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Production to Destruction?

Pagan and Mythological Statuary in Asia Minor

INE JACOBS

Abstract

Pagan and mythological statuary still functioned in the Late Roman city. Studies on this kind of imagery all too often focus on only one aspect or one type of action, frequently assuming that destruction was the preferred way of dealing with conflicted images. To understand the status of statues in an age when the Christian faith was steadily conquering the Roman world, an overview based on various kinds of evidence ranging from production and conscious preservation to violent destruction is necessary. This article brings this data together for the cities of Asia Minor to enhance the general picture.*

PAGAN AND MYTHOLOGICAL STATUARY IN A CHANGING WORLD

Throughout the Greek and Roman period, pagan temples, baths, agoras, streets, and private residences were embellished with statues, statuettes, and other sculptural decoration. Having been produced in a world where religion had penetrated almost every aspect of life, many of these decorations depicted either pagan or mythological subjects, or at least referred to the world of gods, half-gods, and heroes. Inhabitants of Roman cities came into contact with these pagan and mythological statues on a daily basis, and their opinions regarding the nature and function of these statues were diverse. They varied according to time, place,

and social class and from individual to individual and were also very much dependent on the exact nature of the statue.¹ Nevertheless, ancient texts and depictions imply that such statues were an essential and integral part of the cityscape, which, if deprived of this decoration, would be sensed as incomplete.² The integration of sculpted images into the cityscape may have been so complete that, for the most part, ancient viewers were not consciously aware of their presence, noticing them foremost on special occasions or when they had been subjected to an abnormal treatment.³

With the rise of Christianity, however, attention was again drawn to pagan and mythological statuary. As a constant reminder of the conquered pagan religions, it became a more questionable and at times problematic element of the cityscape.⁴ Literary and epigraphic sources—which are still the predominant source of information on the subject—suggest that the transition from paganism to Christianity involved divergent processes. On the one hand, Christians were given the opportunity physically to harm statues believed to have been inhabited by a deity, or, in Christianized discourse, a threatening demon. Discourses demanding destruction became significant in the fourth and fifth centuries.⁵ In particular, the *Lives of the Saints* tells rousing tales in which the Christian community

*I carried out this research as postdoctoral researcher of the Research Foundation–Flanders under the supervision of Marc Waelkens. I wish to thank all colleagues, especially Luke Lavan, who read and commented on the text, as well as the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA* for their useful suggestions. All errors are my own.

¹ There is abundant literature on this subject. Stewart (2003) is vital for the functioning of statuary in the ancient world in general. Also in the Roman world, these opinions led to diverse physical treatments such as bowing before statues and placing food in front of them (Belting 1994, 49–50; Brown 1999, 24–5; Stewart 2003, 263–64).

² It was, e.g., not uncommon to associate statues with localities. Thus, one of the city quarters of Side derived its name from a statue of a quadriga (Nollé 1993, 403). Stewart (2003, 121–22) provides other instances of statuary as an important part of the urban environment.

³ Stewart 2003, 118, 148–49; ch. 4 examines to what extent and in which instances ancient viewers consciously noticed

the statuary population around them.

⁴ E.g., already in the first half of the third century C.E., Tertullian (*De Spect.* 8) lamented the omnipresence of “Satan and his angels” in the city. In the third quarter of the fourth century, Ambrose (*Ep.* 18) wrote in a letter to Valentinian II, “Because they [the pagans of Rome] get pleasure out of numbers, they perform sacrifices all over the place.” A few decades later, Augustine (*Ep.* 16.1) received a letter from a certain Maximus, a pagan grammarian, with the remark that “there is no sure evidence for the Greek fable that Mount Olympus is the dwelling place of the gods, but we see and feel sure that the market place of our town is occupied by a crown of beneficent deities.”

⁵ Based on literary sources from the second to fourth centuries C.E., Caseau (2007) shows that violence toward pagan objects and statuary increased through the centuries. Mango (1963) and James (1996) both provide concise but useful overviews of Christian thought on pagan statues from the fifth century onward, focusing on later centuries.

under the leadership of the saint in question violently tears down threatening and suspicious statues.⁶ On the other hand, with the gradual dilution of the cult functions and religious connotations of statuary, other values such as historical, political, symbolic, and aesthetic could become more important.⁷ In Italy and North Africa, for example, the relocation and reevaluation of statues of ancient deities has been recorded in the epigraphic record.⁸ Due to their apparent cultural, historic, and aesthetic value, collections became more numerous throughout the Roman empire, especially in private contexts.⁹ These two opposing attitudes were not necessarily separated in time or space, which was not always easy to understand, even for contemporaries. For example, in the early fifth century C.E., Socrates was faced with the problem of explaining why Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, had ordered the erection of a pagan statue in a public place in 392 C.E., after having already commanded that all others should be destroyed.¹⁰

INTERPRETING STATUARY REMAINS

In spite of the religious tensions and transformations characterizing late antiquity, it is clear that pagan and mythological statues and reliefs were never comprehensively removed from the cityscape. Otherwise, we would not find so many statues in excavations. Apparently there were good reasons to retain statuary as part of the city fabric. Therefore, the intention of this article is to present an overview of the diverse attitudes toward pagan and mythological statues in late antiquity based primarily on the statues found in public monuments and civic spaces and, to a lesser extent, those discovered within private houses, which are already better understood than those posted in public spaces. These material remains will be set against literary and epigraphic sources to illuminate the factors that might save one statue but lead to the destruction of another. The main geographical focus lies in the eastern Roman empire, more exactly in Asia Minor (fig. 1), where, in contrast to the West, the tradition of high secular

literary culture after the fourth century C.E. was not restricted to the imperial court or to the courts of successor kingdoms but remained also relevant to and important for municipal upper classes.¹¹ Asia Minor was a region where traditional urban culture was especially long-lived, and, as a consequence, the amount of preserved statuary is generally high. This has made it possible not only to compare findspots within a specific city but also to uncover wider trends applicable to the whole of Asia Minor and maybe also to other regions of the Roman empire. The sites referred to in this article are diverse in size and history. Most of the material evidence comes from Aphrodisias and Ephesos. Although not a very large city, Aphrodisias was one of the most important production centers of statuary in the empire; in addition, until the late fifth or early sixth century C.E., Aphrodisias had a strong pagan presence and was the location of a philosophical school centered around Asklepiodotos.¹² In contrast, Ephesos, the cosmopolitan capital of the Asian diocese, was an important Christian center at least from the late second or the early third century C.E. onward.¹³ Other cities mentioned in this article comprise larger provincial capitals, such as Perge and Side, as well as smaller towns, such as Sagalassos or Nyssa, all of them with a more or less comprehensive statuary record. In addition, informative examples from outside Asia Minor are sometimes mentioned, but a full-fledged comparison with other regions lies beyond the scope of this article.

Although the interpretation of archaeological evidence is not straightforward, when examined with care it does shed light on how statues were viewed and treated during their lifespan. For example, the statuary remains themselves may testify to an uncharacteristic treatment (e.g., chopping off of noses or genitals). In addition, the exact circumstances in which they are found can be especially revealing. Some statues remained virtually unharmed, whereas others were shattered into hundreds of fragments. Some statues were discovered underneath collapsed structures,

⁶ Statue smashing was only one expression of the struggle between the upcoming Christian community and the resistant pagan population. The advance of the Christian faith was supported by physical attacks on temples and on pagans themselves but also by more peaceful manners of conversion such as the increasing role of Christian clergy as patrons and intercessors (Gaddis 2005, 115–17; Salzman 2006, 265–67). Hahn (2004) discusses the well-documented conversion processes in such cities as Antioch, Alexandria, and Gaza.

⁷ Saradi-Mendelovici 1990; Lepelley 1994, (forthcoming); James 1996; Saradi 1997; Salzman 1999, 131–32; Schmidt 2003, 215; Stewart 2003, 154–55.

⁸ *Infra* n. 30.

⁹ Hannestad (1994, 117–44; 2007a; 2007b) and Bergmann (1999) treat most of the known collections. Bassett (2004) discusses the collections of Constantinople. Mundell Mango (1995) and Bassett (2004, 14 n. 38) both cite literature on the purposes and definitions of collecting.

¹⁰ Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.16.

¹¹ Liebeschuetz 1995–1996, 195, 208.

¹² Smith 1991, 157–58; Trombley 1994, 52–73.

¹³ Harreither 2002, 78–80; Ladstätter and Pülz 2007, 408–16.



Fig. 1. Map of Asia Minor, showing locations of sites mentioned in the text.

others were built into walls or foundations, and some were buried in the ground. Finally, their original physical surroundings and the context in which they were placed—their relation with the surrounding architecture, other statues in their vicinity, and accompanying inscriptions—can also illuminate the functions and meanings they possessed during and especially at the end of their lifespan.

There are, of course, a number of shortcomings related to the archaeological record, especially when it comes to secure dating of the remains. Production dates have often been established on stylistic grounds,¹⁴ and it is seldom possible to say anything definite about statuary after its initial moment of erection.¹⁵ In addition, especially in older excavations,

registration of both archaeological context and the sculpted fragments themselves was less regular and meticulous than it is today. Even present-day publications often report only the best preserved and most spectacular finds. In addition, excavation trenches may simply miss some evidence.¹⁶ Clearly, only part of the original corpus of statues from any given city has survived and other statues have disappeared without leaving a trace.

In the following sections, the main attitudes concerning pagan and mythological statuary—roughly divided into positive, (seemingly) neutral, and negative—are outlined in broad strokes and substantiated with examples. These attitudes are then put into context, and particular reasons for production, preserva-

¹⁴ Hannestad (2007a) gives an overview of the “discovery” of a Late Antique chronology and redates many sculptures to late antiquity based on criteria of style, technique, typology, and, last but not least, context. Stirling (2005, 91–110) is a recent example of stylistic dating starting from fixed chronological points such as the Sidon statuettes. There remain, however, grave problems with stylistic dating in this period,

such as the Late Antique reliance on and revival of old styles and types as well as the lack of a truly cosmopolitan style. Kiilerich (1993, 189–95) describes the problems of style and chronology of the Theodosian period.

¹⁵ Sauer 2003, 32–3.

¹⁶ Croxford 2003, 90–1.

tion, or destruction are discussed. I end by reviewing more general factors that influenced the treatment of statues and assess the role of statuary in the Late Antique city.

POSITIVE ATTITUDES

Two examples of positive attitudes in late antiquity toward pagan and mythological statuary are production and active preservation. By active preservation, I mean that the statues have undergone alterations or repairs.

Production

Images with pagan and mythological motifs were produced until the late seventh century. They were present on mosaic pavements and silver objects, both belonging to the private sphere and elite culture.¹⁷ According to a complaint made by Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, a large variety of pagan religious and mythological statues and reliefs was still being produced and displayed in public ca. 420 C.E.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the production and significant reworking of such items in Asia Minor seem to have already slowed down in this period, and there are no statuary remains that can be dated after the later fifth century C.E.¹⁹

Most Late Antique statuary production has been assigned to sculptors or workshops in Asia Minor,²⁰ one of which, the so-called Sculptor's Workshop, has actually been excavated in the city center of Aphrodisias.²¹ The finds within the workshop included four small-scale works depicting Europa and the bull, Artemis, Asklepios with the legs of a small, naked female (possibly Aphrodite), and a philosopher's bust and larger

statues, including two satyrs that were in the process of being reworked when the building was destroyed, unfinished depictions of Dionysos and a satyr, part of a second satyr, and a Poseidon. These pieces provide an overview of what was still in demand during the late fourth century C.E. when the workshop was destroyed.²²

Most of the Late Antique statuary found in excavations are small-scale pieces of a mythological nature. Virtually all of them were discovered in or near newly built or renovated aristocratic residences in Asia Minor, in other regions around the Mediterranean, and as far away as Britain.²³ Although there is a large variety in the subject, scale, number, medium, and dates of collections, some general trends can be distinguished. For example, the most popular themes in late antiquity were Dionysos and his circle, a hunting Artemis, Aphrodite (often with marine attributes), and, specifically in the eastern provinces, Asklepios in company with Hygeia. These statuettes were displayed in rooms used for reception and self-display, such as vestibules, triclinia, gardens, and baths. They were accompanied by older portraits and the by-then popular shield portraits of important magistrates, emperors, and philosophers, as well as by mythological heirlooms.²⁴ Just like the table silver and the lavish floor mosaics, these statuettes or statuary groups were eagerly purchased and displayed by both pagans and Christians (or Jews) alike, either for aesthetic reasons, as moral exempla, or as expressions of status, rank, and intellectual statement. They do not, however, provide straightforward information on the religious life of the owner.²⁵ Even a devout Christian such as Melania the Younger could

¹⁷Liebeschuetz (1995–1996, 193–200) treats mythological themes in decoration in general. Weiss and Talgam (2002, esp. 80–3) collected mythological scenes on mosaics. Recent publications on silver include Guggisberg and Kaufmann-Heinimann (2003) and Leader-Newby 2004. Muth (2001, 113–15) discusses the compatibility between Christian piety and appreciation of classical art. Elsner (2004, 271–84) gives a more general overview of Late Antique art production. Uytterhoeven (forthcoming) provides an up-to-date overview of pagan and mythological motifs of all sorts appearing in Late Antique elite houses.

¹⁸*Ellenikon Therapeutike Pathematon* 3.79–84. See Gazda (1981, 167) for a translation of the relevant passage.

¹⁹Hannestad 2007a. Among the latest items to be produced were very flat statuary groups of Orpheus amid animals. They were probably exported from Aphrodisias as far as Sabratha in the late fifth century C.E. (Hannestad 2007b, 200–1).

²⁰Gazda (1981, 160–63), Stirling (2005, 56–8), and Hannestad (2007a, 294–96) provide examples of Late Antique small-scale statuettes that could be assigned to a "School of Aphrodisias." Stirling (2005, 125–29) looks into other possible workshops of Asia Minor and the East working abroad.

²¹Rockwell 1991; Van Voorhis 1999, (forthcoming).

²²Van Voorhis (1999, 44–61) dates the destruction in the late fourth century.

²³Hannestad (2007a, 292, 299; 2007b, 197) makes the connection between late statuary production and the many Late Antique villas in the Mediterranean. Both publications give an overview of Late Antique statues displayed in villas. Stirling (2005), though focusing on Gaul, is a fundamental work for Late Antique pagan and mythological small-scale statuary discovered in private houses all over the Mediterranean. Stirling (2007) compares evidence from Gaul and Spain, and Stirling (2008, 132–36) focuses on domestic statuary found in Greece.

²⁴Stirling 2005, 89–90, 219.

²⁵Classical education (*paideia*) was reserved for the "happy few," so that, especially from the fourth century onward, it provided a social identity to the upper classes and became a symbol of elite status (Gazda 1981, 168–70, 177; Stirling 2005, 26–7, 153–55; Hannestad 2007a, 273–74). Liebeschuetz (1995–1996) argues for a continuation and assimilation of pagan myths in Christian visual and literary culture in general. Maguire (2001, 243–47) provides an overview of pagan and

live in the House of the Valerii in Rome, amid a collection of statues that included herms and a statuary group of Cupid and Psyche.²⁶

I know of only one instance of sculpted images still being produced for a public monument. The fountain complex near the stadium at Ephesos, built at the end of the fourth or in the first half of the fifth century and located along one of the city's principal streets, represents the latest primary statuary assemblage made specifically for the civic setting in which it was displayed. The traditional aediculated facade of the fountain was ornamented with at least three late fourth-century statuettes depicting Dionysos and a satyr, a sleeping Eros, and Harpokrates with a crocodile and theater mask through which water flowed.²⁷ The builders of the fountain ordered these statuettes and had the balustrade of the water basin adorned with images of a kantharos and Christian crosses.²⁸ Although the period ca. 400 C.E. was not yet religiously homogeneous,²⁹ and it could be argued that the iconography of this fountain sought to appease all inhabitants of Ephesos, it is more likely that the statuettes, just as in contemporary private contexts, were not intended as religious statements; rather, they were considered part of the general cultural heritage. Moreover, as we will see later, the addition of crosses signified that the monument was "Christianized" and thus presented no danger for pious Christians. That inhabitants of the city interpreted them as such is corroborated by the fact that the statuettes were never regarded as offensive enough to be removed, notwithstanding later (undated) interventions including the installation of an extra, cross-decorated trough in front of the original water basin. Indeed, they were found largely intact amid the debris of the fountain building.

Active Preservation

Indeed, even though production waned in late antiquity, depictions related to the Graeco-Roman pantheon were often safeguarded. Such safeguarding could include repairing or recutting, relocating, and adapting the architectural surroundings whereby

the statues were left untouched and in their original locations, indicating that they still had a role to fulfill. Relocation was no doubt the most radical means of preservation, as the statue was not only separated from its original surroundings but might also be endowed with new meaning through its insertion into a new environment. Statues and reliefs were relatively easy to take down and to move. In Italy and North Africa, these actions were commemorated in inscriptions, most of them dated between the mid third and the second quarter of the fifth century C.E. In these texts, the statue was said to have been taken *ex abditis locis* and moved *ad celebritatem*. When the reason for the transfer is given, it is invariably *ad ornatum publicum*, *ad faciem publicam*, or *pro beatitudine temporum*,³⁰ which does not exclude, however, the possibility that the statues might be put to other uses. These inscriptions almost never mention the exact subjects of the statues, nor their original locations. Some of these relocated statues must have come from temples,³¹ others from decaying buildings or deserted streets, and yet others from statuary depots.³²

The majority of relocated as well as repaired and protected statues has been found in bath buildings and nymphaea, but some examples are also known from streets and squares and other urban locations. Since, as I argue below, the architectural context of the statues appears to have been a decisive factor in their preservation or removal, I group them according to the architectural or urban surroundings in which they were discovered.

Bath Buildings. In antiquity, bath buildings were a preferred location for statuary display, which often included representations of deities and heroes, aquatic and curative figures, mythological scenes, and honorific statues of emperors or local benefactors and athletes.³³ Numerous bath buildings have been excavated with much of their statuary adornment still in situ (see appx.). Most of these baths continued in use throughout the Late Roman period, although perhaps on a more modest scale; many were repaired, renovated, or completely rebuilt. Renovations could involve both

mythological motifs reflecting general ideas of plenty and good fortune in the Late Antique house.

²⁶Brenk 1999; Stirling 2005, 166–67.

²⁷Jobst (1986, 50) mentions an additional reference to Graeco-Roman mythology in the form of a graffito of a naked warrior climbing a ramp—probably an allusion to the myth of Zeus-Amphitryon and Alkmene—located on a column on the other side of the courtyard, fronting the fountain.

²⁸Jobst 1986; Aurenhammer 1990, nos. 46, 74, 82. The late dating of the fountain is based on the style of its architectural decoration, both the capitals of the facade and the parapets of the basin.

²⁹Gregory 1986; Harl 1990; Trombley 1993, 10–35; 1994, 52–133.

³⁰Brandenburg 1989; Curran 1994; Lepelley 1994, 2001, (forthcoming); Witschel 2007.

³¹E.g., Curran (1994, 49) mentions a further unspecified statue taken from the Capitolium in Verona and moved to the forum.

³²Lepelley 1994, 11; (forthcoming). Smith (2007, 213–14) suggests the presence of depots for Aphrodisias, Witschel (2007, 122, 157) for Sabratha.

³³Manderscheid (1981, 21–3, 28–45) gives an overview of depicted subjects and examples of statuary programs.

the architecture and the decorative statuary inside the bath, as in the case of many of the Muses found in the Faustina Baths at Miletos.³⁴ There might also be a rejuvenation of a collection, most often achieved by assembling older statues from other regions of the town and relocating them inside the larger halls of the baths. One of the earliest examples of such an assemblage is found in the tepidarium of the bath at Cremna in Pisidia.³⁵ Although the actual relocation predates late antiquity—it could be assigned to the second quarter of the third century—it is exemplary of later trends, such as the recycling of statues and statue bases as well as combining pagan images with honorific texts.

At Cremna, upon its discovery, the large hall contained a statue of Herakles, two of Athena, a Nemesis, Leto, Aphrodite, Apollo, Asklepios, and Hygeia, most of them created around the middle of the second century C.E. In addition, there were 12 statue bases dated between the Hadrianic and Severan periods (fig. 2). The molding on these bases demonstrate that the bases were no longer in their original position; for example, the base for Nemesis that now stands in front of the northeast pier carries moldings only on its front and right sides and so must originally have stood in a corner. Similarly, the base carrying the larger Athena possessed moldings on four sides but is now located against the north wall. Furthermore, the original inscription on this base indicates that it once stood in a sanctuary of Artemis and that its original bronze statue depicted the shrine's benefactor, a certain Chrysispos, who appears to have been a well-known inhabitant of Cremna and prolific author. Once the statue of Chrysispos disappeared, the new combination of this base with a statue of Athena as the goddess of wisdom and the arts may have seemed appropriate.³⁶ An inscription on the base supporting the statue of Leto identified it as one of a group of *agalmata* erected by a high priest; thus it, too, must have come from a temple,³⁷ perhaps even from the same sanctuary of Artemis (who is Leto's daughter, after all) that once housed the Chrysispos statue. One of the blocks reused in the base of the Hygeia statue carried a Latin inscription put up by members of the family that paid for the construction

of the forum in the Hadrianic period. It is likely that not only this block but most of the statues found in the tepidarium were taken from the forum and the adjacent basilica, which were located just to the north of the bath building.³⁸

Creating this collection of statues for the bath occurred at one time and was a well-organized operation, evidenced by the fact that all statue bases, with the exception of the Chrysispos base, had their original inscriptions erased and replaced by letters that date to the second quarter of the third century C.E. and are all rather carelessly cut.³⁹ Both the forum and the basilica are known to have been substantially repaired, possibly after an earthquake, ca. 225 C.E.⁴⁰ This event may have provided a suitable occasion for removing statues that formed part of the original decoration of the bath and introducing new statues—placed on Hadrianic to Severan bases—into the complex. It is also noteworthy that three bases in the tepidarium were dedicated to members of the gens Ulpia, a local family of importance and substantial wealth.⁴¹ M. Ulpius Tertullianus Aquila is known to have been proconsul of Macedonia in 212 C.E.; a fourth statue base, in a later phase built into the north wall of the hall, but contemporary with the other three statue bases, mentioned that a member of the gens Ulpia donated 12,000 denarii for the renovation of Cremna's basilica.⁴² The reason for creating this collection in the tepidarium thus seems to have been connected to this particular family. Most likely it was intended as a tribute, in gratitude for the efforts they invested in the reconstruction of the city.⁴³

This mid third-century collection underwent further changes in later centuries. The bases that were intended for Demos and Ulpia Rutilia Longilla during their second phase of use were later reused to carry statues of Leto and Aphrodite. These replacements likely only took place in or after the late fourth century C.E. Since the statue of Leto had originally been dedicated by a priest, and since dedications in sanctuaries were considered the property of the deity, the statue could not have been removed from the sanctuary while it was still in use.⁴⁴ The removal and also destruction of cult statues and other depictions that

³⁴ Schneider 1999, 8–12.

³⁵ Horsley (1987) and Horsley and Mitchell (2000, nos. 32–44) describe the bases and findspots of the statues. Mitchell (1995a, 152–58) discusses the history of the bath building.

³⁶ Horsley 1987, 53.

³⁷ Horsley 1987, 72–3. Stewart (2003, 25–7) explains the meaning of the word *agalma*.

³⁸ Mitchell 1995a, 157.

³⁹ Mitchell 1995a, 156.

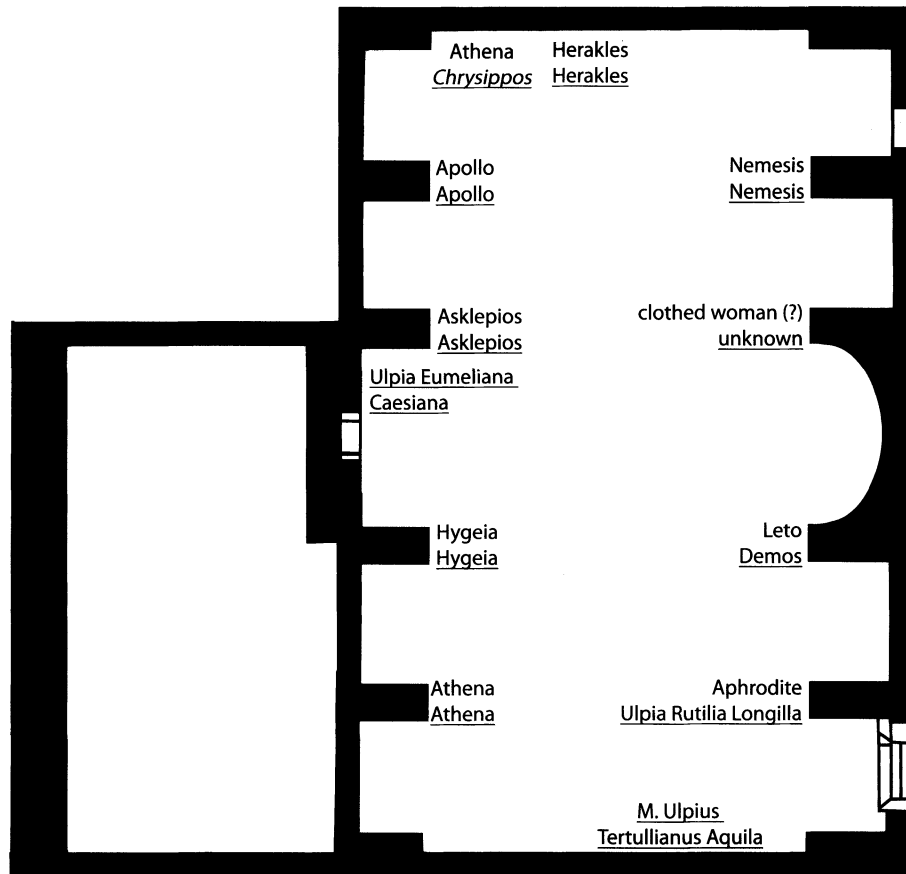
⁴⁰ Mitchell 1995a, 67, 156–58; Horsley and Mitchell 2000, 76.

⁴¹ Horsley 1987, nos. 6, 11, 12; Horsley and Mitchell 2000, nos. 38, 43, 44.

⁴² Horsley 1987, no. 15; Horsley and Mitchell 2000, no. 45.

⁴³ Mitchell 1995a, 157.

⁴⁴ Talloen 2003, 159.



Statues positioned on top of bases (reconstructed)
 Statues mentioned in third-century inscriptions
 Statues mentioned in older inscriptions

Fig. 2. Plan of bath building at Cremna with find locations of statues (drawing by E. Thompson; modified from Horsley 1987, 50, fig. 1; courtesy G.H.R. Horsley).

received worship in temples was ordered by law from the end of the fourth century onward.⁴⁵ Secondly, according to the excavators of the bath building, it was partially rebuilt at some later time, “perhaps in Late Antiquity.”⁴⁶ These renovations very likely belonged to the period ca. 400 C.E., as they entailed the incorporation of the base commemorating the renovation of the basilica into the north wall of the tepidarium. We can assume that the inscription originally had been on display in the basilica itself and that it was removed only when this was turned into a church sometime during or after the late fourth–early fifth century.⁴⁷ It

is thus not unlikely that restorations to the bath building ca. 400 C.E. entailed the replacement of part of the decoration.

Just the act of repair or renovation would have drawn attention to the statues inside the buildings, since that material would have been temporarily taken down or somehow protected during repairs. This would have provided an opportunity to reconfigure the decoration or to decide to remove the statues permanently. A decision to discard all depictions of gods and mythological figures, however, would involve stripping the building of a large part of its decoration.

⁴⁵ *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.18 (399 C.E.), 16.10.19 (407/8 C.E.).

⁴⁶ Horsley 1987, 79.

⁴⁷ Mitchell (1995b, 220–22) describes the conversion of the basilica.

Replacing the decoration and paying for entirely new adornment was most likely out of the question, since including statuary significantly increased the overall costs of bath buildings.⁴⁸ It is possible that on these occasions, Late Antique patrons removed the statues that were regarded as particularly offensive, perhaps bringing in more neutral mythological scenes or honorific statues from elsewhere to adorn the buildings. However, neither the archaeological contexts themselves nor the written evidence are sufficiently detailed to determine whether such selections took place, how much and what was removed, nor what motivated decisions to discard or preserve the statues. We can assume that statuary excavated in situ from contexts exhibiting evidence of late renovations or repairs indicate both that a conscious decision was made to preserve at least part of the original collection of statues and that at the time of the repairs, these statues were still intact.

Nymphaea. The great public fountains, or *nymphaea*, of the Imperial age were highly decorative. They supplied water to the city and simultaneously symbolized both the glory of individual benefactors and the magnificence of the city as a whole.⁴⁹ Their lavish, theaterlike facades were invariably enhanced by extravagant displays of statues. Statuary decoration was thus as important for traditional *nymphaea* as it was for bath buildings. In the Late Antique city, moreover, *nymphaea* were increasingly prominent as new structures were built and earlier structures underwent repairs, major renovations, or transformations. Although some, like the fountain near the stadium at Ephesos, were adorned with newly produced statuary, most were decorated or redecorated with statuary and reliefs taken from elsewhere in the city. Many of these depicted mythological or even explicitly pagan subjects (see appx.).

The most noteworthy example is the Antonine *nymphaeum* to the north of the Upper Agora at Sagalassos (fig. 3). At the time of its construction in the later second century C.E., the aediculae and niches offered room for six statues. Somewhere between its construction and the first half of the sixth century, it collapsed, probably as the result of an earthquake. Presumably, part of its original decoration did not survive this event, for when it was rebuilt, the ensemble of statues was replaced and the number was enlarged

to a total of 10 statues, eight of which were retrieved in various states of preservation. Included were two life-sized groups of Dionysos and a satyr, a torso of a naked youth, a Nemesis, a statue of Koronis, a lower arm with a snake coiled around it belonging to a statue of Hygeia, and an Asklepios and a plinth bearing the feet of a male statue, both inscribed with the name of the sculptor Glykon. Only the groups of Dionysos and a satyr in the corner aediculae belonged to the original ensemble. Given that also the architectural decoration of the *nymphaeum* showed several Dionysiac traits and, in addition, that the statue group in the eastern aedicula appears on a coin of the city, it is likely that the *nymphaeum* was originally dedicated to Dionysos.⁵⁰

The rest of the statuary found in the *nymphaeum* was in secondary use. Although most of these statues depicted pagan subjects, they were positioned on bases honoring important citizens of Sagalassos, which probably were taken from the agora and erected in the *nymphaeum*. This second ensemble of statues, however, displays some thematic coherence, since Asklepios, his mother (Koronis), Hygeia, and the plinth for a male statue—which may be identified as Apollo—all share curative powers. Since Asklepios and the second male statue were, moreover, positioned centrally next to the main waterspout, it can be said that the iconography of the statues was considered relevant when they were reused in the *nymphaeum*.⁵¹

Even so, a late Asklepios cult within the fountain—a hypothesis recently suggested by Mägele—is very unlikely.⁵² She bases her theory on the presence of bronze votive body parts that were inserted into the plinths of the statues of Asklepios, Koronis, and the supposed Apollo (fig. 4). Since an inscription identified the Koronis as a votive statue, these body parts must have been added after the statue functioned in this way, that is to say, after she was removed from her original sanctuary.⁵³ Moreover, inserting these body parts after the statues were placed into the Antonine *nymphaeum* is highly unlikely, as that would have involved climbing over the balustrade of the basin, crossing the water inside, and ascending the high podium on the inside. It is more plausible that the statues were moved to new locations more than once. The votive body parts were probably added after their first move, into, for exam-

⁴⁸Duncan-Jones (1982, 75–9, 124–27) estimates the costs of statuary in Africa and Italy.

⁴⁹Richard (forthcoming).

⁵⁰E.g., *thyrsos* staffs and theater masks (Waelkens et al. 1997, 142–44).

⁵¹Even though Asklepios and his circle were not retrieved from *nymphaea* (Kapossy 1969, 73; Richard [forthcoming])

as often as they were from baths (Manderscheid 1981, 28), the proximity of water and associated healing powers attributed to springs may have been the incentive to gather the statues on this location (Mägele 2005, 303–5).

⁵²Mägele 2005, 302–3.

⁵³Mägele 2005, 302.

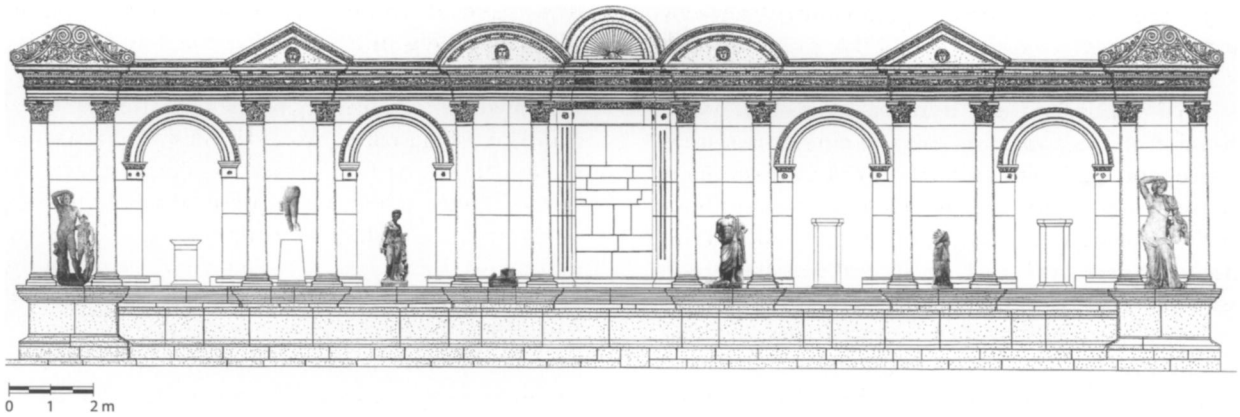


Fig. 3. Antonine nymphaeum at Sagalassos (Mägele 2005, fig. 11; courtesy S. Mägele).

ple, a domestic context, in which the statues were still revered; it is likely that their meaning and functions were altered once more when they entered the fountain. This is corroborated by the fact that, just as with the fountain near the stadium at Ephesos, the Sagalassos nymphaeum was Christianized by inserting into its decoration small slabs decorated with crosses inside circles and a Christian inscription in red paint, which was written at an unknown moment on the archivolt of the central niche.⁵⁴

Neither the original location of the statues nor the exact date when the statues were moved to the nymphaeum is certain. Nemesis is thought to have been taken from the theater of Sagalassos, which was constructed in the last quarter of the second century C.E.—the same date assigned to the statue—and which, as a location of *venationes* and *munera gladiatoria*, may have been a suitable place for it.⁵⁵ The Koronis was dated to the Severan period, which is the only solid terminus post quem in the entire collection of statues from the nymphaeum. Together with the Asklepios and the supposed Apollo, she probably came from a sanctuary, possibly the temple devoted to Apollo situated on a terrace to the west of the Lower Agora of the city. The first transfer from the temple to a new, unknown, location may coincide with the many late fourth- and early fifth-century laws on this subject.⁵⁶ Whenever this particular collection of statues was assembled in the nymphaeum, its mere existence in that structure shows that statues of pagan gods, even

with blatant evidence of a cult still present on them, were not universally considered offensive enough to be banned from public locations.

Colonnaded Streets. Within the classical city, colonnaded streets were much-frequented areas. While they were already seen as enhancing urban life in Hellenistic and Roman times, by late antiquity, they became symbolic of the city, were a source of pride for its citizens, and were praised in the writings of many authors.⁵⁷ The desire to adorn such high-profile zones surely caused a migration of decorative elements to them, just as in baths and nymphaea. Nevertheless, examples of pagan statuary in Asia Minor that were



Fig. 4. Application of bronzes on the plinth of the Asklepios statue at Sagalassos.

⁵⁴ Waelkens et al. 1997, 161–62. Whether the slabs with crosses were reconstructed as parapets in the aediculae themselves or were instead late replacements for the cassette blocks remains to be solved.

⁵⁵ Saral 2001, 79–80.

⁵⁶ *Infra* nn. 119, 120.

⁵⁷ E.g., Chorikios, *Oratio* 7.52 (Gaza); Joshua the Stylite 29 (Edessa); Lib. *Oratio* 11.201, 11.215–16 (Antioch); Malalas *Chronographia* 15.11 (Antioch); Procop. *Aed.* 3.4.18 (Melitene).

certainly relocated to streets or squares appear only in Ephesos and Aizanoi.

In Aizanoi, in the late fourth or early fifth century, some honorific bases and a collection of statues were moved from their original locations and were reused to decorate a colonnaded street.⁵⁸ One of these bases carried a statue of a satyr (fig. 5) and possibly a pun in its inscription. This inscription—and the original, but no longer extant, early third-century statue—honored a certain Markia Tateis, mother of two Asiarchs, one of whom was named Claudius Pardalas, a name in which the Greek word *pardalis* (panther) can be recognized. This may have been associated with the panther skin draped around the shoulders of the satyr and could have been the reason the designers of the street combined this particular base with this particular statue.⁵⁹ Whatever the exact reasons for reusing this pagan statue, in its new location it was located in full view of the main Christian sanctuary of the town, the converted Zeus temple at the end of the street, and thus in an area that must have received a large number of visitors, the equivalent of the *celeberrima loca* in the West. That Christians in this period were indeed not troubled by such relocations, and in some instances even participated in them, is confirmed at Aquileia in Italy, where a certain Septimius Theodulus, who was identified as a Christian in one of the inscriptions, introduced a large number of statues, including depictions of pagan gods, into the forum of the city ca. 360 C.E.⁶⁰

Although the epigraphic evidence concerning the re-erection of statues on streets and squares from the West is far more impressive on the whole,⁶¹ we have at least some indication that the same phenomenon was present in the eastern part of the empire. The smaller amount of evidence from the East may be due both to the nature of the epigraphic record there and to the attitudes of its inhabitants toward pagan and mythological statuary. Although the statue bases relocated to the baths of Cremna still received new inscriptions in the second quarter of the third century C.E., such rededications were not customary in late antiquity in the eastern empire. In some cases, statues were moved together with their bases. This happened, for instance, to the 12 bases carrying Nikes that were relocated along the Embolos at Ephesos (fig. 6). They could be recognized as being part of a larger phase of embellishment in honor of the empress Aelia Flacilla



Fig. 5. Satyr statue erected in the Late Antique colonnaded street of Aizanoi (von Mosch 1995, 743, fig. 1; courtesy DAI Istanbul).

(379–386 C.E.) only because in their new position they were combined with a statue of the empress.⁶² The inscriptions give no clue of an original setting; thus, it generally is difficult to determine if a relocation took place and, if it did, to date that operation.

When a statue was moved together with its base, the nature of the original statue can be deduced, even if it is no longer extant. What is particularly interesting is how often a base is recombined with a new statue in the public spaces of the Late Antique city to create new connections and emphasize alternate identities. For example, a base honoring a man of letters received a statue of Athena; a base honoring Pardalas may have served as a trigger for combining that base with a statue of a satyr wearing a panther skin; at Aquileia, a statue of Hercules was relocated to the forum and re-erected on top of a base honoring a man whose signum was Hercules.⁶³ Whatever the reason for such a new combination, if the statue was moved again, the

⁵⁸ von Mosch 1995.

⁵⁹ von Mosch 1995, 751–53.

⁶⁰ Witschel 2007, 130.

⁶¹ *Supra* n. 30.

⁶² This enterprise also included the re-erection of the Herakles Gate just to the north of the row of statues (Roueché 2002, 527–41).

⁶³ Witschel 2007, 130.

chances of demonstrating that it had been present in this second iteration are very small.

This is true of all architectural contexts, but more so for streets, given the nature of the archaeological record. In contrast to baths, nymphaea, theaters, and the like, agoras and streets did not consist of an elaborate—and often multistoried—architecture; because they are open spaces. When they go out of use, there is no monumental superstructure to collapse and preserve material underneath. Moreover, if habitation on the site continued or was revived at a later time, statues lying in open air are likely to have been recovered for further use (see below, under “Secular Violence”). For instance, although the satyr at Aizanoi was protected and preserved by the columns and entablature of the street facade that had collapsed on top of it, a second statue re-erected to its west was not so “fortunate” and is now missing.⁶⁴ Consequently, not only are finds of pagan and mythological statues generally scarce, but—with the exception of Aphrodisias—smaller quantities of honorific statues have been found on streets and squares.

City Walls. The North-West Gate of Sagalassos offers a clear example of how relocation modified the meaning of statuary in the Late Antique city (fig. 7).⁶⁵ The gate was one of the main passages through the fortification wall that was erected sometime during the late fourth or early fifth century. It was built between the North-West Heroon and the Doric temple, which had already lost its religious function and had been turned into a watchtower. The passageway was an arch whose central keystone depicted an unfinished relief of an eagle holding a snake. Several reliefs of weapons were found in the debris next to the gate, alongside busts of the warrior gods Ares and Athena, all of which originated from the facade of the nearby bouleuterion (fig. 8). While the reliefs of weapons must have adorned the outer face of the fortification walls to either side of the gate, the findspot of the reliefs of the gods indicate that they were reused in the gate itself.⁶⁶

It was not unusual to integrate reliefs into the city walls near the gates.⁶⁷ Indeed, the apotropaic use of figural friezes with a military connotation was a geographically widespread and long-established practice that discouraged the opponent before the actual fighting began.⁶⁸ When the old Hellenistic gates of Pamphylia



Fig. 6. Statuary row along the upper Embolos at Ephesos.



Fig. 7. North-West Gate at Sagalassos.

and Pisidia were reconstructed in late antiquity, their original friezes with armor, helmets, and shields were reused in the same locations.⁶⁹

Similarly, the reuse of mythological iconography was not unknown. Examples can be found at the West Gate and South-East Gate of Aphrodisias and the North Gate of Hierapolis, all of which used a more or less neutral iconography.⁷⁰ Moreover, the gate of Hierapolis was

⁶⁴Rheidt 1995, 706, fig. 8.

⁶⁵Loots et al. 2000, 615–20.

⁶⁶Waelkens et al. 2000, 231.

⁶⁷Jacobs 2009, 202–4.

⁶⁸von Hesberg 2005, 74.

⁶⁹Mansel 1968.

⁷⁰The reliefs reused near the West Gate of Aphrodisias in-

cluded depictions of Nike and hunting cupids, those of the South-East Gate incorporated depictions of sphinxes, a baby Herakles, a Gorgoneion, and a satyr head (De Staebler 2008, 298–301). The iconography displayed at the North Gate of Hierapolis was similar, with reliefs of heads of lions, a head of a panther, and of a Gorgon (D’Andria 2003, 112–14).

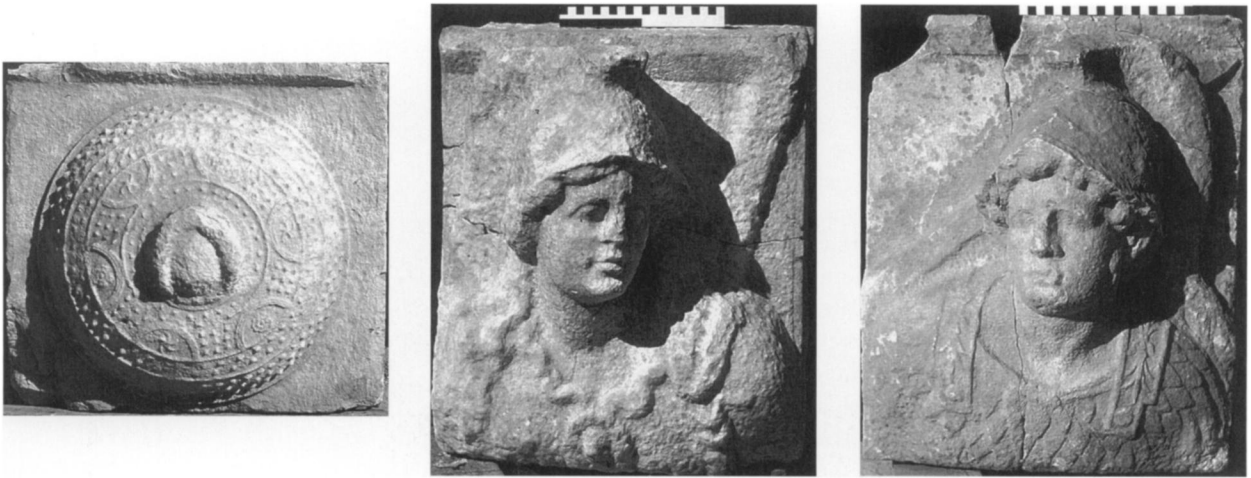


Fig. 8. Details from the North-West Gate at Sagalassos: *left*, integrated weaponry reliefs; *center*, bust of Athena; *right*, bust of Ares.

“Christianized” by the addition of a cross-like symbol on the relieving arch and chrismons on the two marble brackets that support the architrave (fig. 9). Most gates built from 400 C.E. onward relied solely on such crosses for their protection.⁷¹ This suggests that the reasons for integrating explicitly pagan depictions in the more or less contemporary North-West Gate of Sagalassos were very specific. The inclusion of Athena and Ares, two warrior gods, fits nicely with the ancient reputation of the Sagalassians as a warlike people,⁷² which in the Sagalassos of late antiquity was still evidenced by the many locally produced figurines of rider saints who had replaced the old warrior gods, as well as by the veneration of St. Michael, the *archistrategos* of the heavenly army.⁷³ Keeping in mind that pagan statuary was typically regarded as possessing power—often negative, but with the inherent possibility of being harnessed⁷⁴—it seems that the builders of the wall intended to put the reliefs to use, discouraging possible opponents rather than desiring to repress or drive the power of Ares and Athena out of their city.

Acculturation. Acculturation or updating can also be considered a form of active preservation: statues that

were updated underwent physical changes in order to make one forget their provocative pagan character and ensure their ability to function in Late Antique society. Most examples cited below are well known but are almost always viewed in a negative light. And yet, these changes cannot be categorized as “mutilation,” since they were not so drastic that they damaged the “identity” of the statue or prevented its further display. The recuttings discussed in this section illustrate how inventively the past was adjusted to altered circumstances of the present. Moreover, although it seems that many adaptations that are considered to be anti-pagan did suit the sensibilities of the Christian times, not all were religiously motivated.

In the last decade, Hannestad has brought together examples from bath buildings of statues with sexual connotations that were regarded as offensive.⁷⁵ Most often, this means that the offending parts of the statues were damaged. In the case of men, the genitals were partially or completely hammered away; for women, this led to the scratching or cutting away of the pudenda, so that the marble surface was hollowed out. Breasts could be damaged but were never entirely

⁷¹Jacobs 2009, 204–5. As with figurative reliefs, crosses also conveyed a specific message to visitors and attackers; the inhabitants adhered to the Christian faith and were under the direct protection of the Christian god. At the same time, they may have called upon His protection. Finally, the use of crosses also may have served an apotropaic purpose, in seeking to ward off demons from the Christian city (Gardner 1987, 202; Crow 2001, 98).

⁷²Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.

⁷³Mitchell 1995b, 26–8; Talloen 2003, 192. Sagalassos was involved in the military campaigns against the Parthians and

the Sassanians until the second half of the third century (Talloen 2003, 90–100, 119). In the fifth century, there was still an elaborate production of figurines depicting Christian priests or saints and warrior figures on horseback, the last also appearing on the locally produced decorated pottery. They can be seen as the descendants of the indigenous warrior deities on horseback (Talloen 2003, 185–86, 195).

⁷⁴James 1996, 16.

⁷⁵Hannestad 2001 (also available online at <http://www.archaeologie-sachbuch.de/Fleischer/index1.htm>).

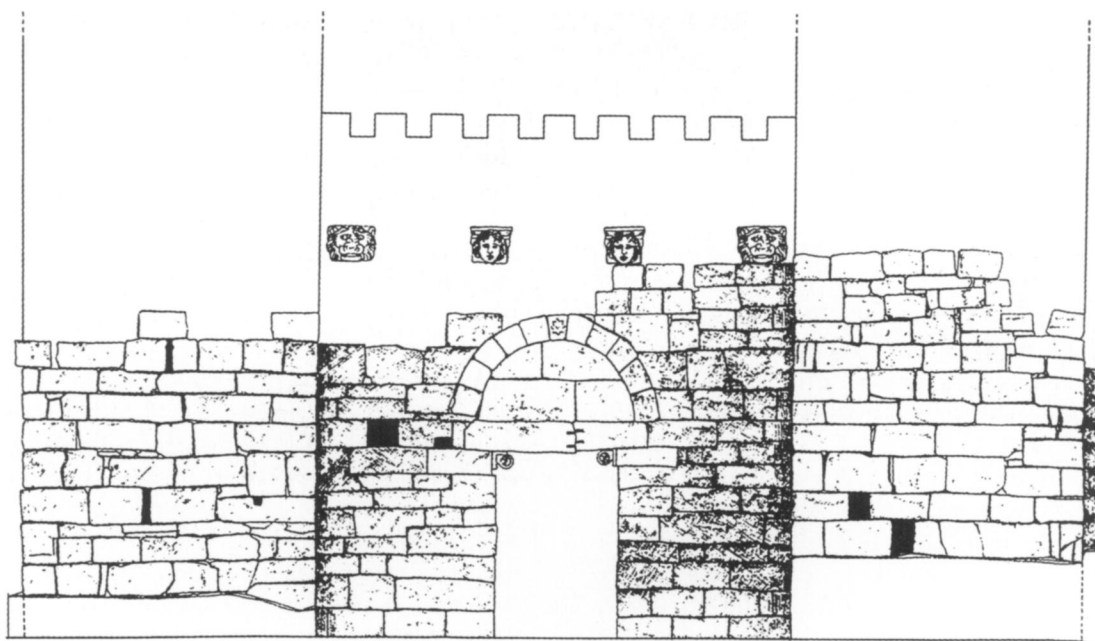


Fig. 9. The northern Byzantine gate of Hierapolis, reconstructed elevation (D'Andria 2003, 114, fig. 94; courtesy F. D'Andria).

removed. This applied only to nude statues; clothed statues were not touched. The larger corpus of mutilated statues in Asia Minor has been attributed to the long life of most bathing complexes there and to the large number of statues preserved in this region.⁷⁶ Although Hannestad largely restricts himself to pagan and mythological statues in baths, this kind of mutilation was even more pervasive: it affected statuary posted in other public buildings such as nymphaea as well. Recent research has shown that virtually all nude statues in the fountains at Ephesos were similarly modified; indeed, honorific statues and even decorative herms that remained in use in the Christian era had their genitals cut away (see appx.).⁷⁷

Herms underwent further “adjustments” in the form of crosses carved on their foreheads.⁷⁸ Likewise, a well-known collection of “adjusted” portrait heads—including items from Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor—received a cross on the forehead or on another body part.⁷⁹ The cutting of such crosses can hardly be viewed

as a negative act of vicious mutilation. Early Christian literary sources mention that crosses were placed on the body and forehead for several purposes: it could be part of a ceremony of exorcism performed during temple deconsecrations, it could be part of the rite of baptism,⁸⁰ or it could be drawn on the forehead to ward off evil.⁸¹ In the case of the extant statues, the subjects depicted and the energy put into the carving process make exorcism unlikely. Almost all statues bearing such marks did not depict pagan subjects but were instead portraits, often of renowned historical persons. There are only two examples known—a head of a goddess found in Sparta and a similar head from Athens—where a distinctly pagan subject was marked with a cross. In both cases, additional carvings testify to the hostility with which these two statues were treated. The first goddess had additional crosses cut over the eyes and chin. The second had a huge cross roughly chiseled over the entire forehead, its nose and part of the right lower cheek and lip were knocked off, and

⁷⁶ Outside Asia Minor, such “mutilations” were limited to an Aprodite and Ganymede in the baths at Agnano in Campania and six male statues, an Apollo, and possibly a dressed Aphrodite in the baths at Salamis on Cyprus (Hannestad 2001).

⁷⁷ A statue of Lucius Verus from the bouleuterion at Ephesos had its genitals cut away (Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 257). Late Antique herms were produced into the early fifth century C.E. In general, they evolved toward a more neu-

tral iconography, losing previous connections with the god Hermes (Wrede 1986, 83; 1987, 129–30, 139–41).

⁷⁸ Wrede 1986, 83.

⁷⁹ Marinescu (1996) provides the most elaborate overview.

⁸⁰ Hjort 1993, 106, 111; Trombley 1993, 244–45.

⁸¹ Both Hjort (1993, 100, 106, 108–9) and Marinescu (1996, 291) cite Early Christian authors on the use of the cross for these purposes.

the eyes and chin were mutilated.⁸² Whereas these can very likely be connected with a process intended to incapacitate them prior to destruction or disposal, in general the application of crosses does not seem to have been an antipagan practice. If the application of crosses was intended solely as exorcism, more examples on pagan gods would be expected. Additionally, in contrast to the examples just mentioned, all crosses applied to portrait heads were carved carefully, although not always skillfully. It is unlikely one would go through so much trouble if the item was to be destroyed immediately afterward. Instead, it seems that the application of the cross enabled the statue to remain on display.

A few portraits, however, were smashed even though a cross had been carved into their foreheads. In Ephesos, fragments belonging to three portraits—a portrait of Augustus and two portraits from colossal seated statues of Augustus and Livia (fig. 10)—were discovered underneath the sixth-century pavement of a new peristylum that was constructed on top of the former basilica to the north of the State Agora.⁸³ The Augustus portrait may have originally been housed in the temenos of the nearby Temple of Caesar and Dea Roma. The original setting of the colossal statues inside the chalcidicum at the eastern end of the basilica implies that they once possessed a cult function. It is not impossible, therefore, that they were targeted by zealous Christians. Since the basilica itself was destroyed ca. 500 C.E.,⁸⁴ however, the portraits were in all likelihood only accidentally smashed at this time and their remains used as building material in the construction of the later peristyle.⁸⁵ Indeed, here, too, the carving was executed carefully, although obviously not by a professional stone carver, making it unlikely that the statues were intended to be destroyed immediately. Moreover, another portrait head that had a cross carved into its forehead was found in the collapse of the so-called Föntane to the east of the city center of Ephesos, indicating it remained on display throughout the centuries.⁸⁶ Thus, there need not be a

connection between the cross on their foreheads and the destruction of these portraits.

If such portraits remained on display, then, the purpose of the cross was not simply to enact an exorcism but was a sort of positive updating and conscious assimilation of the presence within the portrait into Christianized society.⁸⁷ Portraits placed in an official context such as those at Ephesos were most likely converted to the Christian faith in an official ceremony, which may very well have resonated with the real practice of baptism within the eastern church.⁸⁸ The carved cross signaled that these portraits were from that moment onward devoted to Christ and thus served as a seal, or *sphragis*. The *Suda* records an interesting example of this practice; it relates that Julian commanded the Tyche of Constantinople to be buried because Constantine had ordered a cross engraved on its forehead.⁸⁹ This anecdote makes sense if one understands that the cross did not merely render the statue powerless but marked instead its allegiance to Christ and thereby made it possible for the statue to remain where it was. Finally, crosses were also applied to architecture, most often at the entrances of temples, civic public buildings, private residences, and churches.⁹⁰ The appearance of crosses on the architectural decoration of the fountains at Ephesos and Sagalassos and at the North Gate of Hierapolis has already been mentioned. All these buildings were intended to remain standing—albeit sometimes with a new function—while the crosses made it perfectly clear that they belonged to the Christian community.

There are also examples of statues undergoing a very specific recutting, again for the purpose of assimilating them to a new social consciousness. Thus, the satyrs in the Nymphaeum of C. Laecanius Bassus at Ephesos not only had their genitals removed but also their tails. This practice is not attested in the other nymphaea of the city, nor are there examples from elsewhere. The statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiana, one of the many honorific statues excavated at Aphrodisias, also may have been updated by recutting. Originally,

⁸² Marinescu 1996, 289. A basalt portrait of Germanicus from Egypt (London, British Museum, inv. no. GR 1872.6–5.1, Sculpture 1883) underwent a similar treatment: a cross was neatly carved on his forehead, whereas his throat also bears marks, probably as a reference to decapitation, and his nose was cut away. Since all actions took quite some effort, especially because of the hardness of the stone, the cross-carving was probably done to preserve the statue, while in a later period it became unacceptable tout court.

⁸³ Alzinger 1972–1975, 262; Langmann 1985.

⁸⁴ Foss 1979, 82.

⁸⁵ Rothaus (2000, 112–14) suggests that a discoloration of the crosses on the foreheads of Augustus and Livia found at

Ephesos were created by rubbing, indicating they remained active for quite some time before their burial.

⁸⁶ Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 254.

⁸⁷ Hjort (1993, 107), Marinescu (1996), and Rothaus (2000, 112–14) primarily consider it an attempt of assimilation. Conversely, Brown (1999, 31) and Bayliss (2004, 59–60) stress the negative aspects by claiming that the cross marked the items as pagan and warded off the demons inside.

⁸⁸ Marinescu 1996, 287, 291.

⁸⁹ *Suda*, s.v. “Milion” (Langmann 1985, 66 n. 12; Donderer 1991–1992, 213 n. 84).

⁹⁰ The cleansing of temples by the application of the cross was ordered in *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.25 (435 C.E.).



Fig. 10. Statues from Ephesos of Augustus (*left*) and Livia (*right*) with crosses carved on their foreheads.

the statue emphasized her role as priestess of Aphrodite, an identity that was made clear by her clothing and, especially, by the presence of a young child, most likely Eros.⁹¹ Only the feet of the child remain. It is very likely that the removal of that figure was intentional, and, as with the carving of a cross, may have been accompanied by a ceremony.⁹² The statue depicted an honored and well-known local inhabitant; once the statue was stripped of Eros, her most obvious link to the cult of Aphrodite, it could remain standing at a prominent place in Aphrodisias, at the entrance of the bouleuterion/odeion. That must have been the goal of the recutting.

Finally, in some instances, the line between updating and outright violence becomes very thin, with the exact designation depending upon perspective. For instance, only some of the reliefs belonging to the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias were attacked in the Christian period, even though many more of them featured mythological heroes, gods, and goddesses. Thus, the reliefs depicting a solitary Athena or Asklepios, Zeus

on a throne, Zeus receiving sacrifice, and Aphrodite in various guises were thoroughly defaced (fig. 11).⁹³ The main reason seems to have been out of fear, since mainly gods and goddesses were thoroughly mutilated. These images were either part of an offering scene or were freestanding statues that, given their frontality and isolation, resembled cult statues. Gods that appeared in other kinds of scenes—such as Apollo playing the lyre accompanied by a Muse or the child Dionysos reared by nymphs and satyrs—were undamaged, as were images in mythological scenes such as Leda and the swan or Bellerophon and Pegasus. As a consequence, the total ensemble was left largely untouched and remained on display.

In conclusion, a number of ancient statues bear the clear marks of having been adapted or mutilated to suit Christian sensibilities. This process affected much more than the explicitly pagan nature of some of these statues. Rather than being motivated by antipagan feelings, the mutilation of nude statues was often motivated by modesty, and the carving of crosses on por-

⁹¹ Erim 1967, fig. 7; Smith 1998, 66–7.

⁹² Assimilation through the omission of attributes also occurs in mosaics. Dionysos can, e.g., be depicted without the

primary symbols of the Dionysiac mysteries (Talgam 2005, 1133).

⁹³ Smith 1987, 97–8; Brody 2007, nos. 11, 12.



Fig. 11. Mutilated relief of Aphrodite from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias (courtesy R.R.R. Smith).

traits was seen as a form of integration into Christian society. Conversely, the examples from Aphrodisias in particular show that Christians could be offended by certain pagan elements of sculptural decoration and would take measures to guarantee that these images could continue to function within the changed reality of the Late Antique city.

NEUTRAL ATTITUDES

All the statues that have already been discussed were “handled” at particular moments; they were physically moved or altered or their surroundings were drastically changed. But the acts of cutting away genitals or adding a statue to an existing display provided an occasion for noticing the other statues in the same display or elsewhere in the monument or the same room. Many of these statues were left untouched; indeed, many buildings that were provided with statuary decoration seem not to have been altered at all at any time after the fourth century, although they remained in use. In this instance, too, an unspecified

number of people entered, passed by, or viewed this decoration on a daily basis and were apparently not bothered by it. We cannot know the exact feelings of the Late Antique inhabitants toward these individual statues or statuary displays, but we can at least infer that these sentiments were not strong enough to provoke a violent reaction and either alter or make this material disappear. Therefore, I classify this material under “Neutral Attitudes” (see appx.).

NEGATIVE ATTITUDES

Some statues and reliefs were damaged and/or removed from their original location, not to be displayed elsewhere but to make them disappear totally. Violence toward statuary has dominated the popular—and to a lesser extent the scholarly—opinion of people’s responses to pagan and mythological statuary in late antiquity. Exorcism of threatening demons by brutal attacks on their dwelling places certainly offers a more spectacular outlook than does contemporary preservation. Assessing violence toward statuary has always involved a heavy reliance on literary sources, the interpretation of which is not straightforward. Hagiographies like those mentioned in the introduction were written with their own agenda, above all to convince readers of the holiness of their subject. In the literature, we hear of statues being pulled from their bases, decapitated, melted down, or dragged through the streets.⁹⁴ Although not all these stories were necessarily truthful, there can be little doubt that brutal attacks on statues did occur throughout the Roman empire, including in Asia Minor.⁹⁵ Material remains are, however, scanty and complex. Violence has sometimes been too readily used as a label for actions toward statuary, including material that I here classify as “acculturation” and material that could have been accidentally broken.⁹⁶ Only a few forms of violent behavior can actually be attested in the archaeological record.

The careful consideration of both the context in which the statue was found and, especially, any secondary cutting on it help distinguish between toleration and violence or acculturation and violence. To explain the damage to reliefs on the theater facades at Nyssa and elsewhere, scholars have suggested that the faces of the gods suffered deliberate defacing.⁹⁷ However, it seems that the heads on the panels at the front of the scaenae frons were in worse condition than those on the sides (fig. 12). The worse state of

⁹⁴ Stewart (1999) gives an overview of violence inflicted on statues in late antiquity.

⁹⁵ Gaddis (2005) makes the link between violence and holiness and argues for a cautious interpretation of hagiographies (Gaddis 2005, 13–14, 153–58).

⁹⁶ E.g., the statue of Hermes found at the theater at Scythopolis was said to have been “deliberately broken and buried” (Tsafirir and Foerster 1997, 129).

⁹⁷ Idil 1999; Rothaus 2000, 114.

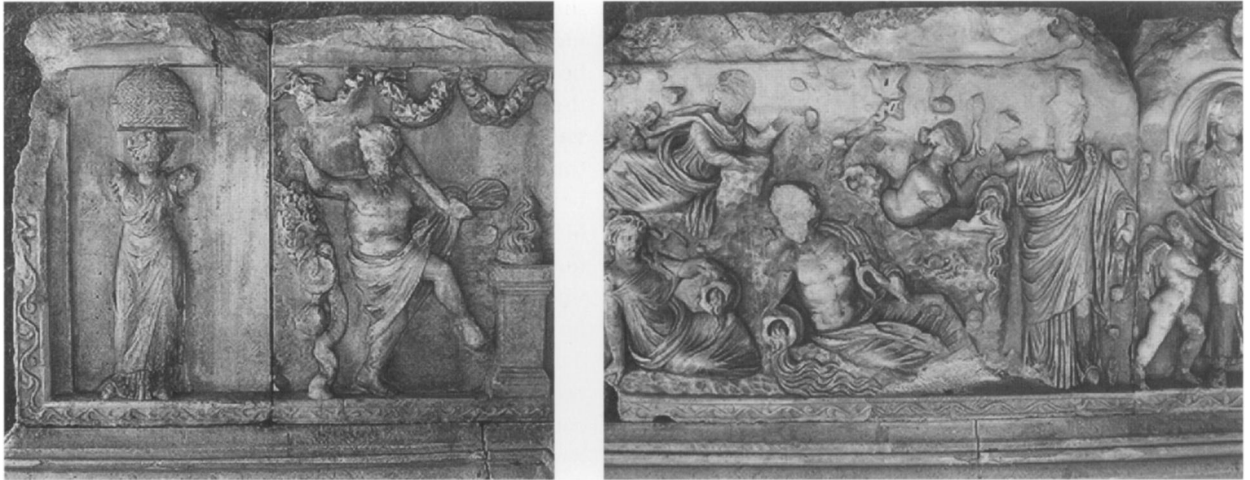


Fig. 12. Theater frieze at Nyssa: *left*, relief at the side of the scaenae frons; *right*, relief at the front of the scaenae frons.

the reliefs on the front could simply be because of the collapse of the scaenae frons. Indeed, research on the lowest frieze of the stage building at Perge, which was also still in situ and badly damaged, has shown that all damage could be attributed to stones falling from higher levels, since those on the lateral walls are virtually intact.⁹⁸ Moreover, in many theaters, the tolerant Christian attitude is demonstrated by the co-existence of Christian symbols and/or buildings (see appx.). Further, if a statue or statuary group was left on display, chances are that physical changes were not conducted malevolently. Moreover, attacks that mirror hostile feelings such as anger and, especially, fear for malefic power were far more drastic overall than those described above. They aimed at truly defacing or even “killing” the statue and often bear resemblance to the corporal punishments cited in literary sources, such as picking out eyes, cutting off noses or ears, and even decapitation. This loss of the distinctive features of the face was the most familiar feature of *damnatio memoriae*,⁹⁹ intended to erase the subject from memory or to indicate that he or she was not worthy of being remembered.¹⁰⁰ As noted above, the two goddesses found at Sparta and Athens differed from portraits marked with a cross because they had undergone such extreme recarving.

Just as with the carving of crosses, portraits again provide the best evidence for the mistreatment of this material. Probably during the fifth century, the so-called Philosopher Portraits—a collection of tondi of renowned philosophers and heroes from the present and the past—were produced at Aphrodisias as decoration for the Atrium House, which was a philosophical school.¹⁰¹ They were discovered, together with unguentaria of sixth-century type, in an inaccessible alley behind the main apse of the house beneath discarded roof tiles. Upon their discovery, most of the heads were detached from the busts, and one of the portraits was shattered into 16 pieces. Although decapitation may have held symbolic meaning, in the case of these shield portraits, it is hardly surprising that one removed the head, either when they were still hanging on the wall or just after they had been taken down, to make these clumsy objects both lighter in weight and easier to handle. There was little reason to keep them intact since they were not going to be displayed further. One portrait of Alexander, however, was found in an especially appalling state. When compared with the condition of the other heads, this damage does not seem to have been the result of the final blow but rather of deliberate defacing: a groove was carved halfway around the neck, probably to cut it

⁹⁸ İnan et al. 2000, 299–300.

⁹⁹ Especially emperors but also other individuals are known to have suffered *damnatio* (Donderer 1991–1992, 221–22; Elsner 1998, 54–5; Stewart 2003, 267–81).

¹⁰⁰ Varner 2000, 14–16. Ironically, though, both the emper-

ors who suffered *damnatio* and the statuary that underwent some sort of violence have received the most scholarly attention and are thus very well known to us.

¹⁰¹ Smith 1990, 153–55. Stirling (2005, 215–16, 226) compares the sites with other possible philosophical schools.

symbolically and not to facilitate removing it from its backing, although the final blow did eventually cause the head to break off at the base of the neck. In addition, severe damage was done to the face: the right eyebrow, nose, and most of the mouth were removed first, after which the lower part of the head was sliced off, splintering the entire chin and part of the neck.¹⁰² These actions again strongly resemble *damnatio*, but there is no further information as to why this particular portrait was targeted. Although the defacing probably occurred when the portrait was still in situ,¹⁰³ I do not think that the portrait was attacked long before the others and then left hanging on the wall.¹⁰⁴ Such a scenario would suggest that the users of the philosophical school inflicted the damage themselves, but it is already difficult to imagine why Alexander would have been especially targeted by Christians who were emptying the building. Maybe they inflicted more damage on Alexander because he was known to have received religious veneration.¹⁰⁵ Or perhaps the original intention was a more widespread defacing; the perpetrator enthusiastically started with this particular portrait but quickly got bored and decided to simply take all the tondi down, cut them into manageable pieces, and carry them out, to be dumped out of sight with the rest of the rubbish.

There are only a few parallels to the groove around Alexander's neck;¹⁰⁶ nonetheless, it is possible that a much larger number of statues have been intentionally and effectively decapitated in attempts to render them harmless. Many statues that had once been displayed in either public buildings or private houses were found buried or discarded without their heads (see appx.). Although the loss of the head can happen accidentally, especially when it was worked separately,

the number of headless bodies is so great that there must have been a particular reason for this. The intentionality of this feature is confirmed by the fact that in the temple complexes at Naronia and Eretria—both known to have been violently destroyed—all the heads (and at Eretria also the hands) had been removed before the buildings were destroyed (see appx.).¹⁰⁷ Moreover, the phenomenon is not unique to late antiquity: Donderer points out that already in the early fifth century B.C.E., the Athenians buried without heads all architectural and votive statues that had been damaged by the invading Persian army.¹⁰⁸ Most heads that had been detached in antiquity have not been located; many were moved in antiquity, often quite far from their bodies.¹⁰⁹ In some cases, heads may have been collected and put on display. This is strongly suggested by the statuary collection found in Well P of House C at Athens, which, next to a portrait of a bearded man, also contained a marble head of Helios and one of Nike.¹¹⁰ Why and who would assemble such collections is still unknown, and a detailed analysis of this phenomenon lies beyond the scope of this article. What can already be suggested, however, is that heads may have been endowed with a special meaning and may have been able to function without the body, or, conversely, that the removal of the head may have altered or even erased the identity of the statue.

Regarding the state of preservation of the Philosopher Portraits at Aphrodisias, it cannot be certain that these were violently smashed. There are some archaeologically attested outbreaks of religious smashing of statuary outside Asia Minor,¹¹¹ but in the region under investigation, the evidence is meager and largely limited to defaced reliefs. Violent destruction of a freestanding statue resulted in small fragments being strewn

¹⁰² Smith 1990, 136, 155.

¹⁰³ Smith 1990, 155.

¹⁰⁴ In some cases, *damnatio* was left on display. When an emperor or individual had suffered *damnatio*, the statuary bases were sometimes left in situ, although the statues themselves disappeared (Stewart 2003, 275, 279–80). Similarly, the toppling of a statue of Artemis at Ephesos was commemorated in an inscription (Benndorf 1906, 103; Thür 1989, 129–31). Finally, as stated above, the defaced reliefs in the Sebasteion also remained on display, but removing them would have meant damaging the building itself.

¹⁰⁵ Stewart (2003, 192–93) points to religious veneration of noncultic statues. In late antiquity, *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12.1 (392 C.E.) refers to sacrifices taking place in front of images outside the temple context. Also, Marc the Deacon (*Vita Porphyrii* 59–62) relates how a marble statue of Aphrodite on the agora of Gaza was worshiped by women as a symbol of fertility until Bishop Porphyry had it destroyed at the end of the fourth century. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.20.3 (415 C.E.) already ordered that

these statues should be taken down.

¹⁰⁶ Supra n. 82.

¹⁰⁷ Marin 2001 (Naronia); Schmid 2001 (Eretria).

¹⁰⁸ Donderer 1991–1992, 202–3.

¹⁰⁹ Tsafirir and Foerster (1997, 129–30) suggested this for some of the statues at Scythopolis, but they do not give examples.

¹¹⁰ Croxford (2003) also points to the predominance of certain body parts in the surviving corpus of statuary fragments in Britain, especially heads. He suggests the existence of a real preference and, further, a possible ritual use for them. For other regions of the Roman empire, comparable studies do not (yet) exist.

¹¹¹ Caseau (2001, 34) gives examples of iconoclastic behavior. Sauer (1996) deals with destructions in mithraea. Sauer (2003) is completely devoted to iconoclastic behavior. Also on his map of statuary destruction, Asia Minor is a blank (Sauer 2003, 20–1, fig. 5).

over the floor of the space where it originally stood. In deposits that have been deliberately sealed after destruction, such as the temple complexes at Naron and Eretria (see appx.), we can still find the material remains. Also when sites—such as deserted mithraea known especially from the west of the empire¹¹²—were not reused for other purposes, or when buildings are in their last phase of use, religious violence of this kind can often be archaeologically attested. In Asia Minor, I know of only one such example of statue smashing: at Aphrodisias, 21 fragments of an Aphrodite were found in fills of the north apsidial hall and the triconch hall of the Triconch House as well as inside the adjacent bouleuterion.¹¹³ It has been suggested that the statue was part of the decoration of the house and fell prey to antipagan measures sometime in late antiquity; however, it is not yet clear how the fragments could have ended up in rooms that were reoccupied and even refurbished between the ninth and the 12th centuries C.E.¹¹⁴ Indeed, the complete lack of material remains elsewhere indicates that even if statues were toppled or smashed, the spaces afterward remained in use, and all evidence was removed, probably for the very simple reason that they were in the way.

Archaeologists are often confronted with statuary fragments and complete statues that have been built into walls, laid underneath floors, stacked in wells and pits, or strewn amid other rubbish (see appx.).¹¹⁵ As the Philosopher Portraits already indicated, some of them must have been deliberately removed. Others may have been discarded after suffering damage in the collapse of their architectural setting. Still others may have been protected (even hidden) to prevent them from falling into the hands of Christians. Although there may not be a consistent way to categorize discarded and buried remains, a careful consideration of find circumstances and exact appearance, ideally combined with an identification of the depicted subject and its original display, are valuable when reconstructing the motives for particular depositions.

It seems essential to distinguish between those statues and statuary fragments that were symbolically buried and those that were not. Symbolic burial implies a careful deposition and can be recognized by one or

more of the following: the location and orientation of the deposition, the presence of a “bed” of sand or another type of soil underneath the statue, a differentiation between the fill of the trench and the surrounding soil, the presence of cover of some kind on top of the burial, the deposition of the statue in a “sleeping” position, and the well-preserved state of the statue (see appx.). Such deposition started long before late antiquity and continued into the Byzantine period.¹¹⁶ It is hard to believe that the motives would have suddenly changed with Christianization, even less so, because proper burial was of paramount importance in both the pagan and Christian worlds, and its prevention or disturbance was considered a crime.¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is probable that pagans and Christians from pre-Roman to Byzantine times sought to appease the daimon in question and protect themselves from its power by paying a statue its “last respects.” Indeed, as late as the eighth century C.E., the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (8, 28) relates how the burial of statues was believed to neutralize their powers.

A large part of the corpus consists of damaged statues and statuary fragments. But, especially in the fourth and beginning of the fifth century C.E., statues that had received cult were deposited entirely intact. With the religious turnover going on, loyal servants of the god or goddess in question must have thought that burial would safeguard his or her epiphany from attack by hostile Christians. Evidence from deserted sanctuaries has proven them right. For instance, in the sanctuaries in Rome mentioned above, all statues that remained on display were smashed, but the most important images were not damaged but simply buried,¹¹⁸ to await the time when Christianity had been conquered and they could once again be displayed in their rightful place. In the first half of the fifth century, authors such as Quodvultdeus, Augustine, and Socrates Scholasticus testified that pagans were indeed still hoping that the true gods would return and ancient cults would be restored.¹¹⁹

Outside the context of temples, statues and statuettes—those that were (virtually) complete and those that were broken into fragments—were deposited in pits or holes dug especially for this purpose into the

¹¹²Coates-Stephens (2007, 173–74) names examples of deserted sanctuaries at Rome where smashed statuary was left “on display.”

¹¹³Brody 2007, no. 2; Berenfeld 2009, 219–20.

¹¹⁴The house was then taken into use as a residence for the bishop (Berenfeld 2009, 214).

¹¹⁵Donderer (1991–1992) has compiled the most comprehensive collection of buried statues. Sauer (2003, 55–9) gives some additional examples from the West.

¹¹⁶Donderer (1991–1992) cites, besides the example of the Athenian Acropolis cited above, many similar examples from Roman and pre-Roman times.

¹¹⁷Stewart (2003, 276) discusses the symbolic burial of statues.

¹¹⁸Supra n. 112.

¹¹⁹August. *De civ. D.* 18.53; Quodvultdeus *De promissionibus et praedictionibus Dei* 3.38; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 3.15 (collected in Le Blant 1890).

fourth century C.E. This, again, suggests that they had held a special position during their lifetime—maybe because they had received veneration. Because such background information is hardly ever available, this is not known.

Most statues and statuary fragments were not carefully buried, but were instead laid in foundation layers, thrown into channels or wells, or integrated into foundations. In this stage of their existence, they seem to have been treated quite carelessly and were considered to be little different than other statuary remains. Coates-Stephens, using the rich evidence in Rome, has recently addressed the question of why pagan statues were integrated into walls.¹²⁰ Since pagan as well as honorific images—mostly fragments but occasionally also complete statues—were found reused in this way, and since such images were also reused in the foundations of houses that continued to possess a rich and varied display of statues, it could be concluded that these particular images were reused purely as building material and no longer held meaning in these contexts. Likewise, the statues (some complete, others fragmentary) that had been thrown into channels or wells depicted a wide range of subjects. I therefore suggest that the act of discarding in itself was not negative, but that it does demonstrate a certain indifference toward the original subject of the statues—that statues regarded as dangerous had already been rendered powerless before the discard itself. This “sanitizing” was achieved by recutting, decapitating, or breaking into pieces. Conversely, when statues or statuary fragments were buried, this action points to a certain esteem for the identity and possible powers of the statue.

THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Clearly during late antiquity, a multitude of attitudes toward pagan and mythological statues prevailed and determined how those statues were treated. Why did production of some mythological, and even pagan, statuary continue while other statues were being destroyed? Why were some statues left untouched, others updated, and yet others smashed to pieces? Additional factors now to consider are how the nature and subject matter of the statue influenced its treatment and what

roles its physical location and iconographic context played in its destruction or survival.

Nature and Subject Matter of the Statue

In the late fourth and early fifth centuries C.E., pagan statuary obviously became a pressing concern of the imperial government, evidenced in the multitude of laws issued on the subject. A decree in 399 stressed that the status of every individual statue needed to be investigated and “idols” taken down.¹²¹ This is likely to have affected primarily statues in a temple context, especially cult statues, which without exception had received sacrifices and been worshiped in the past.¹²² In fact, the only cult statues that have survived to us were those that had been buried in a (successful) attempt to safeguard them from destruction. In addition, the government legislated strongly against sacrifice at all locations and applied the term “idol” to any image that was worshiped, regardless of its location. Statues that received worship had to be removed from the baths and “the favorite haunts of the public” to prevent further veneration.¹²³ In this context, it is understandable why a certain Demeas in the early fifth century felt compelled to overthrow the statue of Artemis on the small square behind the Gate of Hadrian at Ephesos and to replace it with a cross.¹²⁴

In the case of Ephesos, the presence of Artemis, who had been the most venerated goddess in that city for more than a millennium, must have been viewed as extremely menacing. As a result, not only were her statues attacked but her name was also erased from inscriptions on the portico in front of the prytaneion and the Harbor Baths—although this complex did contain a large amount of pagan statuary.¹²⁵ Similarly, in Aphrodisias, Aphrodite was bound to suffer *damnatio*. Next to her broken-up statue and defaced reliefs at the Sebasteion mentioned above, busts of the city goddess were removed from the tetrapylon (fig. 13) and from the nymphaeum near Gaudin’s Gymnasium,¹²⁶ although other deities figured in the reliefs of the basin. Moreover, someone tried to obscure that Claudia Tatiana had once been a priestess of Aphrodite by eliminating the Eros at her feet.¹²⁷ The name of the goddess herself, and even that of the city, even-

¹²⁰ Coates-Stephens 2007.

¹²¹ *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.18 (399 C.E.). Nearly all the laws assembled in *Codex Theodosianus* 16.10 react against sacrifice but were not primarily directed toward statues or temples.

¹²² See also *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19. (408 C.E.) and *Constitutiones Sirmondianae* 12 (407 C.E.), which state that images in temples and shrines that received worship had to be “torn from their foundations.”

¹²³ *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.20.3 (415 C.E.); see also supra n. 105.

¹²⁴ Supra n. 104.

¹²⁵ Foss 1979, 32, 69 n. 45.

¹²⁶ Smith 1996, 11, 25; Brody 2007, 24.

¹²⁷ Figures as putti, referring to older popular depictions of Eros, still appeared everywhere. Also at Aphrodisias itself, the back wall of the later fourth- or fifth-century street that passed by the tetrapylon possessed pilaster capitals depicting putti carrying out several activities (Dillon 1997, 744–69).

tually became intolerable, leading to their erasure in inscriptions. Examples include those integrated into the so-called archive wall in the theater¹²⁸ and the replacement of Aphrodisias by Stauropolis (City of the Cross) on the North-East Gate of the city wall, probably during or after the late sixth century C.E.¹²⁹ Considering the strong, prolonged pagan presence at Aphrodisias, the violent attacks on the statues of Aphrodite probably did not occur until the late fifth century, much like the conversion of her temple to a church, an action that postdated the construction of the early churches of Ephesus by several decennia.¹³⁰

Conversely, mythological beings or personifications, such as Tritons, Gorgons, Muses, Eros, Nike, and possibly also satyrs¹³¹ were and remained omnipresent in the cityscape the Christians inherited. They were not only actively preserved in baths and nymphaea but were also reused in city gates, on streets, and even (in singular cases) in church decoration. Obviously, these subjects were considered less dangerous than most Olympic gods and goddesses, and some of them could even be absorbed into Christian imagery. Their originally pagan connotations now referred to the idyllic, bucolic, or cultured life, or they were transformed into a rather neutral symbolic value. Erotes, or putti, are likely to have been regarded mainly as idyllic decorations, and as such they also figure widely on catacomb paintings and decoration of Christian sarcophagi. Personified and semidivine entities, especially female personifications,¹³² apparently had their heydays only between the fourth and the sixth centuries. Nike remained a widely distributed symbol for victory, often accompanying Late Antique emperors and empresses,¹³³ and muses were no longer primarily the companions of Apollo, but had instead become symbols of education.¹³⁴

Olympian gods were not all, or not invariably, shunned.¹³⁵ Thus, the relocation of both Apollo and



Fig. 13. Defaced relief of Aphrodite on the tetrapylon at Aphrodisias.

Muses in the baths of Miletos may indicate that the god himself could also be reinterpreted in the manner of his female companions. Likewise, Dionysos and Dionysiac imagery came to be used more widely as symbols of hospitality and conviviality.¹³⁶ For instance, at the city of Sagalassos, where statues of Dionysos were re-erected after the renovation of the nymphaeum on the Upper Agora, representations of the god and his circle dominated the decoration on locally produced tableware throughout the fourth and the first half of the fifth century.¹³⁷ Reinterpretation of both Apollo and Dionysos may have been an additional factor in the preservation of their depictions at the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. Finally, Artemis at the hunt was a recurrent theme in the decoration of elite houses, referring to the favorite upper class activity of hunting.

In these last contexts, the elaborate Late Antique collections of pagan and mythological statuary were

¹²⁸ Reynolds 1982, xv–xvii, docs. 3, 4, 8, 9, 11–13, 20; Brody 2007, 24.

¹²⁹ Roueché 1989, no. 42.

¹³⁰ Supra nn. 12, 13 for references.

¹³¹ Remarkably, a frieze with theater masks on the outside and a frieze of dancing satyrs on the inside was only integrated into the walls of a church at Sagalassos in the late fifth or early sixth century. The reasons behind this very well-planned building operation remain unknown (Vandeput 1993; 1997, 207–9).

¹³² Herrin (2000, 10–12) and Maguire (2001, 244–45) note the large occurrence of female personifications in private houses.

¹³³ Roueché (2002, 541–45) discusses the pagan connotation, offensiveness, and adaptation of Nike. She proposes a partial explanation for the general appearance of personifications as filling the space left by the disappearance of the old

Olympian gods.

¹³⁴ They appear as such in governor's epigrams (Sevčenko 1968). Muses, among other pagan statuary, stood in front of the Senate at Constantinople (Bauer 1996, 164). The same group was possibly posted in the palace in the early fourth century, where they could reflect the imperial virtues and moral authority (Bassett 2004, 74, 91).

¹³⁵ Also, Zeus and Athena were reinterpreted as symbols of wisdom (Bassett 2004, 91).

¹³⁶ Bowersock (1990, 41–53) explains the popularity of Dionysos in late antiquity. Elsner (1998, 218–21) and Stewart (2004, 130–31) give examples where Dionysos is depicted together with Christian imagery. Parrish (1995, esp. 332; 2004) and Stirling (2005, 87) discuss Dionysiac images in private houses. Talgam (2005, 1133–34) focuses on Dionysos in Late Antique mosaics.

¹³⁷ Talloen and Poblome 2005, 69–73.

supplemented by portraits of philosophers, which referred to an intellectual upbringing, and portraits of emperors.¹³⁸ Also, imperial portraits were strongly connected with the pagan past: the imperial cult, although far from identical, was in many respects similar to that of the traditional deities.¹³⁹ Imperial portraits were regarded as manifestations of the ruler himself, and, more significantly, rituals had been performed in front of them.¹⁴⁰ Although there was no problem with contemporary rulers, portraits of former emperors such as those found at Ephesos were therefore explicitly integrated into the Christian community by marking them with a cross. Alternatively, the presence within could be regarded as not worth saving; these were violently destroyed. This apparently happened at Naron and Eretria, but solid evidence for such actions within Asia Minor is still meager.

Philosophers were also of a dubious sort. Contemporary philosophers, still prominent figures in the pagan society of the fourth and fifth centuries, vividly defended the ancient faith.¹⁴¹ In private elite contexts such as the Atrium House of Aphrodisias, their portraits may have survived for quite a long time, either protected by the context of a philosophical school or, more generally, as representatives of their classical intellectual heritage. Nevertheless, with the developing hold of Christianity on all fields of society, tolerance for such elements of a secular culture shared between Christians and pagans dwindled.¹⁴² The Philosopher Portraits at Aphrodisias were discarded probably around the same time that the last surviving philosophical schools were closed under Justinian.¹⁴³ This evolution, which appears to have occurred simultaneously throughout the entire eastern Roman empire, affected much more than philosophers' portraits. The imperial portraits of the basilica of Ephesos ended up in a foundation ca. 500 C.E., while the imperial and pagan statues of the East Baths at Scythopolis were disposed of ca. 515 C.E. Privately owned collections, including portraits and mythological statuettes, although previously displayed in the relative safety of private villas, found their way into walls or foundations or were thrown into pits or wells, as happened in Ath-

ens ca. 530 C.E. In the sixth century, even well-liked depictions of Nike were gradually replaced by more Christian imagery, just as Dionysiac iconography had already been replaced during the second half of the fifth century.¹⁴⁴ This pronounced drawing away from the "secular" did not necessarily induce emotional violence in the same way as that which caused cult statues to disappear, but it certainly hindered production and active preservation of traditional iconography.

Nude statues, regardless of their subject or function, were deemed offensive and were adapted to suit Christian notions of nudity and, more generally, the human body. This tapped into a wider discussion on bodily impropriety in Early Christian times. Thus, Early Christian authors were opposed to mixed bathing, and they propagated sexual shame and avoidance of temptation in general.¹⁴⁵ Although it is clear that not all naked statues were adjusted in the manner described above, it is not unlikely that others that survived intact had their genitals concealed with pieces of cloth.¹⁴⁶

Context

Survival or destruction was dependent not only on the depicted subject and how it was represented but also on the context in which the depiction was located.¹⁴⁷ First, the physical location of a statue should be taken into account. Statuary in the town was very vulnerable and was exposed to random and emotive mutilation from passers-by, such as the cutting or hitting off of a nose, which would only take a minute or two. Carving a cross could be done within an hour, even if the execution needed to be meticulous. Therefore, if a statue caused feelings of hostility or disrespect, there was little to stop Late Antique city dwellers from harming it. Yet somehow, statues of the Olympic gods were still preserved in large numbers in "secular" spaces, such as in the facades of theaters and nymphaea and also in the public baths. Conversely, while sanctuaries next to cult statues must have possessed an abundant supply of "less harmless" statuary—with an iconography that was probably identical to the ones displayed elsewhere in the city¹⁴⁸—almost none of this material has been recovered. To my knowledge, the only speci-

¹³⁸ Stirling 2005, 89.

¹³⁹ Talloen 2003, 103–6.

¹⁴⁰ Belting 1994, 102–3; Stewart 2006, esp. 245–46. *Cod. Theod.* 15.4.1, issued in 425 C.E., ordered provincial governors to prevent displays of religious enthusiasm for imperial images. However, there is little evidence to say that the imperial cult ever became comparable to that of traditional deities. Hopkins (1978, 215–320), Bowersock (1982), and Gradel (2002, 73–108) discuss imperial cult and imperial statues in late antiquity.

¹⁴¹ Smith 1990, 153.

¹⁴² Markus (1990) notes how Christianity set its mark on all

aspects of life, leaving no space for the "secular."

¹⁴³ *Cod. Iust.* 1.11.9–10. Source (2004) places the closing of the school at Athens into its political and social context.

¹⁴⁴ *Supra* nn. 130, 133 for references.

¹⁴⁵ Brown (1988, esp. 315–21) and Markus (1990, 59–61, 81–2) deal with thoughts on the human body between the first and the early fifth centuries.

¹⁴⁶ Zeitler 1999, 191–92.

¹⁴⁷ Gregory 1994, 85.

¹⁴⁸ Stewart (2003, 191) notes there are no aesthetic differences between cult and other statues.

mens that are securely relocated from a “religious” to a “secular” location are those in the baths of Cremna and the Antonine nymphaeum at Sagalassos, the last probably not even directly.¹⁴⁹ Apparently, their fate was defined not only by the question of whether they received worship but also by their mere presence within the temple context.

Secondly, the relationship of a statue with others around it is a key element in understanding why some survived and others did not. A statue standing alone (e.g., the Artemis statue on the square near the Hadrian Gate in Ephesos) or a figure in relief (e.g., the gods in the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias) was apparently considered far more dangerous than figures in narrative scenes. For example, even though scenes from the Amazonomachy, the Centauromachy, and the Gigantomachy featured the entire Graeco-Roman pantheon, they were never removed from theater facades or nymphaeum parapets. In such cases, gods and goddesses were more easily reduced to the mythological creatures figuring in tales and legends and sprung from “the imagination of poets,”¹⁵⁰ rather than being considered a real presence. Thus, we can also explain why pagan and mythological creatures still appeared on Late Antique mosaics, paintings, and on silverware;¹⁵¹ they were involved in an action, a scene.

In most cases, it is not possible to determine which of the previous factors was decisive in the preservation or destruction of the subject in question. A combination of all these considerations often may have been at play. If we, for example, wish to explain why sacrificial scenes still appeared on the reliefs of nymphaea at Ephesos and Side in spite of the abhorrence of sacrifice (see appx.),¹⁵² it can be said that they were not freestanding statues but instead belonged to ancient sculptural decoration. This means that they were part of a larger scene that “protected” them and that they were displayed in the particularly decorative setting of a nymphaeum. For example, only the isolated depiction of a sacrifice in the reliefs at the Sebasteion

of Aphrodisias was defaced, and the relief at Side was left alone well into the sixth century C.E. because it depicted the birth of the city and the foundation myths and so added to the sense of identity, pride, and patriotism of the inhabitants.¹⁵³

DECORATION AND PURIFICATION

Statuary as Decoration

Even though the triumph of Christianity required the destruction of some pagan statues, I argue that reasons of a more secular nature guaranteed the survival of many others for a very long time. Just as with the architecture that framed it, statuary had for centuries been an essential component for the beautification of the city. Even in the Christianized city, pagan and mythological statues initially still functioned as decoration, took on allegorical meanings, and symbolized good fortune and rank. They were therefore also easily combined with crosses or Christian iconography, both in elite houses and at public locations such as fountains, theaters, and city gates.

The combination of pagan statuary placed in a secondary position on a reused honorific base is the clearest indication of its further use as a decorative, though not meaningless, element. Even though the evidence from the West is more robust, the phenomenon was also clearly present in the East. Bath buildings from all over the empire provide the strongest evidence to support this. Already from the beginning, they possessed an elaborate statuary collection depicting assorted subjects, which might be displayed next to one another without necessarily being connected qua content.¹⁵⁴ Over the centuries, baths seem to have become an ideal location for assembling statuary from other locations and displaying them side by side without an obvious correlation. The most famous example was the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople, which in the 460s were decorated with new statuary. But many bath complexes mentioned here and in the appendix apparently underwent similar treatments.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Even in the West or in North Africa, where the epigraphic record is less meager, explicit mention of relocation from temples is rare (Curran 1994, 49). The statuary decoration of Constantinople appears to be a major exception to this rule, which can no doubt be connected with imperial interference.

¹⁵⁰ Theodoret *Ellenikon Therapeutike Pathematon* 3.79.

¹⁵¹ E.g., in the sixth century, Procopius of Gaza, in his *Ekphrasis Eikonos*, still describes a recently painted ensemble with subjects taken from classical mythology.

¹⁵² Supra n. 121.

¹⁵³ Lanckoroński (1890, 1:141, fig. 103) provides a drawing of the scene at Side; see also Liebeschuetz 1995–1996, 200–1; 2001, 234–37. Some friezes depicting, among others, the city founder, Androklos, and several deities were added to the

Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos only in the Theodosian period (Bauer 1996, 284–85 n. 86; Feissel 1999, 28 n. 12 [both with further references]).

¹⁵⁴ Marvin 1983, 379–80. Manderscheid (1981, 38–42) notes the importance of the “art-aspect” in the decoration of bath buildings.

¹⁵⁵ Older examples included the Baths of Caracalla (Marvin 1983) and the Baths of Diocletian at Rome (Museo Nazionale Romano 2002, 13–17). Another example of a completely new Late Antique collection was found in the late fourth or early fifth-century baths of Ptolemais. This included, among others, statues of Aeschines and of Cleopatra I as Tyche of Egypt or Alexandria, Herakles, the three Graces, and an Eros, all on reused pedestals (Brinkerhoff 1962, 183, 188–98).

Literary and epigraphic sources often mention that statuary was relocated in late antiquity to beautify the city.¹⁵⁶ By selectively altering the context of a statue and transporting it into another environment, its iconography could be adapted into a more generalized cultural reference. Thus, it could be turned to new uses by the Christian population, who still possessed a strong desire for self-representation.¹⁵⁷ This is visible foremost in the private collections of the period, but it trickled into the public domain. Already before the mid third century, statues of gods were collected in the baths at Cremna as tribute to a leading family of the city. Some 150 years later, statues of Nike were brought together on the Embolos of Ephesos to honor the empress Aelia Flacilla in particular and to serve the glorification of the imperial house in general. Although imperial interference complicated the situation in Constantinople when compared with the rest of Asia Minor, similar motives were at play when that city was decorated with statues in the fourth century. Pagan and mythological images were imported from all eastern provinces¹⁵⁸ and re-erected in the new imperial city for a multitude of reasons: because they added prestige as well as historical, artistic, and religious authority; because they demonstrated riches and represented beauty;¹⁵⁹ and simply because the city without statuary would not have been complete. They were not, however, collected so that they could be derided, as Eusebius of Caesarea tries to persuade us.¹⁶⁰ Although pagans were definitely confronted with the material aspect of their idols when they were pulled from their bases, and were maybe even broken up for transport and re-erected in “secular” locations such as the streets or the hippodrome or the baths, claiming that ridicule and denigration were the main purposes of the emperor and his officials is an underestimation of the complex role that pagan and mythological statuary could still fulfill. Even Eusebius himself expresses a certain admiration for the imported statues when he notes their “exquisite workmanship.”¹⁶¹

In Constantinople, a fast-growing city that was in urgent need of statuary collections for its self-representation, and especially in the smaller cities of Asia Minor,

such motives very likely were influenced by financial considerations.¹⁶² The erection of a statue had always been a costly undertaking. As the resources available to the reformed civic government were limited, relocation must have been an attractive, since inexpensive, form of civic benefaction. Nevertheless, relocating objects with finished details was still a time-consuming and delicate operation, during which fragile features could easily be damaged and which involved heavy-duty equipment.¹⁶³ Eventually, relocation must have been the only option, especially when the presence of sculptors in the city waned. The only alternative would have been to leave the spaces in countless niches and aediculae along “much frequented locations” empty, and that was apparently unacceptable. Moreover, pagan depictions such as busts of gods in Triton’s nymphaeum at Hierapolis were so much a part of the architecture that removal would have been considered pure madness. As a result, the life of pagan and mythological statues could be prolonged by a reassessment of their decorative value. They survived as a traditional form of art and were employed over the wide range of artistic uses: for ornament, entertainment, or instruction.¹⁶⁴ If, as discussed above, the inhabitants of a Roman town took little notice of the statues in their surroundings most of the time, how aware would the Christianized population have been of the pagan gods and the mythological creatures around them? These Christians grew up next to them and met to chat in front of them—they were still part of their day-to-day surroundings. Thus, it is very possible that, as in the past, unless their attention was explicitly pointed toward them, they would hardly be noticed.¹⁶⁵

Religious Violence

In comparison with the evidence for planned relocation, updating, and widespread preservation, the examples of violence toward pagan or mythological imagery appear to be unorganized, random outbursts. There were certainly differences between cities within the same regions; it is hard to explain why in some bath buildings the sexual connotations of naked statues were regarded as offensive, but not in others. Likewise,

¹⁵⁶ Supra nn. 7, 31 for references.

¹⁵⁷ Lepelley 2001; Jacobs (forthcoming).

¹⁵⁸ Bassett 2004, 37–9.

¹⁵⁹ Bassett 2004, 46–9; Brown 2006, 316.

¹⁶⁰ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.54. Lepelley (1994, 10) first pinpointed the absurdity of this claim and considered it a sign of Eusebius’ embarrassment with the large quantities of pagan statuary adorning the new capital.

¹⁶¹ Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.54.

¹⁶² Financial considerations were not only at play at Con-

stantinople (Bassett 2004, 45) but also at Rome (Curran 1994, 55; Stewart 2003, 139–40). To add one possible motive for the relocation of pagan statuary: in some cases, though they must be extremely rare, explicitly pagan statuary could have been collected and displayed as spoils of war (Coates-Stephens 2003, 344–49; Edwards 2003; Bassett 2004, 115).

¹⁶³ Wurch-Kozelj 1988; Rockwell 1993, 193; Bassett 2004, 44.

¹⁶⁴ Liebeschuetz 1995–1996, 196 n. 23.

¹⁶⁵ Zanker 2000, 219.

literary sources and imperial edicts are contradictory.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, there was no unambiguous empire-wide policy on how to treat statues. Imperial legislation on the whole appears to argue for preservation; even idols were to be removed from their temple contexts in an orderly manner by the proper authorities. The buildings, when they were no longer used for cult objectives, were preferably left intact and ideally given another function. Christian militants, however, were running ahead of imperial law. Their fear of idols and their strong desire to remove the physical obstacles for the conversion of pagans ensured that the fourth century was already marked by the destruction of and violence toward temples and statues.¹⁶⁷

Accounts of pagan-Christian violence of all sorts can be connected with very particular situations. Therefore, it is better to assume there was a specific cause and initiator for each case of destruction, rather than considering them as part of a widespread phenomenon. For example, the famous Serapis demolition—which is attested in literary sources that give us the events preceding and following the attacks on the cult statue—was the outcome of a series of escalating events.¹⁶⁸ Although tension between pagans and Christians in Alexandria had been building up over several decades, the final outbreak of violence was strongly connected with Bishop Theophilus, who, together with some loyal magistrates, took advantage of a revolt of the pagan community to destroy the pagan infrastructure under the pretence of stopping the civilian unrest.¹⁶⁹ Early Christian sources tell many similar tales of how holy men and monks refused to compromise for the sake of public order and caused civic unrests with their extremist ideas that were, for the most part, strongly condemned by secular and often also religious authorities.¹⁷⁰

Secular Violence

In the archaeological record, dislocation or absence of statuary fragments in stone can be accidental or the result of a deliberate act. The difference is often hard to tell. For instance, the head of the Nemesis at the Antonine nymphaeum of Sagalassos was detached and lying underneath the body in the basin. Since the body

itself was also cracked in two, it is more likely that it was hit on the head by falling debris than that the head was detached deliberately before the collapse. Only when there is evidence of a consistent, repetitive handling of the statuary or when clear chisel marks are visible can mutilation be definitively identified.¹⁷¹

As explained above, cult statues most likely “disappeared” for religious reasons, but this explanation does not account for what happened, for instance, with the pagan decoration of the southern nymphaeum at Perge, which is now missing but which probably would have been acceptable in the Christianized world. Statuary preservation is not only dependent on iconography but is also strongly linked to the “afterlife” of the building, either after its collapse or after abandonment of its original function. Eventually, statuary came to be valued as a ready source of raw material—marble or bronze—and not for its intrinsic, symbolic, or aesthetic value. All statuary and other marble decoration that was not covered by architectural fragments was available for burning in lime kilns; similarly, the metal statues of Nike that had been relocated to the Embolos at Ephesos must have been melted down and so have not come down to us. The need for raw materials may indeed be the main reason why on the whole we have recovered so little statuary from the streets and squares of the Late Antique cities of the eastern empire. Streets and squares are less likely to be covered by the debris from collapsed buildings around them, so statues there were far easier to reach than those in, say, bath buildings. As Stewart noted, “the kind of statue-destruction that prevailed from this point on represented a genuine break from the iconoclastic tradition. For the first time statues were destroyed without order or meaning,¹⁷² without any relationship to their subject matter, their nature or location, but only for the intrinsic value of their material. A sculpture of Poseidon, therefore, became equal to an honorific statue of the major benefactor in a town. In the West, Cassiodorus in the early sixth century pleaded for the preservation of the statuary adornment in Rome, no doubt because he saw it disappearing in furnaces and lime kilns.¹⁷³ The East possesses many archaeological sources for systematic statuary destruction from the seventh century onward.

¹⁶⁶ Imperial edicts such as *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8 (382 C.E.) and 15 (399 C.E.) argued for preservation of statues as works of art, but *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.18 (399 C.E.) and 16.10.19.1 (407 C.E.) clearly stated that idols had to be taken down.

¹⁶⁷ Gaddis 2005, 115–17, 189; see also 92–117, where Gaddis describes expressions of pagan-Christian violence in the fourth century.

¹⁶⁸ Haas 1997, 192–93. Hahn (2004, 78–92) attempts to reconstruct the course of events.

¹⁶⁹ Hahn 2004, 91.

¹⁷⁰ Hahn 2004, 276–80; Gaddis 2005, 191, 210–12. Salzman (2006, 272–73) gives examples of bishops disapproving of such extremism.

¹⁷¹ Sauer 2003, 72.

¹⁷² Stewart 1999, 182–83.

¹⁷³ Cassiod. *Var.* 7.13, 7.15 (translated and discussed by Fauvinet-Ranson 2006, 163–72).

For instance, at the bath-gymnasium of Sardis, the lime kilns that rose up after 616 C.E. were actually excavated and a number of partly burned statuary fragments were discovered within. Lime was needed here for the construction of a *kastron* on the acropolis but especially for the new road laid out by Constans II just to the south of the bath complex.¹⁷⁴ Also at other sites where habitation continued or that were reoccupied in later centuries, the statuary record must have been consistently thinned out. For example, both statuary and architectural elements belonging to the colonnaded street of Aizanoi were burned to lime only with the appearance of the modern town of Çavdarhisar.¹⁷⁵

Chronology

Even though secular reasons guaranteed the survival of pagan and mythological statuary for a very long time, by the end of the sixth century it had lost much of its relevance to contemporary life. Based only on the archaeological record, an evolution in attitudes throughout the centuries is hard to sketch, since dating is poor or lacking. In any case, this range of positive and negative attitudes toward pagan and mythological statues was present throughout late antiquity. Only production and reworking seem to have stopped after the early fifth century, when the official attitude toward paganism had hardened, but also when statuary production on the whole became a rarity. Religiously inspired attacks on pagan and mythological statues were already numerous by the late fourth century, but, as seen above, the situation differed strongly from city to city, from location to location, and possibly from statue to statue. We can hardly expect to find archaeological evidence for this, since the remains of the toppled and smashed statues would not have been left lying around for a long time. The edicts issued between 382 and 407 that demanded preservation of the historical and cultural heritage no doubt also reflected an existing practice, one that is visible in the archaeological record. There is little direct dating evidence for the instances of acculturation, as they mostly only involve additional carving. For the heads with crosses found in Ephesos, it is possible to say that the incisions were applied before 500 C.E., when they ended up in a new foundation fill. Indeed, as stated above, Christianity increasingly encroached on the space for allegorical interpretations and secular activities. This led to a growing irrelevance of classical motifs and the end of active preservation

in the later fifth and the first half of the sixth century. The final demise of pagan and mythological statuary can primarily be attributed to its growing irrelevance as secular adornment, rather than to religious violence. Indeed, the large number of statues discovered amid their architectural context demonstrates that passive preservation, and therefore also toleration, continued into the later sixth and seventh centuries.¹⁷⁶

CONCLUSION

This overview of statuary remains in Asia Minor has examined various attitudes toward pagan and mythological statuary in late antiquity. As in so many aspects, late antiquity served as a frontier period between the classical world of pagan civilization and the Christian culture of the Byzantine world. Pagan and especially mythological statuary was still considered an appropriate means of communication and decoration. Attempts to integrate the classical artistic heritage into the Christian cultural milieu were widespread and varied. As a result, inhabitants of the sixth century would still have seen themselves surrounded by personifications, mythological creatures, and even Olympian gods. This iconography remained present on luxury items and in statuettes in the mansions of the elite until the second quarter of the sixth century. Statues displayed in public buildings, along main streets, and on public squares often went out of use only when the surrounding architecture was destroyed.

The amount of statuary waned throughout late antiquity; production slowed down and eventually ceased to deliver new items altogether. Inevitably, the existing record was being thinned out during the three long centuries of the period. Statues were objects in use. Some of them may have possessed a more or less permanent location in the cityscape; others were relocated more than once. In the course of such operations, statuary ran the risk of being damaged, sometimes beyond repair. Religiously motivated iconoclasm no doubt depleted the corpus, especially that of cult statues and other gods who once stood within temple precincts, the surviving numbers of which are very low. Also in this case, we are confronted with the limitations of the archaeological evidence. If such "idols" were destroyed between the fourth and the late sixth centuries, it is unlikely we will ever find traces of this. Only when the structure in which they were situated was destroyed at the same moment and when the statuary remains were

¹⁷⁴ Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 81; Yegül 1986, 15–16, 49, 82–3, 89–91, 145 n. 39. Similar evidence for the burning of statues is known from the City Bath, where collections of marble chips ready for burning were found, and the Public Building at Ptolemais (Kraeling 1962, 148, 163, 168, 170).

¹⁷⁵ Rheidt 1995, 712–13.

¹⁷⁶ At Constantinople, where urban life continued, the prolonged presence of pagan and mythological statues can be followed up until the sack of the capital by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 (Vryonis 1991, 33–4).

thus sealed from further interference can the statues themselves be recovered. When this is not the case, they are likely to have been disposed of in a thorough manner, either immediately, within the Late Antique period, or later. We can only guess how many statues disappeared in lime kilns at the end of antiquity and in later times.

We also base our conclusions on negative evidence when we claim that the remaining statuary was viewed in a mostly positive manner and that after a religious “filtering” and “updating,” they were fitted into the new culture and thus remained omnipresent in the Late Antique city. The more nuanced view presented here maintains that statuary was still employed to various ends: to scare the enemy, to provide links with a glorious past, to express prestige, to indicate general cultural learning or wealth, or simply to adorn.

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Appendix: Overview of Pagan and Mythological Statuary Remains in Late Antiquity

STATUARY PRESERVED INSIDE BATH BUILDINGS IN ASIA MINOR

Catalogue Number: 1.

Location: Constantinople, Baths of Zeuxippos.

Description: Three statues of Apollo and the Muses, a statue of Hermaphroditos, Herakles with a nymph, Poseidon with Amymone, two figures from the Theban myth cycle, and 29 figures from the Trojan myth cycle.

Treatment: *a*, relocated to the new baths; *b*, actively preserved during restorations and dedication of new statuary.

Date: *a*, Constantinian; *b*, 467 C.E.

References: Bassett 2004, 51–8; Kaldellis 2007.

Catalogue Number: 2.

Location: Constantinople, Baths of Marina.

Description: Statues of Herakles, river gods, reliefs with scenes from the Gigantomachy.

Treatment: *a*, relocated; *b*, tolerated.

Date: *a*, early fifth century; *b*, at least into the 10th century.

Reference: Mango 1991.

Catalogue Number: 3.

Location: Ephesos, Varius/Scholastica baths.

Description: Statuette of Dionysos, statue of a river god, satyr, Herakles.

Treatment: Actively preserved during restoration of architectural surroundings.

Date: Fourth century.

Reference: Aurenhammer 1990, nos. 38, 49, 83, 94.

Catalogue Number: 4.

Location: Ephesos, Harbor Baths.

Description: Two statues of Dionysos, a statue of a satyr, Aphrodite, an unidentified goddess, statuette of Dionysos, a philosopher, Daedalus and Icarus, two groups with a sphinx.

Treatment: Actively preserved during restoration of architectural surroundings.

Date: 337–350 C.E.

References: Manderscheid 1981, 86–8; Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 7, 33, 36, 50, 148; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 238–40.

Catalogue Number: 5.

Location: Ephesos, Vedium gymnasium.

Description: *a*, the original statuary decoration, including three naked statues of Aphrodite, and later additions including two river gods, Asklepios, Hygeia, Aphrodite, Hercules(?), Hermes, Athena, an unidentified goddess, Androklos, statue of a sophist, at least five herms.

Treatment: *a*, the original statuary decoration was partly removed and fragments were reused as building material; *b*, the later additions were partly relocated and partly actively preserved during renovations; *c*, the Androklos, two river gods, and some herms had their genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, probably early fifth century; *b*, early fifth century; *c*, unknown.

References: Manderscheid 1981, 88–91; Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 23, 37, 66, 86, 87, 105, 135; Hannestad 2001; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 245–48.

Catalogue Number: 6.

Location: Ephesos, East Gymnasium.

Description: Statue of Asklepios, an imperial priest, Muses, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Hygeia, Pan.

Treatment: Tolerated and probably relocated to the Kaisersaal and the propylon, even though a church was established in the courtyard of the baths.

Date: Unknown, maybe contemporary with the church construction in the fifth century.

References: Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 44, 60, 95; Yegül 1992, 279–82; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 242.

Catalogue Number: 7.

Location: Milet, Faustina Baths.

Description: Hall of the Muses: six statues of Muses, two statues of Aphrodite, a statue of Apollo, Dionysos with a satyr, an athlete leaning on a herm of Herakles; elsewhere are a river god and Hygeia.

Treatment: *a*, relocation and repairs to the statues; *b*, actively preserved during restoration works; *c*, the Aphrodite, Apollo, Dionysos and the satyr, and the athlete and the herm had their genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, second half of the fourth century; *b*, continuously until the first half of the sixth century; *c*, unknown.

References: Manderscheid 1981, 93–6; Schneider 1999, 8–12, 47–54; Hannestad 2001.

Catalogue Number: 8.

Location: Aphrodisias, Baths of Hadrian.

Description: Two statues of Aphrodite, a statue of Apollo(?), a satyr, Eros, a group of Achilles and Penthesileia, Menelaos and Patroklos.

Treatment: Tolerated when new statuary was added to the baths.

Date: Into the sixth century.

References: Manderscheid 1981, 96–9; Smith 2007.

Catalogue Number: 9.

Location: Sagalassos.

Description: Statues of Eros, several statuettes including one of Apollo and two of Aphrodite, imperial statues of Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Faustina.

Treatment: Actively preserved during restoration of architectural surroundings.

Date: Until the early sixth century.

Reference: Mägele 2009, 558–76, nos. 142–62.

Catalogue Number: 10.

Location: Perge, South Baths.

Description: Gallery of Klaudios Peison, with Meleager, Apollo, Marsyas, a sitting Muse, Aphrodite, Hygeia, Nemesis, Muse group with Apollo, Horus; elsewhere are Harpokrates, the three Graces, Aphrodite, a priestess of Artemis, Hermes.

Treatment: *a*, actively preserved during restoration of architectural surroundings; *b*, the Meleager, Marsyas, Horus, and the three Graces had their genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, fourth or fifth century; *b*, unknown.

References: Özgür 1987; Hannestad 2001.

STATUARY PRESERVED IN NYMPHAEA IN ASIA MINOR

Catalogue Number: 11.

Location: Aphrodisias, Agora Gate nymphaeum.

Description: Reliefs depicting scenes of the Amazonomachy, the Centauromachy, and the Gigantomachy.

Treatment: Relocated.

Date: Late fifth century.

Reference: Linant de Bellefonds 1996.

Catalogue Number: 12.

Location: Aphrodisias, nymphaeum at Gaudin's Gymnasium.

Description: Reliefs depicting scenes of the Amazonomachy, the Centauromachy, and the Gigantomachy.

Treatment: *a*, relocated; *b*, bust of Aphrodite defaced.

Date: *a*, late fifth century; *b*, unknown.

References: Smith 1996, 11, 23–7; Brody 2007, 24.

Catalogue Number: 13.

Location: Ephesos, fountain near the stadium.

Description: Statuettes of Dionysos and a satyr, a sleeping Eros, and Harpokrates.

Treatment: *a*, produced; *b*, all statuettes had their genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, early fifth century; *b*, unknown.

References: Jobst 1986; Aurenhammer 1990, nos. 46, 74, 82; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 249.

Catalogue Number: 14.

Location: Ephesos, Celsus Library.

Description: Reliefs of the Monuments of the Parthians with depictions of Olympic gods, emperors, and sacrifice, including animal sacrifice scenes.

Treatment: *a*, relocated; *b*, Ganymede on one of the reliefs had his genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, early fifth century; *b*, possibly also early fifth century.

References: Bauer 1996, 281 n. 64; Hueber et al. 1997, 77–83; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 250.

Catalogue Number: 15.

Location: Ephesos, Nymphaeum Traiani.

Description: Two statues of Dionysos, a statue of a satyr, Aphrodite, Androklos, balustrade with herms of two unidentified female deities, a helmeted warrior, a philosopher.

Treatment: *a*, tolerated during addition of balustrade; *b*, the satyr and the naked Dionysos had their genitals cut away.

Date: *a*, second half of the fourth century; *b*, unknown.

References: Miltner 1959, 326–46; Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 31, 41, 51, 104; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 250–51.

Catalogue Number: 16.
 Location: Ephesos, Pollio fountain.
 Description: Polyphemos group.
 Treatment: All naked statues had their genitals cut away.
 Date: Unknown.
 References: Miltner 1960, 28–41; Aurenhammer 1991, no. 147; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 252.

Catalogue Number: 17.
 Location: Ephesos, Laecanius Bassus nymphaeum.
 Description: Two statues of fluvial gods, five statues of Tritons, two (possibly three) statues of Aphrodite, a satyr, reliefs of Nereids.
 Treatment: All river gods, Tritons, and satyrs had their genitals cut away.
 Date: Unknown.
 References: Fleischer 1972–1975; Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 84–5, 88–92, 122, 124, 153–56; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 252–53.

Catalogue Number: 18.
 Location: Ephesos, “Fontäne.”
 Description: Nike, kore(?), satyr(?), river god.
 Treatment: Tolerated during dedication of statues of Constantius II and Constans.
 Date: 337–350 C.E.
 References: Heberdey 1912, 173–77; Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 253.

Catalogue Number: 19.
 Location: Ephesos, “Straßenbrunnen.”
 Description: Dionysos, female portrait statue.
 Treatment: *a*, the Dionysos had its genitals cut away; *b*, the portrait had a cross inscribed on the forehead.
 Date: *a*, unknown; *b*, unknown.
 Reference: Auinger and Rathmayr 2007, 254.

Catalogue Number: 20.
 Location: Hierapolis, Triton’s Nymphaeum.
 Description: Reliefs, including an Amazonomachy, Tritons, Erotes, busts of Apollo, and busts of other deities.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 References: De Bernardi Ferrero 1999, 698; D’Andria 2003, 117–26; Campagna 2006, 388–90.

Catalogue Number: 21.
 Location: Hierapolis, Temple of Apollo nymphaeum.
 Description: Statue of Aphrodite; a nymph or Poseidon; reliefs including depictions of Leto, Apollo, Artemis, Hera, Jupiter, and Selene; an Amazonomachy; Tritons and Erotes on dolphins, possibly an offering scene.

Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 References: Bejor 1991, no. 31; De Bernardi Ferrero 1999; D’Andria 2003, 132–35; Campagna 2006, 393.

Catalogue Number: 22.
 Location: Milet.
 Description: Statues of nymphs, a naked Silen, a satyr, Dionysos(?), Athena(?), Artemis, Aphrodite(?), Asklepios, Herakles, two statues of Nike, Leda or a nymph, Poseidon(?), Paris(?), Selene, Atlas.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 Reference: Hülsen 1919, 55–72.

Catalogue Number: 23.
 Location: Sagalassos, Hadrianic nymphaeum.
 Description: A colossal seated Apollo, a standing Apollo, Poseidon, a satyr, two statues of Aphrodite, Dionysos or a satyr, reliefs of Muses, Tritons, Nereids, a fluvial god, a Medusa head.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 Reference: Mägele et al. 2007, 476, 481–92.

Catalogue Number: 24.
 Location: Sagalassos, Severan nymphaeum.
 Description: A statue of Hera, Tyche, three statues of Nikes.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 Reference: Unpublished.

Catalogue Number: 25.
 Location: Perge, North Nymphaeum.
 Description: A statue of a fluvial god, Zeus, Artemis, Apollo and Isis, reliefs of Dionysiac elements, heads or masks of maenads and satyrs, Tritons.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 Reference: Mansel 1975, 369–72.

Catalogue Number: 26.
 Location: Perge, South Nymphaeum.
 Description: Reliefs of Artemis Pergaia, three naked Charites, a bathing Aphrodite, an Eros and a female priestess, busts of Selene, Helios, and Tritons.
 Treatment: Tolerated.
 Date: Continuously.
 Reference: Mansel 1975, 367–69.

Catalogue Number: 27.
 Location: Side, gate nymphaeum.
 Description: Statues of least five Nikes; reliefs on the

parapets showing love encounters between gods and/or mythological figures, including depictions of Aphrodite, Ares, Eros, Demeter, Hermes, Poseidon and the nymph Amymone, Artemis and Endymion; the punishment of Ixion, mythical founder of Side; relief of the arrival of Athena at Side, including the goddess arriving at the city in a boat and making an offering on a small altar in the company of the Tyche of the city.

Treatment: Tolerated.

Date: Continuously.

References: Mansel 1963, 55–63; İnan 1975, nos. 9, 53, 64, 65, 70, 129, 130.

Catalogue Number: 28.

Location: Side, aediculated nymphaeum.

Description: Statues of Apollo, Hermes, Athena.

Treatment: *a*, relocated; *b*, tolerated.

Date: *a*, late third century; *b*, continuously.

Reference: İnan 1975, nos. 6, 19, 72, 83.

STATUARY PRESERVED IN THEATRES IN ASIA MINOR

Catalogue Number: 29.

Location: Aphrodisias.

Description: Statues of Apollo flanked by two Muses, a statue of a goddess wearing a peplos, several Nikes, a head of Aphrodite, head of Apollo.

Treatment: *a*, a marble relief of Aphrodite was chipped away; *b*, tolerated when frescoes of archangels were added to a room on the stage, possibly in the first half of the sixth century.

Date: *a*, unknown; *b*, unknown.

References: Cormack 1991; Erim and Smith 1991; Özren 1996, 123–24; Brody 2007, cat. no. 13.

Catalogue Number: 30.

Location: Ephesos.

Description: Statuettes of Athena, Aphrodite, and Poseidon, three statues of Apollo, two of Dionysos, a satyr, Hermes, Serapis, Herakles, Aphrodite, Athena, Nemesis.

Treatment: Tolerated.

Date: Continuously.

References: Aurenhammer 1991, nos. 5, 12, 15, 32, 34, 53, 79, 98; Özren 1996, 126–27.

Catalogue Number: 31.

Location: Hierapolis.

Description: A statuette of Asklepios; two statues of Apollo; Serapis; two Tritons; Artemis; Leto; Hades-Serapis; two sphinxes; reliefs depicting the life and deeds of the patron god of the town; Apollo and Artemis; reliefs with Dionysiac iconography and themes linked to the local Plutonion, such as the rape of Proserpine;

Septimius Severus portrayed as Zeus, crowned by a winged Nike and in the presence of various gods and personifications.

Treatment: *a*, actively preserved during restorations to the scaenae frons; *b*, tolerated when Christian symbols were inscribed in the blocks of the proscenium; *c*, possibly the statuary decoration was mutilated in the period after the collapse of the scaenae frons. No further details.

Date: *a*, 352 C.E.; *b*, unknown; *c*, seventh century(?).

References: Özren 1996, 127–28; D'Andria 2003, 152–80.

Catalogue Number: 32.

Location: Pergé.

Description: Reliefs with scenes from the life of Dionysos, an explicitly pagan sacrificial scene, a Centauro-machy, and a Gigantomachy.

Treatment: Tolerated when a Greek cross was painted between figures of the lowest frieze.

Date: Unknown.

Reference: İnan et al. 2000.

Catalogue Number: 33.

Location: Side.

Description: Statues of Apollo, Tyche, a hermaphrodite, a sphinx, the three Graces, reliefs with mainly mythological subjects, probably sagas connected to the history of Side.

Treatment: Tolerated when two chapels were added to the cavea. The reliefs suffered damage and many depictions are incomplete. It has been suggested this was the result of an intentional mutilation.

Date: Fifth century C.E.(?).

References: İnan 1975, nos. 5, 45, 56, 63, 85; Mansel 1963, 134–41.

Catalogue Number: 34.

Location: Miletos.

Description: Reliefs featuring Erotes and hunting scenes; three Apollos, including the cult statue of Didyma.

Treatment: Tolerated.

Date: Continuously.

References: Kleiner 1968, 70–2; Sear 2006, 343–44.

STATUES AND RELIEFS THAT WERE DISCARDED

Catalogue Number: 35.

Location: Naron (Croatia), temple of the imperial cult.

Description: At least 17 statues represent emperors and members of the imperial family.

Condition at Discovery: All heads missing, bodies broken, and fragments scattered. The temple building

was deliberately destroyed, the statues buried under debris.

Suggested Treatment: Smashed.

Date of Treatment: Ca. 400 C.E.(?).

Reference: Marin 2001.

Catalogue Number: 36.

Location: Eretria (Greece), temple of the imperial cult.

Description: Seven statues, mainly male.

Condition at Discovery: Hundreds of fragments found in a destruction layer, most of them in the naos. With the exception of two torsos, the fragments were very small. Heads and hands were not retrieved.

Suggested Treatment: Smashed.

Date of Treatment: Fourth century C.E.

Reference: Schmid 2001.

Catalogue Number: 37.

Location: Ephesos, prytaneion.

Description: Three copies of the cult statue of Artemis Ephesia.

Condition at Discovery: The almost intact statues were laid facing upward in a black layer just above the pavement of the building.

Suggested Treatment: Symbolically buried.

Date of Treatment: Probably after the building had been destroyed by the earthquakes between 358 and 368 C.E.

References: Donderer 1991–1992, 244–50; Scherrer 2000, 86.

Catalogue Number: 38.

Location: Hierapolis, basilica.

Description: Statue of Attis.

Condition at Discovery: Laid completely intact on its back in the southwest corner of the basilica.

Suggested Treatment: Symbolically buried.

Date of Treatment: Before(?) the basilica was destroyed by an earthquake in the later fourth century and thereafter dismantled.

Reference: D'Andria 2003, 94–5, figs. 71–3.

Catalogue Number: 39.

Location: Sardis, Temple of Artemis.

Description: Torso of a priestess of Artemis.

Condition at Discovery: Underneath the floor of the temple, in front of the cella between the antea of the west cella.

Suggested Treatment: Symbolically buried.

Date of Treatment: By the mid fourth century, the temple was abandoned.

References: Foss 1976, 48–50; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 90, no. 62.

Catalogue Number: 40.

Location: Abu Mina, pottery kiln near the Great Basilica.

Description: Statuette of Dionysos and a satyr.

Condition at Discovery: Deposited horizontally on top of a bed of sand, covered with sand. The head of Dionysos was pointing west.

Suggested Treatment: Symbolically buried.

Date of Treatment: Ninth century C.E.

Reference: Engemann 1998.

Catalogue Number: 41.

Location: Scythopolis, theater.

Description: Hermes(?), who stood in the niche of the scaenae frons.

Condition at Discovery: Found in pieces in a pit near the stage, buried just above the level of the pavement in the clay fill supporting a tile floor.

Suggested Treatment: Symbolically buried(?) after the scaenae frons and its decoration were damaged during an earthquake(?).

Date of Treatment: In the second quarter of the fourth century C.E.

References: Applebaum 1978, 85 n. 11; Tsafirir and Foerster 1997, 129, 132.

Catalogue Number: 42.

Location: Aphrodisias, outside the west aisle of the Atrium House.

Description: Statue of a Muse, headless, and a man in military dress, also headless.

Condition at Discovery: Deposited “unceremoniously by a wall.”¹⁷⁷

Suggested Treatment: Discarded.

Date of Treatment: In or after the fifth century.

References: Erim 1983, 233; Smith 1990, 129.

Catalogue Number: 43.

Location: Aphrodisias, to the east of the bouleuterion.

Description: Statues of a strategos, a priest of Aphrodite, a young man, and a boy.

Condition at Discovery: Deposited mostly intact but without heads alongside a foundation wall. Some fragments, also of the heads, were more widely scattered.

¹⁷⁷ Smith 1990, 129.

Suggested Treatment: Discarded and buried, maybe in order to reuse their bases in the construction of the city wall.

Date of Treatment: Mid fourth century.

Reference: Hallett 1998.

Catalogue Number: 44.

Location: Aphrodisias, north of the bouleuterion.

Description: Diskophoros.

Condition at Discovery: Used facedown as cover for a water channel near the north side of the bouleuterion.

Suggested Treatment: Reused.

Date of Treatment: After the late fourth century.

Reference: Rockwell 1991, 134.

Catalogue Number: 45.

Location: Ephesos, basilica.

Description: Portraits of Augustus and Livia.

Condition at Discovery: Buried underneath the floor of a house.

Suggested Treatment: Discarded.

Date of Treatment: Ca. 500 C.E.

Reference: Alzinger 1972–1975, 260–63.

Catalogue Number: 46.

Location: Scythopolis, East Baths.

Description: Statue of an emperor, a nymph, Aphrodite, and Dionysos, found together with another substantial number of large and small fragments of marble statues.

Condition at Discovery: Aphrodite and nymph, both headless, were thrown in the hypocaust. Aphrodite was found facedown, the nymph faceup. The Dionysos, of which the mouth, eyes, and nose are said to have been mutilated, was buried under the floor level of a new building. The emperor was reused in a wall. The statue was headless. The eagle and griffins on the cuirass are said to have been defaced.

Suggested Treatment: Discarded and used as building material.

Date of Treatment: Ca. 515/16 C.E., when the baths went out of use and the site was partially overbuilt.

References: Tsafir and Foerster 1997, 129–31; Tsafir 2003, pls. 110, 111.

Catalogue Number: 47.

Location: Side, various wells.

Description: Lower part of an unidentified group with two figures, a virtually intact metal statuette of Artemis holding a wreath.

Condition at Discovery: Unknown.

Suggested Treatment: Discarded.

Date of Treatment: Unknown.

Reference: İnan 1975, nos. 62, 66, 173.

Catalogue Number: 48.

Location: Athens, wells in Houses C and B.

Description: In House C, Well Q, portrait busts of Antoninus Pius, a young woman, an elderly woman, and a small statue of Herakles; in House C, Well P, a marble head of Helios, one of Nike, and a portrait of a bearded man; in House B, a statuette of Hermes, a head of Nemesis, and a statuette of a philosopher.

Condition at Discovery: Found inside wells. Well Q was sealed off with a marble slab, according to Frantz, when the first owners deserted the house. It was more likely sealed when a new bath complex was laid out on top.

Suggested Treatment: Discarded.

Date of Treatment: Ca. 530 C.E.

Reference: Frantz 1988, 41, 87.

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