not been fully valorized, for the lost of contextual data and also for the modern habit of separating ideal sculpture/copies of famous "originals" and iconic sculpture. Moreover, such categories have been treated paying less attention to the mechanisms of acquisition, to the elaboration and use of the works, compared with the originary contexts and meaning of the archetypes (on one hand the lost 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Greek "originals", and on the other hand the official Roman models of the portrait heads)⁵².

In these last years, in different ways, the attention has been focused on the Nemesis of Rhamnous type as a test-case to illustrate the process of reception of a classical *Meisterwerk*, valuable through the original Agorakritan fragments and the surviving copies, brilliantly recognized by G. Despinis forty years ago⁵³. The Imperial replicas are remarkable for their recurring iconic adaptation which however, far from being "neutral", preserves the religious value of the model, as H. Bumke explained⁵⁴. She pointed to some 2nd cent. A.D. portraits of priestesses, from the sanctuary of *Artemis Orthia* at Messene⁵⁵

⁵¹ SMITH 1987; SMITH 1990; ROSE 1997, 164-169; ALCOCK 2002, 90-93; CHANIOTIS 2003A; BOSCHUNG 2002B, 143 ff.

⁵² DALLY 2007, 231 ff., esp. 235 points out this parallelism in the modern critical approach.

⁵³ DESPINIS 1971.

⁵⁴ BUMKE 2008, 118-130. For technical-stylistic characteristics of the replicas see BRIGGER 2002.

⁵⁵ CONNELLY 2007A, 15, 158, fig. 5.24, under life-size (*Kallis* daughter of *Aristokles*; note the *calcei muliebres*). DILLON 2010, 82 refers it to the phenomenon of the imitation of divine models by priestesses (for other likenesses of priestesses and young attendants/initiated, see CONNELLY 2007A, 147-157, figg. 5.22-23 and 5.17-21). Our, rarer, scheme seems to suit Artemis's cult through the known Nemesis-Artemis connections (HORNUM 1993, 7); an artemisian touch is given also by the melon-coiffure.

and from the *Tychaion* at Corinth – here for a personality like Annia Regilla, involved with her husband Herodes Atticus in the revival of the cult of the Rhamnousian Nemesis, and remembered as *Tyche* (of the city) in a dedication by the spouse at Corinth itself⁵⁶ –; whereas the contexts of the copies from Athens and from Aptaera (hypothetically considered an example of a “private apotheosis”) are not known. But already in the Augustan/Julio-Claudian age the Nemesis type was used for an iconic statue from the acropolis of Athens, for a replica of debated dating (for some scholars a Hadrianic-Antonine copy) in Copenhagen (from Campania?)⁵⁷, and for the so-called *Dea di Butrinto* (Figg. 10a-b), another statue from the theatre of the *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum*⁵⁸. The reason of such success of the Agorakritan model has been correctly traced back to the association between Livia and Nemesis in the sanctuary of Rhamnous, documented by an epigraph dedicated to the *thea Livia* placed on the Eastern architrave of the temple; more concretely, E. Brigger, on the base of the *Kopienkritik*, postulated that a reduction in scale 2:3 of the original cult statue, made in that occasion, was at the source of the copy tradition. Finally, F. Lozano and therefore G. Schmalz have shown through epigraphic-prosopographic criteria that the Rhamnousian dedicatory inscription goes back to the Augustan age (according to Schmalz ca. 6-10 A.D.), and not to the Claudian age as it has been in general assumed⁵⁹.

A confirmation of the use of the early-Imperial versions of the Nemesis for portraits of Livia has been achieved by H. Bumke, who, based on the latest evidence from L. M. Ugolini’s excavations, argues that the above mentioned *Dea di Butrinto* (at the time wrongly restored with an Apollo head

⁵⁶ EDWARDS 1990, 535-537, 541 f., fig. 2, pl. 86, connects the fragments of a copy of the Nemesis type, reused within a Byzantine wall in the forum of Corinth (SO), with the dedication of a statue of Annia Regilla near the *Tychaion* (found in the same area: EDWARDS 1990, pl. 87a), who could be represented in such a guise as a priestess of *Tyche* (-Nemesis). See GALLI 2002, 98-104 for the dedication by Herodes Atticus where Annia is joined to *Tyche*, and for the sophist’s interventions for restructuring the Corinthian *Tychaion*. The connection of Herodes’s family with the Rhamnousian sanctuary is attested through dedications IG II² 3969, 13208 and evidences of a site’s revival in Hadrianic-early Antonine ages (GALLI 2002, 230 f., 234 f.), besides the references to Nemesis in the *Triopion* near Rome (GALLI 2002, 110 ff., esp. 117, 133 f.; also HORNUM 1993, 80, Appendix 2, n° 153; KAJAVA 2000, 40 f., n. 2).

⁵⁷ References in BUMKE 2008, 120 ff. The iconic destination of these latter (acephalous) statues is shown by the cavity for the separately made head and the high-necked *chiton*.

⁵⁸ For the Nemesis torso, see BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 138f., cat. n° Th 7, figg. 82c-d, restored with the Apollo (“Persephone”) head (BERGEMANN 1998, figg. 82a-b) whose pertinence Bergemann rightly doubts, while GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 1 recognized an eclectic combination between the Nemesis type and the Apollo head itself.

⁵⁹ LOZANO 2002, 28; LOZANO GOMEZ 2002; LOZANO 2004; SCHMALZ 2009, 103-105, n° 132.



Figg. 10a-b - The so-called *Dea di Butrinto*: torso according to the Agorakritan Nemesis type, head (not pertaining) according to the *Anzio Apollo* type, from the theatre of Butrint (statue at present missing), (after UGOLINI 1928)

and identified as Kore-Persephone) (Figg. 10a-b) must have had in origin the head of Livia in the Copenhagen NCG 616 type (Fig. 6), found next to it⁶⁰. Considering the importance of such statement and of the whole context for our topic, it would be worth examining the finds from Butrint yet

⁶⁰ BUMKE 2008, 122 ff. The portrait (BUMKE 2008, figg. 14 f.) has been recalled above for its Greek *allure*. For excavations' records by Ugolini and the arbitrary restoration of the *Dea di Butrinto*, see UGOLINI 1928, 270 ff.; UGOLINI 1937, 60, n. 1, 137 f.; UGOLINI 2003B, 212: the Archaeologist himself was aware of the differences between the head – in his opinion a Greek original – and the body, according to him a Roman copy adjusted to the former during Imperial period.

again, in order to understand the *ratio* of the associations and of the choices made by the commissioners within the early-Imperial figurative repertoire. Up to now, in fact, despite J. Bergemann had already shown the stylistic coherence between the so-called *Dea* and the iconic statue in a classicizing type (Berlin- London *Schulterbauschtypus*) (Fig. 8) and, in a lesser way, the Large Herculaneum woman⁶¹ (Fig. 4a-b) I have previously mentioned, the Nemesis type figure has not been examined with reference to the Augustan sculptural cycle of the theatre, which was circumscribed to the portrait heads of Livia (Fig. 6), Augustus and Agrippa to whom, at most, were added the two cuirassed torsos⁶² (Fig. 15).

Actually, though the original spot of the sculptures remains debated, and, even worse, some of them (such as the Nemesis) are lost, impeding to verify each hypothesis, the picture given back by the Butrint complex appears coherent both for its workshop (Attic, as the *Sosikles* signature confirms) and for its Augustan chronology (except some 1st cent. A.D addition)⁶³. The quite late date in Augustan age given by the portrait type of Livia (Fig. 6), dated from 10-2 B.C. – while for Augustus the less diagnostic Prima Porta model was adopted⁶⁴ –, is confirmed by the portrait of Agrippa, surely posthumous, as shown by the close stylistic affinities with the portrait of his son from Corinth (4 A.D. ca.)⁶⁵. The eventual presence of his spouse Julia next

⁶¹ BERGEMANN 1998, 141, 54 f.: the *Grande Ercolanese* is grouped together with deities' statues, among which is tentatively classified also the *Dea di Butrinto*.

⁶² See n. 45; on the contrary, GOETTE 1985 dates between Caligula and Claudius the whole group. HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 11 point to the combination Augustus, Livia, and Agrippa, which seems unusual in comparison with current ensembles; *idem* HANSEN 2007, 48-51, who detects some stylistic similarities with the Apollo head (joined to the *Dea di Butrinto: ibidem*, fig. 4.9), wholly consistent in an Augustan cycle, and, for symmetry reasons, admits possibly another female likeness coupled with Agrippa (maybe the Augustus's niece Claudia Marcella, the second wife of Agrippa: *stemma* in ROMEO 1998B, 221).

⁶³ To this period the classicistic statue (Fig. 11) with portrait like Agrippina II dates (see the statue complete in BERGEMANN 1998, 64, 151, cat. n° As 5, figg. 38a-c, 40, wrongly referred to the *Asklepieion*; head now missing). BUMKE 2008, 127 f. seems to not exclude the possibility of a Julio-Claudian date for the "Nemesis", likely due to difficulties given by the fact that the Rhamnous temple was reputed dedicated to Livia only in 45 A.D. (see *infra*). The torso like the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus* (Fig. 8) could be even down-dated to Julio-Claudian age, considering some similarities with the probable Drusilla from Cyrene (*supra*, n. 42), notwithstanding it is also stylistically related with the Nemesis and the *Grande Ercolanese* (Fig. 4a-b), both dating to the Augustan period.

⁶⁴ Livia: see n. 20. Augustus (after 27 B.C.): BOSCHUNG 1993, 38-50, 64 f, 146 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 82 f., cat. n° 22.1, pl. 67, 1 with other ref.

⁶⁵ Though some objections by CADARIO 2004, 126, and even admitting the classification

to him, if that is the way the ideal *Grande Ercolanese* is to be intended (Fig. 4a-b)⁶⁶, would not preclude the dating of the group after the marriage of the princess to Tiberius in 10 B.C.⁶⁷, suggesting in this case the planning of the cycle before her fall in disgrace in 2 B.C. The idea that the personage (Fig. 4a-b) next to Agrippa was Julia is anyway not really convincing, considering the differences between the head and the official portrait of the princess, known by coins and *tesserae* in the Eastern part of the empire (although not recognizable up to now in sculptural copies)⁶⁸, in combination with the *Nodus-Zopf* of Livia, which was indeed chosen for the symmetrical female portrait (fig. 6). Therefore, the absence of the Augustus's daughter can suggest indeed a date after 2 B.C., when it would have been totally out of place honouring that character, already banished from the official scene.

The *Grande Ercolanese* (Fig. 4a-b), that seems unusual because of its "bourgeois" look, compared with the conventions proper to the *Kaiserfrauen*, could have also been identified (through the association with him, and the dedicatory inscription) with another wife of Agrippa collateral to

operated by BOSCHUNG 2002A, 83, cat. n° 22.3, pl. 67, 2 (simplified version of the Gabii type), the comparison done by ROMEO 1998B, 186 with Gaius/Lucius Caesar from Corinth demonstrates the late-Augustan chronology, suggesting a workshop liaison. Quoting C. Vermeule, HANSEN 2007, 48 hypothesizes indeed a Corinthian *atelier* for the Agrippa's head from the Butrint theatre, but without getting any chronological implications.

⁶⁶ There is no evidence for the identification with Julia proposed for the head type Copenhagen NCG 616 (Fig. 6) by KÜNZL 2001 (see *supra*, n. 20).

⁶⁷ See the South Gate of the Ephesian agora, dedicated 4-3 B.C. with statues of Augustus + Livia, and Agrippa + Julia. Instead of a late execution of the project (ROSE 1997, 14, 172-174, 275 f., cat. n° 112, pl. 211; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 95-97, 146), the anachronistic association between Agrippa, dead 12 B.C., and Augustus's daughter, married to Tiberius the following year, might be due to the will of the emperor's *liberti Mazaeus* and *Mithridates* to honour their own patrons, as the dedication declares (ALEXANDRIDIS 2005, 6). Furthermore they didn't forget to add (according to Rose like a posthumous honour, after his death in 2 A.D.) the statue of Lucius Caesar (and maybe his elder brother Gaius), who is only remembered as (adoptive) son of the emperor. For the honours conferred to Julia in the East see HAHN 1994, 106-117, 334-336; CHANIOTIS 2003B, 342 f.

⁶⁸ WOOD 1999, 62-70, figg. 20 f. for the numismatic evidence, 70-74 for several controversial identifications of Julia in sculptural record (also ROSE 1997, 61, 126-128, cat. n° 52, esp. n° 2, pls. 43-45, 159, Béziers: *contra*, ROMEO 1998B, 75 f.: Octavia II; for Julia *ibidem*, 74, 110, n. 222); add the proposal by KÜNZL 2001 to recognize in the "Butrint-Wien" type the Augustus's daughter, instead of Livia (*supra*, n. 20). BOSCHUNG 2002A, 183 f. hypothesizes that in mid-Augustan age the princess adopted a *Mittelscheitelfrisur*, like the figure between Agrippa and Tiberius on the *Ara Pacis* frieze, generally identified as Livia (*infra*, n. 36); but see ROMEO 1998B, 74.

the main dynastic branch. It could be his first wife Caecilia Attica⁶⁹, the daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus with whom the city of *Buthrotum* had had a relationship of patronage “inherited” by the son in law (an element of closeness to the emperor’s family surely relevant in the eyes of the local clients)⁷⁰, or his eldest daughter Vipsania (Tiberius’s former wife, and mother of the prince Drusus II), born from the same wedding and portrayed elsewhere according to the Large Herculanum Woman type (but with an individual portrait)⁷¹ – if the customers intended to underline the clientele bond going back up to Atticus.

However, in view of the parallelism between the central couples (Fig. 15), with the two cuirassed statues dressed as *heroes ktistai/patroni coloniae*, considering the total absence of the Agrippa’s boys and emperor’s adopted sons (who would have had an important role in a programme of the last decade B.C.-4 A.D.)⁷², and evaluating the stylistic data, it seems to be more plausible that the cycle reflects a late Augustan constellation, but with an original accent compared with the groups of three or four characters (the emperor and/or two or three princes) prevailing from the last years of the 1st cent. B.C., actually focusing on the parallel Agrippa-Augustus and on the family net guaranteed by the ladies at their sides⁷³.

⁶⁹ So LAUBE 2006, 122, who argues a date just after Actium (*idem* POJANI 2007, 62, 74; HANSEN 2007, 48-51, who hypothesizes the Attica’s presence within the cycle, though Agrippa was married to Claudia Marcella from 29 B.C.): but cf. *supra*, n. 65. The statues from the *propylon* of the Aphrodisias *Sebasteion* (*supra*, n. 26) demonstrate as family groups could be enlarged to personalities out of the political scene, but important for the local clients’ keen to express their own links with the imperial leaders: in such a way, a portrait of Attica could be plausible at Butrint even in late Augustan age.

⁷⁰ BERGEMANN 1998, 57 f., 63 f., 68, fig. 37; DENIAUX 2007. HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 10 argue that, given the success of the local *Pomponii* since Augustan age, the clientele was strengthened by the link of that *gens* with Agrippa. For the weight of clientele links in Greek honours to imperial princesses, esp. for Livia and the *Claudii*, see HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 122-127.

⁷¹ Vipsania Agrippina, Attica’s and Agrippa’s daughter, and Tiberius’s first wife, despite the divorce imposed by Augustus on them and her following marriage to C. Asinius Gallus, is honoured under Tiberius with statues, for sure partly posthumous (*post* 20 A.D.): ROSE 1997, 65, 116, cat. n° 44, esp. n° 1, and 182 ff., cat. n° 125, esp. n° 10, pls. 226 f.; WOOD 1999, 177 ff., esp. 179 f., 185-187, figg. 72 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 191, 71, cat. n° 20.31, pl. 61, 1, and 9, cat. n° 1.9, pl. 7.3. For the statue from Puteoli according to the *Grande Ercolanese* type, see TRIMBLE 2000, 60, fig. 9; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 138, cat. n° 53, pl. 11, 2; DAEHNER 2008, 121.

⁷² Cf. BOSCHUNG 2002A, 147 f.

⁷³ Within late-Augustan dynastic groups (4-14 A.D.), BOSCHUNG 2002A, 148-150 observes more variability, though the interest, after 7 A.D., on designed successors Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus minor, and the yet rare presence of Livia.

In this case, the female figure (Fig. 4a-b) displayed as *pendant* of Livia could be Agrippina I, the only direct descendant of Augustus and Agrippa who was in a position of prestige (after the death of her brothers Lucius and Gaius, and the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumous and Julia II, between 2 and 7-8 A.D.), being married from 5 A.D. to Germanicus, the emperor's great grandson (and adoptive son of Tiberius) who in 12 A.D. was appointed *duumvir quinquennalis* by the Butrintians⁷⁴. The choice of an ideal image for the princess would be then justifiable for the lack of an official prototype, because the Agrippina's canonical portrait (Capitoline type) seems to spread only in the first half of Tiberian reign, and above all from Caligulan period – quite significantly in and around Greece (Fig. 3), due to her privileged ties with some communities (such as Mytilene)⁷⁵. Besides, the Large Herculeanum Woman format in the Augustan age does not appear yet in combination with individual portraits, while the melon hairstyle (Fig. 4b) reproduced by the Butrint head is used for young princesses on the *Ara Pacis*⁷⁶.

The other two relatives of Agrippa, and offsprings of Atticus, mentioned before (Caecilia Attica and Vispsania Agrippina) in theory could be hypothesized for the remaining two niches on the lower level of the *scaenae frons* (Fig. 15), at the extremities, one of which might have contained the classicistic effigy of the Berlin- London *Schulterbauschtypus* (Fig. 8). Surely the first niche received later a Claudian statue most probably portraying Agrippina II (Fig. 11), another of Agrippa's descendants!⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See BARTMAN 1999, 73 and 80 f. She observes that, after Julia's exile, Livia's female partners were Agrippina I and Livilla, respectively wives of Germanicus and Drusus; Bartman registers a lesser frequency of Livia's portraits before 4 A.D., and their exploit from 14, following her new role after the testamentary adoption by Augustus (BARTMAN 1999, 102 ff.; BOSCHUNG 2002a, 152; see *infra*).

⁷⁵ WOOD 1999, 183 f., 203 ff., esp. 217 ff., and 220-223 for Eastern examples; for the *Kapitol-Typus* see esp. FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, 5 f., cat. n° 4, pls. 4 f. with list of replicas (n. 5), among which several of Greek provenance (m, n, q, r from Pergamon and Athens, *Beil.* 1c.d- 2, and other three heads from Mytilene). Cf. also BOSCHUNG 2002a, 141, cat. n° 72.7 for the Samos-Pythagorion portrait (found with a Livia-Marmaris/Marbury Hall type, and an Antonia Minor-Wilton House type, resp. cat. nn° 72.3 and 72.5); see BOSCHUNG 2002a, 190 (n. 1384) for other replicas, including a new one from Dion and the head from the Tenos group (*cit. supra*, n. 6).

⁷⁶ Cf. the so-called *Domitia*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 117 f., cat. n° 7, pl. 1, 2; VORSTER 2008a, 96, fig. 3.18. See VORSTER 2008a, 96-98 for the "melon-coiffure" (echoed even by the portrait of the seated statue of Livia [?] from Paestum, VORSTER 2008a, figg. 3.20-21).

⁷⁷ See *supra*, n. 63. The identification with Agrippina seems likely, despite some typological "anomalies" noticed by BERGEMANN 1998, 65; GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 6 detects traces of reworking, maybe from a Messalina's likeness, and recognizes the actual portrait as Agrippina II, or her mother.



Fig. 11 - Statue of Agrippina II (?), found in the theatre of Butrint (head at present missing). Butrint Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

Although the identification of the female figures of Butrint, excluding Livia (Fig. 6), can't leave the field of unproven hypotheses, the "gradation" established among the images, through the different trends in portrayals, remains palpable. If the statues discovered by Ugolini were near the original place of exhibition, as it seems plausible⁷⁸, we would have, in the two couples next to the *valva regia* (Fig. 15), the dead Agrippa and the emperor, both shown as re-enacting a type of founder-hero, blending status symbols (*calcei patricii*), "hellenized" portrait and classicistic cuirass. Accepting the suggestion advanced by I. Laube, that recognizes in the Butrint type an allusion to mythical-historical figures relevant to Augustan imaginary, such as

⁷⁸ About Hadrianic-early Antonine chronology of the restructuring of the Roman theatre, within an extensive refashioning of the *Asklepieion* complex, s. however MELFI 2007A.

Aeneas or Helenus, and considering the fine analysis carried out by I. L. Hansen of the local re-elaboration of the Trojan myth⁷⁹, the “dual” perception of the Trojan founder heroes – one of them *archegetes* of the empire centred on Rome, the other guardian of the new peace order, in the delicate fringe between the Greek/Achaean world and the West – could inspire the combination, in the honours paid to Augustus and Agrippa, of the two *summi viri* that the Augustan colony presents as its own patrons and *ktistai*, respectively at the local and imperial levels.

The two women on their sides acquire a role consistent with the hierarchy within the *domus Augusta*: Livia (Fig. 6 and 10a-b) appears in a prominent position, expressed “*alla greca*”⁸⁰, acting like the charming Agorakritan goddess guarantor of *kosmos* and *taxis*, but remaining recognizable in her human aspect through the portrait-head (albeit idealized). On the contrary, the Agrippa’s relative (Fig. 4a-b) does not come out of the more general *cliché* of the perfect *gyne*, embodied by the Large Herculaneum Woman type with an ideal head yet familiar in the Hellenistic iconic statuary, expressing *sophrosyne* and *eusebeia*⁸¹. Regarding the (smaller) statues on the margins, one of them (Fig. 8) proposes a current model of prominent woman, built up by combining basic classical formulas with details of modern status, just like the one added fifty years later (Fig. 11), vaguely re-echoing the Nemesis format. Another venusian statue (the life-size “Muse”) completed the sculptural display of the lower level, together with two divine figures tightly linked to the sacred context in which the theatre is inserted⁸²: Asclepius (life-size or just smaller) and Apollo (much bigger than life-size), to whom the head of the so-called *Dea di Butrinto* (Fig. 10a-b) has to be referred – both of outstanding quality among the noteworthy sculptures of the first order, and the second, obviously, in line with the Augustan ideological

⁷⁹ HANSEN 2007, 44-48, 55 f., esp. 47, 53, 56, stresses that Butrint coins don’t connect directly the local foundation legends and Augustus.

⁸⁰ Cf. e.g. the difference between Livia (*thea*), and the younger princesses Antonia II and Livilla in the famous Messene decree referring to festivals for the *domus Augusta* (15 A.D.): KANTIRÉA 2007, 69 f.; HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 132, 141.

⁸¹ KEARSLEY 2005, 117 observes that “*sophrosyne* not only described domestic virtue it was also appropriate to designate ceremonial and formal decorum in a public sphere”, following the imperial women (especially Livia) who appear as lively models of such virtues. We cannot however over-simplify explaining the success of the *Ercolanesi* formats in the East merely as “another aspect of the influence of early Augustan ideology and imagery” (KEARSLEY 2005, n. 92), as argued by TRIMBLE 2000 (see DAEHNER 2008).

⁸² See MELFI 2007A; HODGES – HANSEN 2007, 6 f. For the “Muse”, see BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 144, cat. *Th* 9, fig. 84; UGOLINI 2003B, 235-238, cat. n° 12, figg. 8.40-8.41.

climate⁸³. Instead there are no effigies of other male characters of the *domus Augusta*, a circumstance that has up to now suggested very high dates of the cycle, difficult to compose with the whole evidence⁸⁴. Rather than an improbable chronology of 20s B.C., the “anomalous” choice of the Butrintians can be explained considering the local agency: one can not say that such honours to the emperor, to Agrippa and to their relatives are to be collocated “for historical likeliness” in the years straight after Actium, bearing in mind the time and the means necessary to fulfil an urban re-modelling plan such as the one achieved at Butrint; on the other hand, even after the city needed to revive its own privileged relationships with the imperial circle, confirming its ties with the Julian branch and Agrippa’s descendants (still at the peak with Germanicus). If the chronology in the last decade of Augustan reign was correct, the composition of the cycle would actually denote the emphasis put by the local colonists not as much on the imperial succession theme (that would have meant honours to Tiberius, maybe not welcomed), as on the family network of their own two imperial patrons (above all Agrippa), with the female offspring having the task of continuing the good and collaborative relationship between the provincial *parva Troia* and the *Urbs*⁸⁵.

But how can one explain the pompous representation of Livia (Figg. 6 and 10a-b) dressed like Nemesis? Surely at Butrint it is a legacy of the propulsive ability of the Attic *ateliers*. Still the presence of such iconic replicas of the Agorakritan masterpiece in sacred (starting from the Athenian acropolis) and in public-sacred contexts (such as the theatre of the Epirote city, set between the *Asklepieion* and the forum)⁸⁶ shows, more, how the echo of the initiative of imperial praising and veneration, assumed by the

⁸³ Both HANSEN 2007, 51, and POJANI 2007, 63 observe here the link between Apollo and Augustan ideology, till now unnoted due to the wrong identification of the “Persephone” head (cf. nn. 58, 60). For the head of Asclepius, s. UGOLINI 2003B, 219-221, cat. n° 4, figg. 8.22-8.24.

⁸⁴ Besides the typological and stylistic observations (*supra*), it remains to clarify the relation between the scene building and the paving of the small square W, dated to early-Augustan age like the similar paving of the forum E (MELFI 2007A, 26 f.; HODGES – HANSEN 2007, 11; POJANI 2007, 66), and the modifications due to the re-modeling of the theatre. The chronology of the statuary group during late-Augustan years, one generation later, could theoretically fit better for the evidence.

⁸⁵ Here lies the difference with the group from Andriake near Myra, epigraphically attested, where Augustus and Agrippa are named *soteres* and *euergetai*, but on the cosmic level the emperor, on the *ethnos* level Agrippa (cf. HANSEN 2007, 50).

⁸⁶ Differently from honorific praxis for the Hellenistic dynasts (KOTSIDU 2000, 543), there are statue dedications of imperial family members from other Greek theatres: e.g. BOSCHUNG 2002A, 93 f., cat. nn° 30-32.

Athenians matching Livia to the goddess of Rhamnous, already under Augustus, was not circumscribed to her “remote” rural sanctuary⁸⁷.

Doing that, the Attic city integrated the empress in the ancestral sacred landscape assimilating her to a traditional divinity of the *polis*, adoptable by the official Roman ideology⁸⁸ as a sum guarantor of *Iustitia* and order (like later the “companion” goddess *Themis* for the effigy from the sanctuary of Aulis [Fig. 9])⁸⁹. The reading in “official” terms that has prevailed up to now (swinging between Augustus and Claudius), although detecting an important aspect of the revival of the *Medikà*, can not on its own justify the rebirth of that ancient sanctuary, certainly wanted “from the inside” and promoted by the Athenian elite in forms consonant to the local audience, that supported the initiative and was the main user of the sacred area. For the same reason, the comparison with the honorary and/or cultic standard procedure of the centre of the empire is not clarifying. The placing of the Rhamnousian epigraph implies indeed an association of Livia to the appointed deity of the *hieron*, though the generic epithet *thea*. But this corresponds to a Greek concept of divine exaltation of the empress (not yet *Iulia Augusta*, nor officially *diva*), independently from her posthumous *consecratio* by Claudius, and rather according to the Hellenic practice of divine honours given in life to the members of the imperial family (and above all to Augustus’s wife)⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ This denies the idea of a certain “relegation” of the imperial cult in a remote location (SPAWFORTH 1997, 194).

⁸⁸ LOZANO GOMEZ 2002 detects from the temple dedication, according to him dated to Augustan age, a reflection of the policy of Augustus, because of the parallelism between the Persian wars (to whose memories the Rhamnousian sanctuary is connected) and the defeat of the Eastern barbarians, a leit-motif within the Actian and anti-Parthian *propaganda*, and also important for Athens: cf. BALDASSARRI 1998, 26 ff., *passim*; ALCOCK 2002, 74-86; KANTIRÉA 2007, 91 f., 107f., 110 ff., 116, 119-126. KAJAVA 2000, esp. 48 ff., underscores such an ideological background, but referring it to Claudius.

⁸⁹ According to the more current chronology to the Claudian age of the Rhamnousian inscription (HAHN 1994, 57, 101 f., 322, n° 8; KAJAVA 2000; KANTIRÉA 2007, 115 f.), the restoring of the sanctuary could have been consistent with the emperor’s archaizing taste: see *e.g.* PALAGIA 2003, 546, who makes a comparison with the *Augusta* from Aulis (Fig. 9), which however is yet acceptable, though the earlier date of the assimilation Nemesis-Livia, apart from Claudius’s inclinations. Claudius is honoured at Rhamnous, cf. the altar IG II² 3275: LOZANO 2002, 87; KANTIRÉA 2007, 116.

⁹⁰ For the vocabulary and its implications see PRICE 1984B. HAHN 1994, 34-105, 322-334 collects the rich epigraphic-numismatic dossier at disposal about Livia. Cf. also CHANIOTIS 2003B; and ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 36-38, 82 f. for the Greek tradition of divine assimilations; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 2 f. rightly criticizes the rigid distinction by MIKOCCI 1995 between conjunct cult with divinities (*synnaoi theoi*), visual or verbal assimilation, proper *deificatio* (*divus/a*), in reason of the complexity of the documentation.

The parallel adoption of the Nemesis scheme for effigies (homogenous in scale) smaller than the Agorakritan colossus, coming from the Athenian acropolis – where *Demostratos* from Pallene, the same one mentioned in the Rhamnous dedication, was the priest of Rome and Augustus⁹¹ –, from Campania(?), from Butrint, and updated like the Butrintian one with Livia's features⁹², propagates the association established in the ancient Attic sanctuary. It extends the *auctoritas* of the Rhamnousian image to the empress and radiates upon her the religious- ideological meaning of the Attic work, readable also in Roman terms through the connection Nemesis-*Iustitia-Fortuna-Victoria*, which will be used for imperial propaganda (therefore being appreciable even in contexts far from the original one). By the way, it seems quite significant that, in the same years, the image of the *ultrix Rhamnusia* (Ov., *trist.* V 8, 3) looked familiar to the Roman public, nearly as a female counterpart of *Mars Ultor*, dear to the Augustan ideology: a combination that could have been evoked even by the figurative sequence of the theatre of Butrint (Fig. 15)⁹³.

Preferring mainly the religious aspects, in comparison with the above quoted political implications, H. Bumke has already argued that the Agorakritan Nemesis's tradition, far from being an extravagant exception, can exemplify the logic that presides over the selection of the models for the reproduction of "copies"⁹⁴, re-proposing them first, when they were classical cult statues, (only) in the frame of the imperial cult. Besides the content-functional aspect surely important from a Roman point of view⁹⁵, looking at the context in which such a recovery is made, and to its further reverberation, it is anyway right to intend primarily the phenomenon in terms of an Athenian "reshaping" that re-defines the central power in a form appropri-

⁹¹ He is also qualified as *strategos epi tous opleitas*: cf. BUMKE 2008, 127 f.; SCHMALZ 2009, 103-105, n° 132. See LOZANO GOMEZ 2002; LOZANO 2004.

⁹² Therefore, in considerable anticipation as regards to the official theomorphic representations, known only from Caligula's reign: cf. *supra*, n. 21.

⁹³ For the association empress-Nemesis see HORNUM 1993, 19, 31, and 40; cf. also KAJAVA 2000, 59.

⁹⁴ According to BUMKE 2008, the Nemesis case demonstrates that in the early Empire the reproduction of copies (in a smaller scale) of Greek cult statues is effectuated only for the emperors and in a cultic context, with modalities not different from the installation of *aphidrymata* for "filials" of famous cults (BUMKE 2008, 132). PERRY 2005, 172 ff. also points out the practice of *aphidrymata* as an important reason for sculptural replication, in order to reproduce not the aura of the original artistic creation by one reputed sculptor, but the precise identity of the deity or hero object of cult.

⁹⁵ Cf., *inter alia*, PERRY 2005, 78 ff., 90 f.

ate to the local culture, even if “exportable”, in virtue of the magister of the workshops and of the prestige of the classical models that the city promotes putting them to the service of the Augustan ideology.

Actually, there are similar evidences for the adoption as *Bildnisträger*, since the beginning of the Empire, of a group of types deriving from some late 5th cent. B.C. statues of goddesses, placed very likely in Athens or at least mediated through Athenian workshops (such as the so-called Hera Borghese or even the *Fréjus* Aphrodite, whose identity is disputed)⁹⁶, that were probably used for *Kaiserfrauen*, judging from few intact examples, and considering the exclusive and praising tones of the theomorphic representations. The best known (and controversial) example is the so-called Hekler V type (Fig. 12), hard to re-contextualize for the complexity of the tradition, differentiated by L. Baumer in several strands depending from archetypes of disputed subject (Kore, Aphrodite?) and attribution; all of them, anyway, were adapted to iconic statues of the early Imperial age⁹⁷. Among these, the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli type (probably by Agorakritos) had a certain success with replicas both ideal – although the affinity of the image from Puteoli with the iconography of Antonia minor is to be considered meaningful⁹⁸ – and provided with a portrait head. These latter can keep the body unmodified (the Munich and Syon House examples) or show a high-necked *chiton* and the *calcei* indicating the actual subject, like the *diva Drusilla* from the theatre of Caere, a Claudian statue from the *Asklepieion* at Epidaurus (Fig. 12), and a torso from the *Forum Vetus* of Lepcis Magna (yet unpublished). We can quote also a classicistic re-elaboration, qualified as *Venus* (Antonia II from the nymphaeum of the imperial

⁹⁶ WEBER 2006, 208 admits that the Greek original of the *Fréjus* type was an *Aphrodite Ourania*; there is no consensus about the theomorphic value of the fully draped variants, adopted during the early Empire for *Kaiserfrauen* (ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 85 f., 142 f., 164 f., cat. nn° 62, 118, pls. 13,1, 23,1.3, n. 821; also BOSCHUNG 2002A, 67-69, n° 19.6, pl. 55, 2). Hera Borghese: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 233 f., Appendix 2.2.10, and 87, n. 840.

⁹⁷ BAUMER 1997, 19-25, pls. 3-5 differentiates the Munich-Syon House (-Puteoli) type (BAUMER 1997, 20 f., 92-94, cat. nn° G2/1-5, pls. 3-4), from a 430 B.C. model depicting Aphrodite. The hypothesis by DESPINIS 1971, 178-182, fig. 2, accepted by several scholars and recently revalued by WEBER 2006, 202 ff., 206 ff., recognizes the Hekler V type as reproducing the statue of Kore realized by Agorakritos for the Eleusis sanctuary, coupled with Demeter (Capitoline type: see *infra*). Cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 256 f., Appendices 2.2.15A-B.

⁹⁸ VALERI 2005, 85-98, esp. 97 concludes that one could “quasi pensare che il tipo statuario, raffigurante Afrodite, sia stato scelto inizialmente come modello per l'esecuzione di un ritratto ufficiale della giovane Antonia Minore, appunto lo <schlichter Typus>... La scultura di Pozzuoli, completa della testa, restituisce la replica più fedele del tipo e forse la più antica”.



Fig. 12 - Torso according to the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli/Hekler V type, found in the *Asklepieion* at Epidaurus. Epidaurus Museum (after KATAKI 2002)

villa of Baia), and another iconic version (*Atia*, Augustus's mother?), already mentioned before, from the *Propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias⁹⁹. Apart from this last one, made by a local *atelier* from Aphrodisias, and besides the unique example from Baia, the distribution of the replicas is clearly connected to the commercial success of the Athenian workshops, reflecting, therefore, an “international” trend even in the case of the statue from the sanctuary of Epidaurus (Fig. 12)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ *Supra*, nn. 31 and 26 (Aphrodisias). See also KATAKI 2002, 104 f., 144 f., 275-277, cat. n° 111, pls. 114-116 for the Epidaurian statue; KATAKI 2002, 296, 494 (n. 1435) for its probable provenance from the exedra NE of the *Tholos*, together with a *loricatus* (KATAKI 2002, 116 f., cat. n° 125, pls. 140-145), probably Hadrian (cf. *supra*, n. 44), and a Hellenistic female statue. HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 126, 129 f., 135, 138 ff., underlines the role of the Epidaurus sanctuary of Asclepius in granting honours to Julio-Claudian princesses.

¹⁰⁰ Like, for example, the classicistic likenesses realized by Attic sculptors for the *Metreon* at Olympia: see *supra*, n. 40; and HITZL 1991, 38-43, pls. 8-14a-b, 38b, 40a for the statue of Claudius in *Jupiterkostüm* (cf. STEURNAGEL 2010, 252 f.).

Nevertheless, by analogy with the Nemesis, it seems likely that the revival for *Kaiserdamen* of different sculptural models from the school of Phidias¹⁰¹ can be part of a strategy of adaptation of the local cultural heritage to the new imperial horizons, set up by Athens under the initiative of the eminent pro-Roman oligarchs. Here indeed (certainly with the support, and maybe the pressure, of the central power) the trend of recovering and renewing the remains of the city's noble past grows, changing them in means of agreement and of integration in the Augustan system and, as such, reusable as a cultural icon of the new era, in the Urbs and in the Italic cities, or in the other regions of the empire, supported by the moral supremacy recognized to the classical paradigms (see *e.g.* the emblematic role of the decorations of the Erechtheum).

Concerning the most astonishing aspect of the Athenian “policy of memory”, the phenomenon of the “itinerant temples”¹⁰², it is not possible to reconstruct the exact terms of the re-insertion of the sacred buildings transferred or semi-transferred from the Attic territory¹⁰³ into the city centre re-matched according to the new political-religious constellation. Whatever it means – but the most plausible scenario would be one of a complex interaction between internal (Athenian) instances, direct interventions of characters of the emperor's *entourage* (*e.g.* Agrippa) and “propaganda” managed or addressed from above –, surely it involves the resettling and

¹⁰¹ They already in origin formed a “system” of images related with the reshaping of the sacred areas of the city and of its territory in the second half of the 5th cent. B.C., and therefore are difficult to judge only through the surviving replicas, without contextual data: see GASPARRI 2000 about the so-called *Aphrodite-Olympias*, another scheme used for iconic replicas, esp. in 2nd cent. A.D. (ALEXANDRIDIS 2004 222 f., Appendix 2.2.3; 58 [n. 533], 87 [n. 837], for its “exclusiveness”; PERRY 2005, 56–60, 76).

¹⁰² DINSMOOR jr. 1982; BALDASSARRI 1998, 158 ff., 202–215; ALCOCK 2002, 51–71; KANTIRÉA 2007, 110–116. Modern criticism has not fully explained the translation into the agora of monuments from Attic demes to which are tied some of the most prominent personalities in cult organization, and in promoting imperial ideology within the city. For example, from Pallene, deme of the *Demotatos* mentioned in the Rhamnousian inscription, the whole temple of *Athena Pallenis* could have been transferred, according to the identification now mostly credited of the peripteral building, which was re-dedicated within the agora to Ares and Athena (HARRISON 2005, with ref.; STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU 2008, 24 ff., fig. 7.23; STEUERNAGEL 2009, 284 ff., esp. 290 ff., 328; *contra*, LIPPOLIS 2001, 178–210, 213 f.; LIPPOLIS 2008, 37 ff.). For the leading role of local elites in emphasizing the Athenian past and in transforming the urban landscape see DALLY 2008, 47–49.

¹⁰³ A few extra-urban sanctuaries, object of an Augustan revival, make anyhow an exception: see LOZANO 2002, 51–53, 55, 86 for Rhamnous, Eleusis, and Delos; more specifically for Rhamnous, LOZANO GOMEZ 2002.

the *renovatio* of the cultural apparatuses, from the architectural components to the statues of the divinities, with the need, at least in some cases, to replace, reduplicate or update what is moved or “revitalized”, radically restructuring the sacred landscape and tying it to the imperial authority.

So we can probably explain why at Cape Sounion one of the most ancient replicas of the 5th cent. B.C. Athena Giustiniani type was discovered, of Augustan age – we do not know if coming from the *Athenaion* (one of the temples partially moved), or more likely from the *Poseidonion* (that would have taken over its legacy *in loco*, although partly contributing itself to the creation of “classical” sacred buildings in the centre of Athens) –: it could be considered a replacement of the original cult statue which probably had been moved into the Agora together with the architectural elements of the Sounian temple. The classical *agalma* lent itself to the reproduction¹⁰⁴ and, maybe, to the association with the imperial eulogy, perhaps pairing Livia with the poliadic divinity, as the existence of such associations both in Athens and in Greece, from the beginning of the Empire, can suggest¹⁰⁵.

Actually the broken remains of a colossal statue of post-Phidian style, wearing a *peplos* (Fig. 13), come from the building that as believed by W. B. Dinsmoor jr. would have reused the elements of the Ionic Sounion temple: the so-called *Agora South-East temple*, which was dated however by the American scholar to the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D., and therefore released from the context of the Augustan re-modelling of the Agora (though both

¹⁰⁴ DESPINIS 1999, esp. figg. 1-3 (cf. OSANNA 1995, 108); GOETTE 2000, 29, 41 agrees with the opinion that in Roman age the cult of Athena had been transferred into the Classical temple of Poseidon (which could explain the mention by PAUS. 1, 1, 1 of just one temple, of *Athena Sounias*), and that “die große Athena-Statue könnte dann als neues, kaiserzeitliches Tempelbild das möglicherweise zerstörte oder nach Athen transferierte klassische Werk ersetzt haben”. The Athena Giustiniani type is instead related by HARRISON 2005, 125-128 to the *agalma* of *Athena Pallenis*, i.e. the Athena by Lokros of Paros quoted by PAUS. 1, 8, 4, together with the Ares of Alkamenes standing (besides two Aphrodites, and the Enyo by Praxiteles’s sons) within the *hieron* near the NW corner of the agora, whose temple could have been translated from the sanctuary of Pallene (cf. *infra*, nn. 102, 108). The Athena by Lokros has been otherwise considered *Athena Areia*, according to the Athenian tradition associating that goddess with Ares (LIPPOLIS 2001, 178 ff., 184 f.); STEUERNAGEL 2009, 291 f., admits both the Pallenian provenance of the *agalma* and its renaming as *Athena Areia* in the new context, where it was paired with the Alkamenian Ares (probably resettled here from the Areopagus).

¹⁰⁵ For Athens, besides the nexus *Athena Archegetis-Theoi Sebastoi* in the “*agoranomion*” dedication (SCHMALZ 2009, n° 198, with ref.), a good example of the union between ruler cult and poliadic deity (cf. *Aphrodite Prometor* at Aphrodisias, *supra*, n. 26), we could mention several epithets of Livia (HAHN 1994, 49 f., 95 f., etc.).



Fig. 13 - Fragment of colossal *peplophoros* found in the Agora SE Temple (photo Portale)

affirmations appear scarcely demonstrable). This striking *agalma*, according to the former opinion of the American archaeologists, would have been moved, instead, into the Agora from the sanctuary of Demeter at Thorikos, with the architectural members of Doric order placed in the new temple that employed part of its elevation (this latter was recognized, however, by Dinsmoor jr. in the *South-West temple*). The *South-East temple* could indeed be identified with the temple of Demeter and Kore quoted by Pausanias (I 14, 1, 4) together with the *naos* containing the statue of Triptolemos (possibly related to the city *Eleusinion*) as maintained by M. Osanna, who preferred a more “linear” transfer of the Classical *spolia*, keeping even in the new context the link with the original divinity of the sanctuary “transplanted” (respectively the Sounian Athena and the Thorikos Demeter for the two temples SW and SE, in line with the initial proposal by H. Thompson)¹⁰⁶. In spite of the scarceness and ambiguity of the evidence, which do not allow

¹⁰⁶ See DINSMOOR jr. 1982, esp. 431-437; *contra*, OSANNA 1995 supports H. Thompson’s older hypotheses. BALDASSARRI 1998, 202-215 reexamines the evidence for the SW and SE temples and the possible connection of the former with the worship of Livia-*Julia Augusta* (and mother of the emperor, after 14 A.D.) as a *Boulaia* deity. For the fragmentary cult statue from SE temple see BAUMER 1997, 49-51, 109, cat. n° G13, pl. 19, with previous bibl.

us to reach certainties¹⁰⁷, we cannot neglect the weight of the sacred traditions tied to the precious Classical relics, that must have played a role in creating an Athenian “landscape of memory”, notwithstanding the radicality of the transfers. But, at the same time, in the horizon of *renovatio* (not properly a musealization, neither a nostalgic recovery) that is being outlined, a certain semantic shift and/or broadening of the religious panorama has to be admitted. A “related” divine entity could be inserted into the renovated sacred spaces – as suggested for the temple of Ares and Athena (*Areia?*), a supposed transformation of the ancient *naos* of Athena at Pallene¹⁰⁸ –, or the deity could have features added or different from her original epiclesis, or above all she could be associated with a member of the imperial family, sealing the alliance between the Attic *polis* and the Empire.

Such, indeed, could be the case of the cult of Demeter witnessed by the *agalma* from the SE temple¹⁰⁹ (Fig. 13), despite the difficulty of detecting the itinerary followed by the single elements and the story of the ensemble. It has been observed that the broken statue shows a striking analogy with the Agorakritan type of the *Demetra Capitolina*, known by copies of the Imperial age (scale nearly 1:2 compared to the colossus in the Agora) (Fig. 14), with contrasting opinions due to the conditions seriously damaged of the Athenian *agalma*. This in fact does not allow to check a mechanical relationship archetype-replicas with the aforementioned copy series (so much more due to the complexity of the Phidian “system” of divine images), while on the other hand the votive reliefs and the statuettes of the late 5th cent. B.C. deriving from the same model point at a Demetrian-Eleusinian sphere for the prototype¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ Besides the chronological problem of the SE temple (*supra*), there is also some uncertainty about the actual status (Greek original?) of the colossal *peplophoros* found here (though not in a primary context), due to the technical detail of the cavity for a separately carved head, uncommon in the Classical age.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *supra*, nn. 102, 104 (see esp. STEUERNAGEL 2009, 282-296); *contra* LIPPOLIS 2001, 185-210, 213 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Apart from Pausanias’s controversial quotation mentioned above, the dimensions of the base within the SE temple should be considered: it is sufficient to contain several figures, as some scholars have observed (BALDASSARRI 1998, 211), recalling the hypothesis by DESPINIS 1971, 178 ff., fig. 2 about the original association (in the sanctuary of Eleusis) of the Agorakritan archetypes of both the schemes *Demetra Capitolina* and *Hekler V* schemes (intended as Kore, cf. n. 97). Such thesis has been recently revised, but substantially maintained as plausible, by WEBER 2006, 202 ff., 206 ff.

¹¹⁰ See DESPINIS 1971, 178-182 for the *Demetra Capitolina* type and its Agorakritan paternity; for comparable Demetriad reliefs BAUMER 1997, 53-56, 130 f.; 56 f., 162 ff. for small scale statues; 52 ff., 81 ff. for the sculptural type.



Fig. 14 - Statue according to the *Demetra Capitolina* type with a portrait-head of Livia, found in Lepcis Magna. Lebda Museum (after BARTMAN 1999)

As a matter of fact, an Attic statue found in Lepcis Magna (Fig. 14)¹¹¹, probably the most ancient replica known up to now of the *Demetra Capitolina* type, combined with a portrait head of Livia (ca. 14 A.D.), confirms how in resuming this model a link with the exaltation of Livia could have acted at the beginning, and how the picture above traced through evidences difficult to compose, yet recurrent, has its own plausibility, validating the hypothetical reconstruction suggested for the Nemesis (Figg. 10a-b and 6) – a work by the same master Agorakritos, to whom the archetypes both of the Capitoline Demeter (Fig. 14) and the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli

¹¹¹ For a detailed discussion see PORTALE 2012.

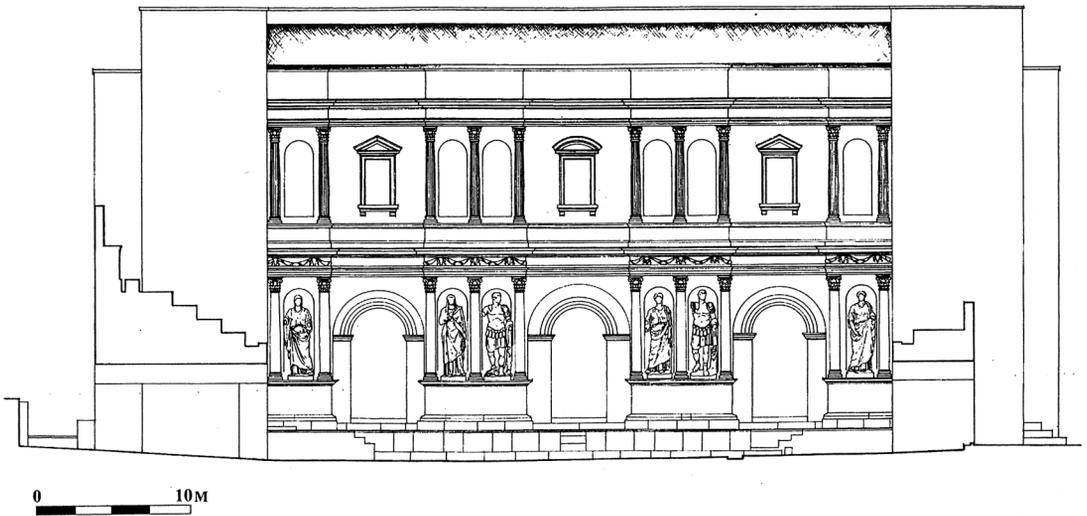


Fig. 15 - Graphic reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre of Butrint by Ceschi and Ugolini (after GILKES et al. 2003)

(Fig. 12) types, sharing a similar popularity among the Roman copyists, should belong.

That we have to suppose, even in the case of the *Demetra Capitolina*, a connection with the early-Imperial “restoration” of Classical Athens, and with a wider religious change, is suggested by its convergence with the colossal cult statue of the *South-East Temple* in the Athenian agora (Fig. 13), just remembered for its problematic valuation (original or replica, sanctuary of provenance, dating of the sacred Roman context in the agora, destination, relationship with the Demeter Capitoline type, with the sanctuary of Eleusis and with the city *Eleusinion* ...). Whatever is the specific meaning of the remains, it is, as a matter of fact, undeniably about the same phenomenon of recovery of a divine model of the 5th cent. B.C. “great Athens” in an imperial horizon: a recovery that will have not been unrelated, one might believe, to the importance of the “centrale” itself of the Athenian Demeter cult, the sanctuary of Eleusis, in the delicate operation of connecting the Attic *polis* and the Roman ruling power¹¹². It is not without significance that in the

¹¹² Not by chance, the most ancient dedication associating to the new emperor (still Octavian) his wife Livia was offered at the Eleusis sanctuary: CLINTON 1997, 163, 165 (he notices the large size of the monument); also ROSE 1997, 140 f., cat. n° 71; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 111, 144, cat. n°

Eleusis *milieu* are rooted some of the Classical sculptural models revitalized for an “Athenian reformulation” of the imperial myth – approaching the *Kaiserdamen* to the goddesses of the sanctuaries reshaped during the Athenian imperialism, that were given an authoritative form by the sculptors of Phidias’s circle –; that at Eleusis we can see a precocious, intense, and widespread incorporation of the imperial component in the religious frame of the sanctuary; and that the personalities concerned with introducing and spreading the imperial cult in Athens have responsibilities, or affiliations with the oligarchy involved in administrating the great sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and in restoring the rural and urban *hiera* affected by the Augustan *restyling*¹¹³.

Perhaps in this will of a “renaissance” of Classical Athens under the imperial aegis resides the reason for the particularly high “copyistic” correctness of the Attic reproductions of the classical models, and for the translation into a “classical” language of the imperial image (especially the female one). This makes the (modern) separation between the “ideal” and the “iconic” sculpture fall, and on the other hand, there where the need of such a classicistic staging of the *Sebastoi* is not felt – lacking the cultic approach that renders it instead lively in Athens, in some crucial moments of the process of acculturation and elaboration of the imperial theme –, it allows that the purely “ideal” aspect of the copy of the 5th cent. B.C. masterpiece is preferred, intended anyway as compatible (that is encoding congenial values) with the imperial ideology.

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36.3 (31-28 B.C.); HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 123. See at least CLINTON 1997 and CLINTON 1999, esp. 94-97 for the great importance of Eleusinian sanctuary in the “Romanization” of the city, in the affirmation of loyalism, and in conferring cultic honours to the emperor, and for the prominence given to Livia; also KANTIRÉA 2007, 143; DALLY 2008, 48.

¹¹³ See specifically, even for prosopographic observations: CLINTON 1997; CLINTON 1999; BALDASSARRI 1998; LOZANO 2002; SCHMALZ 2009; and the very rich bibliography here quoted.

ELEUSIS. SANCTUARY OF THE EMPIRE

Among the great sanctuaries of historic Greece (Figg. 1-2), that of Demeter at Eleusis maintained its importance and capacity for adaptation intact over a long period of time, increasing its international role in the 2nd cent. A.D. In fact, with Hadrian a new and intense phase of development began, shared with Athens and other Hellenic *poleis*, in a real “Renaissance” of Classical Greece¹.

Eleusis was at the height of prosperity between the Hadrianic and Severan periods, despite the destruction caused by the sack of the Costoboci in 170 A.D. It is this event which seems to have provided the occasion for completing the vast architectural project which begun at the beginning of the century. However, it is not easy to precisely define the stages in this transformation, as although much is known of the sanctuary, important lacunae remain. There is much uncertainty regarding fundamental elements of the cult and related structures, the identification of the temple structures themselves and their chronologies, the function and architectural form of many structures inside the *temenos*. Furthermore, even less is known of the architectural fittings and organisation of the ample spaces within the enclosure walls which separated the sacred space, forbidden to the uninitiated, from the exterior. These lacunae are due to the fact that there has been no systematic publication of the complex in its entirety. To date, in-depth studies have only involved a number of buildings or specific questions, neither is any up to date, comprehensive and detailed documentation of the sacred area available such as an adequate catalogue of the numerous architectural elements² abandoned *in situ* following the post-antique robbing of the structures, which certainly continued over a long period of time.

I would like to express special thanks to Sally Cann for the english translation of this text.

¹ On the definition and historical-archaeological context cf. for example WALKER, CAMERON 1989.

² The only comprehensive work is MYLONAS 1961; the most accurate surveys available date to the first decades of the 1900s and are published in NOACK 1927; specific examinations have been made of single elements of the sanctuary, both buildings, as in the case of the Greater Propylaea studied by ZIRO 1991, now republished by BALDASSARRI 2007, and regarding technical details and more general considerations, as can be seen from the vast specific bibliography, for which see LIPPOLIS 2006.

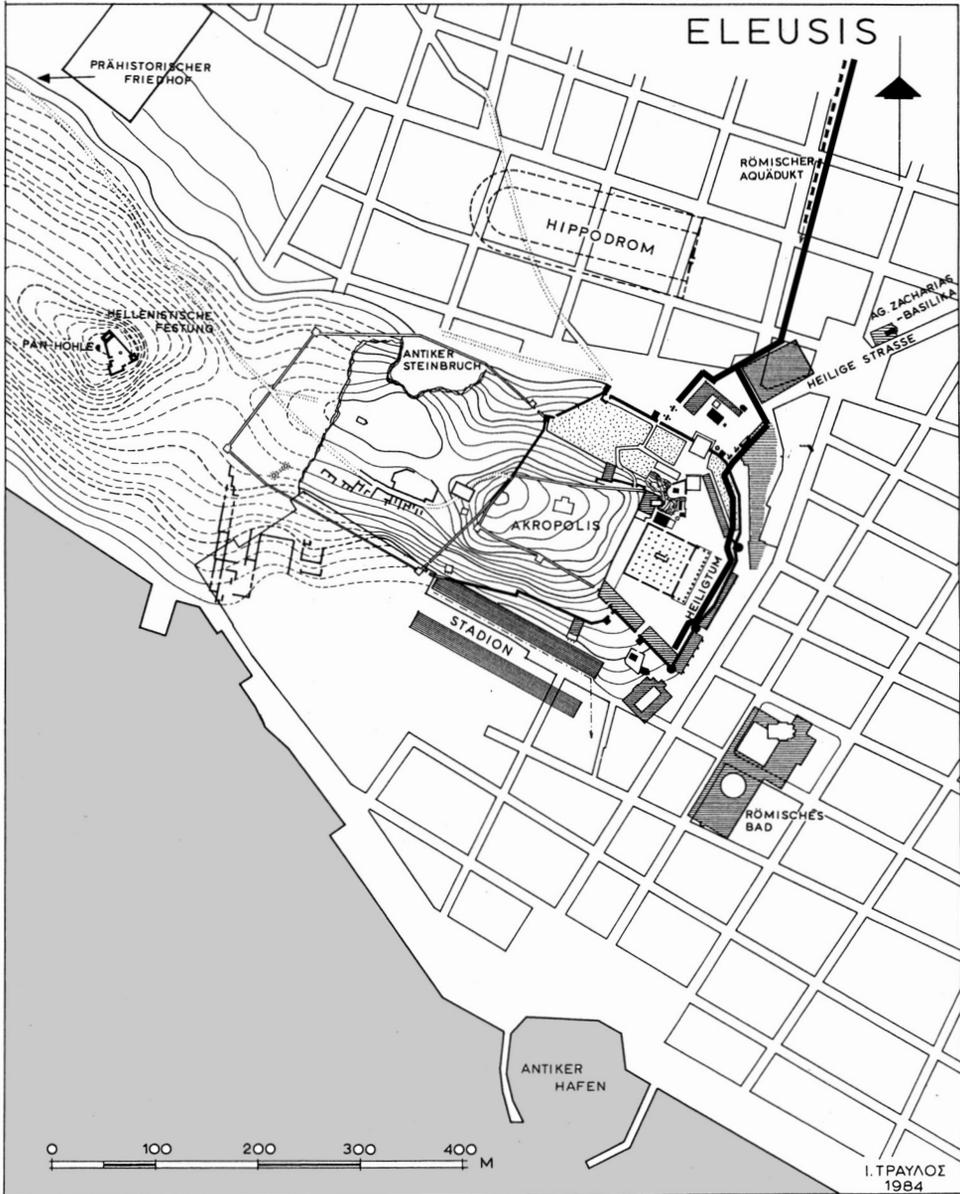


Fig. 1 - Eleusis, overall plan of the settlement (after TRAYLOS 1988)

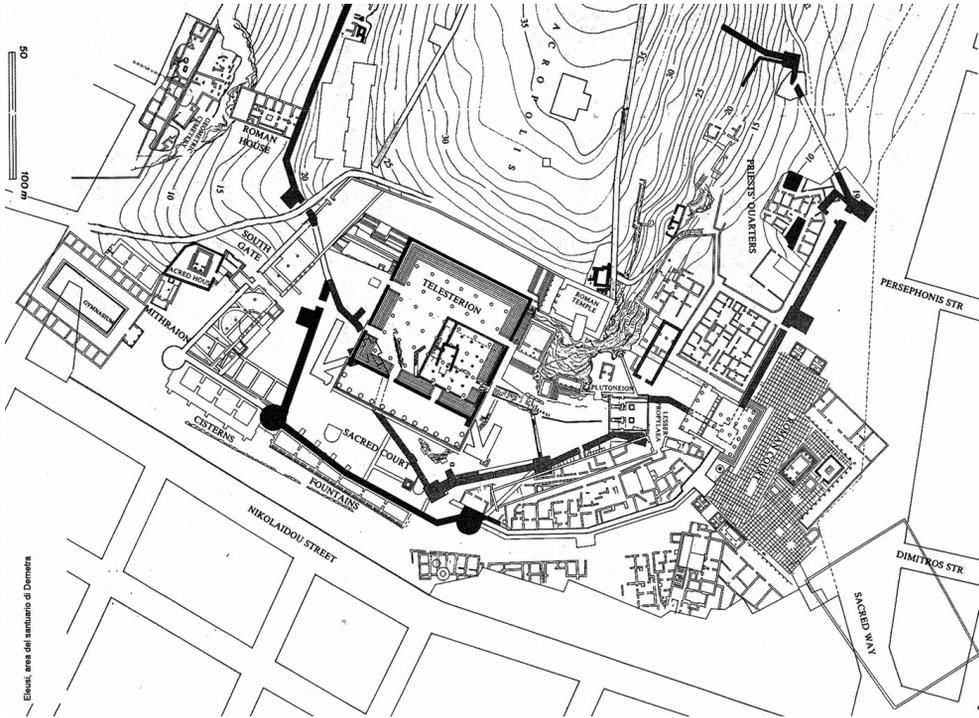


Fig. 2 - Eleusis, plan of the sanctuary of Demeter (after TRAVLOS 1988)

It is perhaps exactly the Roman phase which has to date received the least attention, with a few exceptions³; whilst a comprehensive edition of the epigraphic material from the excavation published by K. Clinton⁴ has led to a significant improvement in this field. However, it is the archaeological investigation of these phases which presents the greatest lacunae and generally continues to be founded on approximate interpretative hypotheses which cannot always be endorsed. There is no stratigraphic data supporting the chronology of the various monuments and their diverse construction phases, the dating is based purely on stylistic observations regarding the architectural elements, or on considerations regarding the building techniques employed. Therefore, it is not easy to find at one's disposal a well-set out and reliable scheme of the history of the sanctuary's development.

³ Of particular interest, for example, the systematic examination of the available documentation and the observations in BALDASSARRI 1998 and in BALDASSARRI 2007.

⁴ CLINTON 2005 with a complete repertory of the preceding bibliography.

For the 2nd cent. A.D. in particular, the available bibliography offers uncertain and rather generic information. The recent re-examination of the documentation in its entirety has reopened the debate on the archaeological interpretation of the complex, providing new elements for discussion and proposing a critical reading of several false certainties which have long impeded an adequate in-depth look at the problems that have emerged from the excavations⁵.

One of the main problems for this period is Hadrian's role in the sanctuary's history, generally considered determinant, but seemingly without sufficient substantiation⁶. Thus, it is necessary to attempt to verify the sound evidence regarding the emperor's direct intervention and the chronological phase regarding him more generally. In fact, a careful analysis makes it possible to reconstruct a more articulate and precise picture of the undertaken works and their nature.

To date the only activity certainly attributable to Hadrian is the reorganisation of the catchment basin on the Eleusis plain⁷. The object of this intervention seems to have involved the regimentation of the course of the river Cephissus, and, at the same time, the reconstruction of the bridge on the *via sacra* crossing it⁸. However, other information may be associated with this complex intervention. For example, a lacunose inscription on a moulded architectural block, shows the dedication of a fountain (?) and an aqueduct by the emperor, whose onomastic formula is missing, however the form and style of the letters make it possible to attribute it to the Hadrianic period, although with some reserves⁹. Thus, the dedicator would be Hadrian himself, as made clear by the integration for the missing part at the beginning opportunely proposed by K. Clinton. It is difficult to separate this document from the presence of the *nymphaeum* built in the square at the entrance to the sanctuary (Fig. 3), considering both its find site¹⁰ and the indications provided by the text. The remains of an imposing aqueduct the final part of which ran on overhead structures, skirting the road which, from

⁵ LIPPOLIS 2006.

⁶ Already in this sense TRAVLOS 1988, 97.

⁷ Among others, TRAVLOS 1988, 97; CLINTON 1989, 1516-1525.

⁸ WILLERS 1990.

⁹ *IG II²* 3196; CLINTON 1999, 99; CLINTON 2005, n° 449, 366; the suggestion has been taken up and carefully evaluated in BALDASSARRI 2007, 222.

¹⁰ The inscription is said to have been found outside the Greater Propylaea, to their left (eastern side of the square), close to inscription *IG II²* 4085 (CLINTON 2005, n° 471, 379-380), walled into the left tower of the Greater Propylaea.



Fig. 3 - Eleusis, outer square and remains of the Hadrianic nymphaeum
(photo E. Lippolis)

the north, arrived in the square in front of the sanctuary, were seen and documented on several occasions by J. Travlòs¹¹. To date less attention has been paid to the *nymphaeum*, examined in 1936 by A. K. Orlandos¹², and to the secondary water supply system, which remains completely unpublished.

These elements should be considered as a unit: the construction of the *nymphaeum*, attributed to the Hadrianic period on the basis of its planimetry and architecture, constitutes the visible part of the water supply system and cannot be separated from the construction of the aqueduct itself. The inscription, monument and water supply structures are concordant with the dating to Hadrian's reign and this confirms the integration of the dedicatory name proposed by Clinton. The water supply must have mainly regarded the sanctuary but also the small town of Eleusis, with branches and tanks that were undoubtedly altered and added to during the course of the

¹¹ TRAVLOS 1988, 91-169.

¹² ORLANDOS 1936.

2nd cent. A.D. On reaching the square the main conduit probably divided into two branches; the one going south supplied the monumental *nymphaeum* and then travelled beyond the road skirting the walls, perhaps using the latter as the base for the duct and the collocation of the secondary *castella aquae* (water towers) and also for the large collecting tanks abutting the exterior of the eastern stretch of the walls, and built in at least two different phases. Not by chance the bath structures uncovered by the excavations were concentrated in this area close to the walls and the *nymphaeum*, clearly attesting the complexity and layout of the water supply system¹³.

Therefore, Hadrian must be attributed with the desire to undertake a systematic reorganisation of the town at base level, providing it with fundamental infrastructures and necessities such as the road network, regimentation of the river Cephissus to prevent flooding and the provision of drinking water. These were all interventions destined to facilitate a development of the town that was adequate to the requirements of the quality of urban life at that time. These provisions find a parallel in those carried out in Athens itself, where the emperor is also attributed with the construction of an aqueduct, only completed under the Antonines, period to which belongs the large *castellum aquae*-pool recently examined by A. Borlenghi¹⁴. At the same time this constitutes a behavioural model for the evergetism of the local elites, particularly evident in the case of Herodes Atticus, responsible, for example, for the construction of the aqueduct terminating in the monumental *nymphaeum* at Olympia¹⁵.

The character of these works leaves no doubt as to the emperor's desire to take what was literally the refoundation of the town of Eleusis into his own hands: the undertaking regarding the roads, the regimentation of the river and the planning of the aqueduct are interventions which, as they made a deep impression on the territory, marking its appearance, cannot be considered as independent from a spatial and monumental redefinition of the town. The square in front of the sanctuary entrance also seems to have been completely reorganised in this phase, although it is difficult to reconstruct the relative and absolute chronology of the interventions. Together with the *nymphaeum* the adjacent temple of Artemis and the paving¹⁶ are

¹³ TRAVLOS 1949.

¹⁴ BORLENGHI 2006, with bibliography on the aqueduct and the question in general.

¹⁵ BOL 1984.

¹⁶ BALDASSARRI 2007.



Fig. 4 - Eleusis, reconstruction of one of the honorary arches in the outer square (Stuart – Revett 1794, pl. IV, after WILLERS 1990, pl 8.1)



Fig. 5 - Eleusis, eastern honorary arch of the outer square; architectural elements *in situ* (photo E. Lippolis)



Fig. 6 - Eleusis, eastern honorary arch of the outer square; architectural elements *in situ* (photo E. Lippolis)

also generally attributed to Hadrian's reign, as are the first versions of the two honorary arches (Fig. 4-6), dedicated to the emperor by the Panhellenic assembly, and dated by Clinton to 135 and 138¹⁷.

Lastly, according to G. Zirò, the first construction phase of the monumental propylaea (Fig. 7-8), conceived as an imitation of those on the Acropolis¹⁸, may be contemporary, a hypothesis regarding which P. Baldassarri has expressed doubts. However, it is unlikely that the entrance building, of great symbolic value, was not part of the original project, also in view

¹⁷ IG II² 2958; CLINTON 1989, 1516-1525; CLINTON 2005, n° 448, 364-366. It is also probable that the honorary arches on the two roads, north and south, leaving the square in front of the sanctuary, supported the branches of the water supply system, allowing it to travel beyond the road and reach the walls, the latter perhaps reused as the base for the duct of successive branches, confirming the Hadrianic chronology of the two monuments. The later dating of the surviving architectural elements may depend on the rebuilding undertaken following the damage caused by the Costoboci invasion, therefore post 170 A.D.

¹⁸ ZIRÒ 1991; BALDASSARRI 2007.

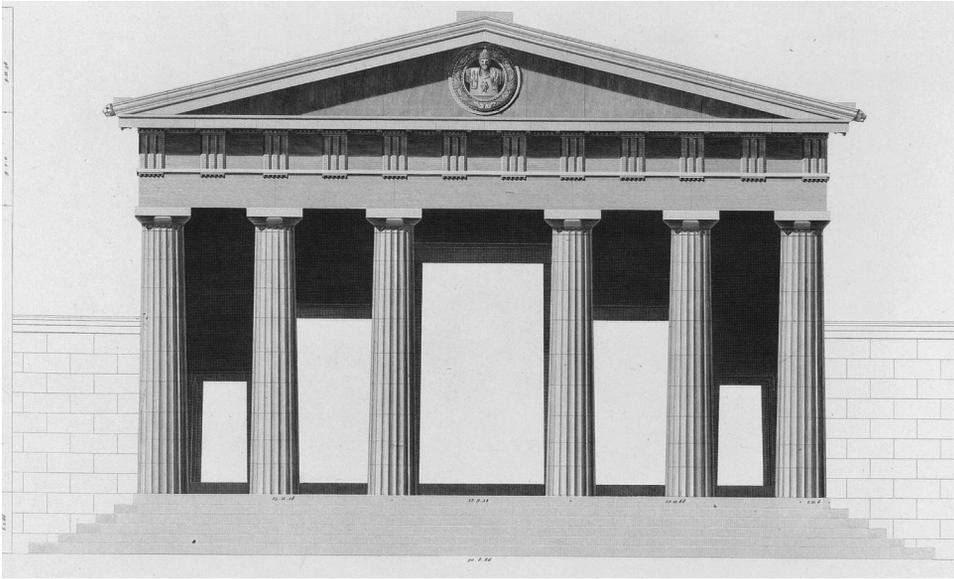


Fig. 7 - Eleusis, the Great Propylaea of the outer face (after UNEDITED ANTIQUITIES OF ATTICA, 18 c)



Fig. 8 - Eleusis, view of the Great Propylaea and surrounding area from inside the sanctuary (photo E. Lippolis)

of considerations linked to the rebuilding of floor levels, routes and relationships between the buildings connected with the Hadrianic construction works. Furthermore, from this moment onwards the square in front of the sanctuary began to be occupied by dedicatory monuments placed symmetrical to the entrance, such as the two altars decorated with torches in relief, offered by the *Achaioi* some time after 131/2 B.C. (Figg. 9-10)¹⁹.

In substance, the strong coincidence, especially chronological, between the data provided by diverse research projects clearly shows the scale of the Hadrianic reconstruction of the entire square in front of the sanctuary's main entrance, even though it is difficult to define its phases and attributions²⁰. The existence of a unitary structural and infrastructural project has already been suggested, undertaken during a long construction process, with rebuilds and completions which certainly took several decades, lasting until the reign of Commodus²¹. A homogeneous logic emerges, aimed to-

¹⁹ *IG II²* 2961; CLINTON 2005, n° 447, 364.

²⁰ Recently, BALDASSARRI 2007, has returned to the problem cf. his bibliography for the monuments, together with LIPPOLIS 2006. Although recognising the scale and planning character of the Hadrianic phase, the author does not agree with some of the proposed solutions: in particular he attributes the Great Propylaea to a single construction phase, which would have to be that of the late Antonine period, considering the bust of Marcus Aurelius inserted into the external pediment. She considers the possibility that the eastern external honorary arch could also have been entirely constructed in a later post Hadrianic phase, a suggestion mainly based on the style of the capitals and instead holds that the eastern stoà in the square could also be Hadrianic, whilst the opposite portico with two orthogonal wings is identified with the *lesche* known from an inscription and connected with the activities of Herodes Atticus, following GALLI'S 2001 proposal. Referring back to the author for the many detailed observations of great interest and for the exhaustive bibliography, it does not seem possible to completely accept her conclusions; the paving in the square cannot be taken as a chronological element for dating the adjacent buildings: the diverse orientation of the slabs, associated with the square's irregular shape, are not sufficient to settle the question, as suggested by Baldassarri herself, and moreover there is no survey or adequate study available. It follows that this cannot be a useful element for distinguishing the chronology of the two honorary arches, certainly the result of a single organizational project for the square. As regards the epigraphy it is difficult not to share Clinton's interpretative proposal regarding the dedicatory inscription, attributed to the years between 131/2 and 138, which necessarily implicates the need to consider the possibility of a construction process that was protracted in time.

²¹ Furthermore, the attribution of the two series of bases with dedicatory inscriptions to the imperial family of Marcus Aurelius, datable to between 180 and 182 (cf. *infra* n. 22), already associated by Clinton with the decoration of the arches on the basis of a number of technical characteristics, are difficult to consider as belonging to the two monuments, considering their number, size and surface areas available, whilst they could have been erected in other



Fig. 9-10 - Eleusis, outer square, base dedicated to the Achaioi with torches in relief (photo E. Lippolis)

wards a monumental transformation of the area, undertaken with the utmost respect for existing cult structures, but with the desire to render the available space more ordered and spectacular. The interest focused on the structures immediately outside the sanctuary, where the processional route

buildings on the square, such as the *nymphaeum* itself or the *stoai*. Also in the case of the Greater Propylaea no elements exist that exclude completion or restorations subsequent to the first phase and it is reasonable to suppose that the Costoboci invasion also damaged the sanctuary's main gate. The comparison with the construction technique used in the Roman rebuilding of the *prostoon* of *Telesterion* (TOWNSEND 1987) certainly indicates an association of building traditions which does not necessarily implicate the attribution to the same workers and the same period. For other reasons, whilst the interior of the hall clearly shows the ample rebuilding post-dating the sack of the Costoboci, it cannot be excluded that on the outside the Roman interventions may be attributed to partial restoration work that was even earlier (for example, the complete substitution of the original columns in the interior and the rebuilding of the western wall, following the extension in that direction, whilst for the remaining perimeter it seems that the existing structure was kept). Lastly, it does not seem that the traditional chronology of temple L, of the steps to the south and the western terrace can be accepted in the terms in which it has been proposed (LIPPOLIS 2006, 199-205). Also

ended and the rituals open to all took place, and perhaps also a part of the introductive catechesis for the *mystai*, derives from its specific representative capacity. In fact, this was the only sacred stage accessible to all: beyond the Great Propylaea the interior of the sanctuary was destined for the elite group of initiates. Thus, it is not by chance, that the attestations of political propaganda and dynastic homage are concentrated on the exterior. Two complete series of honorary bases (Figg. 11-15), probably mistakenly attributed as belonging to the honorary arches, and other similar attestations have emerged in this area in particular²², clearly privileged for the celebration of members of the imperial dynastic family and precluded to dedications by priests of the Eleusinian cult which were instead housed inside the *temenos*.

The situation changed inside the sanctuary. Here the documentation seems to decrease and, apart from restoration and repairs to buildings considered secondary and for which it is however hard to find certain evidence of Hadrianic date, the only structures with some link to the emperor are traditionally temples F or L, one of which has been attributed to the empress Sabina as *Nea Demetra*. This proposal is completely lacking in supporting evidence: not only is no form of veneration of the empress attested at Eleusis²³, but the buildings in question are certainly earlier and present diverse

the identification of the *lesche* of Herodes Atticus in the stoà, at right angles to the sanctuary's external square, although an interesting proposal, it is not supported by any element within the epigraphical context or outside of it, on a monumental site in which the term can also adapt itself to other existing constructions. Furthermore, in this case the very lacunose poetic text which mentions the building only states that the protagonists of the story were comforted and pleasingly given hospitality in a *lesche*, where there was shelter from the winds, without making any effective reference to a specific building activity, rather leaving it to be understood that the structure existed before their meeting. Therefore, it is improbable that it may be considered evidence for an act of evergetism.

²² IG II² 3386, CLINTON 2005, n° 453, 368-369 (Hadrian deified, post 138 A.D.); IG II² 4085, CLINTON 2005, n° 471, 379-380 (unknown emperor, 150-200 A.D.); IG II² 3408, CLINTON 2005, n° 496, 400 (Marcus Aurelius, 172-180 A.D.); IG II² 3397, CLINTON 2005, n° 505, 406 (deified Marcus Aurelius, 180-182 A.D.); IG II² 3402, CLINTON 2005, n° 506, 406-407 (Lucilla, 180-182 A.D.); IG II² 3400, CLINTON 2005, n° 507, 407-408 (Faustina the younger deified, 180-182 A.D.); CLINTON 2005, n° 508, 408 (Faustina the younger deified, 180-182 A.D.); IG II² 3401, CLINTON 2005, n° 509, 408 (Sabina daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 180-182 A.D.); IG II² 3398, CLINTON 2005, n° 510, 409 (Faustina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius, 180-182 A.D.); IG II² 3236, CLINTON 2005, n° 597, 450 (unknown emperor, 2nd to 3rd cent. A.D.).

²³ Hypothesis formulated in MYLONAS 1961 and in TRAVLOS 1988, 97 based on the existence of a veneration of this type at Megara; *contra* CLINTON 1989, 1516-1539.



Fig. 11 - Eleusis, outer square, dedication to the *theos Antoneinos* (after WILLERS 1990, fig. 41)



Fig. 12 - Eleusis, outer square, dedication to the *theos Adrianos panhellenios* (after WILLERS 1990, fig. 42)

phases, of which the latest visible ones are probably subsequent to the Costoboci invasion, therefore post 170 A.D.²⁴. Therefore, the intense activity outside the sanctuary does not appear to be reflected in a similarly extensive undertaking inside the *temenos*, even though numerous ‘minor’ interventions, which may have contributed to a substantial renewal of the sanctuary’s image but without altering its traditional sacred configuration, must be taken into consideration.

The stoà abutting the interior of the south-eastern section of the walls, overlooking the sanctuary’s south square merits particular attention. In this case two main phases can be recognised: the first attesting its construction, conceived as a *porticus duplex*, nine metres wide and thirty-four metres long, traces of the internal colonnade and perimeter structures remain.

²⁴ LIPPOLIS 2006, 199-205, 221-222, 279, 285.



Fig. 13 - Eleusis, outer square, dedication to the *thea Fausteina* (photo E. Lippolis)

It underwent a radical renewal which divided the available space into two sectors, a smaller space to the south-east and a larger one occupied by a large hemicycle with steps of local grey marble, open on the front with five columns between two *antae* (Fig. 16)²⁵. The fragmentary external architrave with a long dedicatory inscription also relates to this phase. It was generally thought to be of late Roman date until K. Clinton's examination proposed its attribution to the reign of Hadrian; thus, the rebuilding of the original structure (perhaps first built in the 1st cent. A.D.) would date to this period, the intervention of an individual whose name is not preserved on the inscription, which perhaps also twice mentions the celebration of sacred games, the second specifically cited as those 'of the Eleusinians'²⁶. Two new

²⁵ LIPPOLIS 2006, 253, 284.

²⁶ IG II² 3159; CLINTON 2005, n° 450, 366-367.

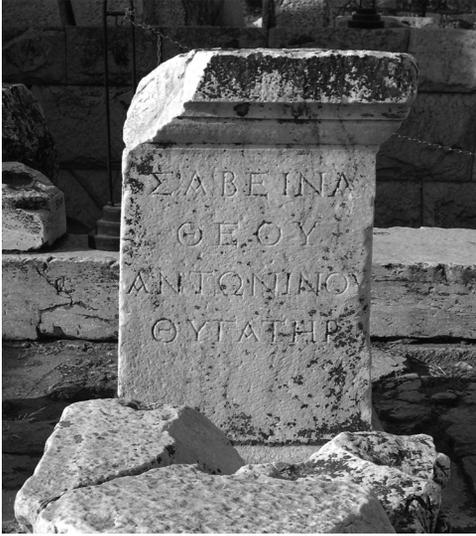


Fig. 14 - Eleusis, outer square, dedication to Faustina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius (photo E. Lippolis)

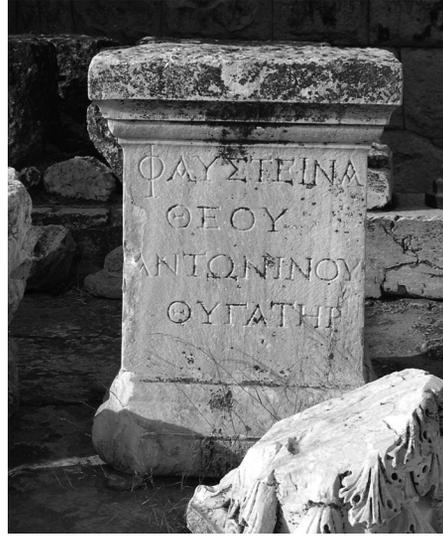


Fig. 15 - Eleusis, outer square, dedication to Sabina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius (photo E. Lippolis)

athletics festivals were instituted precisely in the Hadrianic period, the local *Antinoéia* (as distinct from those held in Athens), proposed by J. Travlòs²⁷ in this case, and the *Panhellénia*²⁸. The latter were explicitly mentioned by Cassius Dio²⁹ and seem to have been celebrated from 137 until about the mid-3rd cent. A.D., as attested by epigraphic evidence, organised by agonomethetes usually chosen among the archons of the association³⁰. The indications in the text and the character of the building seem to fully concur in this

²⁷ TRAVLOS 1949, 97 imagines that the festivals themselves were held in the open space in front of the building, a solution that cannot be shared due to the lack of agonistic structures in the area and above all for the public character of the *Antinoéia*, which makes it impossible that they were held in the enclosed and forbidden area of the sanctuary; also of a different opinion CLINTON 1989, 1516-1539.

²⁸ Moreover, the *Hadrianeia*, perhaps instituted in 131/2 and the *Olimpieia*, founded between 128 and 132, festivals are known: SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1985, 78-104; on the festivals at Athens in this period, cf. GRAINDOR 1934; FOLLET 1976.

²⁹ D.C. 69, 12, 2.

³⁰ The institution of the *Panhellenia* festivals, without doubt subsequent to the constitution of the *synedrion* of the *Panhellenes*, is mentioned in D.C. 69, 12, 2, together with Hadrian's concession to Athens of the annual grain supply and therefore could be inserted into a complex provision in favour of the city.

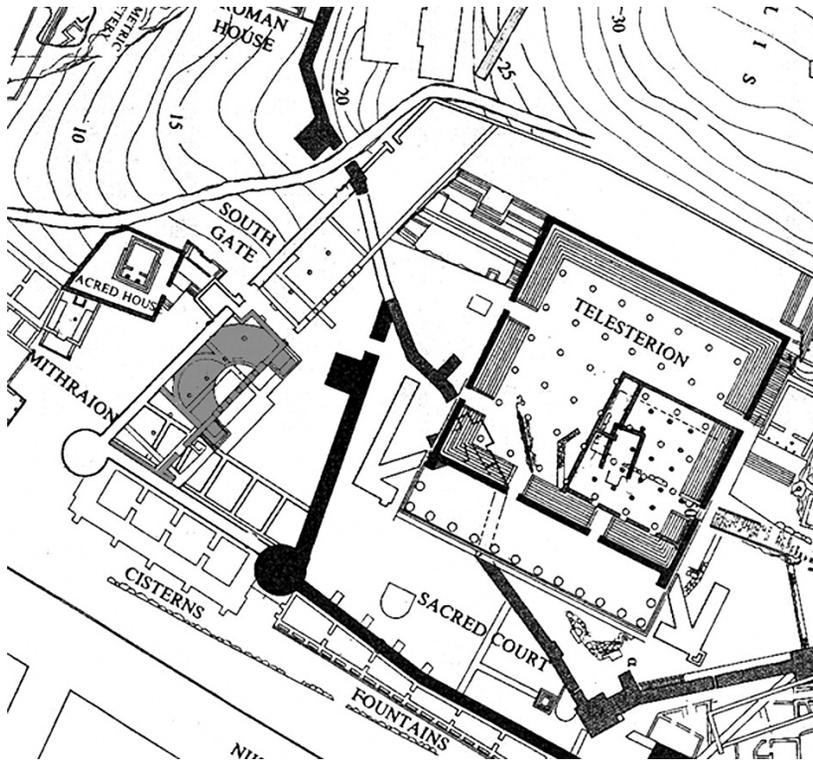


Fig. 16 - Eleusis, plan of the sanctuary of Demeter, detail of the southern area with the assembly building shown in grey (after TRAVLOS 1988)

case also; its use for assemblies is not under discussion, like the intent to invest it with a symbolic value, increased by the positioning of two symmetrical fountains up against its exterior. The monument has never been the object of a specific investigation and the proposal that this may have been a *bouleuterion* has been made in a generic manner. However, the relationship between its dedication and the institution – or celebration – of *agones* does constitute a useful element for linking it to the new Hadrianic foundations, among which the *Panhellenion* is an important point of reference.

Finally, it remains even more difficult to verify coeval interventions in other areas of the town, although it is not to be excluded that part of the agonistic structures outside the *temenos* were renewed or repaired precisely in this period. However, the general impression is that Hadrian transformed Eleusis into a great building site, setting in motion a phase of general renewal, which proceeded in a quick succession of public and private interventions.

The emperor provided an operational model and created the general conditions, but the integration and completion of the works was partly taken on by the local elite, stimulated to emulation and social comparison which made a decisive contribution towards the affirmation of a new 'economic race'. The wealthy classes of Athens and Greece, brought together in the structure of the *Panhellenion* instituted by Hadrian in 131/2 A.D., certainly provided for the building of a number of structures, such as the two honorary arches dedicated to the emperor and members of important families undertook other complementary activities, providing for the complete renewal of the panorama of Eleusinian monuments. The most representative site for the honorary statues of this aristocracy associated with the priestly administration of the sanctuary seems to be the route between the Greater and Lesser Propylaea, inside the sanctuary. However, in decades following the Hadrianic period the increase in dedications seems to have been incessant and came to occupy more internal spaces, as far as the *prostoon* of the *Telesterion* where a number of later dedications, of Severan date, seemed to be housed.

Questions must be asked about the premises for and significance of the Eleusinian revival. Hadrian's personal relationship with the sanctuary seems determinant. It has been suggested that he was a student in Athens where he returned in 112/3, when at the age of thirty-six he was elected archon. Clinton rightly notes that in this period it was unlikely that this magistracy could have been assumed by someone who was not an initiate. As is known, when emperor he participated in the Eleusinian celebrations during his visits in 124, 128 and 131 and resided at Eleusis, perhaps precisely in the period when work on the restoration of the sacred site began, given that in 129 he embarked for Ephesus from its port³¹. This dynastic presence constituted a decisive event for Greece and Athens, which decided to change the date of the beginning of the year, moving it to the month of *Boedromion*, the date of Hadrian's arrival in 124 and of the celebration of the Eleusinian

³¹ CLINTON 1989, 1499-1539, in particular, on Hadrian, 1516-1525; in favour of the restoration FONTANI 2007, 235-240, also on the question of the participation in the celebration of the *Dionysiai* in Athens, in particular 236; contrary to Clinton's reconstruction, which continues to be held the most reliable, ANTONETTI 1995, 149-156, who instead holds that the emperor was not initiated before his accession to the principate but in 124/125, attaining the upper stage of the *epopteia* during his second visit in 128-129. This theory is based on a particular evaluation of the numismatic evidence, which shows a sestertius with Hadrian crowned with ears of wheat between 125-128 (cf. in this regard, KIENAST 1959-60, 65-66) and a series of *cistophorai* subsequent to 128/9 with Augustus on the obverse and Hadrian on the reverse with a bunch of wheat ears and the legend *Hadrianus Aug pp ren(atus)*, attesting the Eleusinian 'rebirth'.

Mysteries³². As regards the economy, apart from the large scale works and imperial and private funding, it appears evident that the particular attention from the emperor permitted the sanctuary to return to being a centre which drained and distributed wealth. This occurred not only through the building activities, but also through the most ephemeral expenses of the complex day to day management, for example maintenance, the celebrative liturgical equipment, the necessary personnel for the running of a complex mechanism such as that of the Eleusinian cult. In this regard it is necessary to take into consideration the importance of the revenue from the tax which the sanctuary collected on first crops. This practice, established in the Archaic period and subsequently written into law by the democratic city in the 5th cent. B.C.³³, is practically unattested from then until the 2nd cent. A.D. when the emperor probably reinstated it in the renewed climate regarding the sanctuary. That Hadrian also took an interest in the details of economic questions is shown, for example, by a fragmentary letter sent to the Athenians in which he deals with very incidental questions such as the sale of fish by those fishing in Eleusinian waters, a text ‘published’ at Piraeus³⁴.

An interesting aspect is the fact that in this period the property of the *aparchai* seems to have been administered by the *Panhellenion*, the institution created by Hadrian in 131/2, which grouped together the historic Greek communities making them into a very important cultural reality for

³² A passage in the *Vita Hadriani* 13, 1 recalls that in 124/5 the emperor “*Eleusinia sacra exempla Herculis Philippique suscepit*”, determining a series of difficulties for the citation of Philippus, considered a transcription error for Philopappus or Asclepius, or a correct citation (in effect the writing tradition seems very coherent) making reference to the initiation of Philip II at Samothrace; for a synthesis of the different interpretations and for a subsequent proposal which rests on the dynastic relationship between Philip and Alexander on one side and Trajan and Hadrian on the other (which however does not seem sustainable): ANTONETTI 1995, 149-156. In reality, perhaps it is precisely the panhellenic programme which constitutes the interpretative key to the comparison, reported from the sources in a succinct manner and perhaps dependent on a text which better explained its motivations. In fact, in both cited cases these are panhellenic heroes *par excellence*, one of mythical status, the other historical, the dynasty which first effectively succeeded in reuniting the Greeks in a single federal structure, which formed a clear precedent for Hadrian’s intentions. Moreover, the lack of information about Philip’s initiation at Eleusis does not constitute a difficulty from the moment that it may effectively depend on a lacuna in the preserved literary documentation.

³³ On the decree regarding the first crops dated by Clinton to around 440-435: CLINTON 2005, n° 28a-b, 37-40.

³⁴ *IG II*² 1103; CLINTON 1989, 1499-1539.

the empire³⁵. For some time now emphasis has been placed on the very close link between the *synedrion* and the sanctuary³⁶, based on its strong religious characterisation, the fact that it administered one of the sanctuary's most important revenues, its commitment to construction only attested in this sanctuary, the dedications made³⁷ and the allotment of the necessary funds to the priests and to the cult³⁸. The increase in attestations in this sense tends to demonstrate that the *hieron* of Demeter could have been the institution's main seat³⁹ and the Hadrianic construction of the assembly building in the south-east portico could have offered an adequate setting for the delegates' reunions, placed in this case directly under sacred protection. The close relationship between the *Panhellenion* and Eleusis is explicitly declared in an important inscription from Thyateira⁴⁰, containing a decree issued by the Asiatic city. It clearly explains how the cult of Demeter constitutes the reason why Athens was chosen as the seat of the permanent assembly of all Hellenes: "...the emperor had benefited the nation of the Hellenes both individually and as a whole, recruiting from among them that *synedrion*, the most sacred *Panhellenion*, as an expression of collective

³⁵ On the *Panhellenion* SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1985, 78-104; SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1986, 88-105; cf. also ROMEO 1998A, 325-337; MAROTTA 1995, 157-167; JONES 1996, 29-56; SPAWFORTH 1999, 339-352; WEISS 2000, 617-639; ROMEO 2002B, 21-37; ROMEO 2002A, 675-684; DUKELLIS 2007, 295-308.

³⁶ Cf. for example SPAWFORTH – WALKER, 1985, 82; this is the only attested relationship, even if it has been presumed that the *panhellenes* were also responsible for the sanctuary of Homonoia and Zeus Eleutherios at Platea, but in a totally inductive manner: NAFISSI 1995, 119-136.

³⁷ *IG* II² 2956-2957; CLINTON 1989, 1499-1539, in particular, on Hadrian, 1516-1525.

³⁸ CLINTON 1989, 1499-1539, in particular, on Hadrian, 1516-1525. Recently another note was added: a portrait dating to the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. from the northern slopes of the acropolis has been attributed to an unknown *panhellenes* honoured in Athens, as known in many other cases; the presence of a triple crown, the middle one myrtle, the lower one a *strophion* and the upper one decorated by eight busts in relief constitutes the main reason for this attribution. In this case the myrtle indicates a close connection with the Eleusinian cult, in whose ceremonial festivals the plant had an important place, and becomes another element in the relationship between the *Panhellenion* and the sanctuary: RICCARDI 2007, 365-390.

³⁹ Of this opinion the most recent bibliography: cf. for example RICCARDI 2007, 365-390; WILLERS 1990 on the contrary had thought of the sanctuary of Zeus Olympus at Athens, a view also shared, for example, by NAFISSI 1995.

⁴⁰ FOLLET – PEPPAS DELMOUSOU 1997, 291-309; on the proponent and chronology of the inscription cf. also MAROTTA 1995, 157-167.

honour for the very noble city of Athens, the benefactress, which once and for all has distributed to all Hellenes the revenue from the Mysteries...”. The declaration recognises that the process of civil transformation owes its origin and diffusion in the area of Greek culture, and from here throughout the rest of the empire, to the teachings of Demeter, both material (agriculture) and spiritual (the Mysteries)⁴¹. It is the logic of the recognition of a religious and historic supremacy which becomes the bond of the Graeco-Roman world’s cultural identity and which is entrusted to an assembly of Hellenic communities chosen on the basis of the traditions of their origins. In formal terms these were ancient Greek *poleis* and their colonies for which cult and linguistic traditions constituted an element of union and social organisation. From the first years of his reign Hadrian seems to have pursued the realization of this project, attempting to enhance the Panhellenic character of important Greek sanctuaries, as shown by the letter to the inhabitants of Delphi⁴² and by his interventions in favour of the renewed cult of *Homonoia ton Hellenon* and *Zeus Eleutherios* at Platea⁴³. However, it was only in Attica that his project found the best possibilities for being put onto practice, reinstating the communications network set up by the Athenian elite in the 5th cent. B.C. and transforming it to meet the new requirements of the Mediterranean world. In this sense the cult of Eleusis must have been recognised as one of the fundamental elements motivating the existence of the *Panhellenion*, as shown by both the inscriptions and literary sources of the period, among which the oration of Helios Aristides for the sack of the Costoboci offers one of the most explicit expressions, presenting the sanctuary of Eleusis as a sacred *temenos* belonging to the entire civilised world⁴⁴.

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⁴¹ Hadrian’s work was also affected by a western diffusion of the Eleusinian cultural system, with the institution in Rome of mystery cults, on the basis of the information from Mario Vittorino: BEAUJEU 1955, 166.

⁴² *FD* III 4, 302, col. II, in particular ll. 5-6; ANTONETTI 1995.

⁴³ NAFISSI 1995.

⁴⁴ ARISTID. *Or. El.* 2.

THE CELEBRATION OF LUCIUS VERUS IN THE *PROVINCIA ACHAIA*: IMPERIAL CULT, RITUAL ACTORS AND RELIGIOUS NETWORKS

Three factors seem to have had a decisive influence on ritual dynamics in the sacred landscape of the province of Achaia during the imperial period. First, there was the figure of the emperor: the actions of the *princeps* created a constant relationship with the local communities and their dignitaries. Rome's highest authority manifested himself not only through tangible interventions and symbolic gestures, but also through the individual participation of the emperor in sacred performances, such as the initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries¹. The institution of the imperial cult², as well as the multiple celebrations dedicated to the emperor and members of his family, were catalysing elements of ritual communication within the sacred landscape of imperial Greece. These ritual interactions between the emperor and his subjects raised the emperor's profile, while various media (images, monuments, inscriptions) ensured his constant presence in sanctuaries.

The second essential element in this communication network comprised the civic elites of the provinces. Acting as ritual mediators and ritual specialists, these aristocrats constituted the main interface between the central power of the emperor and the local communities. Through the traditional practice of euergetism, the local grandees promoted central initiatives of 'restoration' and reconstruction in the ancient, venerable sanctuaries of Achaia³. A large volume of surviving documentation attests to the active involvement of prominent Greek notables not only in the reorganisation

¹ On this point see CLINTON 1974, 35 ff. 84 f. the cases of Hadrian, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus are attested for the 2nd century A.D.; for Hadrian's initiation in Eleusis, see GRAINDOR 1934, 119 ff..

² On imperial cult, see the essays collected by CANCIK-HINTZ 2003; for the Greek East, see CHANIOTIS 2003c; cf. also the seminal work of PRICE 1984A; for the imperial cult in Greece, see the most recent contributions of SPAWFORTH 2012; CAMIA 2011; LOZANO 2007 and LOZANO 2004; KANTIRÉA 2007; LAFOND 2006; cf. SPAWFORTH 1997; BOWERSOCK 1994; ALCOCK 1993.

³ Members of the provincial elites as ritual mediators and ritual specialists: CHANIOTIS 2008.

of the great sanctuary complexes, but also in the refurbishment of small rural sites⁴.

A third and often-neglected factor that affected the ritual dynamic in the province of Achaia was the religious *collegia* or *thiasoi*. As a religious micro-society, the *thiasos* was characterised by a hierarchical structure subject to the influential and distinguished *euergetai*, who played a central role in the organisation and management of ritual practices, above all those of the imperial cult⁵.

The interaction of these last two elements (influential benefactors and highest ranking local officials on one hand and organised associations on the other) led to the formation of networks within individual cities and sanctuaries that were instrumental in managing power in the Roman provinces. In some exceptional cases, through direct imperial intervention, more extensive networks were also created that involved more than one city, for instance the new Panhellenic League that arose during Hadrian's reign⁶.

The reign of Lucius Verus as co-emperor (A.D. 161-169) – specifically his victorious campaign against the Parthians (162-166) in the Roman east – provides an excellent case study of these ritual dynamics⁷. A wealth of epigraphic and archaeological evidence reveals the impact of his actions during his short stay in Greece. His involvement in the Athenian political life and the resonance of his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries are especially crucial since the information about Lucius Verus provided by the ancient sources is, overall, partial and tendentious⁸. This paper's goal is not an in-depth historical rehabilitation of Lucius Verus. Rather, it seeks to define the

⁴ For rural sanctuaries in the Roman period, see the essays collected by AUFFARTH 2009.

⁵ On religious associations in Greek sanctuaries during the imperial period, see GALLI 2004; for the architectural setting of Roman club-houses in Greek sanctuaries, see GALLI *forthcoming* and GALLI 2010; for the new theoretical approaches to religious societies in the Roman empire, see RÜPKE 2004 and the relevant essays collected by EGELHAAF-GAISER – SCHÄFER 2002; for the collection of ancient sources on associations, see ASCOUGH – HARLAND – KLOPPENBORG 2012.

⁶ Networks and imperial cult in the East: HARLAND 1996, 252 ff.; Panhellenion as network: DUKELLIS 2007; Hadrian's Panhellenion: SPAWFORTH 2012; ROMEO 2002A and ROMEO 2002B; SPAWFORTH 1997; JONES 1996; see also SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1985; SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1986.

⁷ For an overview relating to the reign of the co-emperors, see recently BIRLEY 2012B, 155-165.

⁸ For the more balanced historiographical approach to Lucius Verus, see FÜNDLING 2009A with an extensive bibliography, cf. also an exhaustive treatment by FRASCHETTI 2008, 24-33, especially n. 7, 62-70, cf. also the decisive contribution of BARNES 1967.

forms of interaction between the emperor, local notables, and religious networks in the sacred landscape of Greece in the imperial period. Specifically, by looking at the forms of ritual agency and ritual communication, it identifies those dynamics and processes of transformation brought about by the emperor himself.

FROM *PRIVATUS* TO *IMPERATOR*: THE SEARCH FOR CONSENT IN THE PROVINCES

At the time of Antoninus Pius' death, the Parthian uprising was already imminent⁹. The danger of a new conflict on the empire's eastern borders might even have partly motivated Marcus Aurelius to make his younger brother co-emperor. Marcus' decision, imposed on the senate, is crucial because until that moment Lucius had lived at the imperial court with the status of *privatus* (i.e., private citizen). This reconstruction of Lucius' situation, widely accepted in modern scholarship, is based on the tendentious statements of the *Historia Augusta*; according to the *Vita Veri*, unlike his older brother, Lucius had never been associated with imperial power up until this point¹⁰. The necessity for new strategic management and distribution of responsibilities seems to have dictated, at least initially, the institution of the dual principate. The decision to entrust the Parthian campaign to the younger emperor while the other remained at the centre of the empire to act as coordinator was a coherent tactical decision¹¹.

In the spring of A.D. 162, Lucius left Rome for *Brundisium*, from where he was to depart for Greece; the solemnity of the event was underlined by

⁹ On the ancient historical sources related to the military expedition of Lucius Verus in the East, see BIRLEY 2012C, 217-221 with bibliography at p. 230 f.; for the a negative evaluation of Lucius' leadership during the Parthian war, see also STROBEL 1994, for a contrasting view of Lucius' impact in the Greek East, see BOWERSOCK 2001.

¹⁰ FÜNDLING 2009A, 241; but see also the accurate rehabilitation in BARNES 1967, especially 73 ff. with the conclusive remarks: "it appears, therefore, that the youth whom Hadrian had determined should eventually succeed to the throne of the Caesars was not Marcus: it was Lucius." (BARNES 1967, 77). For instance, evidence contrasting with the Lucius' status as *privatus* is offered by an inscription from the island of Thera (*IG XII 3*, 325 ll. 4-5) attesting the official title as Caesar for both Lucius and Marcus in 149-150 A.D.

¹¹ From Augustus onwards it was the younger members of the imperial family who were sent to conduct military campaigns, for example the two princes Lucius and Gaius Caesar, or Tiberius and Germanicus.

Marcus Aurelius's accompanying his younger brother on the first leg of his journey¹². Lucius' stay in Greece, during which he certainly visited Corinth, Athens, and Eleusis, probably lasted until Summer 162. His journey then continued by sea along the coast of Asia Minor, until he reached his headquarters at Antioch on the river Orontes¹³. It seems unlikely that this was the only time Lucius visited Greece; in fact, it has been suggested that he also stopped there during his return journey to Rome, where on October 12, 166, the two emperors celebrated the first great triumph since the reign of Trajan about fifty years earlier¹⁴.

Focusing on the stereotypical image of Lucius as the negative *alter ego* of the wise Marcus, the *Vita Veri* describes Lucius' stay in Greece in disparaging terms: "travelling about through Corinth and Athens accompanied by singers and musicians" (*et apud Corinthum et Athenas inter symphonias et cantica navigabat*: SHA *Verus* 6, 9). Are these episodes the author's attempt to indicate an egocentric personality, or is it possible to detect the emperor's studied behaviour behind the distorted view of the ancient biographers? One has the impression that the *Vita Veri*'s malevolent criticism represents a deliberate attempt to distort what was actually a climate of general enthusiasm welcoming the emperor to different towns in Roman Achaia.

As occurred with Nero and Domitian¹⁵, later authors stigmatize Lucius' self-stylization, which was based on well-known Hellenistic models of regality. His habit of sprinkling his hair with gold dust should be viewed in this context of Hellenistic kingship¹⁶. Reactivating the charismatic image and divine allure of a Hellenistic ruler (Fig. 1), Lucius aimed to obtain wide consensus in the public sphere. In fact, Lucius knew precisely how to influence public opinion and achieve consensus. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence reveals the emperor's direct involvement in the local environment, particularly in public and sacred spaces. As J. H. Oliver

¹² On Lucius' departure from Italy and the presence of Herodes Atticus, see PAPALAS 1978.

¹³ For Lucius' journey through Greece, then by ship to Asia proceeding to Antioch along the coast of Pamphylia and Cilicia, see GALLI 2009-2010, 230 f. with bibliography at n. 43; HALFMANN 1986, 210-212; activity of Lucius in the East: SILLAR 2002 (*non vidi*); BOWERSOCK 2001.

¹⁴ BIRLEY 2012B, 162.

¹⁵ Nero in Greece: STROCKA 2010; WEIR 2004, 144 f. KANTIRÉA 2007, 81 ff.; Domitian: WEIR 2004, 146-167.

¹⁶ The episode of the golden hair is discussed by BARNES 1967, 73; on the Hellenistic models for Lucius' luxurious lifestyle, see FÜNDLING 2009A, 250 n. 31; FÜNDLING 2009B, 111 f. with n. 78; FRASCHETTI 2008, 28 f.

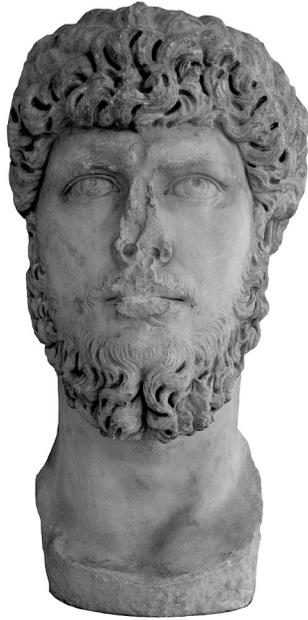


Fig. 1 - Athens, Head of *Lucius Verus* probably part of akrolithic statue from the Dionysos' Theater. Acropolis Museum (photo M. Galli)

observes, *Lucius Verus* made a decisive contribution in the public sphere to local politics, exercising his influence in support of significant legislative reform in Athens to extend the right to hold public office to the sons or grandsons of freedmen¹⁷.

But the most remarkable episode of *Lucius*' stay in Greece was undoubtedly his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. Although the literary sources are silent about this fact (an act of *pietas* was too contrasting with the negative image created for him by a hostile tradition!), two inscriptions

¹⁷ OLIVER 1970, 77: "Between 162 and 166 *Lucius Verus* encouraged Athens and other cities to accept sons and grandsons of freedmen into high office"; this legislative measure constituted a theme that was certainly controversial, if one considers that following the death of *Lucius*, his brother *Marcus Aurelius* was forced to intervene in order to again limit the access of Athenian citizens to the Areopagus. It is possible that financial relief for the cities through greater participation by families of servile origin was an attractive policy for a while and had the enthusiastic backing of *Lucius Verus*, together with *Herodes Atticus* and his Cretan friend *Flavius Xenion*, cf. OLIVER 1970, 75.

from the sanctuary provide indisputable evidence of his participation in the venerable rites of Demeter. Lucius' personal manifestation of *pietas* toward the Eleusinian religiosity had a reference model: that of his grandfather Hadrian. Both Hadrian and Lucius used the prestigious setting of the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis as a backdrop against which to interweave political relationships, to achieve consensus and high visibility.

As an ancestral centre of Greek religion, Eleusis maintained its power of attraction during the imperial period¹⁸. The mystic initiation evoked emotions and a sense of sharing and community that enhanced the feelings of collective identity among the cosmopolitan participants¹⁹. According to ancient tradition, those who boasted atavistic links with the two priestly families, the Eumolpidai and the Kerykes, jealously guarded their particular roles and responsibilities. A network of officials and benefactors oversaw the management of the sanctuary and its complex rituality²⁰. What other event could be more important for the ancient site sacred to Demeter than an imperial visit? What act of devotion could be of any greater significance than that undertaken in the sanctuary by the young emperor Lucius in person?

LUCIUS VERUS AT ELEUSIS AND HIS EXTRAORDINARY INITIATION

Although it was the Emperor Hadrian who paid the most visits to the sanctuary – if the ancient sources are to be believed – it is only from the time of Lucius Verus onwards that we have the first direct testimony from those who took part in the imperial initiations. In fact, the first historical document – almost contemporary with the imperial visit – is precisely that relating to the initiation of Lucius Verus. At Eleusis Titus Flavius Leosthenes held the most prestigious office as hierophant; he was a member of the ancient Athenian *nobilitas* with prominent political positions²¹. In the sanc-

¹⁸ See the contribution of E. Lippolis in this volume.

¹⁹ For the Eleusinian cult, see the most recent approaches in PARKER 2005, 327-368; SOURVINO-INWOOD 2011, 111-123. For an overview of the sanctuary during the imperial period, see LIPPOLIS 2006, 241-324; CLINTON 1999 and CLINTON 1997, but see also the influential work of MYLONAS 1961, 155-186. For the phenomenon of euergetism at Roman Eleusis, see CLINTON 1989.

²⁰ For an extensive treatment of the sacred officials, see CLINTON 1974.

²¹ Titus Flavius Leosthenes: IG II² 3592, CLINTON 2005, I, 387 f. n^o 483 and CLINTON 2005, II, 361 ff.; cf. also FOLLET 1976, 185. 256 f.; CLINTON 1974, 35 ff.

tuary, he was honoured with a portrait-statue whose inscription recalls his highest ranking office:

“Bestowing favour on the city by the brilliance of his lineage and all his achievements, having received the *strophion* in the presence of the deified emperor Antoninus and in initiating the emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus having performed the Mysteries twice in one year (this according to propriety), and having installed him as a Eumolpid, when we had the benefit of his services also as the proposer (of the adlection), securing favour also in this matter through the greatness of his virtue and his reverence for the gods” (trans. CLINTON 2005, II, 362).

Flavius proudly recalls not only his initiation of Lucius Verus, but also having introduced the emperor into the Eumolpidae, the most ancient priestly *genos* of the Eleusinian cult. That this was an exceptional event is stressed by Flavius himself who states that he celebrated an initiation twice in one year: this means that Lucius Verus’ initiation ceremony was an extraordinary event held specifically for him. This must depend on the fact that the emperor arrived after the solemn celebrations of the Greater Mysteries had taken place (Boedromion: Sept.–Oct.) and the fact that the military campaign would have made it impossible for him to wait in Athens until the next official date²². Furthermore, it is important to underline that Lucius was not presented as *theos-divus* and was also without official *cognomina ex virtute* such as *Armenicus* or *Parthicus* that celebrated his victories from 163 A.D. onwards. Therefore, we must conclude that Flavius Leosthenes’ inscription was erected before 169 A.D., probably at a time close to the initiation itself.

The second significant testimony of Lucius’ initiation at Eleusis is that of the altar-priest L. Memmius. He was also a prominent Eleusinian officer who could boast sixty-six years of service in the sanctuary²³. During this period as an altar-priest he performed:

²² Evidently, the preliminary initiation, the Lesser Mysteries (Anthesterion: Jan-Feb.), celebrated in Athens, must also have taken place by the time the emperor reached Greece. There is a precedent for the extraordinary initiation of Lucius Verus: that of the Hellenistic king Demetrius Poliorcetes, who contravening all traditional laws, was initiated to all the degrees on the same day and that being one which was not the prescribed date reserved for Eleusinian ceremonies, on this point see HARDING 2008, 172 f.

²³ L. Memmius: IG II² 3620, CLINTON 2005, I, 404 f. n^o 503 and CLINTON 2005, II, 376 f.; cf. FOLLET 1976, 289 f.; CLINTON 1974, 83 f.

“an initiation in the presence of the deified Hadrian and initiated the deified emperor Lucius Verus, *Armeniacus Parthicus*, and the emperors M. Aurelius Antoninus and M. Aurelius Commodus, *Germanici Sarmatici*”.

Like that of Flavius Leosthenes, Memmius’ dedication must have been erected close to the time of the last imperial initiation, therefore, certainly before 180 A.D. when M. Aurelius died. The inscriptions of F. Leosthenes and L. Memmius attest several significant facts: the central role assumed by the emperor as a point of reference in the Eleusinian cult celebrations from the time of Lucius’ initiation onwards and the equally central role of local notables as “ritual experts” and above all as “figures of mediation”²⁴. The first inscription tells us that not only was the emperor initiated into the mysteries, he was even made a member of the *genos* of the Eumolpidae, thanks to the mediation of the hierophant. Thus, the emperor himself became an integral part of the sanctuary’s ancestral traditions. In the second inscription, the ritual mediator Memmius emphasizes the continuity of the imperial presence at Eleusis, from Hadrian until the contemporary events of the initiation of M. Aurelius and Commodus²⁵.

LUCIUS VERUS AND THE ELEUSINIAN PANHELLENES: THE ENDOWMENT OF FLAVIUS XENION AND THE DONATIONS OF HERODES ATTICUS

As the dossier concerning Lucius’ initiation shows, the emperor did not act alone. His activities in the province were sustained by prominent individuals, that took on the role of active ritual mediators even while holding high ranking public offices. Two protagonists in particular emerge as mediators between the provincial community and the emperor. The first was the leading sophist and politician Herodes Atticus, who had personal links with both Lucius and Marcus, having taught them rhetoric. He seems to have undertaken the decisive role of intermediary between Lucius and the provincial sphere during the Parthian campaign. The second individual who appears to have been particularly close to Lucius during his stay in Greek

²⁴ WHITMARSH 2010, 12, see Galli in this volume about the role of Fabius Pictor in Delphi.

²⁵ The initiation of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (according to FOLLET 1976, 290 in autumn 176 A.D.) is also attested by IG II² 3632, related to the hierophantid Isidoti, granddaughter of the sophist and teacher of Hadrian Isaeus, on this point see FOLLET 1976, 262 ff.; CLINTON 1974, 88.

was Flavius Xenion, a wealthy Cretan citizen, who continued to celebrate him in his home town of Gortyn even after the emperor's death²⁶. Both men distinguished themselves not only as rich donors to the sanctuary but also as promoters of the solemn celebrations for the emperor Lucius. An examination of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the Eleusinian sanctuary illuminates this system of individual *euergetai* (or, sometimes, associations of dignitaries) and the management and control of sanctuaries' monumental complexes and rituals.

T. Flavius Xenion emerges as a famous benefactor at Eleusis during the reign of Lucius Verus. A member of an prominent family of high equestrian rank from Gortyn on Crete, his father was probably granted Athenian citizenship and prestigious membership of the *deme* of Marathon. The remarkable epigraphic evidence about T. Flavius Xenion – compiled by Spawforth-Walker, Clinton and Oliver – documents both Xenion's activity as a donor and the active presence of the Panhellenion in the sanctuary at Eleusis²⁷. In fact, under the influence of the Hadrian's confederation, the Eleusinian sanctuary seems to have reacquired a central role. Based on the model of the ancient Greek confederations, the Panhellenion constituted a network of cities, represented by their leading exponents; in the ancient sanctuary at Eleusis, this confederation found an evocative location for the cult of its founder, Hadrian. The most interesting evidence for the intense euergetic activity of the Panhellenion's prominent individuals mainly dates not from the reign of Hadrian, however, but from the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus onwards. Among the many euergetic figures attested, it was Flavius Xenion who held the office of archon of the Panhellenion.

Even in the complex web of ambition and personal interests present at Eleusis, the Cretan senator stands out; in fact, he made a remarkable donation to sustain the complex Eleusinian structure. A famous inscription documents the Eleusinian endowment that Flavius Xenion seems to have promoted and, in large part, financed. The inscription's text relates to the management of a fund for the sanctuary and, above all, the interest matured from the reinvested money. The surplus earned from this fund was destined for various sacred officials. Clinton and Spawforth-Walker's recent revision of the text highlights the role of the Panhellenion's structures,

²⁶ On Herodes Atticus' personalty and benefactions, see GALLI 2002; TOBIN 1997; AMELING 1983; for Herodes as an intermediary with a 'bicultural identity', see GLEASON 2010.

²⁷ SPAWFORTH – WALKER 1985, especially 101, 86 f. 91; CLINTON 2005, II, 368 f.; OLIVER 1952, 395 ff.

in particular the Synedrion, in controlling the sanctuary's administration and funds.

The connections between individual donor, the Panhellenion, and Eleusis can be understood in this context of the sanctuary's finance. As public recognition of Flavius Xenion's work, the Panhellenion honoured its archon with a statue in Eleusis in the traditional form of a herm wearing a *himation* (Fig. 2)²⁸. The exceptional reference on this portrait-herm to the *aristopoliteia* of Xenion can be interpreted as a solemn recognition of his generosity to the sanctuary. Although there is no evidence that Xenion held a religious position in the sanctuary, the special honour of being an "initiate from hearth", cited in another Eleusinian inscription²⁹, seems to date to the same period of Xenion's success.

The epigraphic dossier regarding Flavius Xenion not only provides important information about the complex system of the Eleusinian priesthoods; it also shows that private foundations were vital for the economic support of the sanctuary itself³⁰. As recent studies have demonstrated for micro-Asiatic sanctuaries in the Hellenistic and imperial periods, the Eleusinian sanctuary was active in the financial field with the aim of guaranteeing its own economic independence³¹. From this point of view, the Eleusinian endowment also shows that the private foundation under the supervision of the Panhellenion used the interest gained from the capital donated by Flavius Xenion to guarantee the undertaking of ritual practices and, very probably, to provide for new building and restorations.

During what period did Xenion's intense activity at Eleusis take place? The great political influence that Flavius Xenion wielded and the wide sphere within which he operated in his role as archon of the Panhellenion and benefactor at Eleusis not only depended on his great family wealth, available to the local aristocracies, but also on a close relationship of trust with the central power of the emperor. The posthumous celebration of Lucius Verus at Gortyn, for which Xenion left written dispositions in his will, demonstrates his enduring loyalty to the emperor³². In fact, the period of

²⁸ CLINTON 2005, I, 386 n° 481 and CLINTON 2005, II, 360 f.

²⁹ CLINTON 2005, I, 386 n° 481 and CLINTON 2005, II, 360 f., cf. also FOLLET 1976, 127 f.

³⁰ CLINTON 1974, 35 with n. 172.

³¹ On the financial use of sanctuaries as "banks", see ISMAELLI 2011, 195 ff.; e.g. for the Artemision of Ephesos, see DIGNAS 2002, 141-156; cf. also DEBORD 1982, 183-243.

³² IC IV 300, see also OLIVER 1970, 74: "the long loyalty to Lucius Verus probably indicates that Flavius Xenion's career blossomed under Lucius Verus, perhaps that Flavius Xenion stood closer to the latter emperor during his sojourn in the East".

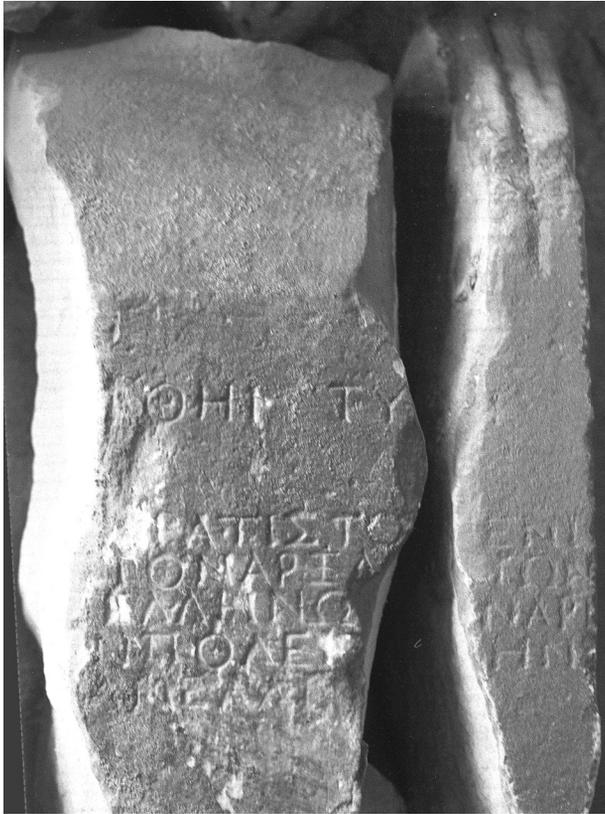


Fig. 2 - Eleusis, Portrait-Herm of Flavius Xenion, archon of the Panhellenes, dedicated by the Panhellenes for his *aristopoliteia* (by courtesy of K. Clinton = CLINTON 2005, n° 491)

his intense euergetic activity in the sanctuary of Demeter probably coincided with the years in which the young *imperator* visited Athens and Eleusis.

The evidence regarding Herodes Atticus, like that for Flavius Xenion, seems to confirm that the period when Greek grandees took the most interest in the Eleusinian sanctuary coincided precisely with the years in which Lucius Verus was present in the province. Like the Cretan benefactor, Herodes was also a member of an ancient priestly family, that of the Kerykes, and boasted ancient links with the sanctuary³³. However, three of his interventions in the sanctuary are connected with the climate of particular enthusiasm surrounding Lucius Verus' success in Parthia. First,

³³ CLINTON 1974, 62 with n. 119.

Herodes donated the white *chlamydes* for the ephebes, a radical substitution for the black costume traditionally worn by young Athenians. This donation, attested to by Philostratus and by an Eleusinian inscription, refers to the participation of the ephebes in the solemn procession towards Eleusis³⁴. Even if the significance of the change in colour remains unclear, its importance lies in the fact that Herodes made such a sensational gesture in his role as priest of the imperial cult (*archiereus*) specifically during the celebrations for the victory of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, defined in the Eleusinian inscription as *Parthikoi Megistoi*³⁵.

Further evidence shows that Herodes Atticus organised the celebration of the successful Parthian campaign that took place in the Eleusinian sanctuary. Twin inscriptions recall that during the *epimeleteia* of Herodes the city dedicated a monument (perhaps an altar or statue) at Eleusis to the saviour gods/goddesses (*sotersi*) of the brotherly (*philadelphon*) emperors (Fig. 3)³⁶. The epithet *soteres* evokes the ancient victories over the Persians, implicitly likening the young emperor's military successes in the East to these famous Greek victories. In fact, read in reference to the two Eleusinian goddesses, the term *soteres* recalls the help given by these goddesses to the Athenians during the battle of Salamis. Various ancient sources recount that the Eleusinian deities caused a cloud of dust to rise over the Thriasian plain, accompanied by the song of the *mystai* sung by Iakchos, thus creating chaos among the Persian ranks³⁷.

Overall, it appears that Herodes' munificent donation aimed to support the participation of a class of future citizens, the ephebes, at the Eleusinian festivals, precisely at the moment of the celebrations for the victorious emperor. Perhaps the decision to promote the institution of the Athenian ephebia reflected a deliberate adhesion to the new non-restrictive policy conceding Athenian citizenship, a policy probably warmly supported by Lucius himself. What better occasion to show support for this policy than the ancient Eleusinian rituals, with their cohesive and identity-building force, held against the background of the rebirth of the Persian victories embodied in the new emperor?

³⁴ PHILOSTR. *VS* II 550 and *IG* II² 2090 translated and commented by TOBIN 1997, 202 f. On Herodes' donation to the ephebes, see GALLI 2002B, 29 ff. and GALLI 2012, 528 ff.

³⁵ *IG* II² 2090 l. 3, TOBIN 1997, 202 f. For the function of *archiereus*, see CAMIA 2011, 236 ff. and for the imperial cult related to Marcus and Lucius, cf. CAMIA 2011, 79 ff.

³⁶ CLINTON 2005, I, 390 f. n^o 486 and CLINTON 2005, II, 365 f.

³⁷ Ancient sources: HDT. 8, 65; PLUT. *Them.* 15, 1-2; ARISTID. *Or.* 22, 6; *Or.* 1, 168; *Or.* 3, 320; see also BALDASSARRI 2007, 221 with n. 38.



Fig. 3 - Eleusis, fragments of an monumental inscription celebrating the Eleusinian gods as “saviors of the brotherly emperors” Marcus and Lucius
(photo M. Galli = CLINTON 2005, n° 486)

POLICY OF MEMORY: THE ARCHITECTURAL “COPIES” IN THE ELEUSINIAN FORECOURT

The Parthian campaign undertaken by Lucius Verus reaffirmed the Roman Empire’s dynamic power. The emperor’s presence also increased the general enthusiasm for the Parthian victories, as it is likely that Lucius stopped in Greece during his return journey³⁸. This climate of renewed anti-Parthian/Persian sentiment produced other concrete enterprises at Eleusis. Thanks to the principal local protagonists – the individual *euergetai* and their Panhellenic network – a programmatic “policy of memory” arose, with unique results. This “policy of memory” entailed a systematic ritual

³⁸ OLIVER 1968, 34: “Immediately after the victory of A.D. 165 Lucius Verus went to Eleusis, was adlected into the Eumolpidae, and had himself initiated, as *IG II²* 3592 records”; see HALFMANN 1986, 211; celebrations in Corinth: JONES 1986, 66 f. 165; for the public lectures of Lucian in honor of the emperor, see MARASCO 1995.

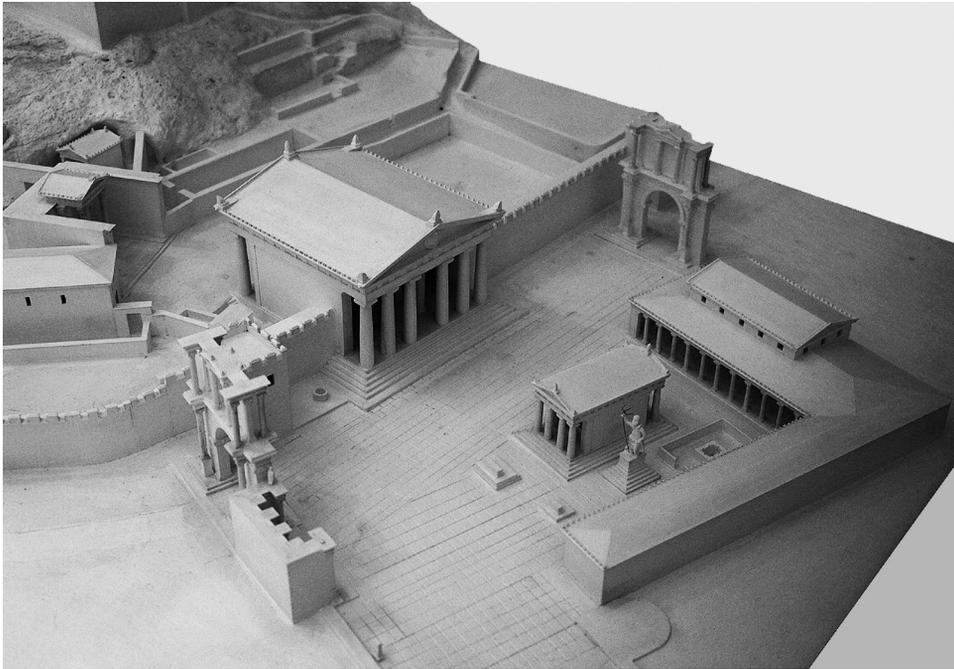


Fig. 4a - Eleusis, sanctuary of Demetra. Architectural “copies” in the Forecourt.
Model (photo M. Galli)

transfer³⁹ undertaken via architectural “copies” that reproduced the famous monuments from the Athenian acropolis but also copied the architecture of the imperial period⁴⁰.

The focal point of this operation was the large, open area in the Eleusinian sanctuary generally defined as the ‘Forecourt’ or ‘outer court’ (Fig. 4a-b)⁴¹. During the 2nd cent. A.D., the entire area outside the *temenos* was remodelled. The ground level was raised and paved with stone slabs, and the layout of the Eleusinian Forecourt was altered in order to create space for the new monumental structures: the great Propylon opening onto the court and, at the centre, the temple of Artemis *Propylaia* and Poseidon *Pater* with an altar in front of its façade. Inside an enclosed area, in the

³⁹ About the process of ritual transfer and ritual adaptation in the Roman empire, see GALLI in this volume with nn. 5.20 and the references to CHANIOTIS 2009.

⁴⁰ For the phenomenon of the architectural copies, see MILES 2012; BALDASSARRI 2007; WILLERS 1996.

⁴¹ On this point see E. Lippolis in this volume, cf. BALDASSARRI 2007; WILLERS 1996.

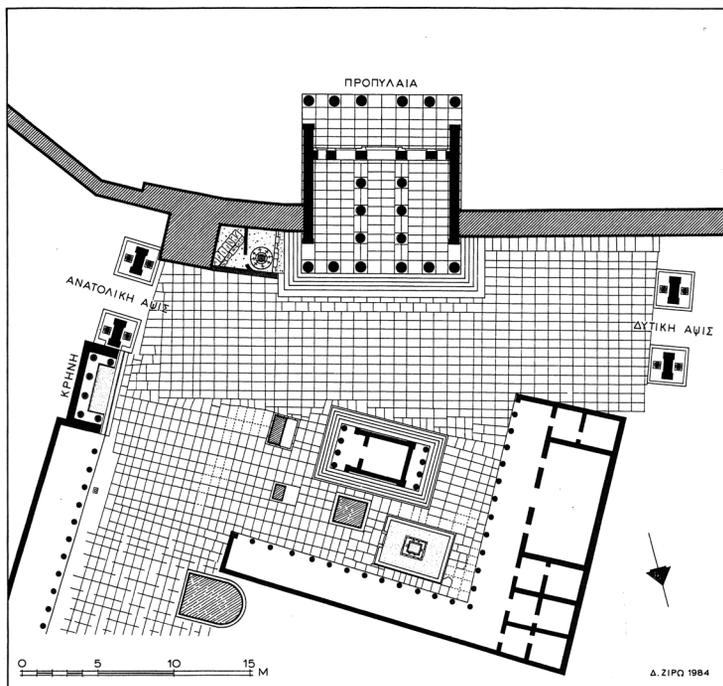


Fig. 4b - Eleusis, reconstructed plan of the monumental entrance (after ZIRÒ 1991, 116 fig. 47)

northeast sector between the temple and the L-shaped portico, was a structure identified as an *enagisterion*, used for Chthonic ritual practices⁴². The court was bordered to the north and west by a large L-shaped portico⁴³, while a great monumental fountain stood on the east side. The dynamic nature of this new layout was emphasised by twin arches at the west and east that marked the passage from exterior to interior. Taken as a whole, the Forecourt was conceived not simply as a boundary between the ancient *temenos* and the new outer sector, but as a point of arrival for the processional route and an important area in which various ritual practices took place.

There has been much discussion of the idea that the new buildings in the Eleusinian Forecourt were “copies” of pre-existing ones. The new monumental entrance was a partial copy of the central part of the Athenian Propy-

⁴² *Enagisterion*: LIPPOLIS 2006, 259 with fig. 98; TORELLI – MAVROJANNIS 1997, 152.

⁴³ For the interpretation of the L-shaped portico as a donation by Herodes Atticus, that is the building called the *lesche* in the inscription mentioning the sophist together with Lucius Verus, see GALLI 2002, 209 ff. GALLI 2001, 97.

laia by Mnesikles, and the temple of Artemis and Poseidon clearly adapted the architectural design of the temple of Nike on the Acropolis, also a tetrastyle-amphiprostyle building⁴⁴. The elements taken not from classical architecture but from the Hadrianic period are equally meaningful. In fact, the twin arches may be considered architectural copies of the arch of Hadrian in Athens⁴⁵. Similar observations have been made about the fountain, which recalls the façade of the Athenian monument known as Hadrian's Library⁴⁶. The Eleusinian reproductions of these Athenian models vary in quality, but taken as a group they are unique: this phenomenon of "copies" and their concentration in the sanctuary at Eleusis has no parallels elsewhere⁴⁷. What is the significance of this architectural transfer?

The architectural reproductions in the Eleusinian Forecourt operate as an effective visual transposition of Athens's sacred topography. More specifically, the Eleusinian "copies" of the Propylaia and the temple of Nike from the ancient polyadic sanctuary at Athens recall the symbolic union between Athens and Eleusis⁴⁸. One finds the same ideological symbiosis in a number of official documents of the Panhellenion that emphasize the Athens-Eleusis connection. For instance, the important decree from the city of Thyatira found on the Athenian acropolis celebrates the role of Athens as "the Benefactress who gives reward of the Mysteries to all equally"⁴⁹. Similar echoes of this relationship appear in the elegy to Athens by Aelius Aristides⁵⁰. The

⁴⁴ For the building project of the Great Propylaia, see BALDASSARRI 2007, 212 ff. and 222 ff. for the Poseidon and Artemis Temple.

⁴⁵ TOPOGRAFIA ATENE, II, 449 ff. The most detailed studies of the Athenian monument and the Eleusinian copies are ZIRÒ 1991; WILLERS 1990, 68-92 with the figg. 22-26 (Athens); WILLERS 1996 (Eleusis), with the considerations of BALDASSARRI 2007.

⁴⁶ On Hadrian's Library, see the most recent contributions of A. Choremi-Spetsieri and I. Tiginagka in VLIZOS 2008, 115-129; cf. also WILLERS 1990, 14 ff.

⁴⁷ MILES 2012, 128 speaks of "an impressive statement of classicism in the second century" stressing that "a direct emulation of a fifth-century B.C.E. building would not be constructed again until the late eighteenth century". "Extreme cases (Extremfälle) in the history of imperial architecture", so emphasizes WILLERS 1996, 181; the whole question of "copies" cannot be discussed in depth here, but other similar comparable examples in Eleusis are the restoration of the portico of Philo (TOWNSEND 1987) and the presence of the small pedimental sculptures that are strongly reminiscent of Phidias' sculptures on the Parthenon's west pediment, see LINDNER 1982; BALDASSARRI 2007.

⁴⁸ For the connections between the Athenian Eleusinion and the sanctuary of Eleusis, see MILES 2012, 121 ff.; Mnesikles' propylaia and Nike Temple: TOPOGRAFIA ATENE, I, 80 ff. 89 ff.

⁴⁹ Trans. JONES 1999B, 12; for the links between Eleusis, Athens and the Panhellenion, see SPAWFORTH 2012, 246 ff.

⁵⁰ OLIVER 1968, 85.87.

Hadrianic addition of a new propylon to the City Eleusinian in Athens made the same strategic use of copies to evoke visual connections between both religious poles. According to the recent proposal by M. Miles, the new façade of the Athenian gate recalled the elegant propylon of Appius Claudius Pulcher at Eleusis⁵¹.

The phenomenon of the Eleusinian copies should not be interpreted as a mere expression of antiquarian taste or nostalgia for the past, especially given the singular presence of the twin arches (Fig. 5). These arches do not reproduce ancient monuments of the classical period but instead faithfully copy a Roman urban monument of recent date, the so-called Hadrian's Gate. The two inscriptions on this Athenian monument celebrated the association between Theseus and Hadrian, the ancient and new hero, both founders of Athens, one mythical and the other idealised: the Hadrian's arch is not marking a spatial division, but affirming the continuity of two different temporal sequences⁵². While the patron of the Athenian arch remains unknown⁵³, the two Eleusinian arches are specifically presented as dedications by the Panhellenion to one un-named emperor: "all Greeks to the Goddesses and to the Emperor"⁵⁴. Compared to the late Hadrianic date of the Athenian monument, the architectural decoration on the twin arches at Eleusis places them in the 160s A.D.⁵⁵.

To whom were the two Eleusinian arches dedicated, and what was their relationship with the Athenian model? The subject of the Panhellenes' dedication must have been instantly identifiable by the faithful simply from the image of the emperor that probably adorned at least one of the Eleusinian arches: it is not by chance that the term "emperor", as Clinton stresses, stood

⁵¹ MILES 2012, 123-140.

⁵² On the interpretation of Hadrian's arch as a temporal distinction between the 'city of Theseus' and that of Panhellene emperor, see the new proposal in GRECO 2008, 11 f. against the interpretation of Hadrian's arch as *horos*; for Hadrian's city, see GALLI 2002, 11 f.

⁵³ There is some intriguing evidence for suggestions as to the identification: a completely neglected 'third copy' of Hadrian's arch in Athens is the arch in the Avlona valley (northwest of Marathon) on the Herodes Atticus' estate: it must be noted that there is a pair of twin inscriptions on Herodes' monument (*IG II²* 5189, see GALLI 2002, 134 ff. with n. 514) conceptually resembling the paired inscriptions on Hadrian's arch in Athens. Even if architecturally the modest Herodes' arch cannot be considered a 'copy' (see A. Mallwitz, *AM* 79, 1964, 157-164), recently, GLEASON 2010 rightly emphasized this relationship with many interesting suggestions. These connections deserve further investigation.

⁵⁴ CLINTON 2005, I, 364 ff. n^o 448 and CLINTON 2005, II, 347 ff.

⁵⁵ BALDASSARRI 2007, 224; WILLERS 1996, 186 ff.; WALKER 1979, 122 with fig. 22.

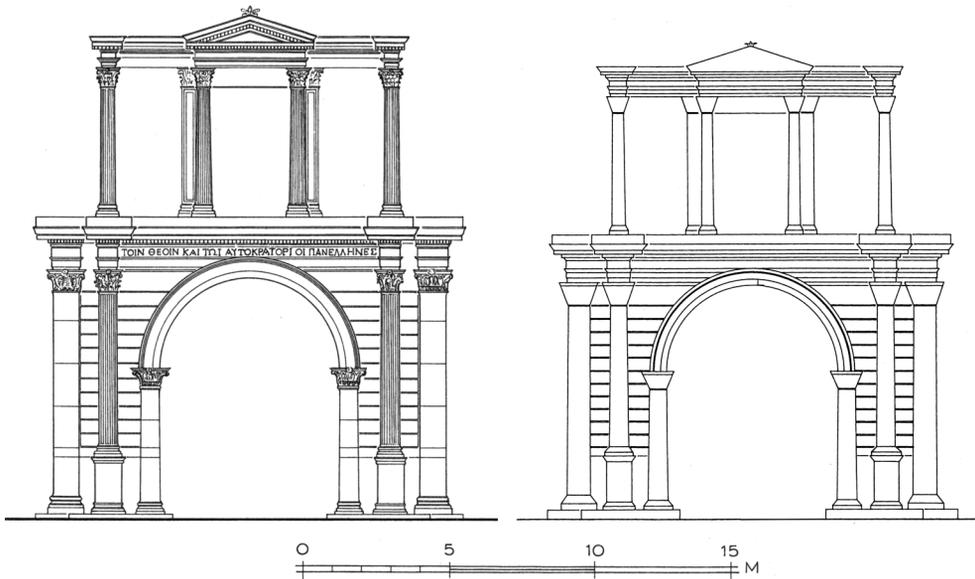


Fig. 5 - Eleusinian Forecourt, Eastern Arch with dedicatory inscription (left).
Reconstruction - Hadrian's Gate at Athens (right). Schematic drawing
(ZIRÒ 1991, 121 fig. 49; WILLERS 1990, 81 fig. 25)

precisely in the center of the eastern arch⁵⁶. It is for this reason that the statue base found in the Eleusinian Forecourt with the inscription *Theos Hadrianos Panhellenios* has been correctly associated with the eastern arch, on whose upper storey it must have stood⁵⁷. The project, which originally celebrated the Panhellenius emperor, later saw the addition of other members of the Antonine family, as was usual for dynastic monuments. The original dedication of the arches in Eleusis to *Hadrianos Theos* thus falls within a much larger celebrative programme in honour of the founder of the Panhellenion, attested to by other significant evidence from the Antonine period⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ CLINTON 2005, II, 347.

⁵⁷ CLINTON 2005, I, 368 n° 453 and CLINTON 2005, II, 350 f. On the imperial cult of Hadrian *Panhellenios*, see CAMIA 2011, 43 ff. 62 f.; GALLI 2008.

⁵⁸ The active role of the Panhellenic league lends further support to the hypothesis that the Panhellenion itself commissioned Hadrian's Arch in Athens. For the celebration of the Hadrian *Panhellenios* the cycle of the cuirassed statue of the so-called Athens-Hierapytna type is relevant. Reproduced on the *lorica* is a significant combination of Greek and Roman symbols, i.e. *Palladion* and *Lupercal*: most of these statues are donations sponsored by the leading exponents of the Panhellenion, such as Herodes Atticus, on this point see GALLI 2008.

Why build two separate monuments at Eleusis – that is, two copies of the same Athenian monument – if not to emphasize the role of the individuals who commissioned them? The presence in the Eleusinian Forecourt of two copies of the Athenian arch symbolically marks the end of the imaginary journey of the mythical Theseus and the new Theseus-Hadrian that began in the city, as the inscription on Hadrian's gate states. In fact, as new evidence demonstrates, the Athenian arch situated near the Olympieion marked the route leading towards the area of the archaic Agora, and then, crossing the Street of the Tripods, passed along the southern slopes to arrive at the entrance to the Acropolis⁵⁹. Thus, all of the Eleusinian copies that were concentrated in and around the outer court recreated an ideal processional route that linked Athens to Eleusis, and this replicated sacred topography was placed under the protective and charismatic wing of the Panhellene Hadrian and of the new powerful *euergetai*⁶⁰. The epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the various buildings present in the Forecourt shows that this was a complex phenomenon of ritual dynamic triggered by the activity of these protagonists.

ELEUSINIAN ARTEMIS AND THE *LESCHÉ* OF HERODES ATTICUS

There is scarce literary evidence for the Eleusinian cult of Artemis as *propylaia*, the only source being Pausanias⁶¹. The epithet *propylaia*, “she who guards the entrances” to the sacred place, recalls the protective function as that of the temple of Nike on the Athenian acropolis, whose plan – as

⁵⁹ New data and reconstruction of the processional route from Olympieion to the Acropolis: GRECO 2008, 10 ff. with fig. 1; on Athenian Sacred Way to Eleusis, see MILES 2012, 117 ff.

⁶⁰ With regard to the Eleusinian Forecourt's complicated chronology, well-founded scepticism has been expressed about the hypothesis that this new layout should be considered a unitary project conceived by the emperor Hadrian, which was however only completed in the subsequent decades or even in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Although many aspects remain unclear, the evidence contrary to this proposal coalesces from the significant decade of the double principate of Marcus and Lucius onwards, in particular that regarding architectural decoration and epigraphy. In this respect, the WILLERS 1996 and BALDASSARRI 2007 revisions of the available data are fundamental, without forgetting the chronology of the architectural decoration in WALKER 1979. Based on a detailed analysis of the archaeological evidence Dietrich Willers reasonably concluded that we ought to abandon the idea of the existence of a great overall project for the Eleusinian Forecourt in the Hadrianic period (WILLERS 1996).

⁶¹ PAUS. 1, 38, 6.

noted – it reproduces. At the same time, the presence of Artemis harks back to the ancient heart of Eleusis: the cult of Artemis. As highlighted by Torelli⁶², it was established to celebrate Artemis' lighting the way during Demeter's search for her daughter.

Even if the worship of Artemis had been a traditional element of the Eleusinian cult from at least the 5th cent. B.C.⁶³, significant clues suggest that in the period of Pausanias the restyling of the Artemisian cult could have resulted from a ritual transfer probably connected to an initiative promoted by Herodes Atticus. A passage in Philostratus quotes that Herodes solemnly dedicated his wife Regilla's clothes at Eleusis after her death following an abortion (c. 150-160 A.D.)⁶⁴. Tobin and Baldassarri rightly stress⁶⁵ how this gesture harks back to an ancient ritual practice: in fact, women traditionally offered clothing in the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron following a successful delivery, or if the woman died during childbirth, her relatives made the offering. Artemis and Demeter's connection with births may provide an explanation for Herodes' otherwise inexplicable action at Eleusis in that he transferred a traditional ritual from Brauron to this sanctuary.

The suggestion of a ritual transfer of the cult of Artemis from Brauron to the sanctuary at Eleusis is supported by other clear similarities between the two contexts (Fig. 6). The L-shaped building bordering the north-eastern sector of the Forecourt at Eleusis is a scaled-down copy of the corresponding building at Brauron. In fact, if one removes one side of the original construction at Brauron, the same combination of a covered portico connected to a second portico housing banqueting rooms can be seen in the Eleusinian monument. Therefore, despite some variations, the Eleusinian portico falls within the series of copies and transpositions that characterises the interventions in this sector outside of the Eleusinian *temenos*.

Further and more direct evidence also points to the L-shaped portico as a deliberate intervention on the part of Herodes Atticus⁶⁶. The celebrated Sophist is mentioned together with the emperor Lucius Verus in a remark-

⁶² TORELLI – MAVROJANNIS 1997, 152.

⁶³ CLINTON 2005, I, 16 ff. n° 13 and CLINTON 2005, II, 32 ff.

⁶⁴ PHILOSTR. VS II 556: "He would not have dedicated her clothes at the temple in Eleusis if he were polluted with her murder when he brought them, for this would make the goddesses vengeful of murder rather than forgiving" (trans. TOBIN 1997, 207).

⁶⁵ TOBIN 1997, 207: "Herodes may well have been aware of this tradition", cf. BALDASSARRI 2007, 224.

⁶⁶ The interpretation of L-shaped portico as a donation of Herodes Atticus was proposed by GALLI 2001 and GALLI 2002, 210-213, cf. BALDASSARRI 2007, 222; *contra* Lippolis in this volume.

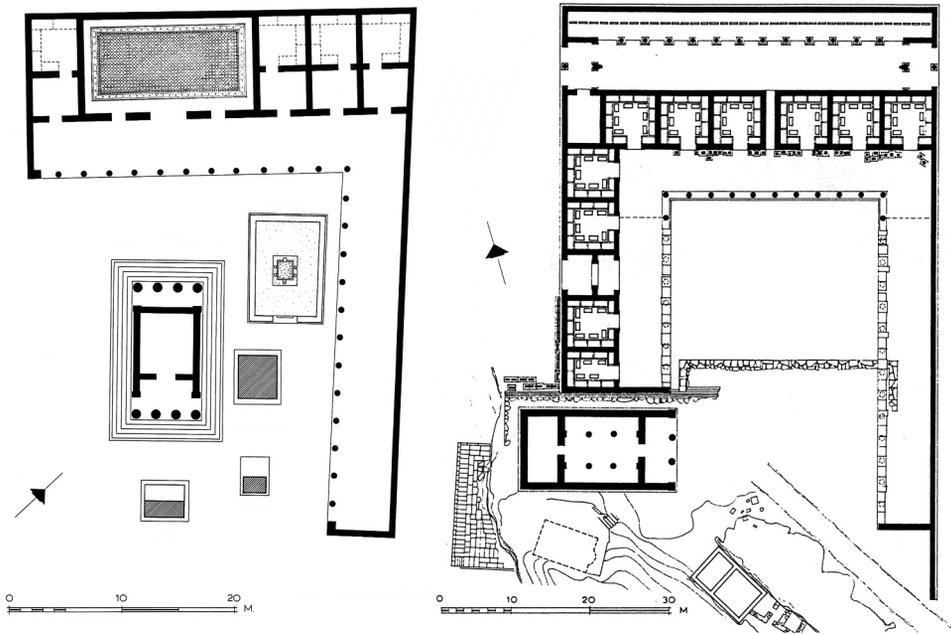


Fig. 6 - Eleusis, L-shaped portico (left) – Brauron, sanctuary of Artemis (right).
Reconstructed plans (ZIRÒ 1991, 125 fig. 52 + HELLMANN 2006, 165 fig. 219)

able Eleusinian inscription that describes the place “protected from the winds” where the two conversed at a *lesche* (that is, a combination of portico and rooms)⁶⁷. The poetic text of this inscription suggests a close link between Herodes (who, let us not forget, taught Greek rhetoric to the two future emperors) and Verus: the emperor is described in a context of war. The heroic dimension evoked by the Homeric echoes contained within the inscription’s verses foregrounds the epic military campaign against the Parthians in the East⁶⁸. If we consider that Corinthian capital discovered during excavation dates the L-shaped portico at Eleusis to the Antonine period⁶⁹, the portico’s identification with the *lesche* mentioned in the inscription of

⁶⁷ CLINTON 2005, I, 388 f. n° 484 and CLINTON 2005, II, 363 f.; see the translation and the commentary in BOWIE 1989, 232 ff.

⁶⁸ BOWIE 1989, 233.

⁶⁹ WALKER 1979, 123 with figg. 23-24 stresses the very similar features of this capital to those of the twin arches, and, based on the opinion of the Greek archaeologist (J. Travlos, *Prakt* 1960, 15 fig. 2), considers the L-shaped portico as “strong candidate” for this capital.

Herodes and Verus seems plausible. Significantly, banqueting rooms and a large central hall with mosaic floor, probably a reception room, were present in the first sector of the *lesche*. Such an arrangement of rooms and their functions is consistent with the concept of a *lesche*, which is generally described as a combination of porticoes and spaces for gatherings.

To conclude: there is no definitive answer to the question of whether the insertion of the cult of Artemis paired with that of Poseidon in the temple of the Eleusinian Forecourt is an imperial creation or a restyling of a pre-existing cult site. Fundamental evidence has emerged from the analysis of the new monumental context: (1) the conception of the architectural project (the temple/L-shaped portico/sacrificial precinct); (2) the characteristic system of architectural “citations” (for example, the temple of Athena Nike and the portico at Brauron); (3) the connection between the euergetism of Herodes Atticus and the cult of Artemis inserted into the new temple and *lesche*; and, (4) the presence of the emperor Lucius Verus at the sanctuary before the Parthian campaign and his connection with Herodes.

What was the function of the Forecourt complex? What was the relationship between these buildings and the emperor’s presence? It might seem that the dining rooms in the L-shaped portico were for ritual banquets, which, according to tradition, closed the Eleusinian celebrations and must have been attended by the priesthood and other high cult officials. However, the great hall on the north side of the portico seems destined mainly for assemblies and receptions. This mix of elements (rooms for banqueting and halls for assemblies and celebrative functions) recalls the multifunctional structure characteristic of the so-called clubhouses (the *hiera oikiai*, or sacred houses) that arose in the major Greek sanctuaries during the Roman period⁷⁰. The Eleusinian *lesche*’s close connection with the temple-altar system and the Panhellenion’s dominant role at Eleusis as sponsor of important initiatives (the twin arches, the celebration of Hadrian, the endowments of Flavius Xenion) suggest that the new Eleusinian Forecourt was designed to house the activities of a religious congregation involved both in the Eleusinian cult and the cult of the Roman emperors. However, in the case of Eleusis there is an additional and decisive factor to be considered: the presence of the emperor as initiate.

⁷⁰ For the phenomenon of clubhouses in Greek sanctuaries and the role of religious micro-societies in the sacred landscape of the *provincia Achaia*, see GALLI *forthcoming*; GALLI 2010; GALLI 2004.

THE *ENAGISTERIA* AT ELEUSIS AND ISTHμία: THE NEW RITUAL DYNAMIC OF HEROIC AND IMPERIAL MYSTERIES

The architectural restyling of the Eleusinian Forecourt shows significant similarities with the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia and, more specifically, the cult site of the *heros* Melikertes-Palaimon. From the Hadrianic period onwards, the structure of this latter cult underwent a series of interventions that modified its monumental layout⁷¹. The parallels in ritual dynamic at Isthmia and Eleusis bring to the fore a significant connection between sacrificial procedures and the activity of a community of initiates. It is also interesting that the final and most substantial phase of restructuring of the Isthmian *heroon* (Palaimonion V) occurred during the reign of Lucius and Marcus⁷². In order to profit from the comparison between Eleusis and Isthmia, we must carefully consider the precinct at Eleusis containing the *eschara* (ground-altar⁷³), situated between the L-shaped portico and the temple of Artemis and Poseidon (Fig. 7).

This rectangular space was originally enclosed by a balustrade with an opening on its eastern side, attested by traces of a threshold. At the centre of the space was a rectangular pit, the upper part carefully built in *opus latericium* (Fig. 8). An analysis of the blocks in the stone paving of the northern sector of the court shows that the precinct was built at the same time as the paving itself. The structure's function is of particular interest. It has been suggested that it was used for sacrificial rituals. Scholars, however, have more appropriately identified it as an *enagisterion* ("place where sacrifices to heroes and deceased mortals were made"), that is, a pit for libations and the deposition of ashes and other materials⁷⁴. Despite remaining doubts about how it functioned, this structure raises important questions. With what part of the Eleusinian rituals was it connected? Could a structure of

⁷¹ See the detailed reconstruction presented by GEBHARD 2005; GEBHARD – DICKIE 2003; cf. also GEBHARD 1993.

⁷² GEBHARD 2005, 189 ff. with fig. 6.7b.

⁷³ MYLONAS 1961, 169.

⁷⁴ This definition is expressed by GEBHARD 2005, 193 with n. 95; regarding the Eleusinian *enagisterion* it is difficult to know whether the pit was also used for cooking the sacrificial animals or exclusively parts of them. In fact, no traces of burning have been found that are extensive enough to justify a prolonged and intensive use of this type. On the contrary, the presence of six conduits arranged on the four sides, leading to the bottom of the structure itself, suggests a plurality of activities among which the ritual pouring of liquids in its interior.

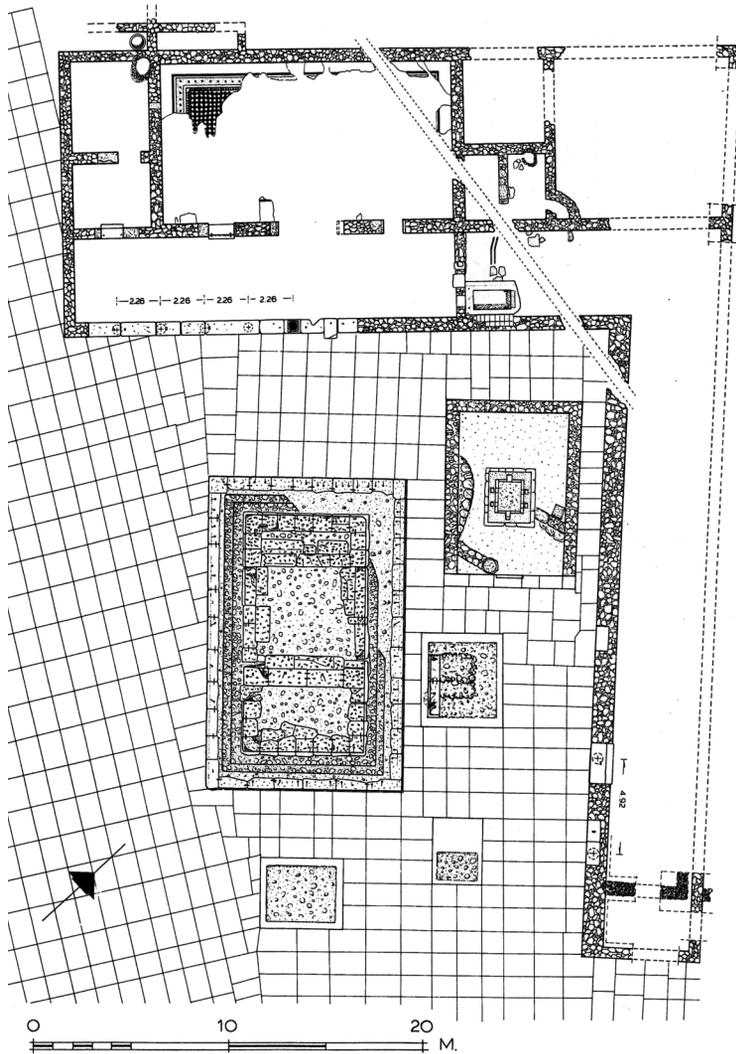


Fig. 7 - Eleusinian L-shaped portico, temple of Artemis and Poseidon and altars, *enagisterion*/ritual precinct with *eschara*. Actual state (ZIRÒ 1991, 124 fig. 51)

this size meet the requirements of a large number of worshippers at the celebrations of the traditional Eleusinian rites? Above all, why was it conceived in strict association with the L-shaped portico and the temple-altar nucleus? A comparison with the Isthmian Palaimonion offers several possible answers.

During the course of the 1st cent. A.D. the Isthmian games, which had been transferred to Sicyon following the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C., were renewed, and the sanctuary of Poseidon was gradually restructured.



Fig. 8 - Eleusis, *enagisterion*: ritual precinct with sacrificial pit/*eschara* (photo M. Galli)

The most significant aspect of this restyling is the association of the cult of Poseidon with the cult of the hero-boy Melikertes-Palaimon. The lack of any earlier trace of this hero cult has led Gebhard to suggest that the location of the heroon must have been chosen because the site was somehow meaningful to the Roman colonists, not because it housed an earlier cult⁷⁵.

In the south-eastern sector of the *temenos* of Poseidon, archaeological evidence dating from about 50 A.D. (Palaimonion I) onwards attests to intense cult activity. A sequence of three sacrificial pits (A-C) spanning almost one century is associated with the presence of a *monopteros* dated in the Hadrianic period and housing the statue of the *heros* Melikertes-Palaimon riding a dolphin⁷⁶. The various monumental transformations during the 2nd

⁷⁵ GEBHARD 2005, 189.

⁷⁶ For relevant considerations concerning the numismatic evidence of the imperial Corinthian coinage and the archaeological remains of the Palaimonion, see HOSKINS WALBANK 2010, 173 ff. especially 176: “The titlature on many of the coins of Lucius Verus includes CAESAR, which Verus dropped after 163 c.e. This suggests very strongly that there was only one Temple of Palaimon, which was dedicated between 161-163, and commemorated on the coinage”. For a very detailed analysis of the ancient sources related to the mythical legends and the rituals connected to the Roman Palaimonion, see PIÉRART 1998; KOESTER 1990.

cent. A.D. demonstrate that great attention was focused on the new nucleus of the heroic cult. However, it was only in the abovementioned phase [Palaimonion V (Fig. 9)] during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus that the monumental layout was completed. In this final phase, the two nuclei of the heroic cult—the temple building (a new *monopteros* now with underground spaces) and the sector used for sacrifices (a precinct housing a sacrificial pit)—were made distinct but at the same time coordinated⁷⁷. The layout of the *enagisterion* provides a clear association between Eleusis and Isthmia. In both cases, the enclosure with the sacrificial pit at its centre became the new fulcrum of cult activity. At both Eleusis and Isthmia a new center of attraction was created outside the ancient sacred nucleus, leaving the oldest and most hallowed areas of the sanctuary unaltered.

At Isthmia, analysis of the plentiful evidence from inside the three pits has shed new light on the activities undertaken by worshippers. “The presence of dining and cooking wares in all three Palaimonion pits (A-C) supports the suggestion that the worshippers feasted as well as sacrificed (...) it [is] likely that the meal was consumed in the immediate vicinity of the sacrifice”⁷⁸. Osteological analyses have shown the differences between bones from the burned sacrifices offered at the altar in the *temenos* and the debris from butchering and cooking from Palaimonion pits⁷⁹. The sacrificial ritual carried out in the *enagisterion* at Isthmia was strictly linked to the practice of “sacred meals”, which probably indicates the presence and activity of a special group of functionaries and initiates of the cult of the Palaimonion⁸⁰. Based on a comparison with Isthmia, one may suggest that the precinct with the *eschara* (ground-herd) was not for the great mass of worshippers arriving to participate in the mysteries but rather for the cult activities of a limited group (cult officers, high priests, dignitaries, and so on). In light of the Isthmian comparison, the close link between the *enagisterion* and the L-shaped portico, furnished with banqueting rooms and a large reception hall, seems to confirm that a *thiasos* or other religious community was active at Eleusis.

As in the case of the *heros* Palaimon in Isthmia, also for Eleusis Travlos first suggested that this sacrificial precinct also housed a hero cult. During

⁷⁷ Confirmation that the combination of precinct and sacrificial pit must be seen as an *enagisterion* is provided by an inscription which mentions the structure in a list of the philanthropic activities of an eminent local P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, provincial priest of the imperial cult, on this point see GEAGAN 1989.

⁷⁸ GEBHARD 2005, 194.

⁷⁹ GEBHARD – REESE 2005.

⁸⁰ GEBHARD – REESE 2005, 144 f.



Fig. 9 - Isthmia, sanctuary of Poseidon. *Temenos* with the temple of Poseidon (right) and Palaimonion area (left): temple of the *heros* Palaimonon-Melikertes and *enagisterion* (ritual precinct with sacrificial pit/*eschara*). Model (after SPATHARI 2010, 100 fig. 44)

the excavation of the outer court, he identified it as the cult site of the mysterious *heros Dolichos* mentioned in an Eleusinian inscription of Hellenistic date⁸¹. Others have proposed the presence in this area of a hero cult selected from the gamut of Eleusinian heroes: Eubuleos, mythical shepherd involved in the events of the myth of Kore-Persephone and also linked to Artemis (and whose image survives in several 2nd cent. A.D. copies); Eumolpos, son of Poseidon and the first priest of the Eleusinian cult; and lastly – the most widely accredited hypothesis – Triptolemos, the first to teach the Eleusinian word⁸².

At both the Eleusinian and the Isthmian *enagisteria*, the celebration of the emperor was probably associated with the initiatory-mystery format of the hero cult. At Isthmia this hypothesis is supported by the presence of a lori-

⁸¹ *IG II² 1672* (329-328 B.C.) l. 25 discussed by BALDASSARRI 2007, n. 45; TRAVLOS 1949, 143 ff. with n. 13 (“The sanctuary of the hero Dolichos would appear to have been opposite the above-mentioned postern, i. e., at the northwest corner of the ‘Roman Court’”), fig. 2 and pl. 11 cf. *Prakt* 1953, 76; MYLONAS 1961, 170 with n. 29.

⁸² Recently MILES 2012, 128 proposed that the temple of Artemis Propylaia might be identified as the “Temple of Triptolemos”; Eumolpos, the first Eleusinian hierophant in the mysteries, and the other Eleusinian heroes, to whom Demeter revealed the Mysteries, have been recently analyzed by SOURVINO-U-INOOD 2011, 116 f.; for the iconography, see CLINTON 1992.

cate statue of Hadrian and Antinous⁸³, as well as a sculptural cycle of imperial figures probably relating to the period of Lucius Verus⁸⁴. At Eleusis, evidence is provided by the statue cycle of Antonine date and by the various inscriptions of the statue bases mentioned above. In both cases, the structural analogies but also the links between the wide-ranging interventions undertaken by prominent local benefactors during the period of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus are striking. At Isthmia, it has already been shown that the definitive layout of the Palaimonion (phase V) was created during the dual principate. The role of the emperor Lucius Verus is further emphasised by a singular coin issue on which he is celebrated in association with the new cult of Palaimon.

As at Eleusis, prominent individuals, in addition to the emperor, played a central role in the Isthmian sanctuary. P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus was a local benefactor at Isthmia and the major priest of the imperial cult (*archiereus*) in the Province in the 3rd quarter of the 2nd cent. A.D. The large-scale interventions he financed at Isthmia are well-documented by a detailed epigraphic dossier⁸⁵. His activities must have been accompanied by those of Herodes Atticus. In fact, Pausanias emphasized that Herodes Atticus dedicated the statue groups inside the temple of Poseidon. Finally, as at Eleusis, sculptures found at Isthmia prove the presence of an extensive imperial cult. These include the famous loricate statue of Hadrian of the Athena-Hierapytna type and fragments of what was probably a very high quality portrait statue of Antinous, both found inside the cella of the temple of Poseidon. Recent studies on the already mentioned cycle of imperial statues from the

⁸³ The finds of the fragments of Hadrian's *lorica* and the head of Antinoos are discussed by GALLI 2008, 100 f.

⁸⁴ The new sculptures from the Palaimonion are presented for the first time by STURGEON 2009, but these finds were previously mentioned regarding the Iuventianus' dedications by GALLI 2001, 61, n. 114. The group is constituted by over life-size statues that have been recently reconstructed from many fragments: one figure with Greek tunic and himation, probably a priest, while the other is wearing "a short-sleeved tunic, a short travelling cloak and sandals, and holds a torch in his left hand (...). This newly recomposed statue is one of three figures comprising a group in which each figure is similarly dressed and holds a torch" (STURGEON 2009, 253). It is unclear as to whether the new Palaimonion group is intended to commemorate the initiation of Lucius Verus or that of Marcus Aurelius into the Isthmian cult: their Isthmian initiations may have taken place at the same time as their initiations in the Eleusinian rites respectively in 162 and 176 A.D.

⁸⁵ On this famous benefactor of the Isthmian sanctuary, see GEBHARD 2005, 193 with n. 94; see also GALLI 2001, 57 ff. with n. 93 for the donations and the epigraphic dossier about Iuventianus (*IG IV² 203*).

Palaimonion provide further evidence⁸⁶. How did this complex network of private ambition, prestigious public office and emulation among the great benefactors intersect with the demands of the central power and its control of the provinces?

PERSIAN MEMORIES AND THE ARMED APHRODITE ON ACROCORINTHUS

A final example demonstrates the convergence between the interests of the local notables and the ideological aims of imperial propaganda in the decisive historical moment of the early reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus: the revival of the ancient cult of Aphrodite at Corinth also fits within the “policy of memory” driven by local protagonists. Among the coins minted by the capital of the *provincia Achaia*, a remarkable number of issues celebrate the individual figure of the emperor Lucius Verus, shown in military dress and associated with various traditional themes from local history. One significant series of these coins celebrates the cult of Aphrodite on the Acrocorinthus⁸⁷. On some examples, the standing goddess holds the shield of Ares like a mirror while a small Eros looks on (Fig. 10a). On the other side is the official image showing a bust of Lucius Verus wearing a cuirass and the *paludamentum*.

The cult of Aphrodite is one of the oldest Corinthian cults, the earliest evidence dating to the end of the 7th cent. B.C. Its impressive location on the summit of the Acrocorinthus dominating the city and the surrounding landscape is shown on other coins celebrating Lucius Verus. One shows the rocky summit of the Acrocorinthus, surmounted by a small tetrastyle temple housing the cult statue of the type just described (Fig. 10c). Another coin presents a more detailed representation of the context (Fig. 10b). Here, the temple is also tetrastyle and stands on the rock overlooking the landscape, but at the foot of the rock is an arched niche with a sacred tree, and to the right is another small building (temple). This coin accurately depicts the temple of Aphrodite within the sacred landscape of the Acrocorinthus as described by Strabo and Pausanias, with the Peirene fountain and what is probably the site of the heroic cult of Sisyphus, mythical founder of the city.

⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 73 and STURGEON 2009.

⁸⁷ On the Aphrodite’s cult, see PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 100 ff. WILLIAMS 1986, where he collates the earlier discussions and studies; images on imperial coinage of Corinth: HOSKINS WALBANK 2010, 190 ff.

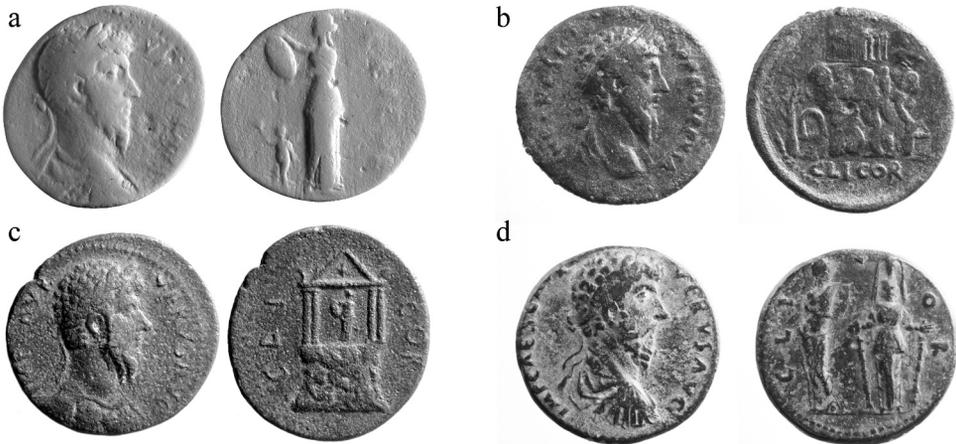


Fig. 10 - Corinthian coinage celebrating Lucius Verus: a) *obv.* laureate-headed bust of L. V. wearing cuirass and *paludamentum* - *rev.* Aphrodite holding Ares' shield before her as mirror and small Eros; b) *obv.* Laureate head of L.V. - *rev.* sacred landscape of Acrocorinth surmounted by temple of Aphrodite; c) *obv.* Laureate head of L.V. - *rev.* Temple on the rock of Acrocorinth and inside the cult-statue of Aphrodite; d) *obv.* laureate-headed bust of L. V. wearing cuirass and *paludamentum* - *rev.* Corinthian Aphrodite and Ephesian Artemis (after RPC online: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk>, RPC IV 10110. 9633.4672.9636)

Although the representation of the *Venus Armata* appears on Corinthian coins from the time of Domitian onwards, this coin type is rather rare. The concentration of typical examples in the reign of Lucius Verus thus raises the question of whether there is a significant link between the reactivation of the Aphrodite's cult on the Acrocorinthus and the presence of Lucius in Corinth.

On the base of the *Historia Augusta* cited above and concerning Lucius Verus' visit to Corinth, it is plausible to think that, precisely because of the ancient cult's strong symbolic and identity-building value, the emperor's military campaign stimulated the religious memory of local traditions. The Greek literary sources of imperial date emphasize the intervention of the goddess of the Acrocorinthus in the great battles against the Persians⁸⁸. In 480 B.C., on the eve of the battle of Salamis, the women of Corinth asked the goddess to intervene in the war and to "provoke in their husbands the desire to fight against the barbarians" (PLU. M 871a⁸⁹). The solemn

⁸⁸ For the role of the goddess on the Acrocorinthus in the battle of Salamis, see also PIRONTI 2007, 248 ff.

⁸⁹ PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994, 104 f.

collective prayer for the salvation of the Greeks was religiously sanctioned by the dedication of votive bronze *pinakes* and by an epigram written by the poet Simonides.

In the historical context of Lucius' Parthian campaign, the 'Armed Aphrodite' on the Acrocorinthus evoked the gods' protection against the barbarians and at the same time guaranteed future victory. Confirmation that the Greek-speaking provinces were symbolically united in supporting the emperor in his Eastern campaign again comes from the Corinthian coinage. A coin uniting the image of the 'Armed Aphrodite' with the famous cult statue of Ephesian Artemis (Fig. 10d), minted for the first time during the reign of Lucius Verus, provided a highly effective visual image of the symbolic union of the provinces of Greece and Asia Minor and their participation in the extraordinary period of the Parthian campaigns.

As at Eleusis and Isthmia, local traditions in Corinth were again shaped by contemporary political events and tendencies. Themes of imperial propaganda were opportunely staged thanks to the strategic intervention of famous benefactors who "translated" them into local realities. In fact, in the venerable context of the Aphrodite's cult the emperor was not even the primary protagonist: the detailed account written by the Neo-Platonist philosopher Damaskios around A.D. 500 during a visit to the statue of the 'Armed Aphrodite' explicitly records that the "famous sophist Herodes Atticus"⁹⁰ had donated this extraordinary statue on the Acrocorinthus. Herodes' dedication on the statue at Corinth is a coherent part of his "mission" to ritualize the Persian memories, carried out most clearly in donations at sites that more directly evoke the Persian wars, such as Marathon and Rhamnous⁹¹.

This final example of an euergetic act in the sacred landscape must again be interpreted against the background of the glorious Persian memories that were revived by the new emperor and his victories over the eastern barbarians. It decisively confirms that the elites acted as ritual mediators forming an interface between the changeable demands of the central power and the local community.

⁹⁰ Passage from Damaskios quoted by FLEMBERG 1991, 41 and 36 (T 30).

⁹¹ Persian memories and the celebration of the emperors at Marathon and Rhamnous: GALLI 2009-2010; new important evidences related to the celebration of battle of Marathon in Herodes Atticus estate in Loukou are discussed by TENTORI MONTALTO 2013.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS: 'IMPERIAL STYLE' AND ELITES' INVOLVEMENT

The ascent of the two emperors and the celebration of the victorious Lucius Verus in the Hellenized East of the *imperium romanum* provided new impulses for provincial society, in particular in the province of Achaia. In contrast to the marginal role assigned to Lucius Verus by ancient and modern historiography, his actions are distinguished by particular dynamism and seem to have made a significant impression on the life of provincial communities.

Lucius' presence stimulated the provincial elites' participation in and active support for the decisive campaign against the Parthians. This scenario makes it easy to comprehend the evocation of Persian memories: as the evidence shows, the reactivation of a common heroic past contributed to the spread of a shared identity among the cities of the Hellenized East. The emperor's actions must have tangibly demonstrated that Rome's power was able to guarantee and protect such identities and traditions throughout the empire. The emperor also seems to have made a decisive contribution to local political debate. If we credit Oliver's perspicacious and detailed reconstructions, Lucius Verus took an active role in local conflicts and social tensions in evidence during the Antonine period. In Athens, the emperor seems to have promoted a policy that opened citizenship to more people – a strategy that must have favoured the greater integration of new citizens into the social body. These measures must have facilitated access to various political offices by from this new social class and of diverse provenance. It is precisely in connection with such social dynamics that the support of the famous sophist and politician for the Athenian ephebes, for example, takes on a political value. Herodes Atticus' donations in favour of the ephebes, documented at Eleusis and Athens, helped to revive the central role of this social institution. The ephebia offered the most suitable social and cultural context for the process of multi-cultural integration of new elements into the civic body, crucial in light of the new political decision to extend the right of citizenship.

Within this scenario of power relationships, the traditional sanctuaries offered an ideal location in which the ritual actors could interact and coordinate their communicative action. However, a differentiation in tasks and actions, between emperor, notables and organized networks, seems to emerge from the evidence presented here. In terms of restyling and reconstruction, as well as management and control of the monumental complexes

and ritual performances, the interventions of the Roman emperor were complemented by the parallel activity of individual *euergetes* (Herodes Atticus and Flavius Xenion) or federations (Panhellenion). None of these activities would have occurred without the active involvement of local benefactors and without their mediation of imperial demands.

From this multifaceted perspective, the essential features of ritual dynamic and power-interaction must be considered within the broad context of the *Regierungsstil* of the Roman emperor⁹². Such a historiographic model of the so-called ‘style of rule’ – that is, a division of the spheres of competence between the emperor and the Greek grandees of the empire – seems also to be reflected at Eleusis, in the concrete measures adopted by Hadrian following the flooding of the river Kephisos⁹³. His provision for the construction of a new bridge on the *hiera odos* brought substantial benefits not only to the sanctuary but also to the Eleusinian territory. Measures involving infrastructures were not exclusive to the case of Eleusis, but fall within the emperor’s sphere of action, as is also attested to by the wealth of documentation about the Panhellenic emperor⁹⁴.

Alongside the ‘emperor’s style,’ which defines the way the emperor interacted with local realities, it is possible to detect the existence of an ‘elites’ style’ that defined the behavior of the local aristocracies. Underlying the gestures of individuals such as Flavius Xenion and Herodes Atticus was not so much antiquarianism as the intentional action of ritual specialists and ritual mediators at the service of the central power. However, the possible profits to be gained from this role must not be forgotten: as shown by the case of Xenion’s endowment to Eleusis, these activities could also have economic and financial implications. When one looks beyond the one-sided approach of

⁹² Such a model of *Regierungsstil*, i.e. the division of the spheres of competence between the emperor and the aristocracies of the empire, seems to be reflected in the most diverse provincial realities: for an extensive analysis, see MÜLLER 2009, cf. also BURASELIS 2006 with bibliography. A differentiation in tasks, between emperor and elites, seems to emerge from the documentation discussed by MÜLLER 2009 on the requests presented by the city of Pergamon to the emperor Hadrian. The city asked his authorization for the construction of a new temple dedicated to him. In an important document of 137 A.D., Hadrian replies with a refusal saying that he was worried by the financial burden of such a project. Therefore, the entire burden of the construction lays on the local community, from the maintenance of the temples to the organization and financial administration of the ritual practices.

⁹³ GRAINDOR 1934, 35 f.

⁹⁴ See for instance Hadrian’s intervention in the case of the flooding at Chaeroneia in Boetia: BURASELIS 2006, 44 ff. with n. 9.

the 'centre – periphery' (Rome - Province) relationship, the celebration of Lucius Verus in Greek sanctuaries serves as a valuable paradigm for the interplay between local traditions and innovative patterns, transformation and revival, individual and cooperative interventions, all of which were essential features of the Greek sacred landscape during the imperial period.

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ABSTRACTS

JOCHEN GRIESBACH

From its very beginning the Delian sanctuary of Apollo attracted an audience of international coverage and constituted one of the central places of the Greek world for competitive self-representation. Since the last decades of the 4th century honorific portrait statues were erected within the sanctuary to embody 'for ever' the outstanding social and religious qualities of the portrayed. Most of the statues are now lost. However, by analysing the setting and formal characteristics of the statue bases in situ it becomes clear how the viewer was supposed to perceive the statues within their spatial and ritual context. Primarily one can notice significant differences in the disposition of statue bases between the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. While the statues of the 3rd century are diversified by pose, dimension and location, those of the 2nd century B.C. tend towards alignment and standardisation. These two strategies of self-representation point to a change of social values within the Hellenistic world. Instead of continuing the habit of individual competition, the social elites of the 2nd century B.C. preferred to represent themselves more homogeneously, i.e. as members of the upper class but simultaneously as warrantors of traditional democratic values. During the transitional period (c. 130 - 69 B.C.) a wide range of new locations were identified in order to set up statues outside the sanctuary. Now members of the upper class aimed more and more to get their statues close(r) to specific audiences beyond the sacred space. Thus the sanctuary of Apollon lost its crucial role as public place for the formation of collective identity in favor of scattered and varying audiences suggested by both the multiplication as well as the exclusive arrangement of individual portrait statues.

ANNALISA LO MONACO

The sanctuary of Olympia is normally inquired into its architectonic and monumental development of archaic and classic age. Less inquired it still turns out today to be the Hellenistic phase, of which a phase plan has been written up. The standing datum is that the building activity concerns only a small number of buildings, all exteriors to the sacred space of the Altis and related to the development of the agonistic competition. The costs of the financings would seem supported by the exponents of the Elean elite, who long since managed the administration of the sanctuary.

MILENA MELFI

This paper attempts at describing the characteristics of the communication established between Greeks and Romans in the last and most dramatic phases of the Roman conquest. Two case-studies are chosen as subject of this investigation: the sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros after the destruction of Corinth of 146 B.C.,

and the sanctuaries of Athens after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. The conclusions drawn from the archaeological evidence are ultimately in line with the results of the most recent historical analysis, which stresses the importance of the knowledge of local contexts in the establishment of Roman hegemony in the Hellenistic world. Rome's communication strategy seems to have been that of establishing herself within pre-existing networks, rather than imposing foreign language and rules.

GIOVANNA FALEZZA

The aim of the present article is to investigate whether or not religious sites in Greece kept their political functions after the Roman conquest. Moreover it will explain how the Romans, on the basis of their conquest strategy, decided each time to install themselves in religious activities. The focus is on the first centuries of the Roman dominion in Greece, starting from the first entrance of Roman troops into Greece at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the establishment of the principate. The geographical area chosen for this investigation is the northern part of Greece: Macedonia, Thessaly and Epirus.

JESSICA PICCININI

This paper analyses all the evidence testifying to activity of the shrine of Dodona during the Augustan period to ascertain the validity of the shared opinion according to which the sanctuary was abandoned after Roman and Thracians attacks in the 2nd and 1st century B.C. Although the splendour of the past was certainly over, epigraphic and archaeological evidence, among which an inscribed base dedicated to Livia and probably belonging to a life-size dynastic group statues, proves that the sanctuary of Dodona was visited and oracular activity and games were also performed.

ANDREA BAUDINI

Using archaeological, literary and epigraphic data, it is here proposed a reconstruction of the evolution of the whipping rite of the Orthia sanctuary in Hellenistic and Roman era. Even if its characters of passage rite remain unchanged, its forms seem to shift from those of a complex ritual organic to the traditional agogé and to the community of the homoioi, to the more simple ones, expressed by the aristocratic society that dominates Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. In that period, importance is given to the more spectacular aspects of the rite and to its most peculiar elements. These are also the base of the "Spartan myth" on which the propaganda of the city and of its ruling class is built after the loss of its autonomy.

ELISA CHIARA PORTALE

The reception of the image of the Augustae in Greece allows us to evaluate the different ways of integrating the imperial power in the local culture, religion, and society, answering to “central” stimuli through an active reinterpretation of the official models in accordance with the local agencies. In analogy with the main trends recognized by D. Boschung among the emperors’ portraits, the statues of the Augustae could be linked to the Hellenistic tradition of timai for the basileis or benefactors; their likenesses could be updated according to the latest Roman fashions, provided with clear status symbols (stola, calcei..) and made recognizable by the official portrait types; finally, their images could be merged into religious contexts, assimilated to deities by the epigraphs and/or reshaped in a “theomorphic” guise, combining the individual features with a divine statue type rooted in the Classical past. These tendencies are not separated, but they eclectically interact, depending on the context and on the communicative intention. The topic is examined through several examples, especially the portraits of the empresses found, often in dynastic groups, in the sanctuaries both of the traditional deities and of the imperial cult, at Tenos, Olympia, Epidaurus, Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Cyrene, Eleusis and Aulis, and particularly in the theatre close to the Asklepieion of Butrint. Finally, some evidences are considered for an “Athenian reformulation” of the imperial myth, through which the Augustae were associated to the goddesses of the sanctuaries reshaped during the Athenian imperialism, that were given an authoritative form by the sculptors of the Phidian circle.

ENZO LIPPOLIS

The meaningful relationship between emperor Hadrian and Athens is connected also to the Eleusinian sanctuary of Demeter. Despite a wide modern bibliography and several information of the ancient literature, this aspect still has several uncertainties. The important emperor’s role is analyzed in the resume of the sanctuary and of the Eleusinian settlement during the 2nd cent. B.C., above all starting from the building and the monumental policy. Without analyzing only the more representative elements, but considering all the testimonies attributable to his principate and to his patronage, it is possible to verify the characters and the meaning of the Hadrianic program. A reading of the ‘Eleusinian Renaissance’ emerges as an aware effect of the dynastic cultural policy, connected to the institution of Panhellenion; the famous association promoted by Hadrian could have in the sanctuary an important assembly and a commemorative place, probably the main one, as the architectural, epigraphic and historical testimonies show. Eleusis becomes, therefore, a religious symbol not only Pan-Hellenic, but also Mediterranean, an authentic imperial sanctuary, in which the cohesion of the multi-ethnic state is acknowledged through the participation in the same cultural message.

MARCO GALLI

The reign of Lucius Verus as co-emperor (A.D. 161-169) – specifically his victorious campaign against the Parthians (162-166) in the Roman East – provides an excellent case study of these ritual dynamics. A wealth of epigraphic and archaeological evidence reveals the impact of his actions during his short stay in Greece. His involvement in the Athenian political life and the resonance of his initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries are especially crucial since the information about Lucius Verus provided by the ancient sources is, overall, partial and tendentious. This paper's goal is to define the forms of interaction between the emperor, local notables, and religious networks in the sacred landscape of Greece in the imperial period. Specifically, it tries to identify those dynamics and processes of transformation brought about by the emperor himself. When one looks beyond the one-sided approach of the 'centre – periphery' (Rome - Province) relationship, the celebration of Lucius Verus serves as a valuable paradigm for the interplay between local traditions and innovative patterns, transformation and revival, individual and cooperative interventions, all of which were essential features of the Greek sacred landscape during the imperial period.

BONNA D. WESCOAT

In this essay, I consider developments in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace during the formative late 3rd through 1st centuries B.C., as the Romans rose to power in the Eastern Mediterranean and took an interest in the island that likely was both motivated by and helped solidify the ancestral and divine connections fostered in Rome's foundation stories. The Sanctuary and its cult were meaningful to the Romans for social, religious, economic, and personal reasons, the last of which appear to have taken precedence over politically astute decisions on more than one occasion. Roman narratives, from the story of Perseus's capture to Germanicus's failed attempt to land on the island, reflect a distinct sense of the allure and the force of the island and its cult. In addition to historical testimonia, epigraphic evidence including initiate lists, honorary dedications, and a prohibition signal these centuries to be a pivotal time in the fortunes of the Sanctuary generally and vis-à-vis the Romans in particular. Nevertheless, this period in the Sanctuary's material development has received little attention beyond the magnificent Winged Victory. Several monuments belonging to this period – including the faux-Mycenaean niche, the outer grandstand of the Theatral Complex, three late Hellenistic buildings on the Western Hill, several dining rooms, and possibly the theater – are here examined against the backdrop of Roman interest and with the following questions in mind: To what extent can we identify Roman involvement in the material record of the Sanctuary? Were the Romans and Samothracians reciprocating partners in defining, or refining, their shared religious and ethnic heritage? Were the Samothracians merely trading on their sanctity with the best and most able customers, or were the conditions in Rome's rise right for them to reinvest in their own self-fashioning?

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