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Designing the Divine: The Construction of Cult Statues in the Second Century BCE

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Abstract

Designing the Divine: The Construction of Cult Statues in the Second Century BCE

By Ashley Anne Eckhardt

The second century BCE witnessed a noted boom in cult statue and temple construction that coincided with larger trends in civic development across the Mediterranean. In this dissertation, I center on the production and viewing of cult statues, from Asia Minor to the Italian peninsula, in this transformative period. An investigation into the various elements involved in the crafting of a cult statue—the choice of materials, technique, and scale—reveals how a community used sacred art to express its local traditions within an increasingly diverse and expanding world. The creation of cult statues and temples offered a fundamental opportunity for Hellenistic rulers, Greek poleis, Roman magistrates, and the sculptors and architects they employed to engage in community development and political advancement. Amid warfare, political turmoil, and social and economic change, the crafting of cult images not only endured, but prospered. Strong regional variation in political, economic, and social conditions therefore served as catalysts rather than impediments for the acceleration in the production of cult buildings and statues in this period. Through this dissertation, I push beyond the traditional bipolar narrative of the increasing movement of Greek art, materials, and craftsmen to Rome through commissions, plunder, and trade, an approach which obscures the richly complex interchanges that influenced artistic production in the second century. By instead looking at cult statues and their temples within a broad landscape, I bring into dialogue the resilience of local religious expression and the medley of new ideas, techniques, and styles offered by the Hellenistic world and the rise of Rome. Finally, I argue that a cult statue and its temple formed a cohesive unit that shaped a viewer's experience at a cult site. Using digital models of reconstructed cult statues and temples, I demonstrate the visual effects that set a cult image apart from other sculptures and how statue and temple together shaped the viewing experience at cult sites throughout the second-century Mediterranean.

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Introduction

Around 101 CE, the Bithynian orator Dio Chrysostom delivered a speech before attendees of the Olympic competitions in which he expounded his theological worldview, including a defense of the role of art in religion, as part of the Second Sophistic discourse on the concept of the divine.¹ To amplify his words with a compelling visual force, he stood in the shadow of Pheidias's famed cult statue of Zeus, the very subject of his speech. Even five centuries after its construction, this statue continued to amaze spectators with its magnificence. Dio invoked Pheidias's laudatory skill in executing such a striking statue, a fleeting glance of which could move believers and non-believers alike. He praised the sculptor directly:

...how charming and pleasing a spectacle you have created, and a vision of infinite delight for the benefit of all people, both Greeks and barbarians, who have ever come here, as they have come in great crowds and time after time, no one will contradict. For indeed even the irrational brute would be so struck with awe if they could catch merely a glimpse of yonder statue.²

In part, the statue's impact derived from the high cost of its construction; a few lines prior Dio mentioned the extravagant sums doled out for the gold, ivory, and wood used in the statue's manufacture as well as the wages paid to the army of artisans employed in its assembly and the compensation owed Pheidias himself.³ The statue's size, especially in relation to its architectural setting, further impressed and overwhelmed viewers like Dio, who remarked upon the statue's

¹ The date of the oration is debated, with scholars variously supporting a 97, 101, or 105 CE date. For 97 CE, see Döring 1979; Platt 2011, 227; for 101 CE, see Jones 1978, 53–54; and for 105 CE, see von Arnim 1891, 1898; Salmeri 2000, 86, n. 162. For a brief overview and commentary of the oration, see Russell 1992, esp. 14–19.

² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.50–51 (trans. after Cohoon 1932 with modifications by author). Dio was not the only ancient author to praise the image. Numerous attestations to the splendor and power of Pheidias's statue survive in other ancient literary sources. Quintilian (12.10.9), for example, thought it advanced the concept of sanctity itself, while Epictetus (*Arr. Epict. diss.* 1.6) lamented the fate of anyone who might die before viewing the statue. Aemilius Paullus, visiting the statue in 167 BCE, was so moved by the image that he felt he had stood before Zeus himself (Livy 45.28.5).

³ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.49.

extraordinary scale.⁴ Nor was Dio alone in appreciating this aspect of the statue: Strabo, for instance, famously observed that if Zeus arose from his throne, he would unroof the temple.⁵

Throughout his speech, Dio credited the ability and skill to create such an evocative image to Pheidias alone. The sculptor used the material and size of the statue, as well as his own expertise, to create an image of the god that, according to Dio, became the predominant form in which the deity appeared within human imagination: "...you by the power of your art first conquered and united Hellas and then all others by means of this wondrous presentation, showing forth so marvelous and dazzling a conception, that none of those who have beheld it could any longer easily form a different one."⁶ With this statement, Dio identified the key concept that characterized cult statues and distinguished them from other categories of ancient sculpture: the ability to manifest divine presence in material form.

Dio's discussion of the Olympian Zeus has important implications for our understanding of how cult images operated within their temples, but what Dio omitted, or failed to realize, in his hortatory praise of Pheidias was that the statue before which he stood did not represent the singular work of the fifth-century sculptor. On the contrary, the cult image which overlooked the 220th Olympiad had been repaired by the Messenian sculptor Damophon in the second century BCE and therefore represented the trends and techniques of both that century and the fifth.⁷ To an orator like Dio, writing to appeal to an audience for whom antiquity was equated with prestige, the emotional impact of the Olympian Zeus lay partly in its supposed age. It is the central contention of the present dissertation, however, that the cult statues constructed during

⁴ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.53.

⁵ Strabo 8.3.30.

⁶ Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.53 (trans. after Cohoon 1932 with modifications by author).

⁷ Paus. 4.31.6. According to Pausanias, Damophon repaired the statue to great acclaim. On Damophon's career, see chapter 2 of this study.

Damophon's lifetime, in the second century BCE, were in fact designed from the outset to generate precisely the same form of wonder. While the presentation of a cult statue within its temple varied based on regional preferences and cult traditions, the same factors that elicited Dio's awe of the statue of Olympian Zeus—its materials, artistry, and relationship to its architectural setting—were also critical in the contemporary reception of second-century cult statues.

Research Questions

In this dissertation, I center on the production and viewing of cult statues, from Asia Minor to the Italian peninsula, in the transformative period of the second century BCE. I examine cult statues and their environments across traditionally segregated regions with the aim of determining if there are unifying trends that indicate shared interests and communications affecting the choice of materials, techniques, and scales that created a distinct viewing experience. I contend that the artistic production of second-century cult statues was influenced and controlled by contemporary sociopolitical developments impacting these regions of the Mediterranean and therefore should not be disaggregated.

The scope and diversity of this corpus of material allows us to ask a series of interrelated, and hitherto neglected, questions concerning the overall production and experience of second-century cult statues: how was a cult statue produced in the second century? What accounts for the increased interest in the construction of cult statues and temples in this period? Are there distinguishable characteristics that defined second-century cult statues? How did the design of a cult statue and its accompanying temple impact the viewer's experience and perception of divinity? And how did regional priorities and traditions at sites across these regions of the

Mediterranean intersect with the interests of extra-regional patrons or the nature of the deity in the making of new cult statues?

This topic is worthy of investigation because an analysis of the material and design choices involved in crafting second-century cult statues advances our understanding of the practical aspects of cult image production while also highlighting the interactions between the sculptors, architects, patrons, and worshippers participating in this process. In this dissertation, I assess the complex interchanges that influenced this artistic output, bringing the Roman production of cult statues and temples into dialogue with that in Greece and western Anatolia. I argue that developments within this production were impacted by the sociopolitical trends of the period, resulting in a discrete category of sculpture that created a distinctly second-century experience for visitors seeking to view, venerate, and interact with the divine.

An investigation into the various elements involved in the crafting of a cult statue—the choice of materials, technique, and scale—also reveals how a community used sacred art to express its local traditions within an increasingly diverse and expanding world. The creation of cult statues and temples offered a fundamental opportunity for Hellenistic rulers, Greek poleis, Roman generals, and the sculptors and architects they employed to engage in community development and political advancement. Strong regional variation in political, economic, and social conditions therefore served as catalysts rather than impediments for the acceleration in the production of cult buildings and statues in this period. Through this dissertation, I push beyond the traditional bipolar narrative of the increasing movement of Greek art, materials, and craftsmen to Rome through commissions, plunder, and trade, an approach which obscures the richly complex interchanges that influenced artistic production in the second century. By instead looking at cult statues and their temples within a broad landscape, I bring into dialogue the

resilience of local religious expression and the medley of new ideas, techniques, and styles offered by the Hellenistic world and the rise of Rome.

Finally, I argue that a cult statue and its temple formed a cohesive unit that shaped a viewer's experience at a cult site. One of the defining characteristics of a cult statue was its predetermined position in the interior of a temple, making it necessary for any comprehensive study of this category to identify the mutual impacts of both statue and architecture upon one another. A key element of my study is examining how cult statues fit within the interior space of their temples and whether these elements were designed in relation to one another. Such an attempt to recreate the "temple effect," as Philip Kiernan dubs it, requires us to don the shoes of a second-century visitor to a cult site in order to appreciate the practicalities of viewing cult statues in their original sacred contexts.⁸ While we can only hypothesize about subjective responses to these statues, the experience of viewing both inside and outside a temple can be at least roughly recreated through digital reconstructions. These models, as we will explore in chapters four and five, provide an opportunity to assess in a digital world how the design of a cult statue and its temple impacted the experience of the real-world visitor. Rather than recreating a single viewpoint observed at a particular moment, digital modeling provides a reconstruction of the viewing experience that encapsulates an individual's approach of the temple, movement throughout the architectural space, and audience with the cult image at any time of day throughout the year. This investigation aims to demonstrate the visual effects that set a cult image apart from other sculptures and how statue and temple together shaped the viewing experience at cult sites throughout the second-century Mediterranean.

⁸ Kiernan 2020, 148.

What's Happening in the Second Century BCE?

In order to identify the factors that defined second-century cult statue production and viewing, the ensuing study addresses the developments that shaped the second century itself, in turn impacting its artistic output. The phenomenon of cult statue and temple construction in this period coincided with a larger trend in civic development, with private and public patrons commissioning new gymnasia, theaters, and honorific statuary throughout the Mediterranean.⁹ This widespread building boom was spurred in part by the exploitation of natural resources, such as marble quarries, mines, and forest timber, which in turn fueled the output of related industries, like shipping, construction, and art production.¹⁰

Also driving this output, however, was political and social competition. Civic bodies, royal patrons, and elite individuals adorned cities with new buildings, festivals, and public works, all intended to increase the magnificence of the city and thereby civic pride. Royal benefactors, for instance, sought to make grand architectural statements in their own territories and further afield. Large structures like stoas and gymnasia made a permanent and noticeable mark upon the local landscape and communicated on a consistent basis with a large community of users.¹¹ Beginning in the 220s, Athens especially benefited from a rise in royal competitive benefactions, accepting stoas and sculptural compositions from Hellenistic dynasts seeking to express the extent of their power.¹² The Attalids of Pergamon proved especially adept and pervasive in their use of cultural capital to extend their reach and improve their image in the

⁹ Ridgway posits that “the second century can be considered the Hellenistic period of greatest building activity” (2000, 7). Similarly for Rome, Davies contends that “...as Rome extended its hegemonic reach into Macedonia and mainland Greece, the treasury was replenished; from then until the return of the armies from Corinth and Carthage in 146 the city experienced its greatest building boom before the Caesarian and Imperial periods...” (2013, 442).

¹⁰ Rostovtzeff 1998, 1232.

¹¹ On royal patronage in the Hellenistic period, see Bringmann 1993, 2000; Winter 1993; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995; Schmidt-Dounas 2000; Wescoat 2015, 183–185.

¹² Bringmann 1993; Winter 1993; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 51–70, 77–83, 86–89, nos. 22–31, 35, 37, 39–40; Gruen 2000; Seaman 2016, 417–420.

second century. Within Athens, monumental architectural and sculptural commissions funded by the Attalids connected dynasts with a city they sought to emulate as they envisioned their own nascent empire.¹³ Pergamon itself flourished especially under the patronage of Eumenes II, who constructed its famed library, palaces, and victory monuments to transform the city into a political and cultural capital.¹⁴

Concurrently, the artistic profession adapted to the demands and opportunities provided by an expanded pool of private patrons, who became increasingly significant as cult founders and financiers, often expected to fund substantial public projects.¹⁵ Many of the cities of Asia Minor, such as Miletos and Priene, enjoyed extensive building growth in the second century as local citizens competed to beautify their cities. Following the Second Punic War, public works projects similarly surged in Rome as magistrates funded new administrative buildings, porticoes, and aqueducts.¹⁶ In return, these benefactors received public recognition and honors that helped advance their own careers and interests. Honorific statues therefore became more prevalent in the second century. No longer reserved for royal benefactors alone, more honors were bestowed upon private citizens who supported their communities by funding civic activities and structures.¹⁷ In modern scholarship, this florescence of secular building often eclipses the vibrancy of temple and cult image production in this period. Despite relinquishing their position as the predominant focus of attention within their communities, these sacred monuments nevertheless remained vital to civic life and the promotion of their patrons. The physical force

¹³ On Attalid monuments, see Gruen 2000; Bernard and Pike 2015; Steuernagel 2015b.

¹⁴ Hoepfner 1996; Mathys 2012; von den Hoff 2015.

¹⁵ For private patrons in the eastern Mediterranean, see van Bremen 1996; for the western Mediterranean, see Orlin 1997; Davies 2017.

¹⁶ Coarelli 1977; Davies 2013, 442–455; 2017, 130–145.

¹⁷ Ma 2013.

and symbolic weight conveyed by the size, location, and materials of cult statues and temples produced powerful visions worthy of deity and patron.

Pliny's perplexing assertion that art ceased from the third to the mid-second century further complicates and undermines the perception of sacred construction in this period.¹⁸ The extant evidence alone contradicts Pliny's statement, leading scholars to question what the Roman author meant by this statement: was he commenting on a noticeable stylistic or technical change, his own aesthetic preferences, or the vagaries of his sources?¹⁹ Pausanias similarly devotes far less attention to Hellenistic art than that of previous periods.²⁰ The reticence of our two main ancient sources on the art and architecture of the second century influenced scholars as early as Winckelmann, who portrayed the Classical period as the apex of Greek artistic production which was followed by an inevitable decline in the Hellenistic period. This negative perception of Hellenistic art continues to impact modern scholarship, more recently seen in the emphasis on identifying regional schools to address Pliny's caesura. Rather than recognizing the widespread phenomenon in artistic output in this period, scholars have instead sought localized areas of production.²¹ Such an approach was taken, for instance, in many of the most significant publications on Hellenistic and Republican cult statues, including those by Hanz Günther Martin, Elizabeth Faulstich, Dimitris Damaskos, and Brunilde Ridgway.²² In this framework, Greek monuments rarely come into historiographic dialogue with their Roman counterparts or address the contemporary interrelationships of artists, patrons, and deities from throughout the

¹⁸ Plin. *HN* 34.52. Pliny states that art ended in the 121st Olympiad (c. 296–293 BCE) and revived in the 156th Olympiad (c. 156–153 BCE): *cessavit deinde ars ac rursus olympiade CLVI revixit*.

¹⁹ On the debate and its various arguments, see Lawrence 1948; Gros 1978; Donohue 1995, 343–344; Isager 1995; Ridgway 2000, 10–11; Hardiman 2004.

²⁰ On Pausanias's view of Hellenistic art, see Arafat 1996, 36–42.

²¹ For regional schools, see Bieber 1961; Marcadé 1969; Gualandi 1976; Stewart 1979, 17–25, 146–148; Palagia and Coulson 1998.

²² H. Martin 1987; Faulstich 1997; Damaskos 1999; Ridgway 2000.

Mediterranean that drove this production. Substantial physical and epigraphic evidence for sacred constructions indicates that the traditional monumental forms of religion as expressed through cult statues and temples underwent a resurgence and reformulation that spanned regional divides in this period, emblematic of their persistent, essential roles in ancient life.

The building boom witnessed in this period was facilitated in part by a vibrant exchange of art, artisans, materials, and ideas across the Mediterranean. An expansion in trade networks facilitated the dispersal of natural resources for the construction of both secular and sacred monuments, along with the human talent needed to complete them.²³ In his seminal study of the Hellenistic economy, Michael Rostovtzeff identified numerous factors spurring the revitalization of Mediterranean trade in this period, including improvements in the road system, widespread use of coinage as a medium of exchange, and the diffusion of the Greek koine, a common language linking disparate parts of the Mediterranean.²⁴ The geographic reach of the Hellenistic kingdoms further cultivated this impressive trade network, allowing dynasts to bring resources from as far away as England and East Asia into the Mediterranean and develop economic relationships with Rome, which showed an increasing interest in the material and intellectual products of the eastern Mediterranean.²⁵ These imported goods contributed to the display of wealth that typified the Hellenistic kingdoms and found physical manifestation in the construction of elaborate palaces and civic building projects, as noted above. The opportunities provided by these expanded trade networks went beyond the Hellenistic kingdoms, however, and permeated the Greek cities and Roman world. Archaeological evidence attests to the rise in maritime trade across the entire Mediterranean region in the second century: a noted increase in

²³ Davies 1984; Archibald et al. 2001; Archibald, Davies, and Gabrielsen 2011; Wilson 2011.

²⁴ Rostovtzeff 1998.

²⁵ On Rome's interest in Pergamene mythology and art in particular, see Kuttner 1995.

shipwrecks dated to this time document ships that foundered while plying the regional sea routes.²⁶ This robust circulation of raw and finished goods in the second century resulted in a dynamic production of art and architecture, including cult statues and temples, that incorporated new styles, genres, techniques, and materials.

The expansion and diffusion of trade in the second century not only circulated physical art objects throughout the Mediterranean but also the skilled people involved in their crafting. People of all kinds were on the move in this period: merchants buying and selling goods, diplomatic embassies arbitrating alliances and negotiating treaties, and attendees at the region's numerous religious festivals. The nature of craftsmanship in the ancient world meant that many artisans had long been relatively mobile, moving to meet the demand for their services, but many scholars have identified a singularly westward flow of looted art and artists enticed to the Italian peninsula in the second century.²⁷ Martin's seminal examination of late Republican cult statues in Italy, for example, highlights the increased interactions between Greece and Rome which typified the Italian artistic production of this period, especially the hiring of Greek sculptors.²⁸ Many of the late Republican cult statues constructed in Italy consequently exhibited Greek stylistic traits, which Martin argues proclaimed Rome's conquest of the Greek world. The cultural exchange posited by Martin and others, however, is decidedly one-sided. Throughout this dissertation, by contrast, I argue that the artistic networks at play were much more dynamic. The flourishing of temple construction in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, and western

²⁶ Russell 2011, 2013a; Wilson 2011, 39–40; Hemingway 2016; Bouyia 2017; Velentza 2020.

²⁷ See, for example, Rakob 1976; Pollitt 1978; Gordon 1979; H. Martin 1987; Hölscher 1994; Coarelli 1996; Bernard 2010; Davies 2014; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; Zanker 2016. For a different approach, albeit limited to political interactions, see Gruen 1984. Gruen attempts to understand the Roman domination of the eastern Mediterranean from a Greek perspective and argues for Rome's unwillingness to participate in the affairs of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

²⁸ H. Martin 1987.

Anatolia demonstrates that these communities were not simply being denuded of their sacred art by Rome but instead participating fully in the cultural interchanges of the period.

These exchanges greatly impacted not only the design of cult statues and temples on both sides of the Mediterranean but also the deities to whom they were consecrated. The variety of cults that had characterized Greek and Roman religious worship from their beginning notably expanded in the second century. As has been well explored by Laurent Bricault, Jon Mikalson, and Kathrin Kleibl, cults were increasingly established to deities from Anatolian and Egyptian traditions in regions outside their customary purview.²⁹ Throughout the Mediterranean but especially in the Roman world, cults to divine personifications proliferated, especially to Tyche/Victoria, driven in part by the pervasive warfare that transformed political boundaries and profoundly demonstrated the power of a fortuitous victory. Concurrently, the Hellenistic kingdoms also witnessed a rise in ruler cult, a phenomenon that has garnered increased attention through conferences and colloquia dedicated specifically to its study.³⁰ Although a significant development of the Hellenistic period, ruler cults are not included in this study; this dissertation instead centers on public cults of gods and heroes. The process of welcoming new deities into the pantheon often required physical cult space for the adherents to gather and worship. Cult expansion therefore accounted in part for the rise in cult statues and temples constructed in this period but falls short of explaining the full phenomenon.

Some scholars have suggested that these developments in religious devotion eclipsed the worship of deities traditionally found in the Greek and Roman pantheons, but cults to these gods

²⁹ Bricault 2001; Mikalson 2007; Kleibl 2009, 2015.

³⁰ See the contributions in Iossif, Chankowski, and Lorber 2011; Caneva 2020; see also Damaskos 1999, 257–315; Chaniotis 2003; Potter 2003, 416–419.

in their local instantiations remained as central a component of ancient life as before.³¹ Kent Rigsby and Robert Parker, for example, have documented a rise in Panhellenic festivals in the second century, as communities used their sacred monuments, often those of greatest age or significance, to communicate their power and prestige to internal and external audiences.³² A similar increase in requests for *asylia* (inviolability), often tied to the institution of a festival held at the city's landmark sanctuary, occurred in the late third and early second centuries in an effort to bring widespread recognition to a city through its principal sanctuaries and festivals. *Asylia* requests were sent to other poleis, kingdoms, and even Rome, clearly indicating that cities found it highly beneficial to leverage their sacred capital to improve their standing and interactions with the leading powers of the day. Alongside these festivals, cult statues and temples were subsequently renovated, enlarged, and redecorated.

Sacred monuments, however, also proved powerful communication tools for local constituents. Within much of the Greek world, the polis remained the organizing force for administrative, social, and religious life in the second century.³³ Prominent sanctuaries instilled a sense of continuity and civic pride within citizens of a particular city. Some cities joined forces—literally contributing to a shared military—in federated leagues, which also shared sacred sites. Significant sacred monuments therefore served to unify citizens of a specific city or region with a collective cultic identity. In the second century, the construction and renovation of

³¹ Scholars citing a decline in the worship of traditional deities include Festugière 1954, 1972; Nilsson 1964; Davies 1984; L. Martin 1987, 3–15; Green 1990.

³² Rigsby 1996; Parker 2004; see also Chaniotis 1995, 164–168; Potter 2003, 415; Mikalson 2007, 216–217; Hammerschmied 2018, 91–95.

³³ On the Hellenistic polis, see Shipley and Hansen 2006; Börm and Luraghi 2018. Contradicting scholars who contend that the polis declined in the Hellenistic period, Rostovtzeff points out that “every Hellenistic king looked upon the Greek cities as a factor in politics not less than his rivals, the other Hellenistic monarchs. Such was also the opinion of the Romans when they first appeared on the political horizon of Hellenism” (1998, 1120).

cult statues was undertaken with the knowledge that these works would communicate on a global scale, a role which impacted their design and reception.

The political maneuvering and territorial acquisitions that dominated the second century made it all the more imperative that cult statues and temples address a broad audience. Dynastic territories expanded and contracted, the composition of federated leagues vacillated, cities were variously founded and merged, and the growing power of Rome loomed over the eastern Mediterranean. The first Roman military incursions into the Greek world occurred when Philip V of Macedon fatally allied with Carthage in the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE), and the second century opened with Pergamon and the Greeks allied with Rome against Philip V. The Roman consul Flamininus defeated Philip V at Kynoskephalai in 197 BCE and subsequently expelled the Macedonians from Greece, the first of the Hellenistic kingdoms to succumb to Rome's might. Failing to heed the example of Philip V, Antiochos III of the Seleukid Kingdom invaded Greece in 192 BCE, declaring war on Rome and its allies. Once again, the Romans defeated Antiochos and the resultant Peace of Apamea of 188 BCE drove the Seleukids out of Asia Minor and rewarded Rome's allies, Pergamon and Rhodes, with control of western Anatolia. The Third Macedonian War (171–168 BCE) pitted the Romans against Perseus of Macedon, the son of Philip V, who shared his father's animosity toward the Romans. He also experienced defeat at their hands, losing the decisive Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE. The Romans partitioned Macedon, giving significant territory, including the strategic island of Delos, to Athens. Twenty years later the region witnessed the solidification of Roman power in the Mediterranean. Their conquest and sack of Carthage in 146 BCE was followed quickly by their victory over the Achaian League and subsequent plunder of Corinth. Rome's control of the former Hellenistic kingdoms strengthened in 133 BCE when Attalos III of Pergamon died

without an heir and left his kingdom to the Romans. Its second-century territorial acquisitions were significant, but it would take Rome another century to finalize its control of the Mediterranean with the defeat of the Ptolemaic Kingdom at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE.

As more territory came under Roman control in the second century, the economic ties between the western and eastern Mediterranean strengthened.³⁴ Rome's increasing interest in its eastern neighbors therefore contributed to the exchange of art, craftsmen, and materials across the Mediterranean. A surge in temple building had already begun in Rome in the third century, but as Roman control of the Greek East solidified throughout the subsequent century, victorious generals and ambitious magistrates enjoyed increasingly numerous opportunities to vow new cults and temples within the city.³⁵ Pliny's revival of art in the mid-second century directly coincides with Roman conquests in Greece, especially the sack of Corinth. While recognizing the impact of Rome's political engagements on its own construction of sacred monuments, the work presented here also interrogates the eastern Mediterranean for the way in which its production of cult statues was influenced by and responsive to Rome. I explore how in developing their cult statues and temples, Greek poleis and Hellenistic dynasts reacted to pressure from growing Roman interest in the region. This production varied from community to community and served as visual manifestations of the circulation of people, ideas, and materials in this period.

In this dissertation, I argue that Rome's expanding interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the sociopolitical maneuvering by Hellenistic dynasts and Greek poleis drove sacred construction throughout the region, impacting aspects of their design, patronage, and purpose. In

³⁴ Rostovtzeff 1998, 1239.

³⁵ On temple construction in the mid-late Republican period, see Coarelli 1977; Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Ziolkowski 1992; Orlin 1997; Rous 2010; Davies 2013, 2017.

response to growing Roman engagement in the Aegean, independent cities, federated leagues, and Hellenistic dynasts constructed and renovated monumental sacred constructions to encourage alliances, bolster internal cohesion, and expand their economic and political power.³⁶ This phenomenon likewise boomeranged back to the city of Rome. By highlighting the complicated networks of exchange throughout the entire Mediterranean region as well as the influence of local culture on artistic and architectural production in this dynamic century, I aim to complicate the traditional narrative of a drain of resources from Greece to Rome and reveal the interesting series of responses to contemporary sociopolitical trends that impacted second-century cult statue production.

Cult Statues and Their Temples

As noted above, this dissertation centers on the production and viewing experience of cult statues. The display of such sculptures within buildings identified as temples necessitates a careful consideration of both the images themselves and their framing architecture to gain a full understanding of this category of sculpture. When they housed cult statues, temples were recognized as the dwelling places of the deities, but these structures also served as the repository for votives offered in supplication.³⁷ For the purposes of this dissertation, a temple is defined as a public architectural structure designed and constructed through human labor that was dedicated to a deity, and often housed an image of that deity. This definition consequently excludes natural areas, such as caves and groves, that could also be considered sacred. Temples were frequently

³⁶ On the political, economic, and cultural implications of Roman maneuvers in the Aegean world in this period, see Gruen 1984, 1990; Eckstein 2006, 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Champion 2018.

³⁷ On temples as houses of the gods, see Burkert 1977, 148; Stewart 1990, 44–46; Miller 1995, 4–7; Leypold 2004; Scott 2015; von Hesberg 2015b. Ridgway (2000, 231) cautions against applying this designation to all temples, instead restricting it for those that knowingly housed cult statues.

distinguished from surrounding buildings by their size, location, and architectural refinements. Most were freestanding, but this study includes any public, built space documented as sacred to a divine force in the archaeological, literary, or epigraphic record, regardless of design. Evidence of religious activity could take many forms, including the presence of an altar outside the structure, associated votive dedications and ritual vessels, and, most importantly for our purposes, a cult statue base within the building's interior.

Neither the ancient Greeks nor Romans had a single, specific word for what modern scholars call a “cult statue” or “cult image,” terms that are used interchangeably for the primary material investigated in the present study. At least ten ancient Greek words describe sculpture in the round, most notably *agalma*, *xoanon*, *andrias*, *bretas*, *hedos*, and *eikon*.³⁸ Latin presents a similar situation, with *simulacrum*, *signum*, *statua*, *effigies*, and *imago* among the terms used variously for three-dimensional statuary.³⁹ Despite such a wide selection of vocabulary, however, no single term in either language at any period refers solely to cult statues. Lacking precise ancient terminology or definitions for cult statues, this category of sculpture is particularly elusive to pin down.⁴⁰ In this dissertation, three key factors are used to identify cult images: their physical location, participation in cult rituals, and perception of divinity.

This study centers on the physicality of cult statues—their material form, physical placement, and visual impact—and consequently privileges tangible characteristics more than theoretical concepts in identifying second-century cult images. The relationship between the statue and its architectural frame is a key consideration of this study, constituting the principal focus of chapters four and five. Previous scholars of Greek and Roman cult statues have

³⁸ Numerous scholars have investigated the etymology, chronology, and use of these words in ancient literature, including Vernant 1991, 151–163; Donohue 1997; Scheer 2000, 8–34; Bettinetti 2001, 25–63.

³⁹ Analyses of the linguistic terms for Roman statuary include Daut 1975; Stewart 2003, 19–45; Estienne 2010.

⁴⁰ On the difficulties of defining cult statues, see Romano 1980, 2; Lapatin 2010, 131–137; Weddle 2010, 1.

approached the extant material on purely art historical terms, studying these monuments as they are so often presented today: as singular objects of display in a museum. This methodological framework necessarily divorces these images from their original contexts, a problem that has plagued ancient sculpture in its many forms.⁴¹ A statue's central positioning within the temple is therefore one of the primary characteristics used in this study to define a cult statue. Not every temple housed a cult statue, but every cult statue was intended from the outset for a specific location: a dominant position within a temple, which can be identified archaeologically by the statue's base. In such a location, these statues would have served alongside the altar as one of the primary foci of worship, playing a prominent role in cultic activities.

Evidence for a statue's participation in ritual activities stems from literary and epigraphic sources, which are even more fragmentary than the archaeological evidence for its location. Scholars like Ioannis Mylonopoulos and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge have explored the statue's integration within the cult's ritual activities, especially through investiture ceremonies.⁴² Such activities instituted the cult statue's role as the medium through which the human and divine spheres communicated, therefore providing the image with the agency to act on behalf of the deity it represented.

The perception of the statue's own divinity—its ability to accept prayers, sacrifices, and dedications and respond in turn—further distinguished a cult image from other statues. Ancient literary sources indicate that a belief in the divinity of these images existed on both sides of the

⁴¹ The history of separating ancient sculpture from its architectural setting has been well documented by Marconi, who notes, and attempts to counteract, the negative impacts of this methodology in his study of architectural sculpture; see Marconi 2007b, esp. xiii–xiv, 1–3. Similarly, Hallett advocates for visually reuniting portrait statues with their inscribed bases to appreciate the entire composition; see Hallett 2017, 889. Among scholars of cult statues, those who consider the images within their architectural setting are few; see Zinserling 1957; Mattern 2006; Montel 2014; Kiernan 2020.

⁴² Mylonopoulos 2010, 12; Pirenne-Delforge 2010; see also Steiner 2001, 105–106; Mattern 2007, 154–155; Russell 2016, 106; Hölscher 2017, 112–175.

Mediterranean.⁴³ The motivations behind and implications of a statue's perceived agency have recently been investigated by scholars like Verity Platt, Jan Bremmer, and Angelos Chaniotis, who attribute this power to the emotive responses provoked by the image.⁴⁴ This blurring of real and representational was often achieved through the cult image's greater complexity, scale, placement, and cost of materials, the combination of which differentiated the statue from other votive offerings and helped to translate the divine presence into physical form. In a world filled with images of the gods, it fell to the people charged with the statue's construction to design, build, and outfit an object that viewers would recognize as a special representation of the sacred, one that could embody the deity itself. The dissertation aims to identify what characterized these representations in the second century.

The Corpus

The civic and religious changes which so impacted the construction, renovation, and design of cult statues and temples in this period prevailed across the Greek and Roman worlds, but the greatest concentration of evidence for these changes is found in four interconnected geographic regions: western Anatolia, the Aegean islands, mainland Greece, and Italy and Sicily. These regions are often studied in dialogue with one another and were the focus of the political and military activities that profoundly changed the Mediterranean world, and in turn drove the production of second-century cult statues.

⁴³ For an analysis of these sources, see Gordon 1979, 13–17; Damaskos 1999, 1–2; Ridgway 2000, 230–231; Platt 2011, 78–114. Gordon argues that when the public legitimated the choices involved in the making of a cult statue by acknowledging the image as a successful representation of a deity, the statue became the deity itself. Similarly, Platt suggests that the materials of the cult statue, especially their fine quality, allowed worshippers to feel as if they were in the presence of a divine figure, reproducing in the present encounters between the gods and humans that occur in mythology.

⁴⁴ Platt 2011, 78–114; Bremmer 2013; Chaniotis 2017a, 2017b.

In the present state of evidence, the corpus of cult statues and temples constructed during the second century across the regions under inquiry number 75 and 108 respectively.⁴⁵ The catalog accompanying this dissertation separates cult statues and temples into their own categories, but 40 examples can be found in both. These 40 instances represent a single temple-cult statue composition, in which both the statue and architecture were constructed or renovated in the second century. The remaining 103 monuments represent a temple without evidence for a corresponding cult statue, a cult statue without a corresponding temple, or a cult statue that was erected in the second century within an existing structure.

Cult Statues

The production and display of the cult statues comprising this corpus spanned the entire geographic area examined in this dissertation, with 10 cult statues constructed or renovated in western Anatolia, 18 in the Aegean islands, 26 in mainland Greece, and 21 in Italy and Sicily. Physical fragments of 55 cult statues survive today, ranging from a smattering of appendages, such as the statue of Apollo from Bassai (**Cat. S8**), to nearly complete figures, like the statue of Zeus from Soluntum (**Cat. S59**). The most secure body of evidence consists of cult statues, and their bases, which were discovered in situ within the physical remains of their temples, an evidentiary situation that occurs 16 times for the second century. Even when sculptural fragments are lacking, however, the in-situ remains of a statue base within a temple indicate that an image, or group of images, once stood as a cult statue, a situation that occurs six times in the present corpus. This body of physical evidence shares characteristics regarding subject, size, material, and execution that distinguish it from other categories of sculpture. Overwhelmingly,

⁴⁵ For multigure cult statue groups, the entire group, no matter the number of component figures, is counted as one statue for quantification here.

cult statues of the second century were over-life size, constructed of high-quality materials, and skillfully executed.

These situations represent indisputable evidence for a cult statue within a built structure, but in an additional 12 cases sculptural fragments found near a temple can be interpreted with near certainty as belonging to that building's cult image. In these cases, the identification of a fragment as a cult statue relies on an analysis of its subject, size, material, and technique, as outlined above. A further 14 sculptural fragments lack a clear provenance but are included here as evidence of likely second-century cult statues on the basis of the same formal features.

In addition to these physically attested statues, ancient literary sources, especially Pausanias and Pliny, help to fill lacunae by making reference to 13 cult images erected or renovated in this period. These literary attestations include, for instance, the Pergamene statue of Asklepios by the sculptor Phyromachos (**Cat. S45**). Epigraphic sources, including temple inventories and inscriptions on statue bases, similarly provide evidence for seven statues which are otherwise unattested in the material record. Particularly noteworthy is the evidence from Delos, where temple inventories and surviving statue bases record details about the material, patronage, and artistic production of eight cult statues erected on the island in the second century, five of which have no surviving physical fragments.

The materials used to construct these statues came from all over the Mediterranean. The overwhelming majority of extant statues were made of marble, with just four examples produced in wood and three in bronze. The materials used for 12 statues are unidentifiable in the literary or archaeological evidence. The marble statues, which comprise 59 examples, include both statues constructed wholly in marble and figures produced in the acrolithic technique, which combined stone appendages with a wooden body. Twenty-two of the marble statues were acrolithic; the

remainder were fully stone. An analysis of the materials used in cult statue construction that identifies their origin, aesthetic characteristics, and regional preference comprises chapter three.

The cult statues produced in the second century were consecrated to 32 discrete deities, as known through physical, epigraphic, and literary evidence.⁴⁶ Hygieia, for example, never received her own temple or cult in the second century but is represented here because her figure stood beside that of Asklepios in four temples.⁴⁷ The deities receiving new cult images in the second century included canonical figures like Zeus/Jupiter, local deities like Despoina and Luna, and divine personifications like Tyche/Fortuna. The frequency with which individual deities were honored with new cult statues and temples in this period and the motivations driving their selection is the focus of chapter one.

Finally, this collection of cult statues also provides significant evidence for the human hands behind their construction, ranging from the sculptors who designed and built these images to the patrons who commissioned them. As explored in chapter two, 30 of the 75 cult statues produced in this period were associated with an individual sculptor. Through these examples, we can identify 14 known artists who created cult images in the second century. The sponsors of these monuments, moreover, can be determined for 16 different cult statues and fall into three separate categories: civic bodies, responsible for 6 cult statues; royal benefactors, responsible for 2 cult statues; and individual patrons, responsible for 12 cult statues.

⁴⁶ This number was tabulated based on the individual appearance of a figure within a cult statue composition, either as the sole cult image or as part of a multigure group.

⁴⁷ The Asklepieia at Aigion (**Cat. S4**), Argos (**Cat. S7**), Kos (**Cat. S30**), and Pheneos (**Cat. S48**).

Temples

Running in parallel to the corpus of second-century cult statues, and expressing much of the same internal variation, is that of their temples. As before, the most secure of these buildings are those which are attested archaeologically, of which 91 examples survive today. These structures range from overgrown and fragmentary foundations, like the small temples near the theater on Delos (**Cat. T19–T21**), to nearly complete ancient structures, such as the Round Temple by the Tiber in Rome (**Cat. T64**). Sixteen additional monuments are now lost and preserved only in the writings of ancient authors, such as the two temples to Honos and Virtus erected in Rome (**Cat. T77–T78**). A single additional temple, that of the Dioskouroi at Kalymnos (**Cat. T26**), is known solely through epigraphic evidence.

Notably, not every temple in this corpus can be associated with a known second-century cult statue, just as not all cult statues, as discussed above, can be associated with a known temple. Sixty-five of the present temples have no known sculptural fragments which can be plausibly identified as a cult image, no evidence of a cult statue base, and no literary or epigraphic references to a cult statue. Another three temples contained cult statues that either pre- or postdated the second-century construction or renovation of the building. Even in these cases, however, the temples help explicate architectural trends which bore directly on the wider presentation of cult statues in this period.

As was the case with cult statues, the construction and renovation of temples in the second century spanned the entire geographic area examined in this dissertation: 22 examples were found in western Anatolia, 23 in the Aegean islands, 15 in mainland Greece, and 48 in Italy and Sicily. On the basis of present evidence, temple construction seems to have outpaced that of cult statues in Italy, western Anatolia, and the Aegean islands. In mainland Greece, however,

nearly twice as many cult statues were erected than temples, indicating that it was just as common for an existing Greek temple to receive a new cult statue in this period as it was for an entirely new temple-cult statue composition to be erected.

The lack of physical remains for every documented temple precludes the reconstruction of every example's plan, but it is nonetheless clear that the buildings housing second-century cult statues ranged greatly in size and design. Of those for which a reconstruction is possible, the structures fall into seven broad categories corresponding to major temple types: 14 were peripteral in plan, 6 pseudoperipteral, 1 dipteral, 4 pseudodipteral, 25 prostyle, 15 in antis, and 6 tholoi. Another six structures did not conform to traditional temple plans but instead represent architectural forms more often associated with secular buildings, such as stoas (**Cat. T47**), banquet spaces (**Cat. T14**), and water reservoirs (**Cat. T48**).

Just as with the cult statues, it is clear that marble was the most prevalent material used in the construction of these second-century temples, with 38 structures built of this stone. Of the remaining temples, 22, clustering primarily in the Aegean, were constructed of limestone, while an additional 33 in the western Mediterranean were built of regional Italian stones, frequently tuff and travertine. More diverse than the materials used for their construction are the deities to whom these structures were consecrated. The temples built or renovated in the second century honored 41 distinct deities from the Greek, Roman, Anatolian, and Egyptian pantheons.

Finally, the corpus reveals some of the human agents involved in the design and construction of second-century temples. The identity of a building's architect is recorded for 8 of the 107 temples constructed or renovated in the second century, and presumed for another 2, providing the names of 5 distinct architects.⁴⁸ Far more common, by contrast, are the preserved

⁴⁸ Several architects worked on multiple temples. One building each is attributed to Mnesthes (Temple of Apollo Isotimos at Alabanda [**Cat. T4**]), Cossutius (Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens [**Cat. T7**]), and Gaius Mucius

names for a building's patron, which are recorded in literary or epigraphic sources for nearly half of the temples (52). Of these examples, 10 were commissioned by civic bodies, 7 by royal benefactors, and 35 by individual patrons, a pattern which broadly follows that of cult statues, as discussed above.

Chapter Outline

By combining both meticulous autoptic investigation and three-dimensional digital reconstructions of the material in this corpus, the chapters of this dissertation investigate cult statue design in the second century and how it curated a visitor's experience at a cult site. An analysis of these monuments therefore contributes to our understanding of how divinity was envisioned and encountered in the second-century Mediterranean. An identification of the various factors and components that impacted cult statue design and construction in this period comprise the first three chapters of this study, leading to the exploration, in the final two chapters, of how those design elements created a uniquely second-century interaction with the divine.

The first chapter asks *to whom* these monuments were consecrated and seeks to explain why these deities were chosen for the institution of new cults or constructions. In so doing, this chapter exposes the dynamic interplay between the continuation of local cultic traditions and the establishment of new cults in the second century. Often, the deities honored with new cult statues and temples were those with the deepest existing ties to the city, or with the most venerable heritage. The reactivation of such deities thus best advanced the standing of the responsible polis,

(Temple of Honos and Virtus on the Velian in Rome [Cat. T78]). Hermogenes is known to have designed the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (Cat. T45) and the Temple of Dionysos at Teos (Cat. T103), but likely worked on more temples, while Hermodoros is affiliated with the Temples of Jupiter Stator, Mars, and Neptune in Rome (Cat. T82, T86, T88).

ruler, or benefactor. Alongside this cultic conservatism, however, the increased mobility wrought by the changing political, social, and economic conditions of the Hellenistic world, and of the second century in particular, facilitated the circulation of novel religious ideas throughout the Mediterranean, resulting in the construction of cult statues and temples to entirely new deities. This chapter thus reveals the relative importance of both old and new cults and teases out regional differences in the preference for new divinities over well-established local gods.

The second chapter asks *by whom* sacred monuments were constructed in the second century and explores the changing roles of sculptors, architects, and patrons in their production. This chapter is driven by questions of what motivated sculptors and architects to accept the commission of a cult statue or temple and how those motivations impacted the monuments' design. In turn, it asks how ambitious patrons affected their appearance. A cult statue often served as an icon of a city or community, with the result that civic leaders and political dynasts could further their own ambitions by patronizing such sacred constructions. I argue that the highly competitive society of the second century spurred cult statue construction because it magnified the visibility and mobility of sculptors and architects and heightened the role of benefactors in the statues' execution. These statues therefore served both religious and propagandistic purposes, with Hellenistic rulers, Greek poleis, and Roman magistrates carefully designing and deploying them in their efforts to engage diverse audiences and promote their public standing.

The third chapter asks *with what* materials and techniques second-century cult statues were constructed and why such choices were made. While marble, in its various forms, was the most common material used in the creation of cult statues across the Mediterranean, the techniques of its crafting varied. By far the most common method of stone sculpting was the

piecing technique, in which the sculptor joined various pieces of marble together to complete the work, although acrolithic statues, which combined a wooden body or core with carved marble for exposed flesh, were also popular. Changing aesthetic tastes, workshop practices, and transportation methods all contributed to the preference for marble statues, but I argue that the most important factor was the luminosity of the material, which most effectively evoked divinity itself.

Questions about the reception of these monuments drive the final two chapters. The fourth asks *where* these statues stood in their original contexts and therefore seeks to identify how the interplay of architecture and sculpture impacted the viewer's experience of the divine. As noted above, one of the distinguishing characteristics of a cult statue was its predetermined position, intended from the outset to stand in the center of the temple as a material instantiation of the divinity. Using digital reconstructions of seven representative and well-published sites, I examine the spatial relationship between cult images and their architectural frames, focusing especially on the scale of a statue within the interior space of its temple. I also measure the statue's internal and external visibility in order to establish how the temple's architecture facilitated or restricted sightlines to the cult image. This analysis reveals the extent to which the statue and architecture jointly curated a visitor's experience at a cult site. I contend that the design choices made to the entire temple-cult statue composition produced an extraordinary experience for visitors that came to connote broadly what it meant to encounter the divine.

The final chapter continues to explore the visibility and visual impact of cult statues by asking *how* these images were seen. Using the same set of digital models, I first examine which architectural features had the greatest impact on the cult statue's illumination and ask whether certain temple types provided better interior illumination than others. The amount of natural light

reaching the cult image is shown to depend upon openings in the temple's architecture, such as doors or windows, the building's orientation to the sun, and the spatial divisions that separated the cult statue from the temple exterior. The digital models further help to identify the timing and duration of peak visibility within the inner recesses of the cella, which may have coincided with increased accessibility and activity at the cult site. Light, I contend, was also an effective signifier of divinity, with sunlight reflecting off the luminous materials used in the statue's construction creating a radiant image that simultaneously communicated the prestige of the patron, exemplified the skill of the artisan, and embodied the power of the divine.

Luminosity, in other words, proved key in translating a human-designed and constructed statue into an awe-inspiring evocation of the divine that would continue to impress viewers for generations. By investigating by whom, for whom, and with what these statues were constructed, I identify in this study what motivated and characterized second-century cult statue production. Reuniting these statues with their original architectural contexts further reveals the dramatic impact of a statue's scale, visibility, and lighting on a viewer's experience at a cult site. These factors together, I argue, defined the physical manifestation of divinity, impressing second-century viewers with the same wonderment that Dio Chrysostom felt several centuries later before the Olympian Zeus.

Chapter 1: Material Manifestations of Second-Century Religious Developments

Many twentieth-century scholars of Greek religion suggested that interest in the traditional Olympian gods declined as the appeal of cults devoted to foreign deities, rulers, or personifications increased in the Hellenistic period.⁴⁹ Peter Green, for example, lists among the “characteristic religious trends in the Hellenistic period: the steady erosion of the old Olympian pantheon...; a corresponding increased addiction to foreign, and particularly enthusiastic, cults; a preoccupation with Tyche (Fate, Fortune, Chance); [and] the practice of instituting ruler cults.”⁵⁰ More recently, however, a growing cadre of scholars maintain that traditional religion continued to prosper in this period.⁵¹ By taking a closer look at whom the cult statues and temples constructed or renovated in the second century represent, I found that this production of sacred art and architecture bolsters the latter view, and will demonstrate that the traditional Olympian deities, albeit in local instantiations, continued to play a significant role in the religious culture of the second-century Mediterranean. To do so, I investigate which deities received new cult statues and temples in this period and then question what prompted their selection to determine if the nature of a deity impacted the proliferation of second-century cult statues.

The second century was undoubtedly a dynamic period as city, state, and regional borders variously expanded, fluctuated, and evaporated in the face of new power actors flexing their muscles on the international stage. The growing presence of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean wrought political, economic, and social upheaval,⁵² yet many cities continued to flourish

⁴⁹ For example, Dodds 1951, 179–206, 236–269; Festugière 1954, 1972; Nilsson 1964; Davies 1984; L. Martin 1987, 3–15; Green 1990, 382–413, 586–601.

⁵⁰ Green 1990, 396.

⁵¹ For example, Koester 1995, 161; Chamoux 2003, 323–352; Mikalson 2005, 198–219; Harland 2006; Busine 2013.

⁵² See esp. Giovannini 1993; Rostovtzeff 1998; Eckstein 2006, 2008.

throughout this period, with civic benefactions resulting in a spate of sacred and secular building activity. As confidence in the security of one's borders waned, I argue that poleis, kings, and private benefactors looked to bolster their status and authority by (re)asserting significant historical, mythological, and cultic ties. They therefore looked to those deities with the deepest ties to the city or with the most venerable heritage, the reactivation of which best advanced the standing of the dedicator. The corpus of cult statues and temples constructed in the second century reveals that it was these deities who were most often honored with new cult statues, temples, and festivals in this period.

Alongside this cultic conservatism, the increased mobility wrought by the changing political, social, and economic conditions of the Hellenistic world helped spread religious ideas throughout the Mediterranean. Alexander's exploits and the subsequent establishment of his successors' kingdoms did much to circulate people, products, and ideas in the early Hellenistic period.⁵³ By the second century, the growing political and commercial interests of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean encouraged more exchange and interaction between the peoples of the Italian peninsula and those of the Greek East.⁵⁴ The increased mobility of this period allowed people to transfer their customs and deities to new parts of the world. As a result, cults to Egyptian and Syrian divinities began to spread westward, while the worship of the goddess Roma reached the Aegean. Especially in Rome, the institution of cults to personifications rose dramatically, and both the Roman and Greek pantheons were augmented by entirely new deities from non-classical religious traditions. These developments were not new to the second century,

⁵³ On mobility and migration, forced or voluntary, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, see Davies 1984, 264–269; Archibald 2011; Oliver 2011. For cultural circulation in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, see Millar 2006.

⁵⁴ On Rome's diplomatic and military exploits in the eastern Mediterranean, see Gruen 1984, 1990, 2014; Eckstein 2008. On artistic exchange between Rome and the Hellenistic East, see Pollitt 1978; Hölscher 1994; Grüßinger 2015; Popkin 2015b; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; La Rocca 2019.

but instead represent an intensification of trends that had started already in the late fourth and third centuries when Alexander's conquests profoundly altered the cultic landscape of the Mediterranean. In concert with a continuation of local cultic traditions, the establishment of new cults contributed to the growth in sacred construction in the second century.

Despite the increased accessibility of these new divinities, I maintain that the cults primarily receiving new cult statues and temples in the second century continued to be those same deities that had been worshipped previously because they held the highest esteem in the eyes of local worshippers and diplomatic agents. In this chapter, I argue that contemporary religious developments played a smaller role than sociopolitical changes in spurring the increase in cult statue and temple construction in the second century. I will establish this conclusion by first probing cases where a community honored an established deity with new or renovated physical accoutrements. By examining the nature of these deities, especially their mythological ties to their respective communities, and the sociopolitical developments driving sacred constructions, I demonstrate that these figures witnessed the material elevation of their cults because doing so provided the greatest benefit to their respective communities. Dedicating monuments to local deities offered clear advantages for the patron and community, yet concurrently new gods became the recipients of cultic construction, a phenomenon heretofore emphasized above the continuation of local traditions. The second part of this chapter investigates instances involving the monumentalization of cults to new gods. The erection of cult statues and temples to deities imported from Egypt and eastern Anatolia increased in the second century but was a more limited and regionalized phenomenon than often recognized. Divine personifications were especially prevalent in Italy where, I will demonstrate, they facilitated both the propagandistic aims of the patron and the expansionist policies of Rome. A tabulation of the

evidence reveals that Egyptian and Anatolian cults, on the other hand, were notably concentrated in the Aegean islands, which had become a crossroads of economic activity and therefore, I suggest, encouraged the welcoming of new deities to facilitate communication with the diverse audiences moving through this region.

Appeal to the Locals: Elevating Local Deities through Cultic Construction

By the second century, much of the eastern Mediterranean was divided into kingdoms ruled by Hellenistic dynasts. Although officially within the orbit of a ruling hegemon, many communities continued to live relatively autonomously, maintaining their own civic and political institutions.⁵⁵ For many cities, this autonomy extended to their religious traditions, especially for cults to deities chiefly concerned with the city's protection and prosperity. Already in the Archaic period, the establishment of the Greek polis as a system of social and political organization included closely tying religion to the city's continued functioning.⁵⁶ This relationship has led some scholars to contend that the structure of the polis and its religious system were thereby intimately and irrevocably linked. This "polis religion" model, primarily developed by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, heavily influenced the study of Greek religion for several decades.⁵⁷ In her delineation of the model, Sourvinou-Inwood contends that many religious rituals and activities owe their form and function to the demands of the polis, which determined who, where, when, how, and why members of a specific community would

⁵⁵ On the relationship between rulers and cities in the Hellenistic period, see Baronowski 1991; Bertrand 1992; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995; Hansen 1995, 40–43; Rigsby 1996; Ma 2002.

⁵⁶ On the establishment of the polis system and its impact on the development of Greek religion, see Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992; Schachter 1992; Raaflaub 1993; Snodgrass 1993. On the importance of sanctuaries in the development of poleis in the eighth–sixth century, see Schachter 1992.

⁵⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 2000a, 2000b; see also Burkert 1985; 1995; 1997, 22–30; L. Martin 1987, 9–10; Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992; Cole 1995; Parker 1996, 2005; Woolf 1997; Evans 2010; Boehm 2018. For a critique and reassessment of these views, see Vlassopoulos 2007; Bremmer 2010; Kindt 2012.

worship.⁵⁸ In this system, cult activity ensured the security and prosperity of the polis and its members, thereby forming a mutually beneficial system linking the citizenry with its city.⁵⁹

In the Hellenistic period, a reciprocal relationship between polis and religion continued, as political authorities and elite citizens tapped their civic cults for public and personal gain.⁶⁰ Public cults were used to define a city's internal community as well as to communicate with external agents. Sometimes a particular cult was elevated as a means to compete with other cities; in other cases, a cult's promotion maintained diplomatic ties through shared recognition of the power of the deity.⁶¹ These strong connections between the city, its religious institutions, and its external relations further manifested themselves in the symbolic trappings employed by individual communities, who frequently put images of their tutelary deities on coins, invoked the gods in public decrees, and constructed and maintained public sanctuaries.⁶² Despite the sociopolitical changes wrought by the events following the conquests of Alexander, the city maintained a strong influence on religious identity.

Although formulated with respect to the Greek cities of the Aegean, elements of the polis religion model are applicable to the western Mediterranean as well, as several scholars have demonstrated.⁶³ Admittedly, the terminology does not translate well—the Italian peninsula was

⁵⁸ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 322: “in the classical period the polis encompassed, symbolically legitimated and regulated all religious activity within the polis.”

⁵⁹ L. Martin 1987, 9.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the patronage of cult statues and temples in this period and the impetus for commissioning such works, see chapter 2 of this study.

⁶¹ Cole 1995.

⁶² On images of deities on Greek coinage, see Meadows 2018, esp. 304–305. Meadows observes “a paradigm shift in Greek coinage in the second century BC” with a new emphasis on communal identity (2018, 297). Over 40 examples of new coins minted during or after 170–160 BCE feature representations of deities associated with the issuing city or a local cult. Many of these coins label the divine images with the epithet of the local deity, and a handful explicitly represent the deity in the form of its cult statue. In Roman literary sources, a tutelary deity could be identified as ruler or *custos* of a town, such as Neptune and Jupiter of Tarentum (Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.29), Fortuna of Antium (Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.1), and Juno and Minerva of Carthage and Athens respectively (Serv. *ad Georg.* 1.498). For further discussion of tutelary deities in Republican Rome, see Boos 2011; Bolder-Boos 2014.

⁶³ For example, Woolf 1997; Rüpke 2004.

not divided into sociopolitical units named poleis, as in much of the Greek world—but for both Greeks and Romans, the boundaries between religion and politics blurred and fed upon one another. In Rome, for example, the Senate met inside temples, religious rituals preceded most political acts, including voting, and magistrates authorized the addition of new cults to the state religion, inextricably linking this key political body to the maintenance of the Roman religious system.⁶⁴ In addition, civic officials frequently oversaw religious ceremonies and provided the necessary approval, and often funding, for the institution of new cults and the erection and maintenance of cult buildings in a regulated system of private patronage.⁶⁵ As in the Hellenistic East, religion also became one of the primary means by which the elite competed amongst each other and acquired political power as they jockeyed for key sacred positions and erected monumental constructions that brought honor to the gods, their civic community, and themselves.

Despite the clear ties between sacred and civic institutions in the Greek and Roman worlds of the second century, the model presented by Sourvinou-Inwood and other early proponents is a rather rigid paradigm to assess the relationship between a specific community and its civic cults, especially in that it denies agency to the human inhabitants therein. More recently, scholars have criticized the polis religion model, citing several limitations and problems.⁶⁶ Julia Kindt, for example, perceives temporal and geographic restrictions in this approach, arguing that it is only applicable to Archaic and Classical Greece. She contends that the model fails to acknowledge the political changes of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, those

⁶⁴ Orlin 1997, 190; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 88.

⁶⁵ Beard 1994, 729–734; Rüpke 2012, 208–209. The private funding of second-century cult statues and temples is discussed further in chapter 2 of this study.

⁶⁶ For example, Vlassopoulos 2007; Bremmer 2010; Kindt 2012.

most relevant to the current study.⁶⁷ Kindt's argument, however, rests on the premise that the polis declined in significance following the development of the Hellenistic kingdoms, an assumption that has been soundly rejected by other scholars.⁶⁸ Both the polis and its religious institutions adapted to the changing conditions of the Hellenistic period. No two communities responded in precisely the same way, nor did any particular city remain static throughout all of antiquity. Similarly, the local instantiation of a specific cult varied over time, adjusting as the needs of the city changed.⁶⁹ What remained constant, however, was the close ties between religious ritual and civic operations. Although the deities, rituals, and paraphernalia might differ, I contend that public cults remained a significant component of civic identity and political maneuvering throughout the Hellenistic period.

Kindt further criticizes the polis religion model for its inability to account for private religion and personal expressions of worship, such as mystery cults and household religion.⁷⁰ Kindt's amalgamation of mystery cults and household religion, however, seems misplaced. Despite primarily serving the interests of their individual worshippers, mystery cults still played an important role in peer polity relations throughout the Mediterranean, as will be demonstrated below with the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura. To Kindt's other point, private forms of worship were undoubtedly a significant component in the development of religion in the Hellenistic period and seemingly function outside the polis religion model. This mode of religious expression reveals the difficulties of ascribing a single model to a complex phenomenon like religion. Private forms of worship, however, fall outside the scope of this study, which examines the material manifestations of public cults. In what follows, I demonstrate

⁶⁷ Kindt 2012, 27–30.

⁶⁸ For example, Hansen 1993; Chamoux 2003; Boehm 2018.

⁶⁹ Cole 1995.

⁷⁰ Kindt 2012. On mystery cults and personal religion, see also Graf 1997; Bremmer 2010.

the continued impact of the polis religion model on our understanding of public cults in the second-century Mediterranean. In so doing, I contend that Sourvinou-Inwood's polis religion model can also operate in the opposite direction: not only should we acknowledge the important role of the civic community in Greek and Roman religious expression, but we can also identify the degree to which religious institutions factored into, and even fueled, political change in this period.

Polis Religion in the Hellenistic Period

In the Greek world, a polis could have one or more tutelary deities who, upon receiving benefactions from the city's inhabitants through sacrifices, festivals, and votives, protected the community from natural disasters and ensured its peace and prosperity.⁷¹ Studies of patron deities in the Archaic and Classical Aegean have identified Athena, Apollo, and Aphrodite as the deities most often granted tutelary status and the accompanying new sanctuaries.⁷² In the second century, the deities chosen were often those linked to their respective urban settings through their local mythology and therefore worshipped under specific epithets to express the local version of the god. These patron or protective deities frequently received the most lavish temples and festivals sponsored by the city and were featured on its coinage.⁷³ For the individual polis, the benefits of elevating such cults were numerous. As fundamental sources of civic identity, these local cults forged ties between contemporary citizens and their community's mythical past,

⁷¹ For a discussion of the mutual responsibilities of citizens and deities in ensuring the stability of the polis in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Harland 2006, 37.

⁷² Brackertz 1976. In her study of patron deities in 39 cities of mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, and western Anatolia, Brackertz found that 10 cities placed Athena in this role and 8 used Apollo; the remaining cities chose other major deities from the Olympian pantheon. This breakdown parallels the findings of Schachter (1992) for the Archaic period in Greece. Here again, Schachter found that the deities who most often received new sanctuaries and the privileged status of tutelary deity were Athena, Apollo, and Aphrodite. He argues (54–56) that this phenomenon was tied to the increasing importance of the city within Greek life.

⁷³ Hansen 2006, 121.

supplying an essential component of what it meant to be a citizen of that specific city.⁷⁴ The promotion of these cults through festivals and building projects, including new or renovated cult statues and temples, highlighted the continued importance of patron deities to the community, cementing the contribution of local religious expression to communal identity and reinforcing ties made through generations of rituals and the entrenchment of symbolic imagery.⁷⁵ Philip Harland describes the polis as a “locus of identity, pride, co-operation, and competition among various levels of society,”⁷⁶ and local cults in second-century Greece and Rome could be characterized in exactly the same way. Religion thus remained an important marker of the community and essential to its construction and continuation.⁷⁷

This phenomenon was not limited to independent poleis. Even cities under the dominion of another polis, Hellenistic ruler, or Rome continued to maintain their distinct identities.⁷⁸ As such, religious cults could be used to counter and even undermine the influence of external powers while simultaneously bolstering internal cohesion and collectivity.⁷⁹ The propagation of patron cults through the implementation of monumental architectural renovations, new cult statues, and Panhellenic festivals expresses the promise of such political maneuvering. These advancements provided a means by which communities could reassert their voice in a fluid and competitive political arena. The monumentalization of sanctuaries through the erection of new cult statues and temples evoked prestige and prosperity, a message communicated both internally and externally. Ulrich Sinn similarly expressed this point: “A richly endowed sanctuary instilled

⁷⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 305.

⁷⁵ Boehm 2011, 101.

⁷⁶ Harland 2006, 22.

⁷⁷ On the critical role of religion in a community’s longevity, see also Sourvinou-Inwood 1990; Chamoux 2003, 324–329; Harland 2006; Busine 2013, 176–177.

⁷⁸ Hansen 1993, 19; 2006, 26.

⁷⁹ Boehm 2011, 72.

confidence. It gave the impression of power and strength to the city in question.”⁸⁰ As a result, autonomous city-states sought to bolster their independence by broadcasting their historical longevity through their venerable cults and traditions, while both autonomous and subject communities brokered allegiances by demonstrating their commitment to a deity revered by a dominant power actor. This political dynamic contributed to the production of second-century cult statues by both focusing the production on select deities and accelerating its output as sacred monuments became increasingly powerful communication tools.

The second century consequently witnessed a widespread effort to attain recognition of local cults. Festivals and sanctuaries that had previously served the citizens of a specific community now sought Panhellenic status, a distinction formerly enjoyed by select major sanctuaries on the Greek mainland, like Delphi and Olympia.⁸¹ Religious rituals and festivals played an important role in fashioning civic self-identity in the ancient Mediterranean. By including the entire population of an individual polis or community, these ceremonies celebrated the essence of what united these people together: their common cult. Peter Talloen describes the complex processes at work during these events, which became particularly significant for newly created cities in this period: “Citizens learned about their city and its history by performing its civic ceremonies together. The enacted rituals reinforced group solidarity, and this process was of fundamental importance in establishing civic, cultural and religious identities within the new *poleis*.”⁸² This collective experience solidified shared values, which helped distinguish the hosts from the guests attending these new Panhellenic festivals.

⁸⁰ Sinn 1996, 69.

⁸¹ Mikalson 2007, 216–217.

⁸² Talloen 2015, 142. On the role of rituals in the development and maintenance of communal identity, see also Burkert 1983, 1985.

Underpinning the institution of new festivals and the erection or renovation of cult statues and temples to promote civic identity and political standing was the awareness that history and mythology were important playing cards in the high-stakes game of interstate relations. Several scholars have observed a marked increase in the use of one's "cultural capital" when maneuvering on the international stage in the post-Alexander era, noting its ability to distinguish one community or polis from its peers.⁸³ In addition to solidifying internal cohesion, festivals and other ceremonies were venues through which a community could communicate to external powers. As a result, civic festivals became a powerful tool both to further the political power of a specific polis and maintain internal control of its population.

This promotional trend began in the 260s BCE with cities in Boiotia, who sent out delegations to other Greek poleis to request *asylia* for their foremost sanctuaries. As this practice spread to the rest of the Greek world, recipients of these delegations expanded to include the Hellenistic rulers and eventually even Rome. Around 200 cities promoted their cults, and thus ultimately themselves, through this process in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁴ These requests for *asylia* did little to protect communities from the political and military machinations of the period, and, in fact, were not designed to do so.⁸⁵ Their primary objective was to bring widespread recognition to a city through its principal sanctuaries and festivals, thereby using its cults to advance its standing on the world stage. The *asylia* requests facilitated these ambitions by

⁸³ Talloen 2015, 142. On peer polity interactions and the use of history and mythology as cultural capital, see Ma 2003, 32; Potter 2003, 415.

⁸⁴ Rigsby 1996. Epigraphic evidence of this practice dates from the 260s BCE–23 CE, although literary sources mention a few earlier instances. From the 260s to the end of the second century BCE, surviving evidence attests to 45 festivals that were promoted to Panhellenic status. For additional sources on the development of religious festivals in the Hellenistic period, see Chaniotis 1995, 164–168; Potter 2003, 415; Parker 2004; Mikalson 2007, 216–217; Hammerschmied 2018, 91–95.

⁸⁵ One key example of this disjunction comes from the Asklepieion on Kos. Although granted *asylia* in 242 BCE, the Koans voted to fortify their primary sanctuary in addition to the city and surrounding landscape, likely in response to the military advances of Antigonos Gonatas: Segre 1993, 44, no. ED49; see also Rigsby 1996, 110.

garnering international, and occasionally royal, attention and donations.⁸⁶ Those cities for whom this promotion was particularly successful did indeed see a noted increase in publicity, visitors, and economic impact, often resulting in the expansion of their cultic facilities.⁸⁷ The Asklepieion on Kos, for example, enjoyed a significant boom in visitorship and economic development following its Panhellenic recognition and grant of *asylia* in 242 BCE, resulting in a major renovation and expansion of the sanctuary in the second century.⁸⁸ While the granting of *asylia* could not prevent a community from attack by external powers, it did guarantee a degree of economic security. Any profits made on territory owned by a sanctuary for which asylum was granted were tax-free, ensuring that all financial benefits remained with the sponsoring city.⁸⁹

A Festival of Fame and Fortune: Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia

Throughout this dissertation, I demonstrate that the increasing intervention of Rome in the affairs of the eastern Mediterranean and the continuing territorial ambitions of the Hellenistic kingdoms spurred cities to promote themselves through their sacred institutions in the second century. As a result, these sociopolitical developments drove cult statue and temple construction throughout the Aegean. One prominent example is the Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander, which instituted a new festival, the Leukophryeneia, in 208 BCE to celebrate the city's patron deity following an epiphany by the goddess. As part of their request for *asylia* and recognition of their new festival, the Magnesians sent embassies throughout the Mediterranean. They displayed and preserved the positive responses they received from 152

⁸⁶ Similarly, Talloen contends that “the connection between cult and civic life made it inevitable that a city should attempt to promote its own cults as a form of civic aggrandisement within the context of peer polity interaction” (2015, 142).

⁸⁷ Mikalson 2007, 216–217.

⁸⁸ For a discussion of the *asylia* decrees pertaining to the Asklepieion on Kos, of which over 40 survive, see Rigsby 1996, 106–153.

⁸⁹ Sinn 1996, 69.

cities and leagues (all of whom acknowledged the festival and recognized the sanctuary's *asylia*) in the western stoa of the agora, creating the so-called Archive Monument. This epigraphic display also included foundation documents for the festival and the city itself, thereby underscoring the significance of the cult to the city's very existence.⁹⁰

A key element in the Leukophryeneia was the procession to the altar of Artemis Leukophryene, newly erected before the renovated temple.⁹¹ Kristoph Hammerschmied documented the staging of the processional route as it wound from the bouleuterion and residential areas of the city, through the narrow entrance into the agora, and to the altar of Artemis Leukophryene on the other side of the marketplace (**Cat. T45A**).⁹² The route not only highlighted the altar and temple of Artemis as the culmination of the procession but also marched directly past the Archive Monument. Located immediately opposite the Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene, the Archive Monument, according to Platt, formed a "*milieu de mémoire* in which epiphany provided the catalyst for spectacular ritual, local history and international relations to coalesce."⁹³ This arrangement meant that foreign participants following the route could see the Panhellenic acceptance of the festival and the city's *asylia* as well as the mythological and historical underpinnings of Magnesian civic consciousness.⁹⁴ The expected reaction was one of respect for the city and its institutions and recognition of its broad support among the Mediterranean powers.

The promotion of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia exemplifies the desire that manifested in the second century to promote deities with stated ties to the local community; here

⁹⁰ For the inscriptions that comprise this monument, see *IMagn.* 16–87.

⁹¹ On the establishment of the Leukophryeneia, see *IMagn.* 100; Dunand 1978; Sumi 2004; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 140–141; Chaniotis 2013, 30–38; Herring 2016, 136; Jürgens 2017; Hammerschmied 2018.

⁹² Jürgens 2017; Hammerschmied 2018.

⁹³ Platt 2011, 153.

⁹⁴ Platt 2011, 151–160; Hammerschmied 2018.

the goddess Artemis served as Magnesia's patron deity, but in her local guise as Artemis Leukophryene and the city's founder.⁹⁵ The venerable and antique character of the cult of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia was highlighted by the goddess's cult statue (**Cat. S37**), which resembled the famous Archaic statue of Artemis at Ephesos.⁹⁶ Together with the Archive Monument, the Archaic/archaizing cult statue inside the temple helped to display the history, mythology, and prominence of the Magnesians. The responses to the establishment of the Leukophryeneia, which came from as far afield as southern Italy and the Persian Gulf, and the participants in the Panhellenic festival further cemented ties between Magnesia and the rest of the Mediterranean world.⁹⁷ Justifying these efforts by an epiphany of their patron goddess, the Magnesians instituted a new Panhellenic festival, which subsequently required the renovation and expansion of the sanctuary and surrounding civic space. In so doing, the Magnesians used their primary sanctuary to elevate their status, fill their coffers, and protect their city.

Cults to deities other than the patron deity of a polis, of course, also benefited the community and thus they continued to receive new cult statues and temples in this period. These divinities, even if not serving as a community's primary and protective deity, still contributed to the security and prosperity of the polis and therefore formed part of that community's social identity.⁹⁸ In the case of newly founded cities, however, a patron or primary deity might not be obvious. Under these circumstances, a specific divinity could be chosen and elevated to the status of tutelary deity. Here again, the evidence suggests that local instantiations of gods maintained their primacy. Synoikisms in particular presented unique challenges to the religious expressions of impacted communities. The dramatic sociopolitical effects of synoikism

⁹⁵ *IMagn.* 16, line 21; 18, line 7; 19, line 8; 37, line 10; 50, line 18.

⁹⁶ For additional discussion of the Magnesian cult statue, see chapter 3 of this study.

⁹⁷ Parker 2004, 16–17; Sumi 2004, 83–85.

⁹⁸ Harland 2006, 47.

profoundly impacted the development of local sacred institutions because cult emerged as a way to facilitate community building and peer polity relations in these newly united municipalities.

Establishing Cultic Continuity and Civic Identity in New Poleis

We have seen above that by expanding sanctuary facilities and instituting Panhellenic festivals, communities used their most significant and venerable cults to negotiate their place on the world stage. Many eastern Mediterranean cities in the second century, however, were relatively new; some were re-foundations of older cities, while others had never before existed. Often, it was the intervention of Hellenistic dynasts or federal leagues seeking to solidify their power and standing within the region that formed these cities, with many arising through the process of synoikism, an amalgamation of previously independent cities and communities to create an entirely new municipality. I contend that this process in turn spurred cult statue and temple construction and renovation in the second-century Aegean in two different but related ways: the authorities of newly formed cities sought to use significant sanctuaries to unite populations and bolster their political standing, while cities subjected to synoikism elevated the status of their sanctuaries to cement their place within the new sociopolitical order.

Given the extent to which local identity and traditions were connected to and shaped by religious cults, those communities subjected to novel foundations or unification found themselves presented with acute challenges. Not only did the new city require cult buildings and paraphernalia, but many of the major tenets of communal life in the former cities, such as the calendar of sacrifices and festivals, staffing of religious offices, and the financing of cult activity and infrastructure, were disrupted. One of the key priorities following the foundation of a city, then, was to establish stability through sacred institutions. The founding of new cities through

synoikism therefore contributed to the rise in second-century cult statue production and impacted the deities whom these images represented.

The unification of formerly disparate communities through synoikism was an especially complex process, but often a key to acculturation was the instituting of a tutelary deity or set of deities to establish the religious and civic identity of the new city. Indigenous cults were used by the ruling powers to create a sense of continuity between the formerly independent poleis that now shared a fabricated urban and political center, yett there was no hard and fast rule for doing so. In his analysis of the impacts of synoikism in the early Hellenistic period, for example, Ryan Boehm found no clear-cut pattern of cult (dis)continuity. Some cults, often those of inferior standing, languished as a result of the mergers, while others became loci of a reformulated civic identity.⁹⁹

One of the ways in which cults were adapted, and their physical monuments constructed or renovated, to serve the interests of the synoikism was to bring major cults from the synoikized cities into the newly created city center, either in their entirety or as subsidiaries of the original cult.¹⁰⁰ This process helped negotiate the tensions that undoubtedly arose following a synoikism or city foundation as it recognized the significant power and reach of regional deities and allowed the existing inhabitants of a region to maintain their sacred sites, rituals, and traditions. By bringing subsidiary versions of such cults into the new city, authorities could both acknowledge the preeminence of these existing cults while also linking the formerly autonomous communities and their religious institutions with the new polity and its civic authorities, in essence fusing political boundaries through cultic exchange.¹⁰¹ This process therefore resulted in

⁹⁹ Boehm 2011, 72–117; 2018, 143–183.

¹⁰⁰ See esp. Jost 1985, 235; 1992; 1996, for what she terms “cultic doublets.”

¹⁰¹ de Polignac 1994, 13–18; 1995, 78–81.

the construction of new sacred monuments largely dedicated to deities explicitly tied to a specific locale or region, as seen in the independent poleis discussed above. The synoikized communities benefited not only from the protection of the deities worshipped at these sites but also now shared in the communal identity formed by participation in the cult's rituals and traditions.¹⁰²

Rarely were cults and sanctuaries abandoned completely, although two such instances followed the synoikism of Megalopolis. One cultic casualty was the Sanctuary of Pan at Berkela, but its location on the extreme periphery of any inhabited settlements in the region may have been the actual reason behind its desertion.¹⁰³ The other loss occurred at Trapezous, one of four communities who rebelled against the fourth-century synoikism. As punishment, the city's cult statues were removed from its temples and taken to the new capital, illustrating the importance of these images to a community's identity.¹⁰⁴ The incident at Trapezous seems to be an extreme and exceptional example, however, as even the abandonment of urban areas to populate the new capital seldom resulted in the complete desertion of the subjugated community's sacred spaces. Control of the sanctuaries reverted instead to the capital, which maintained the sanctuaries on behalf of its synoikized population.¹⁰⁵

It is clear that the physical landscape of sanctuaries became key points around which political authorities could mold, or attempt to mold, a unified identity following city foundations. As a result, the prevalence of Hellenistic city foundations and synoikisms which affected poleis throughout the eastern Mediterranean had profound impacts on the construction of temples and cult statues in the second century. New temples and cult statues were purposely built to engender

¹⁰² Boehm 2018, 171–180.

¹⁰³ Jost 1994, 226.

¹⁰⁴ Paus. 8.27.5–7, 8.31.5.

¹⁰⁵ Among the communities impacted by the Megalopolitan synoikism, for example, the cult of Demeter Eleusinia at Basilis was still active in the second century CE, despite the city's depopulation (Paus. 8.29.4), while the cult of Hermes Akakesios at Akakesion retained its cult statue on site, even though a subsidiary temple with a copy of the statue was built in the agora of Megalopolis (Paus. 8.30.6).

internal cohesion and project economic and political power, such as seems the likely impetus behind the monumentalization of the Sanctuary of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse, whose temple (**Cat. T8**) and cult statue (**Cat. S9**) were constructed following the second-century synoikism of Alexandria Troas.¹⁰⁶ In addition, major existing sanctuaries could not be simply abandoned in the event of a synoikism or total subjugation. Civic officials understood that the greater the reputation of an individual sanctuary, the better the chances that the controlling authority would uphold its autonomy. Cult statues and temples regarded for their size, materials, or creators' fame bolstered the status of a sanctuary, resulting in its continued existence and even elevated status, leading some cities to renovate their most important sanctuaries in this period. Although maintaining their original space, these established sanctuaries now served new purposes as power actors used these cults as symbols of newly formed poleis. The ruling authorities of the day also contributed to the production of cult statues and temples in this period as they strove to make their mark within sacred spaces through new infrastructure, activities, and personnel, often in the form of monumental cult statues and temples.

A brief look at one rural sanctuary, that of Despoina at Lykosoura, illustrates how a major regional sanctuary could be used to unite and define communities following synoikism, in this case that of Megalopolis in the fourth century. The renewed expansion of the site in the second century, however, demonstrates that sacred sites continued to play an important role in maintaining the unity and identity of a synoikized community long after the initial unification. Lykosoura shows the persistent impact of prominent local cults on the religious landscape in this period, in response to major social and political disruption within the region.

¹⁰⁶ The synoikism incorporated Kolonai, Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Chryse: Strabo 13.1.47; Riel 1997, nos. 4–8. In addition to the temple and cult statue, the sanctuary now housed the public archives of Alexandria Troas to further cement the sanctuary's importance in the synoikized city's identity: Riel 1997.

Megalopolis and the Recalcitrant Lykosourans

The creation of the city of Megalopolis profoundly impacted the sociopolitical landscape of Arkadia in the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷ In the fourth century, the autonomous poleis of Arkadia formed a federation, the Arkadian League, to defend themselves against Spartan incursions.¹⁰⁸ Soon thereafter, the federation established a capital at the city of Megalopolis, newly formed to serve this purpose. In her analysis of the value-laden formation of the Arkadian capital, Caitlin Verfenstein argues Megalopolis “became a symbol to all Arcadia that after 200 years of Spartan dominance they were at last in charge of their own matters...Megalopolis was a creation of, and a monument to, the people of Arcadia and, as such, it speaks directly to how they viewed themselves and their federation.”¹⁰⁹ As the center, and thus symbol, of the region, the city of Megalopolis sought to define and express what it meant to be Arkadian through its official policies, civic architecture, and, most importantly for the purposes of this study, the promotion and expansion of local cults.¹¹⁰ Megalopolis’s use of sacred cults to coalesce support and unity included both placing subsidiary branches of major regional sanctuaries within the capital city and elevating the status of original cult sites through monumental building projects and the establishment of festivals and athletic contests.

Many of the major cults from the formerly autonomous cities were brought into the urban center of Megalopolis in a process Madeleine Jost terms “cultic doublets,” whereby the ancient

¹⁰⁷ The extant ancient sources disagree on the events surrounding the creation of Megalopolis and its relative success. Diodorus Siculus (15.72.4, 15.94.1–3) places the city’s founding in 368 BCE after the Tearless Battle, while Pausanias (8.27.1–8) contends it occurred in 371 BCE after the Battle of Leuktra. Both authors, however, acknowledge that the Arkadians willingly came together against the threat of Sparta. For a discussion of these sources and the foundation of Megalopolis, see Nielsen 2002, 413–510.

¹⁰⁸ On the fourth-century Arkadian League, see Nielsen 1996; 1999; 2013, 234–240; Roy 2005; Kralli 2017, 9–24.

¹⁰⁹ Verfenstein 2002, 15.

¹¹⁰ On the evidence supporting an Arkadian ethnic identity, see Nielsen 1999; 2002, 52–87; Jost 2002.

sanctuaries were left standing and subsidiary branches opened in the urban center.¹¹¹ One key example of this phenomenon is that of Zeus Lykaios, whose sanctuary on top of Mt. Lykaion maintained its venerable status within the region and even underwent significant expansion and renovation following the establishment of Megalopolis. Its festival and athletic contests, the Lykaia, consequently witnessed a significant boon in the years following.¹¹²

Bringing all the Arkadians together, despite sympathetic goals, however, required a high degree of diplomacy and social engineering. Many Arkadians felt a strong attachment to their ancestral lands, even boasting that they were the only autochthonous people in the Peloponnese.¹¹³ Their perceived rootedness ultimately led to complications during the population transfer necessary for the establishment of the new capital. While Pausanias relates that most of the Arkadians willingly accepted the Megalopolitan synoikism, Lykosoura was one of four outliers who refused to acquiesce to the union.¹¹⁴ According to Pausanias, the Lykosourans revolted by barricading themselves inside their revered sanctuary to the goddess Despoina. Unlike their fellow dissenters in Trapezous, whose crushed rebellion resulted in the forcible removal of their cult statues to Megalopolis,¹¹⁵ the Lykosourans eventually earned the right to remain on their land and continue the maintenance of their sanctuary. Pausanias contends that the dispensation was granted out of respect for the sanctity and repute of Lykosoura's sanctuary, but I propose instead that a situation like that of the Lykaion occurred at the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura.

¹¹¹ Jost 1985, 235; 1992; 1994, 226–228; 1996; see also the discussions by Parker (2009, 193–194) and Boehm (2011, 76; 2018, 171–180).

¹¹² Jost 1996, 106–107; 2018, 214–216.

¹¹³ Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23.

¹¹⁴ Paus. 8.27.5–7. The other communities who rebelled were Lykaia, Trikolonoi, and Trapezous. Pausanias cites their reluctance to abandon their ancestral lands as the impetus behind their revolt.

¹¹⁵ Paus. 8.31.5.

Despoina was a regional deity who shared characteristics with Kore and Artemis; the Arkadians worshipped her as a powerful nature goddess alongside her mother Demeter.¹¹⁶ Following the synoikism, subsidiary branches of the cult of the Great Goddesses arose in Megalopolis itself, while the regional focus of the cult remained at the primary sanctuary in Lykosoura (**Cat. T44**),¹¹⁷ which underwent considerable expansion and renovation in the third and second centuries. Despite Pausanias's assertion of Lykosoura's independence, however, one has to wonder to what extent the Lykosourans would have been capable of maintaining their sanctuary in the midst of the political upheavals of the Hellenistic period, especially in competition with the mega-city located just on their doorstep.¹¹⁸ Based on the archaeological evidence and the absence of textual or epigraphical material concerning Lykosoura prior to the synoikism, Alaya Palamidis has recently suggested that the newly established city of Megalopolis, not the Lykosourans themselves, may have played a primary role in transforming the sanctuary of Despoina into a major cult center following the synoikism.¹¹⁹ Palamidis's argument can be pushed even further into the second century, I suggest, with the construction of the site's monumental cult statue group. By promoting and aligning itself with a respected regional sanctuary, Megalopolis could bolster its position vis-à-vis both the formerly independent communities of the region, whose ties to their ancestral land and sacred cults were

¹¹⁶ On the cult of Despoina, see Jost 1985, 326–337; 2005, 98–100; 2008; 2018, 216. On the relationship between Despoina and Kore, see Jost 1996, 107–109; Kantirea 2016, 34; Palamidis 2018, 139–140.

¹¹⁷ On the Megalopolitan cult of the Great Goddesses and its cult statues by Damophon (**Cat. S40**), see Paus. 8.31.1. Pausanias is our only source for this cult as no archaeological remains of the statues or the buildings have been found to date.

¹¹⁸ Paus. 8.27.6; see also Nielsen's (2002, 413–510) discussion about the uncertainty surrounding Lykosoura's political status following the Megalopolitan synoikism.

¹¹⁹ Palamidis 2018. Despite Pausanias's claims to the antiquity of the cult, current archaeological evidence from the site shows little activity there prior to the late fourth century. The most recent study of the temple's architectural remains date them to the early third century BCE (Billot 2008), while the megaron has been dated to the early second century BCE (Hellmann 2008). The steps located to the south of the temple and the Doric stoa to its north are as yet of uncertain date, but Pausanias's description of the reliefs inside the stoa mentions an image of Polybius (Paus. 8.37.2), indicating that the stoa was either erected or renovated sometime during or after the mid-second century BCE. For the sanctuary's architectural development, see also chapter 4 of this study.

particularly strong, and the regional powers lurking on its borders in the second century.¹²⁰ In constructing a statue group which promoted a pan-Arkadian message, the Megalopolitans would have further reasserted Arkadian cultic and cultural identity at a period when their city was all that remained of the now-defunct Arkadian League.

That the second-century enhancements of the sanctuary at Lykosoura were done in dialogue with the Arkadian capital city of Megalopolis is supported by the choice of sculptor, Damophon of Messene, who also produced several cult statue installations in Megalopolis itself (Cat. S39–S40).¹²¹ Damophon expressed an undeniably Arkadian character in the Despoina cult group (Cat. S36), in line with Megalopolis’s political messaging in this period.¹²² His use of Peloponnesian marble, quite possibly from the nearby quarry at Doliana,¹²³ for the cult statue group expressed physically the ties between this deity and the natural resources of Arkadia. The narrative expressed through the sculptural group strongly communicated on a regional level: the four major figures of the composition were linked only in the local mythology of the goddess.¹²⁴

The statue group’s connection to its specific ritual context within the sanctuary is expressed even more directly in one of the most spectacular elements of the composition,

¹²⁰ Megalopolis joined the Achaian League in 235 BCE and, by the early second century, had risen to become its most prominent member, with Megalopolitan interests largely driving the League’s actions. Consequently, the city’s leaders no doubt grew increasingly anxious as the League’s membership vacillated in this period with cities and territories gained and lost through war, alliance, and secession. In response, Megalopolis sought to expand its own political influence and territorial holdings. For the Arkadian capital, the major players in the political and military machinations of the early second century were Sparta, Messene, and Rome. On Megalopolis and its role in Arkadian peer polity relations in the third and second centuries, see Kralli 2017, 329–398.

¹²¹ On Damophon’s work in Megalopolis, see Paus. 8.31.1–6.

¹²² For example, in a decree erected following the arbitration of a dispute with Sparta around 180–160 BCE over the territories of Skiritis and Aigytiis, the Roman arbiters granted Megalopolis the territories because they historically belonged to Arkadia, for which they recognized the city as the region’s representative: *Syll.*³ 665, lines 34–36.

¹²³ Attanasio, Brilli, and Ogle 2006, 105–108. Isotopic testing is needed to confirm the marble’s source, but a macroscopic examination of its grain size, color, and luminosity, coupled with the geographic region of the sanctuary, correspond most closely with that of Doliana marble. For Peloponnesian marble sources, including the quarries of Doliana, see chapter 3 of this study.

¹²⁴ Paus. 8.37.5–6. For analyses of Despoina’s Arkadian mythology, see Jost 2003, 163–164; 2007, 267–268; 2018, 216.

Despoina's mantle, which includes among its bands of decoration a frieze of dancing theriomorphic figures (**Cat. S36AG**). These figures closely match a cache of terracotta votive figurines found at the site which similarly depict animal-headed figures (**Fig. 1.1**). Jost, in her study of these theriomorphic figurines, concluded that the extant examples do not date earlier than the second century.¹²⁵ That the emergence of both the cult statue group and the votive figurines appears to coincide with the construction of the megaron, the building in which Pausanias contends the mystery rituals took place, reveals that the cult received renewed attention in this period.¹²⁶ I suggest further that this connection may indicate a change in ritual activity to highlight the masked dancing and its alleged connection to an Arkadian past, perhaps itself fabricated at this time. Jost and others have suggested that these theriomorphic figures represent initiates of the goddess's cult, and the array of domesticated animals included in the group's costuming could be understood as a reference to Despoina's reign over the pastoral pursuits particular to the Arkadian region.¹²⁷ This aspect of the goddess's cult is also found in Pausanias's, albeit limited, description of the rituals conducted at the sanctuary, during which the Arkadians sacrificed those animals which they themselves possessed.¹²⁸ Just like the figures chosen for the statue group, these rites and their subsequent depiction on the drapery enveloping the sanctuary's eponymous deity suggest the close links between the cult and the pastoral life of the region.

The Lykosoura cult statue group, likely made from local marble and by a regional sculptor, encapsulated the local Arkadian traditions of the goddess through its presentation of

¹²⁵ Jost 2003, 157. Averett (2019, 167) also suggests that the figurines most likely date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

¹²⁶ Paus. 8.37.8. On the function and dating of the megaron, see Kourouniotis 1912; Jost 2003, 148–149; Hellmann 2008.

¹²⁷ Jost 1985, 332–333; 2003, 157–161; Hellmann 2008, 182; Rathmayr 2018, 137; Averett 2019, 167–169.

¹²⁸ Paus. 8.37.8.

Despoina's mythology in the four major figures of the composition and allusions to the local mystery rites in Despoina's decorated drapery. The manipulation of the figures' scale, such that they appeared of a colossal size within their relatively small architectural space, further provided the sanctuary with an air of antiquity and veneration that masked its relatively recent embellishment.¹²⁹ If patronized by Megalopolis, this monument thus simultaneously fabricated the local identity of the community and the significance of this pan-Arkadian cult in order to bolster the city's political position in the second century. Megalopolis associated itself with this cult by literally bringing it into the capital city with subsidiary shrines. In doing so, Megalopolis not only solidified its preeminence in Arkadia as representative of a collective Arkadian body, but also promoted its own position within the contemporary political configuration of the Mediterranean, especially in its relations with Sparta, Messene, and Rome, each of whom took a keen interest in Megalopolis's regional ambitions.¹³⁰ By commissioning a grand and emblematic cult statue group, Megalopolis could advance its domestic and foreign agendas by aligning itself with an esteemed cult, largely of its own making.

The example of Megalopolis's role in the Sanctuary of Despoina indicates the continuing importance of regional sanctuaries in communicating identity and power internally to a community's constituents and externally to neighboring and rival polities. Of course, the attachments people felt to their ancestral cults could also hinder the process of acculturation following synoikism. In some cases, this religious attachment led communities to resist

¹²⁹ For the relationship between cult statues and their architectural spaces in the second century, including an analysis of the Lykosoura cult statues and their temple, see chapter 4 of this study.

¹³⁰ Megalopolis's disputes with Sparta in the second century indicate how Megalopolis sought to assert itself as the official representative of Arkadia in its political dealings to both maintain its synoikized federation and strengthen its position against its long-time foe. This tactic not only proved useful against its antagonists, but also in currying favor with Rome, already by this time showing increased interest in the region. On Peloponnesian interstate relations, see Kralli 2017.

hegemonic control and forced coalition, as initially attempted by the Lykosourans.¹³¹ Generally, however, the central powers sought to create a sense of cultic continuity to assuage the transition of independent communities into a synoikized polis, often leading to a diverse collection of cults, rituals, and traditions within the new community.¹³²

The practice of constructing or renovating temples and cult statues to deities already established within a community's religious repertoire was more pronounced in the eastern than the western Mediterranean, but monuments erected to deities like Feronia (**Cat. S60, T100**), Fortuna Equestris (**Cat. T72**), and Venus Erycina (**Cat. T93, T94**) indicate the phenomenon was found in Italy and Sicily as well. As a critical component of civic identity, public cults were used by magistrates, hegemon, and the elite across the regions of this study to unite communities and negotiate power relations. Cults to deities with local ties provided stable and constant reference points for navigating this changing world. At times, however, circumstances necessitated the addition of a completely new deity to a community's public cults. As we will see, these supplements to the pantheon also impacted cult statue and temple construction in this period.

Introduction of New Cults

Many scholars of Hellenistic religion have identified the mixing of old and new cults, or syncretism, as a hallmark of the religious developments of the period due to the cosmopolitan society that arose following the conquests of Alexander.¹³³ As has been demonstrated above, however, many established deities remained the foremost recipients of cultic activities and constructions throughout the second-century Mediterranean. Although these gods continued to

¹³¹ On the use of cults to subvert synoikism, see Boehm 2011, 115; 2018, 143–145.

¹³² Boehm 2011, 116.

¹³³ For example, Grant 1953; Kershaw 1986, 5/59–5/63; Koester 1995, 156–158; Mikalson 1998, 218, 226; Pakkanen 2011. For an alternative view, see L. Martin 1987, 10–11; Potter 2003, 419.

hold pride of place in many communities, the changing social, political, and cultural landscape necessitated a transformation that included the introduction of certain new deities to address both people's shifting needs and the shifting of people.¹³⁴ Increased mobility and communication within the second-century Mediterranean fostered cultural intermingling that led to religious innovation—and increased production of cult statues.

The creation of new cults in the second century indicates the flexibility of polytheistic religion, whether in the Roman Republic, Greek poleis, or Hellenistic kingdoms, to adapt to the demands for both tradition and modernization. As such, it was relatively easy for new deities to be added to the pantheon, a process that had been taking place for centuries. After all, deities like Apollo and Castor and Pollux, key members of the Roman pantheon by the second century, had been imported from Greece already in the fifth century.¹³⁵ This history of cultural exchange, however, made the Romans far more amenable than the citizens of the Hellenistic East to accepting and accommodating new divinities in this period, and the cult statues and temples erected in the second century therefore reflect a greater diversity of divine recipients than found elsewhere.

An analysis of the cults instituted in Rome in the second century reveals a growing interest in divine personifications, the divinization of abstract qualities, which accounts for almost half of the new temples erected there in this period.¹³⁶ I argue that the popularity of instituting cults to divine personifications in the western Mediterranean stemmed from their encapsulation of distinct qualities that helped to define regional identity at a time of increased

¹³⁴ Anderson 2015, 320.

¹³⁵ Beard 1994, 764.

¹³⁶ Divine personifications include Concordia (Cat. T67), Felicitas (Cat. T70), Fides (Cat. T71), Honos (Cat. T77, T78), Juventas (Cat. T83), Mens (Cat. T87), Pietas (Cat. T89), Roma (Cat. S18, T13, T98), Tyche/Fortuna (Cat. S3, S10, S50, S53, T3, T17, T62, T72, T73, T74) Victoria (Cat. S58, T96), and Virtus (Cat. T77, T78).

mobility and interaction. I will demonstrate that the social and political benefits of affiliation with such cults spurred their promotion in this period. In addition, “foreign” deities from Egypt and the Levant infiltrated the entire Mediterranean. The population shifts and expanding trade networks that began in the early Hellenistic period connected more people to gods like Isis, Serapis, Atargatis, and Hadad. The introduction of both divine personifications and foreign deities likely reflect two competing concerns of the people living in the second-century Mediterranean: maintaining continuity with the past through the traditional values emphasized by divine personifications and acknowledging increasingly diverse populations through imported deities.¹³⁷ The construction of cult statues and temples to these divinities in major population centers and points of contact, like Delos, Rome, and Athens, in the second century helped advance the spread of these cults to places farther afield in the subsequent century.

In this section, I first examine the process by which a new cult was introduced in the ancient Mediterranean in order to demonstrate both the ease with which new deities could become recipients of civic worship and how their selection was influenced by the sociopolitical structures of a specific region. I then investigate the two categories of deities that proved particularly popular in the second century, divine personifications and Eastern gods, to assess the impetus behind the preference for these cults and their impact on cult statue and temple construction.

¹³⁷ North 1989, 616–624; Orlin 1997, 33–34; Versluys 2013. Versluys summarizes the multifaceted forms of interaction that characterized the late Hellenistic/Republican period: “the world became Roman on the condition that Rome became the world” (2013, 438).

Logistics of Cult Foundation

In the second century, private initiative was often the driving force behind the introduction of new deities into the Greek and Roman pantheons, but the process by which these divinities attained state or public cult differed between the two cultures. In the eastern Mediterranean, individual worshippers, rather than civic bodies, played key roles in many cult introductions. The personal worship of a deity could eventually result in the god's incorporation into the state pantheon, as was often the case in the spread of Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic world.¹³⁸ Initially, individuals worshipped these deities privately; frequently, these early adherents were foreigners who emigrated from another region, such as Egypt, or travelers and traders who visited these locations and brought back aspects of the cult. As the cult participants grew in strength and number, they required permanent, physical spaces to carry out requisite rituals. The deities themselves requested these spaces through epiphanic revelations before a human chosen as their spokesperson. This individual then had the unenviable task of convincing the ruling assembly of the legitimacy of the divine encounter and the benefits of the proposed cult.¹³⁹ For example, a column in Serapieion A on Delos records Serapis's epiphany before Apollonios, who would later become a priest in the god's cult. Serapis appeared in Apollonios's sleep and persuaded him that the god needed a sanctuary of his own.¹⁴⁰ Apollonios successfully argued the god's case, resulting in the erection of the first of three sanctuary spaces on Delos dedicated to Egyptian deities.

Further approbation of an epiphany could be sought from one of the oracles of the Greek world, who were also consulted by communities suffering from plague, warfare, or other crises.

¹³⁸ On the differences between individual worship in Greece and Rome in the Hellenistic period, see Parker 2011.

¹³⁹ Garland 1992, 14–22.

¹⁴⁰ *IG* XI.4 1299, lines 13–18.

Communities dispatched an official delegation seeking an oracular response to their concerns. The oracle typically dictated the necessity of the erection of a temple, altar, statue, or festival to a deity who had made an epiphanic appearance or felt wronged by the community.¹⁴¹ Epiphanies and oracles could also support the reconstruction or renovation of an existing cult, such as in the case of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, where the goddess received a new temple and festival following an epiphany and oracular consultation, as discussed above.¹⁴²

Although private initiative also fueled the founding of cults in the western Mediterranean, here the incorporation of new deities frequently coincided with perceived moments of crisis. The main purpose behind a Roman vowing a temple was the restoration of *pax deum*, the state of peace between the Roman people and their gods, either by invoking the god for assistance or in gratitude for a beneficial resolution to a perilous situation.¹⁴³ As a result, many of the second-century temples erected in Rome stemmed from the battlefield vows of military generals who, in some cases, may have used their war spoils, or *manubiae*, to finance the construction.¹⁴⁴ At the height of battle with the outcome uncertain, some generals invoked a deity, promising to erect a temple or statue to the god in exchange for victory. Upon successful return from campaign, the general fulfilled his vow by constructing the promised votive, potentially adding the celebration of that deity to Rome's sacred calendar.¹⁴⁵ Many scholars have shown that the ability to

¹⁴¹ Garland 1992, 20–21. For a compilation of the questions addressed to the Delphic oracle and the corresponding responses, see Fontenrose 1978.

¹⁴² *IMagn.* 16; Garland 1992, 258–259, no. H45.

¹⁴³ Orlin 1997. On the close relationship between religion and the Roman state, see Jocelyn 1966–1967; Rawson 1974; North 1976; Gruen 1992; Beard, North, and Price 1998; Rüpke 2012; and the discussion above.

¹⁴⁴ Some scholars have suggested that the construction of manubial temples, temples funded from a general's *manubiae*, was a common phenomenon in Republican Rome; see esp. Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 26–27; Ziolkowski 1992, 235–258; Uytterhoeven 2018, 38–41. Direct mention of *manubiae* as a temple's funding source, however, is quite rare. The only temples explicitly financed by *manubiae* in the second century are the Temple of Mars in Circo (**Cat. T86**), financed by Decius Iunius Brutus Callaicus and erected in 138 BCE (Val. Max. 8.14.2), and the Temple of Honos and Virtus (**Cat. T78**), financed by Gaius Marius and built in 101 BCE (*ILS* 59). For a more cautious approach regarding *manubiae* as a funding source for Republican temples, see Orlin 1997, 117–139; Bendlin 1998, 281–284; Bernard 2012, 222–233.

¹⁴⁵ For the political implications and complexities of this process, see Orlin 1997.

introduce a divinity for public worship through the personal vowing and financing of a temple remained a privilege of the elite magistrates and military generals who enjoyed both economic and political power in the Roman Republic.¹⁴⁶ I contend therefore that the introduction of new deities in Rome fueled elite competition and further consolidated the power of the ruling class.¹⁴⁷

This connection between cult foundation and the Roman social system, I suggest, accounts for the high prevalence of cults to divine personifications introduced in the second century, continuing a trend begun already in the third.¹⁴⁸ The popularity of these divinities stemmed in part from their encapsulation of distinctly human characteristics, as I demonstrate below. By affiliating with these divinities, communities and individuals aligned themselves with distinct values and characters, helping them to negotiate and demarcate their own identities. In what follows, I define divine personifications and document the spread of their cults in both the Greek and Roman worlds of the second century. Divine personifications were an adaptable and thereby useful means of communicating civic values to a broad populace. The extent to which cult practice remained central to the functioning of a civic community ensured that these principles reached across all segments of society through the worship of such deities.

Divine Personifications

Alongside the traditional deities of the Greek and Roman pantheons stood a set of divinities notably distinct from the members of the extended Olympian family. These deities were anthropomorphic personifications of abstract human qualities and values, such as

¹⁴⁶ For example, Jocelyn 1966–1967; Ziolkowski 1992; Orlin 1997; Clark 2007, 261.

¹⁴⁷ For further discussion of the patron's role in the construction of temples and cult statues in the second century, see chapter 2 of this study.

¹⁴⁸ On the rash of cult foundations to divine personifications in Rome in the third century, see Lind 1973–1974; Clark 2007, 47–49.

Tyche/Fortuna (fortune) or Homonoia/Concordia (concord). In referring to these divinities, scholars have labeled them *inter alia* “abstractions,”¹⁴⁹ “personifications,”¹⁵⁰ “Divine Qualities,”¹⁵¹ “Virtues,”¹⁵² even “lifeless ideas or values.”¹⁵³ In this study, they are categorized as divine personifications, thus acknowledging both their divinity and their representation of specific human characteristics. Visual representations of divine personifications, as seen in cult statues, vase painting, and votive figurines, portray these divinities as anthropomorphic figures, indicating that their worshippers literally imagined them in human form, just as the traditional gods. Unlike the canonical deities, however, who, despite being immortal, strongly reflected both the positive and negative aspects of humanity, personifications represented idealized concepts, often of characteristics individuals aspired to exemplify themselves. Yet they existed beyond the earthly realm and could intercede, if properly implored or placated, in mortal affairs. Personifications thus neatly balanced the human and divine, simultaneously maintaining their uncommonly close ties to human concerns and characteristics while preserving their ability to bestow divine sanction upon deserving human recipients.¹⁵⁴

As divinities, these beings were not only invoked in vows but also received cult, ritual, temples, and offerings. They thereby possessed powers equitable to those of other deities. The divinization of personifications thus was just one of the ways in which religion was enriched in this period in a process that made divinities more enlivened and accessible to the general population.¹⁵⁵ Despite their frequent association with the development of Hellenistic religion, divine personifications already figured in Homer and Hesiod, as well as on myriad works of

¹⁴⁹ Lind 1973–1974; Axtell 1987.

¹⁵⁰ Nilsson 1952; Kershaw 1986; Feeney 1998; Stafford 2000; Smith 2011, 2012.

¹⁵¹ Clark 2007.

¹⁵² Fears 1981; Miano 2015, 2018.

¹⁵³ Dietrich 1986, 89.

¹⁵⁴ Thériault 1996, 186–187; Stafford 2000, 27, 227–232; Clark 2007, 27.

¹⁵⁵ Chamoux 2003, 351.

Greek art dating back to the sixth century.¹⁵⁶ By the Classical period, especially in Athens, personifications with political implications appeared regularly in literature and art.¹⁵⁷ Cults to personifications likewise predate the Hellenistic period; Nemesis's temple at Rhamnous, for instance, was constructed in the fifth century, and an Archaic temple to Themis located adjacent to that of Nemesis indicates that the sanctuary was in use and dedicated to the worship of a personification even earlier.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, a noted increase in cults to this class of divinity can be observed in the Hellenistic period. Interest in cults to personifications likely stemmed from their inherently supra-human characteristics. Despite their relatively minor status in mythology, the personifications worshipped in the second century should not be viewed as inferior to the gods and heroes of previous generations, but instead as an integral part of a religious system that allowed for innovation and adaptation as people's social and philosophical values changed over time.¹⁵⁹

The divine personification who received by far the most new cultic constructions in the second century was Tyche/Fortuna. In the Classical period, the goddess was known in Athens as the good fortune of rulers and cities, but she was not given monumental sculptural form until 296 BCE when the sculptor Eutychedes created the most famous work of the divinity to celebrate the founding of the city of Antioch.¹⁶⁰ What accounts for this deity's meteoric rise in the second century? Olga Tzachou-Alexandri, in her study of democratic personifications, contends that "each generation personified the concepts of greatest significance to its age."¹⁶¹ The prevalence

¹⁵⁶ On cults to personifications as a Hellenistic development, see Nilsson 1952; Green 1990, 396–413; McDonnell 2006, 210. On divine personifications in art and literature before the Hellenistic period, see Kershaw 1986, 1/1–1/38; Shapiro 1993; Smith 2012, 444–450.

¹⁵⁷ For example, Demos, Eirene, Nemesis, and Themis; see Tzachou-Alexandri 1993; Smith 2011, 2012.

¹⁵⁸ On the Sanctuary of Nemesis at Rhamnous, see Miles 1989; Stafford 2000, 75–96.

¹⁵⁹ Feeney 1998, 92. Alternatively, Kershaw argues that the increased presence of personifications in Greek visual art stemmed from the "*ad hoc* creation by artists who need not rely on that religious tradition" (1986, 5/44).

¹⁶⁰ Paus. 6.2.6; Pollitt 1986, 1–3; Matheson 1994; Smith 2012, 451–452.

¹⁶¹ Tzachou-Alexandri 1993, 149.

of cults to Tyche/Fortuna in the Hellenistic East and Republican Rome indicates that this concept bore heavily on the minds of the Mediterranean population in this period. It must have seemed particularly urgent to propitiate fortune's (Tyche/Fortuna) capricious nature as rulers, borders, and economies changed seemingly on a whim.¹⁶²

Part of Tyche's popularity also stemmed from her association with particular Hellenistic rulers. She featured, for instance, among a number of abstract representations in the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, which also included personifications of territories brought under Ptolemaic control.¹⁶³ This grand procession demonstrates the propagandistic application of personifications by Hellenistic rulers, who used these concepts to represent the regions discovered and cities founded as a result of Alexander's conquests and the rule of his successors.¹⁶⁴ But divine personifications appealed to the polis as well. Around the 220s BCE, the Athenians created a new state cult to Demos and the Charites and gave the sanctuary a prominent location in the northwest corner of the agora along the road leading from the Kerameikos.¹⁶⁵ By the end of the second century, cults to Eirene, Homonoia, and Arete could be found in numerous Greek cities.

A true innovation of this time, however, was the goddess Roma, the personification of the Roman people, whose cults proliferated throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the second century as Roman influence within the region intensified both economically and politically.¹⁶⁶ The first attested temple to Roma was built in Smyrna as early as 195 BCE (**Cat. T98**), likely as a political maneuver to garner Roman support against Seleukid domination in the area.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² On the capricious nature of Tyche/Fortuna, see Polyb. 39.8.2; Aalders H. Wzn. 1979.

¹⁶³ Ath. 5.25; see also Kershaw 1986, 5/27–5/39; Smith 2012, 452.

¹⁶⁴ Kershaw 1986, 5/33.

¹⁶⁵ *IG II²* 4676; Mellor 1975, 23–26; Tzachou-Alexandri 1993, 150; Mikalson 1998, 178.

¹⁶⁶ Mellor 1975 (esp. 134–154 on temples and statues to Roma); Errington 1991.

¹⁶⁷ On the cult of Roma at Smyrna, see Tac. *Ann.* 4.56; Mellor 1975, 14–16, 135; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 158.

Similarly, when the Romans dubbed Erythrai independent and awarded it additional territory in 188 BCE, the Erythraians showed their gratitude by instituting a cult and festival to Roma.¹⁶⁸ In the ensuing century, even more cities established cults to the goddess and granted her dedicated sanctuary space.¹⁶⁹ Ronald Mellor argues that the proliferation of these cults was politically motivated to ensure positive diplomatic relations with the growing power in the west, claiming that “the cult of Roma covered the entire range of political emotion: enthusiastic affection, servile flattery, gratitude, suspicion, naked fear.”¹⁷⁰ In this way, Roma’s cult functioned no differently than many of the newly founded or reinvented cults to established deities discussed above in its ability to advance interstate relations in this period.

On the other side of the Mediterranean, cults to divine personifications experienced considerable growth in the third and second centuries. This period was especially significant for the Roman Republic. By officially eradicating the Hannibalic threat by the beginning of the second century, Rome secured its dominance in the western Mediterranean; by mid-century, it had also conquered the eastern Mediterranean, bringing Greece and most of the Hellenistic kingdoms under its purview. This spate of military activity had two profound effects on Roman religion: first, by exposing Romans to foreign cults and sacred art and architecture, and second, by encouraging the vowing of temples by Roman generals in the heat of battle. These new temples had significant religious and political implications as they not only honored existing deities, but also introduced new cults, especially those to deified personifications, into the state religion. Through these additions, the Roman pantheon expanded along with its physical borders.

¹⁶⁸ On the freedom and other benefits awarded Erythrai by the Romans, see Livy 38.39.8; Polyb. 21.46.6. On the Erythraian cult to Roma, see Mellor 1975, 55; Mikalson 2005, 208.

¹⁶⁹ Roma received a physically bounded sacred space at Alabanda sometime before 170 BCE (Livy 43.6.5) and similar spaces in Miletos (*Milet* I.7, 203) and Delos (in the House of the Poseidoniasts [Cat. S18, T13]) by the late second century.

¹⁷⁰ Mellor 1975, 16.

Scholars have attempted to explain this significant development in Roman religion, to varying degrees of success. In his seminal study on the introduction of divine personifications in Roman religion, J. Rufus Fears contends that these cults spread from the Hellenistic world to Rome and then the Romans spread them throughout the rest of Italy.¹⁷¹ Undoubtedly, the second century witnessed a significant amount of cross-cultural interaction and exchange, but it was hardly a one-way street.¹⁷² Fears fails to take into account Rome's influence on the eastern Mediterranean, seen especially in the spread of cults to Roma, and his model denies any agency on the part of Italic communities in relation to Rome, or even to the Romans themselves, in determining their own religious inclinations. Historical documentation further undermines Fears's argument as the first temple in Rome dedicated to a personification (Concordia) dates to 367 BCE, long before Rome began maneuvering in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁷³

More recent scholarship has acknowledged indigenous factors in the development of cults to divine personifications throughout the Italian peninsula in the third and second centuries, moving away from earlier discussions that focused on the presumed Hellenization of Rome. Daniele Miano, for example, links the diffusion of these cults not to any Hellenic influence, but rather to the spread of the Latin language.¹⁷⁴ Anna Clark pushes this argument further, suggesting that divine personifications were highly accessible touchstones because they simultaneously transcended and incorporated concepts linked to society, linguistics, and the sacred.¹⁷⁵ As a result, the popularity and growth of these cults grew at a time when the Italian peninsula was acutely in flux. Not only was Rome trying—and succeeding—to unite the region,

¹⁷¹ Fears 1981, 875–877. Fears's paradigm became the traditional model by which scholars examined the cults of divine personifications in Rome; see also Feeney 1998, 85–92; McDonnell 2006.

¹⁷² For a deeper analysis of the movement of people and materials around the Mediterranean in this period, see chapters 2 and 3 of this study.

¹⁷³ Liebeschuetz 1979, 51.

¹⁷⁴ Miano 2015, 271; 2018, 6–8.

¹⁷⁵ Clark 2007, 16.

consequently upending the sociopolitical norms of the Italian communities brought into Rome's orbit, but it was also launching its imperialistic ambitions through periodic incursions into the eastern Mediterranean. Rome's actions brought a large and diverse population together for the first time and religion was one of the ways ruling authorities could communicate across cultural divides. Notably, cults to divine personifications provided points of contact that were flexible and accessible enough to appeal to a wide range of people in a form perhaps more digestible than the cults of the traditional pantheon.¹⁷⁶

The social and logistical complexities of expanding Roman hegemony in this period therefore contributed to the renewed interest in cults to divine personifications, the allure of which lay in their versatility: they could mean different things to different people at different times.¹⁷⁷ As a result, a wide swathe of the population could relate to these concepts and invoke them in their own lives as needed. Further, the relationship of these concepts to both individuals and the Roman state could change over time. In periods of crisis, for example, a general could call out to Fortuna or Victoria in the hopes of securing victory in a military engagement, while an embattled magistrate could dedicate a temple to Concordia to promote the impact of his public service. A key example of such a use of the cult of a divine personification followed the Gracchan crisis of 121 BCE, when the consul Lucius Opimius constructed a temple to Concordia (**Cat. T67**) following his orchestration of the murder of Gaius Gracchus and some of his supporters. From Opimius's standpoint, the erection of this monument sent a clear message about the beneficial effects of his ability to eradicate an alleged tyrant.¹⁷⁸ Plutarch, however,

¹⁷⁶ Miano states further: "The way in which local communities offered gifts or created temples dedicated to Virtues, alongside the association between the diffusion of the cults and that of the Latin language, suggest that they played an essential role for the construction of a cultural *koine* in ancient Italy" (2015, 272).

¹⁷⁷ Bendlin 2000; Stafford 2000; Smith 2012; Miano 2015, 2018.

¹⁷⁸ On the Gracchan crisis and the animosity between the supporters of Lucius Opimius and Gaius Gracchus, see App. *B Civ.* 1.26.

mentions an anonymous nocturnal protest against both temple and magistrate in which someone scrawled “ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ” (a work of discord created a temple of concord) under the temple’s inscription.¹⁷⁹ Clearly, those who sympathized with the Gracchi interpreted the political events and their association with a divine personification differently from that of Opimius and his supporters. Both parties defined concord, or the lack thereof, in contrasting ways and could employ a divine personification and its temple for their own aims.

The symbolic weight people placed on divine personifications meant that the introduction of these cults provided an opportunity to define *Romanitas*, what it meant to be Roman, in a period when Roman identity was becoming increasingly complicated. Many of the second-century temples dedicated to these divinities were constructed following vows made by victorious generals on the battlefield. What was it about these divinities that made their assistance more appealing in a time of intense crisis than one of the canonical gods? Although slightly later than the period discussed here, Cicero provides some insight into how elite Romans conceived of divine figures, especially personifications, and why the popularity of such divinities soared in the Late Republic. To Cicero, any power that provided a significant, beneficial service to humanity or could override natural human instincts, whether positive or negative, necessarily had divine origin. Notably, he found some of the best examples of divine assistance represented by the personifications who received temples in the city of Rome.¹⁸⁰ As a member of the Roman elite, like the Republican generals making vows on the battlefield, Cicero found divine

¹⁷⁹ Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6.

¹⁸⁰ Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.60–62. Cicero cites Fides (**Cat. T71**) and Mens (**Cat. T87**), whose temples were restored by Marcus Aemilius Scaurus in the second century. He also discusses the Temple of Honos and Virtus (**Cat. T77**), dedicated by Quintus Maximus during the Ligurian War but later restored by Marcus Marcellus. He then lists temples of Ops, Salus, Concordia, Libertas, and Victoria. The fact that these temples continued to be restored and renovated in Cicero’s day illustrates their enduring impact on Roman religion and thought into the Imperial period.

personifications more capable than the traditional deities of activating the human qualities necessary to achieve supra-human results, whether on the frontline or Senate floor.

The extent to which the establishment of a cult to a divine personification reflected the deeds and perceived character of the founder further explains the prevalence of cult statues and temples dedicated to these divinities in the second century. I contend that it was this aspect of divine personifications that made them so appealing to generals on the battlefield: not only would the individual making the vow become personally imbued with the qualities necessary for victory—*virtus*, *honos*, *fortuna*, or, most obviously, *victoria*—but the erection of a monument and institution of a cult to that quality ensured that the founder’s name would remain indefinitely linked with that characteristic. Marcellus’s temple of Honos and Virtus (**Cat. T77**) exemplifies this idea: the victorious general displayed the spolia acquired through his campaigns inside the temple, where Livy informs us that foreigners (and presumably locals) marveled at the treasures displayed.¹⁸¹ The cult, monument, and enshrined booty thus became a tourist attraction in the city, a permanent testament to the *honos* and *virtus* Marcellus himself employed in order to bring about the circumstances that led to their installation and public exhibition. Marcellus’s military prowess thereby became indelibly linked with a cult and monument to military prowess itself. In this way, cult foundation played a significant role in the culture of competition among the Roman elite in the second century as military commanders and aristocratic families sought to create permanent shrines to their glory and prestige. Temples and cult statues to divine personifications thus served as appealing and provocative forces through which to publicize one’s civic contributions, promote one’s personal character, and further one’s political agenda.

¹⁸¹ Livy 25.40.1–3.

Cults to divine personifications consequently played important roles throughout the Mediterranean in the second century. Often nebulous in nature, personifications gained wide appeal because they represented concepts accessible to a variety of people who could interpret the meaning of these cults on a more individual basis. They proved particularly evocative for elite Romans who hoped to embody such qualities in their own civic responsibilities and then enshrine their accomplishments and herald their character through lasting monuments. That communities in the eastern Mediterranean also appreciated the power of personified deities is clear by how rapidly these cities instituted cults to Roma in the hopes of currying favor and patronage from the increasingly powerful and affluent Romans. The use of sacred institutions, whether physical sanctuary spaces or annual festivals, in interstate relations was a familiar tactic for the Aegean cities, who now used the same strategy with the Romans.

The spread of cults to divine personifications, perhaps more than any other class of divine beings, indicates the changing sociopolitical situation of the second-century Mediterranean. Divine personifications provided an effective means by which to communicate across a diverse population, as Rome's political and commercial influence spread throughout the Italian peninsula and into the Aegean. Direct cultic imports resulting from this diversity and increased mobility also influenced the construction of cult statues and temples in this period.

Eastern Deities

The corpus of second-century cult statues and temples reveals a final category of cult foundations that contributed to the rise in this production: deities imported from eastern regions, especially Egypt, Syria, and eastern Anatolia. I contend that these deities also played a role in interstate relations, as observed above for local deities and divine personifications, by linking the

peoples of the expanding Hellenistic world through shared cultic connections. In many cases, the iconography, rituals, and architecture associated with these deities were adapted to the conventions of the welcoming parties. Although some elements remained to identify these cults as “foreign,” most became Hellenized or Romanized to suit the tastes of their new worshippers. My investigation into how and why these deities were selected for new cultic constructions begins by first outlining the most prominent of the cults imported from eastern Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt in this period and then looking specifically at the island of Delos, which housed the largest concentration of these cults.

The goddess Matar/Kybele/Magna Mater, much like the divine personifications above, was not a novel creation of the second century but had spread from Anatolia into the Aegean much earlier. Her cult, however, perhaps best exemplifies the profound changes that occurred as a deity crossed both regional and cultural boundaries. The cult of Matar, originally a Phrygian deity from Anatolia, entered the Greek world in the seventh and sixth centuries, when the goddess became known as Meter or Kybele.¹⁸² By the second century, Kybele was fully entrenched within the Greek pantheon; a sanctuary to the Mother of the Gods stood in the Athenian Agora (**Cat. T6**) and had become the city’s official archive by 405 BCE, but she may have been worshipped in the city as early as the sixth century.¹⁸³

The goddess’s later transmission to Rome near the end of the Second Punic War was much more dramatic and well documented in ancient, albeit later, sources.¹⁸⁴ The cult arrived in Rome quite literally in the guise of her aniconic cult statue, allegedly delivered from Pessinous in

¹⁸² On the Phrygian Matar and her transition into Kybele, or the Mother of the Gods, in Greece, see Munn 2006.

¹⁸³ Roller 1999, 133; Munn 2006, 317–332; Bøgh 2012, 63–64. A set of sixth-century statuettes depicting the goddess were found on the Acropolis, contemporaneous with the institution of her cult in a number of Greek colonies.

¹⁸⁴ The most contemporaneous sources date to the first century BCE, with most literary attestations coming from the Augustan period: Cic. *Har. resp.* 13.281; Diod. Sic. 34.33.1–3; Strabo 12.5.3; Livy 29.10.6; Val. Max. 8.15.3; App. *Hann.* 7.9.56; Cass. Dio 17.61; Hdn. 1.11.1–2; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 7.49; Amm. Marc. 22.9.5–7; *De vir. ill.* 46.

Phrygia, the location of the goddess's most ancient shrine.¹⁸⁵ Lynn Roller, however, has demonstrated that this legendary story may have instead been a fabrication by the Attalid rulers to elevate the status of the cult and facilitate their relationship with the Romans.¹⁸⁶ She contends that the evidence surrounding the sanctuary of Pessinous indicates it was little more than a local shrine prior to the Hellenistic period, much like the sanctuary at Lykosoura. Its prominence grew especially in the second century when the Attalid kings began patronizing the site. Livy specifically credits Attalos I with negotiating the transfer of the cult statue from Pessinous to Rome,¹⁸⁷ further strengthening the suggestion that the Attalid rulers used a local shrine to facilitate interstate relations in the late third and early second centuries.

The surviving sources, however, are inconsistent as to the origin of the cult statue brought to Rome. Some authors attribute it to a shrine on Mt. Ida, a site that Roller finds more convincing.¹⁸⁸ A connection with Mt. Ida, located near Troy, linked the goddess with Aeneas, the Romans' mythological ancestor. As Mater Idaea, the goddess could be viewed not as a foreign import but as an ancestral deity linked to Rome's own past. Here again, the intervention of the Pergamene kingdom seems likely. The goddess's shrine on Mt. Ida lay well within Pergamene-controlled territory, unlike Pessinous, allowing the Attalids to make use of their cultic resources by appealing to Rome's growing interest in its own mythological ties to the region.¹⁸⁹ Ultimately, the precise location of the goddess's shrine matters little outside of its connection to Attalid influence; whether from Pessinous or Mt. Ida, it seems likely that the Attalids embellished the importance of these sanctuary sites to foster their political relationship with Rome.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁵ Strabo 12.5.3.

¹⁸⁶ Roller 1999, 268–271; see also Rose 2014, 210–216.

¹⁸⁷ Livy 29.11.6.

¹⁸⁸ *Ov. Fast.* 4.264; *Hdn.* 1.11; Roller 1999, 269–271; see also Orlin 2010, 76–82.

¹⁸⁹ Roller 1999, 271.

¹⁹⁰ For the political implications of the institution of the cult of Magna Mater in Rome, see Gruen 1990, 21–27; Roller 1999, 281–283; Rose 2014, 210–216.

In addition to its part in the diplomatic relations of the period, the cult of Magna Mater also served the interests of the Roman elite, again similar to the roles played by cults to divine personifications. Before securing the cult statue, Rome sent a large delegation to Pergamon led by five illustrious men who had distinguished themselves through public service.¹⁹¹ Upon the arrival of Magna Mater's cult statue in Ostia, Livy relates that people rushed to welcome the goddess at the port,¹⁹² a spectacle no doubt anticipated by the cult's elite sponsors. The historian further records that the Senate debated who amongst the Romans would be designated *vir optimus*, the best of men, to transfer the cult statue from ship to shore. Ultimately, they chose Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, a member of a highly influential family in Rome in this period, but one can only assume that many prominent families jockeyed to put one of their own in that position.¹⁹³ Despite her foreign roots, the goddess was readily received by the Roman people and given a temple on the Palatine (**Cat. T85**), right in the center of the urban landscape. The goddess's alleged ties with Aeneas helped mask her alien origins and also facilitated Rome's foreign relations in the eastern Mediterranean through a shared connection with this cult.¹⁹⁴ In addition, much like the Roman cults to divine personifications, the pomp and circumstance surrounding the cult's introduction offered elite Romans another means to publicly distinguish themselves.

The kingdom of Pergamon likely used the cult of Magna Mater to ingratiate themselves with the Romans; similarly, the Ptolemies exploited the god Serapis to legitimate their own reign. The creation of this deity is often credited to Ptolemy I, but several scholars now contend

¹⁹¹ The five leaders of the delegation were Marcus Valerius Laevinus, Marcus Valerius Falto, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, and Gnaeus Tremellius Flaccus: Livy 29.11.1.

¹⁹² Livy 29.11.5–12.

¹⁹³ Livy 29.11.5–12; Juv. 3.137; Val. Max. 8.15.3; *De vir. ill.* 46.

¹⁹⁴ Rose 2014, 210–216. In addition to the Attalids, Rose argues that the cult of Magna Mater connected Rome with Ilion and Samothrace, all of which found religion an effective means by which to advance alliances and further their own objectives in the second century.

that the god existed before the Ptolemaic period and was recognized within the Egyptian pantheon.¹⁹⁵ In Egyptian mythology, Serapis represented an amalgamation of Osiris, the god of the underworld, and the Apis bulls worshipped at Memphis that transformed into Osiris upon their death. This deity, known as Oser-Apis, was seen as a manifestation of the god Osiris and thus chiefly concerned with the underworld.¹⁹⁶ Despite predating the Ptolemies, it was the Ptolemaic kings, especially Ptolemy I, who encouraged the worship of Serapis by affiliating dynasts with the deity to legitimize their rule.¹⁹⁷ Under Ptolemaic influence, the god's attributes, iconography, and cult changed significantly, becoming increasingly Hellenized. In addition to his association with death and the underworld, Serapis now also obtained healing powers comparable to Asklepios. Further, his iconography parroted that of Asklepios, Zeus, and Poseidon, such that his image was almost exclusively distinguished by his distinctive headgear, the *kalathos* (**Fig. 1.2**).¹⁹⁸

The Ptolemies may have been closely connected to Serapis and responsible for the spread of his cult within their own kingdom, but cult sites to the god were found beyond the kingdom's borders by the second century. Within the Aegean, Serapis was frequently worshipped alongside his consort, Isis. Even more so than Serapis, Isis was not a new creation of this period but enjoyed an established history in Egyptian mythology. The first attestations to the goddess occur in 2400 BCE and she ranked among the chief deities of the Egyptian pantheon by the New Kingdom.¹⁹⁹ Like Serapis, however, the cult of Isis did not make much headway into the Aegean

¹⁹⁵ For Serapis's worship before the Ptolemaic period, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 218–221; Kleibl 2015, 625–626.

¹⁹⁶ Stambaugh 1972, 5–6; Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, 215; Anderson 2015, 319–320; Kleibl 2015, 625–626.

¹⁹⁷ On the introduction of the cult to Alexandria following an epiphanic vision by Ptolemy I, see Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 361f–362e; Stambaugh 1972, 6–13. On the use of Serapis to legitimize Ptolemaic rule, see Stambaugh 1972, 94–98; Anderson 2015, 319–320; Kleibl 2015, 625.

¹⁹⁸ On the iconography of Serapis, see Hornbostel 1973; Anderson 2015, 319–320; Kleibl 2015, 625–626. On Serapis's affinity with Asklepios, see Stambaugh 1973, 75–78.

¹⁹⁹ Kleibl 2009, 20–22.

until her image and cult were Hellenized. Initially recognized as a mother goddess, and thus identified by Greeks with Demeter, Isis's roles expanded in the Hellenistic period to include healing and maritime protection.²⁰⁰ Her nautical affinities in particular led to the initial expansion of her cult, as most of her early sanctuaries outside Egypt were located on or near the coast.²⁰¹ Just as with her consort, Isis's visual representation was Hellenized to suit the tastes of the Aegean world. Her image closely resembled that of Demeter or Tyche but was occasionally distinguished by a feathered or horned headdress and a garment knotted at the breast in an "Isiac knot" to reflect her Egyptian origins (**Fig. 1.3**).²⁰²

In addition to Serapis and Isis from Egypt, deities originating in Syria also made their way into the Aegean in the Hellenistic period, especially Atargatis and her consort Hadad. Atargatis, a fertility deity who, in the Greek world, became almost entirely confused or assimilated with Aphrodite, was often known simply as "the Syrian Goddess," Syria Thea/Dea Syria.²⁰³ Although worshipped in conjunction with her consort Hadad, Atargatis remained the primary deity within her sanctuaries in both Syria and the rest of the Mediterranean. The center of the goddess's Syrian worship was located at Hierapolis, where her sanctuary benefited from the patronage of the Seleukid queen Stratonike, who allegedly rebuilt her temple there in the early third century.²⁰⁴ The interest and patronage of a powerful Hellenistic dynast likely

²⁰⁰ Herodotos (2.44, 2.59.2, 2.156.5) was the first historian to write about Isis and her affinity with Demeter. The historian ties Isis to Demeter in his description of the Egyptian goddess's connection with the annual flooding of the Nile and its impact on agricultural fecundity. Further, in Egyptian mythology, Isis mourns the death of her brother/husband Osiris and eventually revives him, much like Demeter's mourning over her daughter Kore resulted in her daughter's partial return from the Underworld. For Isis's roles, see Mikalson 2007, 213.

²⁰¹ The Piraeus already boasted a sanctuary to Isis in the fourth century, but it was probably restricted to Egyptian worshippers (*IG II² 337 = RICIS 101/0101*). The earliest evidence for Athenians worshipping at the sanctuary dates to 133/2 BCE (*SEG 24.225*). For the importance of coastal sanctuaries in the spread of Isis's cult, see Bricault 2001; Kleibl 2009, 139–142; 2015, 621–622.

²⁰² Marcadé 1969, 428–433.

²⁰³ Will and Schmid 1985, 144–145; Koester 1995, 189; Chamoux 2003, 343. On Delos, the name of Aphrodite appears alongside that of Atargatis on dedications made to the goddess.

²⁰⁴ Lucian, *Syr. D.* 17; Will and Schmid 1985, 144–145.

contributed to the subsequent spread of the goddess's cult, with her cult on Delos perhaps the most well-known of those in the Aegean. Founded in 128/7 BCE by Hierapolitans, the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods (**Cat. T15**) became the last in a series of sacred spaces allotted to Eastern gods within the Inopos Quarter of the sacred island.²⁰⁵

Cults to deities originating in Egypt, Syria, and eastern Anatolia were found throughout the Mediterranean by the second century, but an exceptional concentration of built monuments to these deities was located on the island of Delos. This island housed cults dedicated to the range of deities enumerated in this study, including canonical deities, divine personifications, and Eastern gods. Delos also witnessed a boom in cult statue and temple construction in the second century, in part due to the monuments erected to Eastern deities. A closer look at the Delian sanctuaries therefore illustrates the impact contemporary religious developments had on second-century cult statue construction and why this one island proved so popular with cult founders and patrons.

Delos: Microcosm of the Mediterranean

Perhaps nowhere in the Mediterranean better exemplifies the mixture of tradition and innovation that typified religious activity in the second century than Delos. This rugged island was an expression of the cultural mixing that resulted in the widespread foundation of new cults in this period. As the birthplace of Apollo, Delos was long held sacred by the Greeks, even serving as the religious center of the fifth-century Delian League. In the Hellenistic period, Delos

²⁰⁵ The oldest epigraphic text from the sanctuary, dating to 128/7 BCE, commemorates the construction and consecration of a naos, oikos, and altars by a Hierapolitan priest, Achaios, son of Apollonios (*ID 2226*). Another inscription, dated before 118/7 BCE, records the dedication of a second naos by a different Hierapolitan priest, Seleukos, son of Zenodoros (*ID 2247*). For the publication of the archaeological remains of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods, see Will and Schmid 1985. For an iconographic analysis of the sculptural remains from the sanctuary, see Marcadé 1969, 381–386.

was a significant trading port, connecting the eastern and western Mediterranean not only with one other, but with regions beyond. This combined religious and economic significance made Delos especially susceptible to the rapidly changing political conditions of the Hellenistic period. The Ptolemies, Antigonids, Athenians, and Romans all took a keen interest in the island, with each power obtaining control of it at some point during the third and second centuries. After Rome in 166 BCE decreed Delos a free port and gifted it to Athens, who subsequently drove out the native Delians, the island increasingly became a cultural melting pot for merchants from Greece, Rome, Phoenicia, Syria, and Egypt. These merchants not only established communities on the island but also brought with them diverse religious and artistic traditions that shaped the island's sacred landscape throughout the second century.²⁰⁶ The diversity of patrons operating on the island therefore accounted in part for the multiplicity of cult foundations, but I contend so too did the heterogeneity of the audience to whom these monuments could speak.

The importation of cults to Egyptian deities stemmed from a strong Ptolemaic influence on Delos in the third century. Ptolemaic building activity decreased significantly by the second century, but these cults continued to prosper under private patronage.²⁰⁷ That of Isis was especially popular, in large part due to Delos's status as a major trading port. As protectress of sailors, the worship of Isis was especially significant for merchants traveling from port to port, but her assimilation with Demeter further cemented her popularity within the Greek world. Isiac worship consequently spread throughout the Mediterranean, with her cults providing a shared cultural and economic network for the merchants working the trade routes.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Bruneau 1970; Green 1990, 26; Barrett 2011, 5–7.

²⁰⁷ Barrett 2011, 5–13.

²⁰⁸ Bricault 2001; Barrett 2011, 438.

Frequently worshipped alongside Isis was her consort Serapis, whose cult was first established on Delos in the first half of the third century BCE by an Egyptian priest from Memphis.²⁰⁹ It eventually became one of the largest sanctuaries on the island, but the cult's popularity was not immediate. The first two iterations of the god's sanctuary, dubbed Serapieia A and B (**Figs. 1.4–1.5**), were located in a recess leading up to Mt. Kythnos, keeping the sanctuaries both physically and visually apart from the main sanctuary of Apollo near the shore.²¹⁰ By the early second century, however, Serapis's cult was recognized as an official public cult, leading to the construction of the third sanctuary to the Egyptian deities on the island: Serapieion C.²¹¹ The location of this third sanctuary emphasized the cult's public recognition, positioned on a ridge just above the earlier Serapieia and encircling the Temple of Hera. The architectural layout of the sanctuary indicated its newly attained prominence while also distinguishing the space from those of the traditional deities worshipped on the island. The heart of the sanctuary consisted of a central courtyard surrounded by three temples (**Cat. T16, T22, T23**), a portico, and a series of interconnected rooms, with a long dromos lined with sphinxes leading into the complex from the east (**Cat. T16A**).

Comparisons have been made between the architecture of Serapieion C and sanctuaries to Serapis in Egypt, especially the Serapieion in Memphis, but both the Delian architecture and sculpture remained far more indebted to Greek than Egyptian influence.²¹² This Hellenic influence intensified following the establishment of Athenian control over the island in 166 BCE,

²⁰⁹ For the initial founding of a permanent physical sanctuary for Serapis on Delos (Serapieion A), see *IG XI.4 1299*; Roussel 1915–1916, 29, 248–249.

²¹⁰ Roussel 1915–1916, 19–46; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 267–269; Scott 2015, 236. The Serapieia on Delos have never been fully studied and published; for preliminary reports, see Siard 2001, 2002, 2003.

²¹¹ On the cult's elevation to public status in 180 BCE, see Roussel 1915–1916, 255–260. On Serapieion C, see Roussel 1915–1916, 47–69; Bruneau 1980; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 277–279; Nielsen 2015, 142–143; Scott 2015, 236.

²¹² On the architectural relationship between Serapieion C and the Memphis Serapieion, see Roussel 1915–1916, 68–69; Bruneau 1980; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 279.

when Athenian priests were installed to manage the sanctuary.²¹³ Athenian administration of the Delian cult coincides with increasing evidence of elite Athenian participation in cults of the Egyptian gods back home, but also indicates the cult's growing importance in this period.²¹⁴ Athenian influence on the sanctuary is likewise revealed in Isis's cult statues. The goddess received no less than three cult images in the sanctuary. Only the base survives today for two of the statues (**Cat. S19–S20**),²¹⁵ but a third still stands largely complete within the cella of its temple, the Doric prostyle temple dedicated to Isis by the Athenians (**Cat. T22**). This marble, over-lifesize cult image (**Cat. S16**) crafted by an Athenian sculptor entirely resembles a Hellenistic draped female statue.²¹⁶ Whatever attributes the goddess held are missing, but nothing of the extant statue identifies the figure as Isis except the inscription on the base upon which it stands. The temple and its cult statue, dedicated by the Athenians to a cult administered by the Athenians, therefore clearly communicated an Athenian message.

Located just north of Serapieion C and sharing a wall with this sprawling facility was the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods, another sacred complex dedicated to deities imported from the East. The primary recipients of cult in this sanctuary were the Syrian gods Atargatis and Hadad. Unlike the Athenian cult statue and temple to Isis, epigraphic evidence testifies to the multicultural patronage of the cult to the Syrian gods, whose worshippers came from Antioch, Laodikeia, Alexandria, Seleukeia, Ephesos, Damascus, and Rome.²¹⁷ The complex consisted of a square courtyard with a large rectangular terrace on the north side, upon which stood a stoa and theater (**Cat. T15**). Numerous inscriptions attest to the impact of private patronage on the

²¹³ The first Athenian priest of the Serapieion is attested in 158/7 BCE (*ID* 2605 = *RICIS* 202/0219); see also Mikalson 2005, 200–201.

²¹⁴ Bricault 2001, 2–5; and see n. 201, above.

²¹⁵ Marcadé 1969, 428–433; Damaskos 1999, 98.

²¹⁶ Roussel 1915–1916, 47–69; Bruneau 1970, 462–466; Damaskos 1999, 97–104; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 267–269, 277–279.

²¹⁷ Mikalson 2007, 211.

development of the sanctuary, especially by a Hierapolitan who built a temple to Atargatis and Hadad in 128/7 BCE and a Demetrios of Antiocheia who constructed a shrine and cult statues to Atargatis and Hadad at the end of the second century.²¹⁸ No physical remains of the cult statue to Atargatis survive (**Cat. S13**), but the lower body of a seated, draped male figure may belong to that of Hadad (**Cat. S15**). The statue closely resembles images of enthroned Zeus found in mainland Greece and Asia Minor, exhibiting once again the mixing of styles that appealed to the multicultural audience of Delos.²¹⁹

The island was also home to professional associations, whose clubhouses could contain sacred areas. One prominent example is the Poseidoniasts of Berytos, a group of merchants and shipowners who constructed a large clubhouse near the island's Sacred Lake in the mid-second century. A truly mixed-use development, the building incorporated commercial, meeting, and sacred spaces under one roof (**Cat. T13**). The sanctuary space was divided into four naoi, which were dedicated to the group's patron deity Poseidon, the Hellenized version of the Syrian god Ba'al; Roma; and likely the goddess Astarte, worshipped as Aphrodite.²²⁰ The assimilation of the deities reveals the impact of Hellenization on these cults, but the influence extended also to the use of Greek in the association's epigraphic records and the stylistic vocabulary of the clubhouse's architecture.²²¹

²¹⁸ *ID* 2226 (naos, oikos, and altars constructed by Achaios, son of Apollonios), 2256 (temple and cult statues dedicated by Demetrios of Antiocheia); see also Étienne 1981, 171–173; Will 1985, 147–149; Damaskos 1999, 102; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 274–277.

²¹⁹ Marcadé 1969, 383; Damaskos 1999, 102–104. Greek worshippers also renamed the deities to align with more familiar conceptions of divinity, such that Atargatis became Aphrodite Hagne and Hadad became Zeus Hados; see Mikalson 2007, 211.

²²⁰ For the original excavation and publication of the clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts, see Picard 1921. For more recent reevaluations of the archaeological and epigraphic remains, see Trümper 2007, 115–122; Nielsen 2015, 145–148.

²²¹ On the Hellenized aspects of the clubhouse of the Poseidoniasts, see Trümper 2007, 117. Trümper contends that “the picture which emerges from the epigraphic evidence is that of a thoroughly hellenized Phoenician association: in their epigraphic habit, exclusive use of the Greek language, organization, interpretatio Graeca of their patron god Poseidon, and cult and honorific practices, the Poseidoniasts betray a comprehensive knowledge of and adaptation to Greek-Hellenistic customs and culture” (2007, 117).

The Poseidoniasts were not, however, solely influenced by Hellenic culture, undoubtedly owing to the cosmopolitan population of Delos and their own diverse membership.²²² Sometime around 130 BCE, the Poseidoniasts instituted a cult to the goddess Roma, indicating an increased desire—or need—to appeal to the Roman merchants and investors operating on the island. Interestingly, the statue of Roma (**Cat. S18**), the only cult statue from the clubhouse to survive largely intact, shows strong Greek influences despite its Roman subject matter. The Poseidoniasts not only commissioned an Athenian sculptor for the work—the very sculptor who created the image of Isis for the Athenian temple—but the figure itself also exhibits clear iconographic parallels with Hellenistic statues of draped women.²²³ The cult statues of the Poseidoniasts therefore reveal that the choice of deity was only one factor, alongside its material instantiation, that could facilitate interstate relations in the dynamic second century. The Poseidoniasts undoubtedly hoped to foster economically beneficial relationships with the major trading parties and authorities on the island in the second century, notably the Athenians and the Romans.

By 100 BCE, the religious spectrum of Delos included not only canonical deities of the Greek pantheon, a divine personification in Agathe Tyche (**Cat. S10, T17**), and the Egyptian and Syrian deities mentioned above, but also a Jewish synagogue,²²⁴ creating a truly cosmopolitan island. Undoubtedly, Delos is a pronounced example of the cultural and religious interactions that occurred in the second century, but the island's changing cultic landscape nonetheless serves

²²² Two fragments of a membership list (*ID 2629*) have been found in excavations, indicating that the association was open to people other than those from Berytos or who worked in the shipping industry, with both Athenians and Romans listed among the members. In addition, a subscription list (*ID 2611*) that may be linked to the Poseidoniasts, although not discovered in the immediate vicinity of the clubhouse, indicates an even more diverse clientele. For a discussion of this list in relation to the membership of the Poseidoniasts, see Picard 1921, 284; Baslez 1977, 175–191; Trümper 2007, 116.

²²³ The surviving statue bases indicate that the Athenian sculptor Menandros completed the cult statues of both Roma (**Cat. S18**) and Poseidon (**Cat. S17**); *ID 1778* (Roma), 2325 (Poseidon).

²²⁴ Mikalson 2005, 200.

to highlight the movements taking place at a smaller scale throughout the Mediterranean at this time. The communities passing through Delos brought these diverse cults back to their homelands, spreading their cultural and artistic influence even farther afield. A notable example of this widespread transmission is the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis at Messene (**Cat. T48**), which Petros Themelis dates to the second century based on stylistic analysis of sculptural remains associated with the site. He suggests that, much like the cult's development on Delos, its genesis at Messene stemmed from the activity of Messenian traders, who brought the cult back to their hometown.²²⁵ Like many of the new deities whose cults and sanctuaries were established in the second century, that of Isis at Messene originated first in private devotion but soon grew in size and significance.²²⁶

Delos certainly exemplifies the melting pot of sacred cults made possible by the exchange of people, goods, and ideas. The establishment of new cults and sanctuaries required accompanying architectural and artistic productions, often spurred by competition among individual aristocrats, poleis, or rulers to promote their own image and curry favor with their rivals. Mikalson, however, contends that the cults that became increasingly popular in this period, like those to divine personifications or Anatolian and Egyptian gods, did so because they broke free from the constraints of the traditional deities, many of which were tied to specific cities or locations. These divinities therefore appealed to a wider demographic due to their freedom from such conventional associations.²²⁷ With the increase in mobility brought about in

²²⁵ Themelis 2011; pers. comm. Themelis cites the activity of the Messenian merchant Nikagoras, who appears at the court of Ptolemy IV in the second half of the third century selling Messenian warhorses, as evidence of a Messenian economic connection to Ptolemaic Egypt.

²²⁶ Fraser 1972, 670–671.

²²⁷ Mikalson 2007, 221.

the Hellenistic period, people had more opportunity to worship those deities most closely associated with their personal concerns rather than a rooted civic identity. Scholars who likewise point to a decline in Greek and Roman religion in this period view the institution of new cults as a frenzied response to a spiritual vacuum left by an increasingly unsatisfactory relationship with patron or polis deities.²²⁸ Yet, as has been demonstrated above, the local gods of the cities continued to be major recipients of new temples and cult statues in the second century. Even those deities called out by Mikalson as having a wider universal appeal, such as Asklepios and Dionysos,²²⁹ often maintained close associations with a sponsoring city, such as at Kos (**Cat. T35**), Messene (**Cat. T49**), and Teos (**Cat. T103**).

The incorporation of new gods instead indicates the adaptability of the cultic landscape of Greece and Rome in the second century. Not surprisingly, this flexibility caused tensions as stakeholders sought to maintain entrenched traditions yet innovate to meet the changing social and political demands of the time. Thus, as Ralph Anderson remarks, “the introduction of new gods...sits at the heart of a complex nexus of political power, cultural transmission, and social identity.”²³⁰ But Anderson’s statement reaches beyond the incorporation of new deities in the second century; it also gets at the crux of why so many communities at this time maintained and advanced cults clearly connected to their regional and civic identity. The sacred building activity of this period was not limited to entirely new edifices, as we have seen, with several important sanctuaries receiving significant facelifts, such as at Magnesia and Lykosoura. In many cases, the foundations of these cults and their accompanying temples went back to the Archaic or Classical periods, yet noteworthy renovations occurred at this time. Integral to these reactivations were

²²⁸ See n. 49 above.

²²⁹ Mikalson 2007, 221.

²³⁰ Anderson 2015, 320.

venerable cult statues, which expressed the antiquity of the cult and the deity's mythological ties to the community, and impressive new buildings that made a bold architectural statement within the cityscape. These gods maintained a level of esteem that imported divinities failed to encapsulate. The reactivation of such established cults helped communities negotiate their place within the successively changing world.

As representations of the divine and icons of cities, cult statues were perhaps the most value-laden category of sculpture in the ancient world. They simultaneously conveyed the power of a deity and the shared customs of a community. As I have argued, a truly magnificent cult statue enshrined within a grand temple could facilitate peer polity relations and elevate the status of the commissioning civic or private patron. Many of the new temples and cult statues constructed in the second century owe their existence to private benefactors, who, by putting their name on an important sacred building or image in a busy crossroads like Delos or Rome sought to spread their influence far beyond the island or region itself. The important roles played by the human agents involved in the construction of cult statues and temples in this period, from the artisans and craftsmen who created these monuments to the patrons who commissioned and financed them, is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Agents of Construction: The Human Hands Behind Divine Bodies

The previous chapter discussed for whom cult statues and temples were constructed in the second century, arguing that contemporary sociopolitical and religious developments drove both the establishment of new cults and the renovation and reactivation of existing cults. Moving from the abstract realm of the gods' worship, this chapter brings the discussion down to earth to investigate the humans involved in second-century sacred construction. The creation of a cult statue and its accompanying temple required gathering and transporting various materials, specialists skilled in their manufacture and assembly, and deep pockets willing to fund the entire endeavor. Such a complicated process involved a significant number of people in varied roles.

In this chapter, I examine the human agents involved in the construction of cult statues in the second century, focusing especially on the roles of the sculptor, architect, and patron.²³¹ Modern scholars often give the sculptor the most credit for his part in the visualization and actual construction of the cult image, but he rarely worked alone. In addition to the master sculptor, numerous assistants, masons, artisans, and other laborers participated in the acquisition and transport of materials and the actual construction of the statue. When completed in conjunction with the erection of a new temple, the architect and other artisans worked with the sculptor to determine its placement within the architectural space. The precise spatial positioning of a cult statue differentiated it from other votive offerings in the temple and likely involved discussions between the sculptor and the architect regarding the location of this important interior focal point. The impetus for such a commission, however, came long before the hiring of either architect or sculptor. From the outset, the patron(s), whether individual or communal, also

²³¹ The viewer's response to these monuments will be addressed in chapters 4 and 5.

dictated the terms of the final product. This input could be based in part on the approximate cost the individual patron or community was willing or able to spend on the statue, thus placing limits on the materials allocated, number of workers involved, and length of time for the work's completion. More importantly, however, was the impact the patron hoped the monument would evoke through its placement, materiality, and craftsmanship.

All three parties—sculptor, architect, and patron—therefore variously contributed to the design and completion of a cult statue and, when built concurrently, its accompanying temple. Their respective parts in such prestigious projects conferred significant benefits upon these individuals. In this chapter, I seek to identify the incentives that drew a sculptor or architect to accept the commission for a cult statue or temple in the second century and, similarly, what prompted patrons to sponsor these monuments. An understanding of the stimuli driving this production in turn reveals how such motivations impacted the monuments' design and appearance.

By first examining sculptors known to have operated in the second century, I demonstrate that select second-century sculptors enjoyed a high degree of visibility, sought commissions on a wide geographic scale, and therefore often needed to exhibit expertise in a breadth of materials and stylistic conventions to accommodate their diverse patrons. In this period, sculptors appear more conscious of their public recognition and more mobile, engaging in the dynamic exchange of goods, ideas, and people that elicited vibrant artistic production across traditional geographic divides. The careers of second-century architects, on the other hand, are much more difficult to reconstruct. Those few whose names do survive seem to have operated almost exclusively in a single region but produced innovative designs that advanced temple architecture and highlighted the cult statue. The individual or entity financing these monuments often played the most visible

role in their construction. As the personnel determining the project's budget, patrons wielded considerable power over decisions regarding the materials and professionals employed. Prominent benefactors also had much to gain personally from awe-inspiring monuments and therefore used these structures to communicate curated messages that bolstered their public image. Monumental and permanent markers of their largesse could advance significantly these individuals' social standing and influence.

An analysis of the impact of sculptors, architects, and patrons on the construction and design of second-century cult statues reveals that these sacred monuments were critical components in bolstering the sociopolitical agendas of the individuals involved in their production. The roles, responsibilities, and recognition of the human hands influencing second-century cult statue and temple construction, however, varied considerably between the eastern and western Mediterranean. On the one hand, Greek artisans enjoyed more visibility and mobility than their Roman counterparts, but on the other hand, Roman patrons were the biggest driver of sacred construction in this period. In this chapter, I delineate the regional conditions that impacted the participation of sculptors, architects, and patrons in the booming construction of cult statues and temples in the second century and argue that the cultural exchange and political disruptions that distinguished this period motivated individuals and communities to construct cult statues and temples at an impressive rate. For the people behind these monuments, the artisans and financiers, such grand statements helped distinguish these individuals from their contemporaries in the highly competitive sociopolitical order of the second-century Mediterranean by highlighting their artistic and personal achievements, increasing their name recognition, and strengthening their wealth and power.

The Sculptor

Cult statues could become symbols of an entire sanctuary, community, or region and thus the opportunity to create one of these significant works was a notable achievement for a Greek or Roman sculptor.²³² Working at the behest of the patron, a sculptor and his workshop produced a statue worthy of the architectural space, community, and deity. In this section, I consider the role of the sculptor in the crafting of a cult statue in the second century by first defining what distinguished sculptors from other ancient artisans. I then explore how the conditions of the second century opened new opportunities for professional development that could take a sculptor outside his native geographic region. Finally, I investigate how the mobility and social status of sculptors changed in this period and what impacts these developments had on cult statue construction. I argue that regional differences in the profession resulted in Greek sculptors enjoying a higher degree of mobility and visibility than their Roman counterparts, yet the surviving evidence for cult statue production indicates that Greek sculptors were not just booking a one-way ticket to Rome, as has been previously thought. An examination of the career of Damophon of Messene, the most renowned cult statue sculptor of this period, elucidates the practicalities of second-century cult statue construction and the opportunities for recognition, status, and wealth that accompanied a successful career in this field.

Neither ancient Greek nor Latin had a dedicated word for sculptor, or even work of art, instead lumping all skilled laborers together as practitioners of τέχνη or *ars*. Both τέχνη and *ars* identify the skill and craft required in manufacturing products, encompassing professions today identified as the “fine arts,” such as sculptors, painters, and potters, as well as “practical arts,”

²³² On the role of cult statues in constructing and solidifying civic identity, see chapter 1 of this study.

like cobblers, carpenters, and blacksmiths.²³³ From these words come generic categories of skilled laborers, τεχνίτης and *artifex*,²³⁴ but more specific terms were also used to denote particular skills or materials. Yet even here we lack a controlled vocabulary. Ancient literary sources label the eminent fifth-century Greek sculptor Pheidias, for example, as τεχνίτης, but also ἀγαλματοποιός (maker of statues of gods), ἀνδριαντοποιός (maker of statues of humans), γλυφεύς (carver), δημιουργός (skilled worker), λιθουργός (stonemason), and πλάστης (molder).²³⁵ In Latin, a sculptor could be an *artifex signarius* (sculpture maker) or *artifex statuorum* (maker of statues),²³⁶ although Roman inscriptions also attest to *marmorarii* (marbleworkers), *lapidarii* (stoneworkers), and *aerarii* (bronzeworkers).²³⁷

The ambiguity in the terms used to identify artisans may be linked to actual practice, whereby these professionals needed to demonstrate a range of skills to maintain gainful employment. In his compilation of epigraphic evidence concerning artisans working in Greek sanctuaries, Christophe Feysel demonstrates that few craftsmen specialized in one particular task.²³⁸ Instead, they performed various roles within a construction project, although typically in positions related to the same material. Further complicating this picture is the relatively limited

²³³ *LSJ*, s.v. τέχνη; *OLD*, s.v. *ars, artis*; see also Vollkommer 2015, 112; Tran 2016; Seaman 2017a, 4–7; Stewart 2019, 73–79.

²³⁴ *LSJ*, s.v. τεχνίτης; *OLD*, s.v. *artifex, artifices*.

²³⁵ For Pheidias as τεχνίτης: *FGrH* 104.16.1–2; Diod. Sic. 12.1.3–4; Strabo 8.3.30; Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 6; Lucian, *Iupp. trag.* 7.5; Gal. *De usu partium* 3.238–239; Gal. *Nat. Fac.* 2.3.83–84; as ἀγαλματοποιός: Pl. *Prt.* 311c–e; Arist. [*Mund.*] 6; *Laterculi Alexandrini* 7.3–9; Diod. Sic. 12.1.3–4; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 55.1; Lucian, *De parasito sive artem esse parasiticam* 2; *Mir. ausc.* 155; Gal. *Nat. Fac.* 2.3.82; Origen, *C. Cels.* 8.17–18; Athanasios, *Contra gentes* 35; Lib. *Ep.* 1342.3; Phot. *Bibl.* 234 (293b); *Suda*, s.v. ἀγαλματοποιός; Eust. *Il.* 1.528–530; as ἀνδριαντοποιός: Pl. *Meno* 91d; Philo, *De Ebrietate* 89–90; as γλυφεύς: Dion. Hal. *De Dinarcho* 12.7.7; as δημιουργός: Pl. *Hp. mai.* 290a8–c6; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 12.49–50; Plut. *Per.* 13.1–15; Gal. *De usu partium* 3.240; Himer. *Or.* 68.24; as λιθουργός: Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6.7; as πλάστης: Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 859b; Dion. Hal. *Dem.* 6.50.4; Plut. *Per.* 31.2–32.6; Lucian, *De mort. Peregr.* 6; *Hermot.* 54–55; Tzetz. *Chil.* 7.921–928; *Ep.* 21.

²³⁶ An early Imperial funerary monument identifies the deceased as an *artifex signarius* (*CIL* VI 9896), while Quintilian (5.12) speaks of an *artifex statuorum*.

²³⁷ For a catalogue of artists' inscriptions and the professional identifications used by their respective patrons, see Calabi Limentani 1958, 151–178; see also Marvin 2008, 218; Tran 2016, 248–252.

²³⁸ Feysel 2006, 373–394. Feysel's study examines epigraphic evidence from Athens, Eleusis, Delphi, Epidauros, and Delos and spans the Classical and Hellenistic periods. From this material, he concludes that only metallurgists consistently worked in very specific roles related to their expertise.

number of artists' signatures and the interpretive pitfalls of those that do survive. If they signed their work at all, most Greek artists listed their name followed by the verb ἐποίησεν, forming a statement that translates as "X made me." When found on a statue or its base, however, it is not always clear if the individual named acted as sculptor, stonemason, or in some other role.²³⁹

The evidence for Roman artists is even less robust. Epigraphic evidence attests to only 42 named artists in the Republican period, six of whom were sculptors.²⁴⁰ Few literary sources document Roman artists generally, in large part due to the Archaic and Classical Greek bias of elite Roman authors, who likely based their own work on earlier Greek treatises.²⁴¹

Overwhelmingly, artists that are identified as working in second-century Rome possessed Greek names, yet the surviving evidence may not accurately reflect the artistic landscape in the city.

For one, Greek artists may have signed their work more often than their Roman counterparts, contributing to the discrepancy in the surviving evidence. Additionally, Greek artists came to Rome from southern Italy and Sicily in the Republican period, and, despite retaining their Greek names, had been working on Italian soil long before the Romans conquered the eastern Mediterranean. The prevalence of Greek names, in fact, as Peter Stewart has argued, more likely indicated an artist's freedman status than a Greek origin, as owners often gave their slaves Greek names without regard for their actual ethnicity.²⁴²

²³⁹ On artists' signatures and the problems of interpretation, see Marcadé 1953, 1957; Stewart 2008, 14–18; Osborne 2010; Hurwit 2015, 18–20, 101–143; Vollkommer 2015, 111–112; Johnston and Palagia 2019, 22–23; Stewart 2019, 73–79.

²⁴⁰ Vollkommer 2015, Appendix 3. Vollkommer does not identify the geographic origin of the sculptors in his tabulation, but his table separates the Republican from the Hellenistic period, suggesting that the Republican artists may have identified as Roman.

²⁴¹ Gruen 1992, 131–141; Lapatin 2012; Seaman 2017a, 5. Pliny, for example, based his own art historical analyses on the Hellenistic authors Douris of Samos, Antigonos of Karystos, and Xenokrates of Athens, as well as on the work of Pasiteles, a Greek sculptor from southern Italy (*HN* 36.39–40).

²⁴² Stewart 2008, 17; Stewart 2019, 79–85.

This final point alludes to the social status of professional sculptors. As an occupation requiring considerable physical labor, individuals of lower social status generally took up sculpting as a profession; indeed, several ancient authors clearly illustrated the drawbacks of an artisan's life for a member of the upper classes.²⁴³ Writing in the second century CE, the Roman author Lucian describes a dream in which he is visited by personifications of "Sculpture" and "Education."²⁴⁴ Sculpture, in her disheveled, coarse appearance, offers him the fame of Pheidias or Polykleitos, but this offer cannot compete with the career ambitions Education proffers, namely freedom from hard manual labor and a common life.

Despite these negative elite attitudes toward the profession, sculptors seemingly enjoyed a higher prestige and income than many of their artisan colleagues, with some becoming wealthy celebrity figures.²⁴⁵ Their elevated status in comparison with other artisans may also be gleaned from the surviving epigraphic and literary testimony, which privileges sculptors over other types of artistic professions. Attestations to Greek sculptors dated before the Roman Empire number over 700, comprising 55% of the total named artists so far known for this period.²⁴⁶ In just the Hellenistic period, the number of named sculptors accounts for 65% of the total named artists.²⁴⁷ Several sculptors even attained great wealth in their lifetime and wrote treatises demonstrating their learned status, including at least one Roman sculptor of the late second and early first centuries BCE, Pasiteles. Pasiteles' now-lost treatise, *Nobilis opera in toto orbe*, documented the

²⁴³ Some examples of elite attitudes against manual labor include Xenophon (*Oec.* 4.2–3) and Aristotile (*Pol.* 1.1258b).

²⁴⁴ Luc. *Somn.* 7–9.

²⁴⁵ On financial compensation for artisans, see Feyel 2006, 411–415. Examples of Greek celebrity artists include Pheidias, Polygnotos, Zeuxis, Praxiteles, and Damophon. Seaman (2017b, 15–16), however, argues that many of the artists who attained such status came from prominent families and therefore had a leg up on their colleagues. For Damophon, see below.

²⁴⁶ Vollkommer 2015, Appendix 2. The other artists included in Vollkommer's analysis include architects, painters, potters, coroplasts, mosaicists, metalworkers, gem and die engravers, and gold- and silversmiths.

²⁴⁷ Vollkommer 2015, Appendix 3. Of the 599 inscriptions naming artists in the Hellenistic period compiled by Vollkommer, 391 identify sculptors.

most famous compositions of the Greek and Roman worlds prior to the sculptor's own time, with a clear bias toward Archaic and Classical Greek works and artists.²⁴⁸ The production of this study indicates that he had both the intellectual acumen to embark on such a project as well as the financial resources to research and produce the document.

By the second century, the increase in public and private building projects, especially those financed by the Hellenistic monarchs and the increasingly powerful Roman elite, provided sculptors with access to more steady and profitable commissions, which may in part account for the rise in named sculptors in this period. Exemplifying this trend are members of the Athenian Polykles family, who dominated sculptural production for the Aitolians, Athenians, and Romans in this period. This family included some of the most prominent sculptors of the second century, some of whom achieved enough professional and financial success to fill public offices and commemorate their sons' ephebic service, all of which necessitated considerable expense.²⁴⁹ The Polykles family produced cult statues, including at Elateia (**Cat. S21–S22**) and Rome (**Cat. S73**), and honorific portraits, such as the well-known likeness of Gaius Ofellius Ferus on Delos (**Fig. 2.1**).²⁵⁰ Not only did this family attain a fair amount of status, wealth, and prestige, but they also illustrate the itinerancy that highlights much successful sculptural production in the second century as their commissions took them back and forth across the Mediterranean.²⁵¹ This

²⁴⁸ On Pasiteles and his treatise, see Plin. *HN* 36.39–40; Tanner 2006, 215.

²⁴⁹ A stele honors a son of Polykles Thorikios as ephebe in c. 185/4 BCE (*SEG* 17.51). Polykles (III) and Timarchides (II) were first and second mint magistrates in 149/8 BCE and Polykles (V) was third mint magistrate in 130/29 BCE. On the complicated family tree of the Polykles family, see Stewart 1979, 42–44; 1990, 304–305; 2012, 668–673, 681–687; H. Martin 1987, 57–64; Despinis 1995, 339–372; Damaskos 1999, 14–17.

²⁵⁰ Timokles and Timarchides (II) created the cult statues of Asklepios and Athena Kranaia at Elateia; see Paus. 10.34.6–7. A head of Hercules found on the slopes of the Capitoline (Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2381) has been identified as belonging to a cult statue of the hero by Polykles (III), mentioned by Cicero (*Att.* 6.1.7). Dionysios (II) and Timarchides (III) produced the portrait statue of Gaius Ofellius Ferus on Delos (Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 4340 + A6461; *ID* 1688).

²⁵¹ In addition to their commissions at Elateia, Delos, and on the Capitoline, Timarchides (I), Polykles (III), and Dionysios (I) created statues of Apollo, Jupiter, and Juno for sanctuaries near the Porticus Octaviae in Rome; see Plin. *HN* 36.34–35.

itineracy, I contend, led to interactions and collaborations with other artists which in turn resulted in an artistic production that incorporated a diversity of stylistic conventions and bridged geographic divides.

Sculptors' Professional Networks

One commonly held belief regarding ancient sculptural production is the predominance of the family workshop.²⁵² As the lineage of the Polykles family demonstrates, Greek sculptural production could indeed be a family affair, with generations of sculptors following in their fathers' footsteps. The frequent inclusion of patronymics on statue base inscriptions further helps delineate, to an extent, the family trees of several of the prominent sculptors of antiquity, although the frequent reuse of names muddles the historical picture.²⁵³ The evidence for second-century sculptors, however, suggests that too strong an emphasis has been placed on the idea of family workshops, leading to misconceptions about artistic production in the second century. Katherine Larson's recent network analysis of Hellenistic sculptors' signatures, for instance, notes that only 12% of signatures with patronymics concerned sculptors with fathers in the same field.²⁵⁴ Outside of familial connections, new sculptors on the scene instead could use names that helped advertise their skill, as seen in the Athenian sculptors Euboulides ("well-advised") and Eucheir ("well-handed").²⁵⁵ Similarly, by the first century BCE, certain sculptors in Rome identified themselves as pupils of their master when signing their works instead of listing a

²⁵² See, for example, Stewart 1990, 33–34; 2019; Goodlett 1991; Osborne 2010; Volkommer 2015, 122–123.

²⁵³ On sculptor families in the Hellenistic period, see Stewart 1990, 304–305; 2012, 668–673, 681–687; Goodlett 1991; Despini 1995; Larson 2013, 244–245; La Rocca 2019, 583–584. On Rhodes, Goodlett found that no sculptor with a father also in the industry established his own workshop, instead working for the family business.

²⁵⁴ Larson 2013, 244–245. Of the 126 inscriptions with patronymics, 15 identified sculptors with fathers who also worked in the industry.

²⁵⁵ Stewart 1990, 68–69; 2019, 75–76; Despini 1995, 319–338.

patronymic, suggesting that the prestige of their training could rectify any perceived deficiencies in lineage.²⁵⁶

From this evidence, it appears that sculptors generally sought to demonstrate their skill or association with a renowned artist, relative or otherwise. The sculpture industry was highly competitive, with artists working entirely on commission.²⁵⁷ Identifying oneself as the son or pupil of a prominent artist, while not guaranteeing commercial success, perhaps boosted one's status among potential patrons.²⁵⁸ Hellenistic literary sources, including the now-lost treatises used by Pliny, the epigrams of Poseidippos, and an Alexandrian student's notebook, reveal the extent to which contemporary art history centered on a "hit list" of famous artists.²⁵⁹ These literary sources suggest a widespread knowledge of artistic personalities, indicating that a sculptor could raise his profile by advertising his professional network.

Such connections seemed to have played a key role in second-century sculptural production. Whether family operations or apprenticeship organizations, stone sculpture workshops were generally rather small, typically consisting of a handful of people: the master sculptor, an apprentice or two, and perhaps additional laborers or slaves.²⁶⁰ Bronzeworking likely required more personnel, but even these workshops still remained on the small side.²⁶¹ In her study of sculptors' signatures from Rhodes dated between 340 BCE and 7 CE, Elizabeth

²⁵⁶ Such sculptors include Stephanos, the pupil of Pasiteles, who signed a small statue of an athlete (Loewy 1885, no. 374) and Stephanos's pupil Menelaos, who signed a large marble statue group (Loewy 1885, no. 375).

²⁵⁷ Stewart 1990, 60–62; 2019, 52; Rolley 1994, 9–57; Hurwit 2015, 153–156.

²⁵⁸ Goodlett 1991, 671–672; Conlin 1997, 30–31; Vollkommer 2015, 122–123.

²⁵⁹ On the Hellenistic sources for Pliny's *Natural History*, see n. 241 above. On the artists named in Poseidippos, see Sens 2005; Stewart 2005. For lists of ἀγαλαμοποιόι and ἀνδριαντοποιόι in a student's notebook, see *Laterculi Alexandrini* 7.3–9.

²⁶⁰ Stewart 1990, 33; 2019, 54; Lawton 2006.

²⁶¹ Mattusch 1982; 1988, 101–107, 219–240; Stewart 1990, 33; Goodlett 1991, 678. On Rhodes, Goodlett observed that families formed the core of the longest-lasting bronze workshops, yet every workshop she could trace also employed unrelated sculptors at some point.

Goodlett found that Rhodian bronze workshops employed between two and fifteen laborers.²⁶² Many workshops primarily served their immediate communities; for example, Goodlett found that the average bronze sculptor on Rhodes worked for 30–40 years.²⁶³ Plenty of surviving evidence, however, attests to the mobility of sculptors, especially in the second century. Even on Rhodes, bronzeworkers from different workshops on the island temporarily joined forces on a particular commission,²⁶⁴ but large projects, such as the erection of a new temple with its attendant architectural sculpture, moldings, and cult statue, could attract artisans from all over the Mediterranean. Such projects likely required at least a dozen skilled sculptors.²⁶⁵ Of course, the sculptors were just one small part of a massive workforce for these major building projects, which employed their own armies of artisans and laborers, both on site and in related fields.²⁶⁶ Through collaborations and major commissions, second-century sculptors could learn new skills, work with foreign materials, and study the artworks of other regions.

As noted above, not all sculptors traveled extensively in this period, but for makers of cult statues, it seems to have been a major part of the job in pursuit of notable contracts. The

²⁶² Goodlett 1991. Goodlett defines a workshop as either a single sculptor with a steady production over more than ten years, or two or more sculptors who worked together on more than one occasion. As a result, she identifies eight workshops on Rhodes between c. 340 BCE and 7 CE. Each workshop had between two and five sculptors who signed statue bases. Assuming that the master sculptor needed two or three assistants in the labor-intensive bronzecasting process, the workshop size ranged from two to fifteen people.

²⁶³ Goodlett 1991, 678–681; see also Horne 2017, 101.

²⁶⁴ Goodlett 1991, 673–678.

²⁶⁵ Although dating much earlier, the building accounts of the Erechtheion and Parthenon are among the few ancient sources to discuss the practicalities of constructing major monuments. They also record the wages for the sculptors employed for the creation of single figures for the Erechtheion frieze and Parthenon pediments. For the Parthenon, around ten sculptors worked on the pedimental figures alone; see *IG I 324c*. For the Erechtheion, see *IG I³ 474–479*; see also Richter 1970, 120; Feyel 2006, 31–57.

²⁶⁶ Plutarch describes the wide-reaching effects of a major temple building project: “The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the artisans that elaborated and worked up these materials included carpenter, modeler, bronze-smith, stonemason, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the carriers and suppliers of the material, such as merchants, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by land, wagon-makers, trainers of draught animals, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners. And each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained laborers at its disposal” (*Per.* 12–13, trans. Stewart 2019, 55; see also Stewart’s discussion).

literary and epigraphic record of Damophon's commissions, for example, suggest that the second-century master of cult images moved extensively throughout the Peloponnese and Cycladic and Ionian islands, although never as far as Rome as did many of his contemporaries (Fig. 2.2).²⁶⁷ In addition to financial compensation and prestige, regional commissions provided a sculptor and his workshop the opportunity to advance their personal expertise through professional partnerships. Larson found that collaborations between Hellenistic sculptors with no known familial or geographic association account for about 40% of epigraphically attested partnerships in her study, but the same set of collaborators never created more than two works together.²⁶⁸ These working relationships, then, were short-lived but opportunistic. She suggests that collaborative work facilitated the transfer of knowledge and technique beyond the master-pupil bond.²⁶⁹ In so doing, these sculptors fostered exchanges that bridged the traditional divides proposed by proponents of regional schools of Hellenistic sculpture.²⁷⁰ The prevalence with which cult statues were produced across all four regions of this study alone contradicts the notion of regionalized production centers, but the dialogues fostered through collaboration and exchange likely account in part for the diversity of artistic output observed in this period.

²⁶⁷ *SEG* 39.380, 41.332, 51.466, 51.467, 54.452; Paus. 4.31.6, 4.31.10, 7.23.5–7, 8.31.1–2, 8.31.6, 8.37.1–6 .

²⁶⁸ Larson 2013, 243–245. Collaborations among unrelated sculptors account for 26 of the 63 epigraphically attested partnerships.

²⁶⁹ Larson 2013, 242–244. For example, in the late third century BCE, Mnastimos, son of Teleson, of Rhodes partnered with the bronzeworker Menippos of Kos (Blinkenberg 1941, no. 109), who collaborated with the otherwise unattested Zenodotos (*IG* XII.1 936). Similarly, the families of Epicharmos and Charmolas worked with Satyros of Antioch in the late second and early first centuries BCE (*SEG* 41.647).

²⁷⁰ Many scholars have attempted to define the heterogeneous output of sculpture in the Hellenistic period as a product of regional schools of production; see, for example, Bieber 1961; Marcadé 1969; Gualandi 1976; Stewart 1979, 17–25, 146–148; Palagia and Coulson 1998. In contrast, Bairami (2015) points out the connections between Pergamene and Rhodian artists in the second century.

Sculptor Mobility: Reexamining Westward Migration

Professional development was not the only, or even most prominent, factor spurring sculptor mobility in this period. Sculptors traveled to secure commissions, through which they could both earn an income and establish a name for themselves. A major emerging market for sculptural production in the second century was Rome. Artists of all types, comprehending contemporary market dynamics, sought Roman commissions, but the singularly westward flow many scholars have observed for the second century fails to encapsulate the full picture.²⁷¹ Rome was just one of many sources for significant commissions. The evidence for second-century cult statue and temple production indicates that the western Mediterranean did indeed construct more sacred monuments than any of the other three regions investigated in this study, but Rome's predominance does not indicate that production languished elsewhere (**Graph 2.1**). More cult statues were constructed in the region of mainland Greece, in fact, than in Italy and Sicily, which seem to have focused their energies on erecting temples rather than the cult images housed inside. A closer look at the overall production, especially as it relates to the sculptors involved in cult statue construction, reveals that regional differences in the sculpting profession may account for the misconception that Greece was drained of its art and artisans in the second century.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, Romans developed a taste for Pentelic marble and Greek sculpture in this period, resulting in more Greek sculptors, especially Athenians, migrating west.²⁷² This migration corresponded to market demands; not only were Roman patrons increasingly interested in marble sculpture in Greek styles, but Rome itself, much like the Hellenistic kingdoms in the third and early second centuries, was engaged in a massive

²⁷¹ For example, Rakob 1976; Pollitt 1978; Gordon 1979; H. Martin 1987; Hölscher 1994; Coarelli 1996; Bernard 2010; Davies 2014; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; Zanker 2016.

²⁷² Prominent among these itinerant sculptors was the Polykles family; see n. 250 and the discussion above.

artistic and architectural campaign largely spurred by its victories in the eastern Mediterranean. Some sculptors from Greece and Asia Minor came unwillingly, brought as captives following the Roman conquests in the eastern Mediterranean. After Lucius Scipio's victory over Antiochos at the Battle of Magnesia in 189 BCE, for instance, the Roman general forcibly brought artists from Asia Minor back to Rome.²⁷³ Alternatively, an apparently eager group of Greek artists followed Marcus Fulvius Nobilior to Rome after he conquered Ambracia that same year.²⁷⁴ Athenian stoneworkers also came to Rome, for example, to carve the Pentelic marble capitals for the Temple of Hercules Victor in the mid-second century.²⁷⁵ As discussed above, at least two generations of the Polykles family worked in Rome producing cult images and votive statues for much of the second century, while also continuing to work in mainland Greece and Delos.²⁷⁶ Pliny also mentions Rhodian artists who displayed their works in the temples of Apollo Medicus, Jupiter Stator, and Juno Regina in Rome.²⁷⁷

The perceived predominance of sculptors with Greek names working in Rome may also stem from differences in artisan status observed between the eastern and western Mediterranean. In Rome, the legal and social status of craftsmen may have precluded sculptors there from traveling as widely as their Greek contemporaries. Most Roman artists, including sculptors, likely began their careers as trained slaves, but some eventually operated their own workshops after attaining their freedom.²⁷⁸ Artisans collaborated with other freedmen in their business endeavors, while remaining indebted to their former masters.²⁷⁹ These individuals frequently

²⁷³ Livy 39.22.9–10.

²⁷⁴ Livy 39.22.1–2. For additional discussions on the migration of sculptors from the Hellenistic East to Rome in the second century, see Stewart 1990, 230–231; Conlin 1997, 33; La Rocca 2019.

²⁷⁵ Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973; Gros 1976, 393–394; Conlin 1997, 35.

²⁷⁶ Despini 1995, 339–372; Stewart 2012, 668–673, 681–687; 2019, 54.

²⁷⁷ Plin. *HN* 36.34–35. These artists included Philiskos, Heliodoros, and Polycharmos.

²⁷⁸ Hawkins 2016a, 2016b.

²⁷⁹ On the patron-client relationship and the responsibilities of slaves to their masters even after manumission, see Joshel 1993; Conlin 1997, 31–35; Hawkins 2016a, 52–53; 2016b, 146–157.

served as the shop's primary patrons and expected preferential treatment.²⁸⁰ Roman law further facilitated this imbalanced patron-client relationship, allowing owners to place legal claims, *operae libertorum*, on the labor of their freedmen. This privilege specified that manumitted slaves still owed their former owners a specific amount of daily labor.²⁸¹ The nature of the patron-client relationship and manumission obligations therefore restricted the agency of Roman sculptors to seek out commissions in the same way as their counterparts in the eastern Mediterranean.

The extent to which foreign artists joined native Roman sculpting communities is unclear. Foreign-born carvers brought to Rome as slaves potentially could have developed their own sculptural workshops upon manumission, working in Rome or even returning to the Hellenistic East to the workshops on Rhodes, for example.²⁸² Signatures by artists with Greek names and Greek geographical origins may have also served as a symbol of quality that not only appealed to the Roman taste for Greek, especially Athenian, art, but also connected the artist with a well-known sculptural center and its stylistic proclivities.²⁸³ The first of the Polykles family to emigrate and set up shop in Rome, Timarchides (I), son of Polykles (I), likely obtained commissions due to his Greek training, but the extent to which Roman patrons later privileged his sons' ethnicity over their descent from a renowned sculptor is difficult to ascertain.²⁸⁴

Bucking this trend for Greek artists, however, are the Cossutii, members of a Roman freedman

²⁸⁰ For example, Athenaeus (6.274c–e) records that Mucius Scaevola, Aelius Tubero, and Rutilius Rufus expected special treatment from their clients in the form of commodities priced well below market value, ensuring they could maintain their luxurious lifestyle without breaking the recently passed sumptuary law, the *lex Fannia* of 161 BCE.

²⁸¹ On *operae libertorum* and the obligations of freedmen to their patrons, see Treggiari 1969, 37–86; Waldstein 1986; Gardner 1993, 19–31; Mouritsen 2011, 36–65, 120–205; Hawkins 2016a, 55–57; 2016b, 146–167.

²⁸² Conlin 1997, 33.

²⁸³ Stewart 2008, 16.

²⁸⁴ Gruen 1992, 135–136. On the Polykles family, see n. 250 and the discussion above.

family that attained significant success both in Rome and Greece in all aspects of stone carving, from operating marble quarries to occupations as architects and sculptors.²⁸⁵

It is important to note that not all Greek artists were moving to Rome. All the second-century cult statue sculptors whose geographic origins are known come from Greece—Argos, Athens, Messene, and Paros—but far more commissions are known for these sculptors in Greece than in the western Mediterranean (**Graph 2.2**). The Athenian sculptors are the only ones to have worked in all four regions examined in this study. Sculptor's signatures similarly attest to the general itinerancy of sculptors throughout the Aegean in the second century. Delos in particular witnessed an increase in the number of Athenian sculptors working on the island in this period, with approximately 35 extant statue bases documenting artists who identified themselves as Athenian.²⁸⁶ Of course, this development was due in part to Athens's control of the island after 166 BCE. It comes as little surprise that the Athenians, used to an Attic sculptural style, would commission artists from their hometown who were trained in the styles and techniques they most valued. Employing these artists also ensured that *Athenian* artists received both financial compensation and public recognition for their commissions on this multicultural island. Yet not all the patrons were Athenians; Romans and Syrians also commissioned Athenian sculptors on Delos.²⁸⁷

What did change, especially after 166 BCE, was the frequency with which individual sculptors' signatures occurred on Delos, suggesting that artists were staying on the island for

²⁸⁵ On the varied activities of the Cossutii family in the late Republican and early Imperial periods, see Rawson 1975 and the discussion below.

²⁸⁶ For the textual evidence concerning Athenian artists working on Delos in the second century, see Kansteiner et al. 2014, 49–96.

²⁸⁷ Demonstratos of Athens made a bronze statue of Lucius Cornelius Lentullus (*ID* 1694); Glaukos of Athens created a marble statue of Dea Syria for Martha and Antiochos of Damaskos (*ID* 2287); and the Poseidoniasts commissioned Menandros of Athens to create two cult statues, of Roma (**Cat. S18**; *ID* 1778) and Poseidon (**Cat. S17**; *ID* 2325).

longer periods of time or traveling there for multiple commissions granted at once.²⁸⁸ The Athenian sculptor Menandros exemplifies this phenomenon, creating four cult statues for three separate sanctuaries in the later second century: the cult statue of Apollo (**Cat. S12**) for the god's temple located near the southeastern corner of the theater (**Cat. T19**), the still in-situ cult statue of Isis (**Cat. S16**) in Serapieion C, and the cult statues of Poseidon (**Cat. S17**) and Roma (**Cat. S18**) in the House of the Poseidoniasts (**Cat. T13**).²⁸⁹ The prevalence and longevity of Athenian sculptors on Delos after 166 BCE stem, I believe, from Athenian attempts to solidify their control of the island and expand economic opportunities for Athenian stakeholders.²⁹⁰ With the native Delians expelled from their home, Delos lacked indigenous artisans to complete the island's monumental building projects. Hiring Athenian artists ensured high profile commissions stayed within the family, so to speak, and increased the artists' exposure, especially to the wealthy Romans conducting business on the island.

Sculptor's Signatures on Second-Century Cult Statues

Our ability to identify Menandros's numerous cult statue commissions on Delos is initially surprising given the paucity with which signatures related to cult statues survive generally in the ancient Mediterranean. Artist's signatures are found on bases of many honorific and portrait statues from Greece and Rome, but rarely did sculptors put their names on cult statues.²⁹¹ Perhaps, as suggested by Michael Donderer, the placement of an artist's name on a

²⁸⁸ Marcadé 1957; Jockey 1998, 179–180.

²⁸⁹ *ID* 2342 (Apollo), 2044 (Isis), 2325 (Poseidon), 1778 (Roma).

²⁹⁰ In a similar vein, the Athenians extensively leased out sanctuary properties on Delos after 166 BCE, overwhelmingly privileging Athenian renters. The administrative records of the leases for 157/6–156/5 reveal the extent to which non-Athenian renters were evicted in favor of Athenian renters: *ID* 1416, 1417. For the Athenian administration of Delos after 166 BCE, see Roussel 1916.

²⁹¹ Donderer 2007, 29; Hurwit 2015, 136; Johnston and Palagia 2019, 32. Notable exceptions to the signing of cult statues in the Classical period include Pheidias's signature on the Zeus at Olympia and that of Agorakritos on the Nemesis at Rhamnous. In both cases, however, the signature was largely hidden from public view; on the Olympian

cult statue reduced the image's divinity by clearly broadcasting the mortal hand behind its creation.²⁹² As we will see, sculptors went to great lengths to choose materials, designs, and lighting conditions that best conveyed a divine presence within their works, yet cult images often represented the pinnacle of their artistic output, for which they surely desired credit and recognition. In the second century, an unexpected number of sculptors signed the cult images they created. Fourteen sculptors of second-century cult statues can be identified through epigraphic and literary sources, accounting for 29 (39%) of the cult statues known to have been produced in this period. Of those artists three signed their cult images: Damophon placed his signature on the cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Aigion (**Cat. S4**),²⁹³ Attalos on the cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Pheneos (**Cat. S48**),²⁹⁴ and Menandros on the cult statues of Apollo, Isis, Poseidon, and Roma on Delos (**Cat. S12, S16–S18**).²⁹⁵

This increase in signed cult statues corresponds to a growing trend in signing artworks of various media in the Hellenistic period, especially by the second century.²⁹⁶ Jeffrey Hurwit has argued that this development likely arose more from the patron's inclinations than any growing self-promotion on the part of the artist. Even when artists' signatures were included, they were nearly always listed beneath that of the patron or dedicant and the deity or individual honored, and often in smaller script. Hurwit contends that this distinction may suggest that artists' prestige

Zeus, it was located under the god's feet (Paus. 5.10.2), and on the Nemesis at Rhamnous, on a tablet hanging from the goddess's hand (Zen. 5.82). In contrast, Pheidias's Athena Parthenos prominently displayed the artist's signature on a bronze stele erected in front of the image (*IG II² 1407*, lines 5–6; *IG II² 1410*, lines 7–8; *IG II² 1443*, lines 10–11; *IG II² 1468*, lines 6–8; *SEG 38.143 A*, lines 9–14; Plut. *Per.* 13.9). In addition, Pausanias (2.27.2) states that an inscription identified the sculptor of the cult statue of Asklepios at Epidauros as Thrasymedes, but neglects to mention where the inscription was located.

²⁹² Donderer 2007, 29.

²⁹³ Paus. 7.23.7.

²⁹⁴ *SEG* 19.328.

²⁹⁵ *ID* 2342 (Apollo), 2044 (Isis), 2325 (Poseidon), 1778 (Roma).

²⁹⁶ Hurwit 2015, 141. In addition to an increase in artist's signatures on sculptures, especially portraits, in the Hellenistic period, artists more often signed mosaics, gems, lamps, and terracottas, with the earliest attested signatures on lamps and terracottas dating to the second century.

was growing in this period, such that it benefited patrons to include the name of the artist they had commissioned for the work.²⁹⁷

Hurwit's own argument indicates, however, that the impetus need not go solely to the patron. Whether or not artists attained more recognition for their works in the second century than previously is largely impossible to determine, but the increase in their signatures suggests a growing self-confidence on their part. In addition, the changing economic market of this period made self-promotion not only valuable but almost essential. As will be discussed below, patrons repeatedly used inscriptions on the statues and monuments they commissioned to further their political and social standing. It should come as no surprise that artists would follow their lead and use their works to elevate their own status and recognition.²⁹⁸ In a competitive market, artists may have felt a greater need to distinguish themselves by signing their works, thereby advertising their skills to potential new clients, especially in busy and lucrative markets like Delos. A commission for a cult statue was the highest achievement an ancient sculptor could hope to attain. Pheidias received widespread renown for his cult statues in the fifth century and his presence still loomed over the genre in the Hellenistic period.²⁹⁹ The sculptors of the second century no doubt hoped to achieve the same fame, and a step toward that aspiration could be taken by having their names on or near their most impressive creations.

²⁹⁷ Hurwit 2015, 142–143.

²⁹⁸ On the status of artists in Roman society, see Stewart 2008, 18–21. On the social status of Greek sculptors, see Richter 1970, 134–135; Stewart 1979, 113; 2019, 79–85; Seaman 2017b.

²⁹⁹ Some references to Pheidias in second- and first-century literature include: *Laterculi Alexandrini* 7.3–9; Diod. Sic. 12.1.3–4; Dion. Hal. *De Dinarcho* 12.7.7; *Dem.* 6.50.4; Philo, *De Ebrietate* 89–90.

A Singular Success Story: Damophon of Messene

The most well-known second-century sculptor of cult statues, Damophon of Messene, exemplifies the trends just laid out, having secured commissions throughout a large swathe of the Greek world, signed some of his works, and acquired considerable wealth and prestige during his lifetime. Among the most prominent sculptors of the second century, Damophon's career serves as a model, albeit exemplary, for the role of the sculptor in second-century cult statue production. Evidence for this sculptor survives in literary and epigraphic sources and the physical remains of several of his works, resulting in an uncommonly detailed picture of his professional output.

Some scholars have contested Damophon's dating in the High Hellenistic period, but most now agree that the sculptor's floruit should be placed at the end of the third through the mid-second century, as attested by numerous inscriptions from Messene and other Greek cities that mention Damophon or his family.³⁰⁰ The sculptor's known works are wide-ranging in both media and locale; he is attested to have created or repaired at least twelve cult statues in various Aegean cities as well as a fifteen-work series of sculpture for the newly constructed Asklepieion in his hometown. He worked extensively throughout the Peloponnese and Ionia as well as on several Cycladic islands, and, according to Pausanias, left his signature on at least one of his commissions, the cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Aigion (**Cat. S4**).³⁰¹ His works at

³⁰⁰ Donnay (1967) and Lévy (1967) proposed a date for the sculptor in the Hadrianic period, but this interpretation is no longer considered valid and instead corresponds with a repair of the statue group at Lykosoura, not its initial construction. Marcadé (2008) still suggests a date, based on the Lykosoura temple's architecture, in the fourth or early third century BCE. Thallon (1906) proposes a date in the second century BCE, while Sève (2008), analyzing the epigraphic evidence, contends the date cannot be more specific than the late third–early second century BCE. Ridgway (2000, 238) offers 214–182 BCE as Damophon's floruit, which coincides with Grandjean and Nicolet-Pierre (2008) and Themelis (2019, 537), who place it in 210–180 BCE, while Dickins (1905–1906, 111) and Stewart (1990, 304) argue Damophon worked c. 200–150 BCE, and specifically at Megalopolis and Lykosoura around 180 BCE. A recent analysis by Poimenidou (2015) also places the sculptor's activity in the first half of the second century BCE. Using epigraphic, numismatic, and historical evidence, Poimenidou argues that Damophon most likely worked in Arkadia (especially Megalopolis and Lykosoura) in 200–180 BCE, the Asklepieion at Messene in 180–146 BCE, and on the repair of the Olympian Zeus in 180–167 BCE.

³⁰¹ Paus. 7.23.7.

Messene, as listed by Pausanias and identified among the extant sculptural remains, include a statue in Parian marble of Kybele (**Fig. 2.3**); a marble cult statue of Artemis Orthia (**Cat. S42**); marble cult statues of Asklepios and his sons (**Cat. S43**); and marble statues of Apollo (**Fig. 2.4**), the Muses, Herakles (**Fig. 2.5**), Thebes, and Tyche (**Fig. 2.6**).³⁰² At Aigion, Pausanias states Damophon constructed the cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia that bore his signature and an acrolithic cult statue of Eileithyia (**Cat. S5**).³⁰³ Based on Pausanias's attributions, Megalopolis was a major civic patron of the sculptor, having commissioned him for a colossal marble cult statue of Demeter, an acrolithic cult statue of Kore (**Cat. S40**), and acrolithic cult statues of Aphrodite and Hermes (**Cat. S39**).³⁰⁴ At Megalopolis, Damophon also dedicated a herm to Poseidon Asphaleios that he likely produced himself.³⁰⁵ Perhaps his most famous commission, however, was the marble cult statue group for the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**).³⁰⁶ Finally, Pausanias claims that Damophon repaired the chryselephantine cult statue of Zeus at Olympia.³⁰⁷ Pausanias only records the sculptor's production in the Peloponnese, but epigraphic evidence indicates that he also worked outside this region, including at Krane, Kythnos, Leukas, Melos, Oiantheia, and perhaps Corfu and Butrint (see **Fig. 2.2**).³⁰⁸

As can be discerned from the works just listed, Damophon was particularly noted for his skill in rendering divine figures, yet his choice of material was broad. The only extant physical

³⁰² Paus. 4.31.6 (Kybele), 4.31.10 (Artemis Orthia and the statues located in the Asklepieion: Asklepios and his sons, Apollo, the Muses, Herakles, Thebes, and Tyche).

³⁰³ Paus. 7.23.5–6 (Eileithyia), 7.23.7 (Asklepios and Hygieia).

³⁰⁴ Paus. 8.31.1–2 (Demeter and Kore), 8.31.6 (Aphrodite and Hermes).

³⁰⁵ *IG* V.2 454.

³⁰⁶ Paus. 8.37.1–6.

³⁰⁷ Paus. 4.31.6.

³⁰⁸ An honorary column for the sculptor at Messene includes inscriptions from Gerenia (currently unpublished), Lykosoura (*SEG* 41.332), Krane (*SEG* 51.467), Kythnos (*SEG* 49.423), Leukas (*SEG* 51.466), Melos (Themelis 2017), and Oiantheia (*SEG* 54.452). Recently, Themelis reported that a renewed investigation of the column revealed honors bestowed upon Damophon by two additional locales: Corfu and Butrint (Themelis 2017, 85; 2019, 541–542).

evidence of his works comes from those crafted wholly or partially of marble, but he either possessed enough ability in working ivory or had earned sufficient prestige for his cult statues that he was commissioned to repair the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia.³⁰⁹ The sculptor may also have worked in bronze, as attested by an inscription found on the base of a bronze acroterion from the Temple of Zeus Soter at Messene identifying Damophon and his sons as its dedicators; presumably they also created it.³¹⁰ Damophon, however, was not unique in his ability to work in various media. Many of the sculptors working on Delos in the second century, for example, produced both bronze and marble statues, as indicated by their surviving statue bases.³¹¹

The extant testimony and physical works related to Damophon reveal that the sculptor enjoyed an undeniably successful career. Scholars have attempted to understand the impetus behind this success, and several claim the sculptor's broad appeal lay in his ability to resurrect a "Pheidian" style.³¹² These scholars suggest that Damophon's contemporary audience felt Pheidias best captured the divine spirit in his works and thus was the exemplum for all subsequent cult statues. One of the hallmarks of Damophon's sculptural production, however, was his ability to incorporate numerous stylistic allusions within his works. Some of his statues

³⁰⁹ Paus. 4.31.6.

³¹⁰ Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 13154; Themelis 2017, 80–81; 2019, 539–540. The inscription only records Damophon and his sons as having set up (ἀνέθ[ηκαν]) the acroterion, identifying them as the dedicators of the offering, not necessarily the artist(s). As Damophon, and presumably his sons, were sculptors, it seems plausible that they both produced and erected this acroterion. The full inscription reads:

Δαμοφῶν Φιλίππο[υ]
καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ
[τὰ] ἀκρωτήρια ἀνέθ[ηκαν] Δ[ιὶ]
θε]οῖς τε πᾶσι
καὶ [τ]ῆι πόλει.

"Damophon son of Philippos with his two sons set up the akroteria to Zeus, to all the gods, and to the city" (trans. Themelis 2019, 540).

³¹¹ For a description of the Delian statue bases and their accompanying inscriptions, see Kansteiner et al. 2014, 49–96.

³¹² See, for example, Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, 397; Laubscher 1960, 154–157; Stewart 1990, 45, 94–96; La Rocca 2019, 593. On Archaizing and Classicizing stylistic affinities in Hellenistic divine images generally, see Thomas 1997; Mylonopoulos 2015, 2016.

indeed evoke the idealizing forms of Classical sculpture; for example, the head of Demeter from the Lykosoura cult group (**Cat. S36R**) reveals stylistic affinities with the female figures from the Parthenon frieze and the caryatids of the Erechtheion. Yet in the same composition the softer modeling and *melonenfrisur* of the head of Artemis (**Cat. S36I**) resembles fourth-century Praxitelean sculpture. In addition, Damophon updated these traditional stylistic allusions with a contemporary Hellenistic interest in movement and expression, seen, for example, in the dramatic locks forming Anytos's hair and beard on the figure from the Lykosoura statue group (**Cat. S36D**), which resemble the baroque rendering of the Giants' hair on the roughly contemporaneous Pergamon Altar (**Fig. 2.7**).

Rather than simply reviving a centuries-old style, I argue that Damophon consciously incorporated stylistic and technical conventions found in past and contemporary statue production. As noted above, certain sculptors achieved a level of mobility that enabled them to collaborate with sculptors of other regions, thereby exposing them to new styles, forms, and techniques. No extant evidence attests to any collaborative work undertaken by Damophon, other than with his sons,³¹³ but his extensive travels likely exposed him to sculptors and sculptures from other regions. In addition, he surely understood that his designs needed to please selection committees or the commissions would go to another sculptor. His compositions therefore reflected the desires of his patrons, often Greek poleis, who frequently wished to convey the antiquity, longevity, and uniqueness of their cults.³¹⁴ A resemblance to fifth- and fourth-century cult statues grounded Damophon's works in the historic exemplars of the genre, while innovative stylistic flourishes and technical virtuosity ensured that his cult images impressed contemporary

³¹³ For a discussion of Damophon's family tree and the occupations of his children, see Themelis 2017, 80–85; 2019, 539–542.

³¹⁴ For the significance of venerable cults and cult statues in forming civic identity and facilitating peer polity interactions, see chapter 1 of this study.

audiences. The Lykosoura cult statue group, with its complex stylistic and iconographic allusions, is just one example of Damophon's ability to satisfy his civic patrons.

And satisfy them he did, if the surviving epigraphic record is any indication. A stele erected in Messene lists the honorary decrees bestowed upon the sculptor by at least seven poleis, lauding him not only for his exceptional skill in his profession but also for his euergetism, or civic benefaction.³¹⁵ Lykosoura itself honored Damophon and his sons for forgiving the polis its 3,546-tetradrachm debt for the Despoina cult statue group as well as over 50 minas he personally financed for his workmen's wages.³¹⁶ In addition to the honorary inscriptions, both Lykosoura and Leukas erected a bronze statue of the sculptor and bestowed upon him the title of benefactor,³¹⁷ while the Melians awarded Damophon and his descendants *proxenia* (public guest status) and erected an honorific stele to the sculptor in the Sanctuary of Apollo, with a copy sent to Messene.³¹⁸

The Messene stele documenting Damophon's numerous honors is located outside a heroon, leading Themelis to conclude that the sculptor received the ultimate honor, heroization upon his death.³¹⁹ Such an honor would be unprecedented among sculptors and consequently unlikely, but hero or not, Damophon nonetheless enjoyed a successful and lucrative career. Either Damophon garnered enough successful commissions that he could largely donate major sculptural compositions to his civic patrons or, more plausibly, he came from an elite family, giving him a financial leg up against his competitors.³²⁰ His ability to offset the cost of his works may have also contributed to his successful career: as word spread about his well-crafted statues

³¹⁵ Themelis 1993a, 100–103; 1993b, 34–36; 1994b, 25–28; Poimenidou 2015; see also n. 308, above.

³¹⁶ *SEG* 41.332.

³¹⁷ *SEG* 41.332 (Lykosoura), *SEG* 51.466 (Leukas); see also Vollkommer 2015, 121.

³¹⁸ Themelis 2017, 86; 2019, 542.

³¹⁹ Themelis 2000, 88–95; 2017, 86; 2019, 542. Stewart (2019, 84) also lists the Messene heroon among Damophon's many honors. A dissenting view can be found in Poimenidou 2015, 186.

³²⁰ On elite artists, see Seaman 2017b.

and exemplary generosity, civic patrons knew they were getting a sculptor who brought both name recognition and a good deal.

Themelis gives further credit to the extensive skills of Damophon by suggesting that he might have worked as an architect, especially at Lykosoura and Messene.³²¹ While the careers of Skopas, Pytheos, and others indicate that Greek sculptors could also work on architectural projects,³²² the evidence for Damophon doing so is rather speculative. At Lykosoura, Themelis compares the side door leading into the temple's cella (**Cat. T44**) to a similar feature in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which was designed by the sculptor-architect Skopas.³²³ While the side door at Lykosoura does contribute to the cult statue group's illumination and visibility, the dating of both the temple and the installation of its side door are uncertain.³²⁴ The most recent study of the architectural remains places the temple's construction in the third century BCE, which would predate the installation of its cult statue group.³²⁵ Konstantinos Kourouniotis suggests that the side door was added at the same time as the cult statue base, but more recent investigations at the site have been unable to confirm his assessment.³²⁶ In addition, side doors appear in other Peloponnesian temples, like the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, designed by the architect Iktinos,³²⁷ such that this architectural feature is more plausibly a regional convention than indicative of an architect-sculptor's influence.

³²¹ Themelis 2013; 2019, 539.

³²² For the sculptural and architectural activity of Skopas, see Strabo 13.1.48; Plin. *HN* 36.25–26; Paus. 2.10.1, 6.25.1, 8.45.4–7, 8.47.1. For the sculptural and architectural activity of Pytheos, see Vitruvius 1.1.12, 4.3.1, 7.praef.12; Plin. *HN* 36.31. Additional sculptor-architects include the sixth-century artisans Boupalos (Paus. 4.30.6), Rhoikos (Hdt. 3.60; Paus. 10.38.6), and Theodoros (Hdt. 1.51, 3.41, 3.60; Pl. *Ion* 533b; Diod. Sic. 1.98.5–9; Vitruvius 7.praef.12; Plin. *HN* 34.83, 36.90), and the fourth-century artisan Satyros (*Syll.*³ 225; Vitruvius 7.praef.12).

³²³ Themelis 2013, 57. For the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, see Paus. 8.45.5; Norman 1984.

³²⁴ I have recreated the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura and its cult statue group using a digital model. The conclusions regarding the architecture's impact on the lighting and visibility of the cult group are discussed in chapters 4 and 5 of this study.

³²⁵ Billot 2008; for the various dates proposed for the Temple of Despoina, see chapter 4 of this study.

³²⁶ Kourouniotis 1911, 18. For the inability to identify the period of the southern door's installation, see Marcadé and Lévy 1972; Billot 2008.

³²⁷ On the side door of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai, see Cooper 1968, 1992.

At Messene, Damophon assuredly played a large part in the decoration of the monumental Asklepieion complex; according to Pausanias, all but one of the marble sculptures within the structure were by the sculptor's hand.³²⁸ Damophon's works were displayed in various rooms along the west wing of the Asklepieion, and while only fragments of the actual statues survive, their bases remain in situ. Themelis contends that "the bases of these groups are incorporated into the fabric of the building, which indicates close cooperation between Damophon and the architect of the Asklepieion, unless the architect was...Damophon himself."³²⁹ In order to accommodate the statue bases, however, cuts were made into the walls of the various rooms, suggesting instead that the architecture actually predated the statues' installation, rather than their simultaneous construction. Indeed, in her study of Messene's Artemision, Oikos K of the Asklepieion, Eleni-Anna Chlepa posits the late third century as a *terminus ante quem* for the architecture of the entire west wing of the Asklepieion.³³⁰ It seems plausible, then, that at least some of the Asklepieion's architectural construction was completed by the time of Damophon's sculptural installations. If his commissions for the Messene Asklepieion came near the end of his career, between 182 and 146 BCE as suggested recently by Eleni Poimenidou,³³¹ then he certainly possessed enough professional clout, esteem, and financial resources to demand subtle architectural modifications for his major sculptural installations—but the title of architect probably went to another.

Damophon's illustrious career reveals the significant role of the sculptor in second-century cult statue construction. Master sculptors could work in a wide variety of media and, especially for cult statue commissions, travel widely to secure contracts. The sculptors' mobility

³²⁸ Paus. 4.31.10.

³²⁹ Themelis 2019, 540.

³³⁰ Chlepa 2001, 64.

³³¹ Poimenidou 2015, 188.

had the added benefit of encouraging collaboration and exposing the artists to new styles and techniques which were then incorporated into their works. Successful compositions brought the sculptors publicity and the possibility of various civic honors, helping to distinguish these artists from their contemporaries. The increase in artist's signatures in the second century, even on cult statues, attests to the growing significance of self-promotion as a tool for artists to maintain profitable and steady employment during the period's building boom. An essential component of the construction process, however, was the ability to negotiate the sculptor's own vision with the needs of the patron and the activities of the architect. Damophon's career demonstrates that he masterfully accommodated his civic patrons with cult statues that evoked the antiquity and esteem of fifth-century cult images yet included technical and stylistic flourishes that appealed to contemporary audiences. He also had the ability to negotiate architectural modifications to accommodate his sculptural installations.

Despite the unlikelihood of Damophon's role as architect-sculptor for the temples at Lykosoura and Messene due to the chronological discrepancies, many cult statues were installed contemporaneously with their temples. As a result, the sculptor and architect might collaborate to ensure the architecture highlighted the cult statue enshrined within, a subject that will receive a detailed investigation in chapters four and five with case studies that digitally reconstruct some of these monuments. In the context of human agents involved in cult statue and temple construction, however, the individual role of the architect deserves its own examination to determine whether this role impacted aesthetic design.

The Architect

The question of Damophon's architectural pursuits raises issues regarding the role of the architect in the design and placement of a cult statue. The sheer number of new temples constructed in the second century suggests that the sculptors commissioned to outfit these edifices with cult images worked side by side with the architects designing and supervising the buildings' construction. The evidence for architects operating in the second century, however, is far more limited than that for sculptors. We know of only five named architects, responsible for up to ten buildings, or about 9% of the total number of known temples constructed in this period.³³² The careers of these architects nonetheless reveal the importance of temples in advancing architectural innovation and shaping the built landscape in this period. In this section, I investigate the general role of architects in major building projects to determine how their professional training and social status motivated their participation in monumental constructions. I then consider the careers of known architects of the second century to assess how temple architects created an awe-inspiring experience for their patrons and viewers. The ensuing analysis reveals that architects seem to have been less mobile than their sculptor counterparts, typically working in a single region. Those architects who achieved success in the second century, however, not only landed high-status commissions that earned them public recognition but also advanced the architectural profession through innovative designs that made bold physical statements representative of both patron and deity.

Although they specialized in different areas, training in stoneworking linked many of the people involved in the construction of a new temple and (marble) cult statue in the ancient

³³² Mnesthes, Cossutius, and Gaius Mucius can all be identified with one temple each, while Hermodoros is linked to three, and Hermogenes perhaps as many as four.

Mediterranean.³³³ Major temple building projects involved a significant team of laborers to complete the operation, but at the head of this team was the architect, ἀρχιτέκτων or *architectus*.³³⁴ While these terms incorporate our modern conception of an architect, namely as a designer of built structures, the ancient Greek and Roman architect's responsibilities generally extended even further. Much like master sculptors with their statues, chief architects designed a building and its structural components, budgeted the expenses for its construction, hired contractors, supervised the building project, and liaised with patrons.³³⁵ Large building projects in Greece necessitated splitting the responsibilities of the architect among separate individuals, such that one architect produced the building designs, another served as contractor, and another inspected and supervised the project.³³⁶ A similar scenario occurred in the Roman world where the *architectus* designed the building but it was often the contractors, the *redemptores*, who turned those plans into a physical structure.³³⁷

Textual evidence for professional architects is minimal in the ancient Mediterranean, resulting in a heavy reliance on the architectural treatise of Vitruvius, a Roman architect writing in the late first century BCE.³³⁸ Vitruvius, who served as a military engineer and architect for Julius Caesar and traveled extensively in Greece, combined a history of architecture and its theory with his own experiences and thoughts on the subject in his *De architectura*. His writing was heavily influenced by Greek treatises on architectural and artistic theory and he lamented the

³³³ Miles 2017, 105.

³³⁴ *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχιτέκτων; *OLD*, s.v. *architectus*, *architecti*. The Greek term appears only first in the fifth century (Hdt. 3.60, 4.87). On the early evidence for Greek architects, see Coulton 1977, 15–16; Hellmann 2002, 32–33.

³³⁵ General scholarship on Greek and Roman architects includes Pearse 1974; Coulton 1977; Anderson 1997; Hellmann 2002; von Hesberg 2015a; Miles 2017.

³³⁶ Anderson 1997, 13–14; von Hesberg 2015a, 140–141.

³³⁷ On contractors in Roman architecture, see Lancaster 2005; 2008, 257.

³³⁸ On Vitruvius, see Geertman and de Jong 1989; Anderson 1997, 40–44; Rowland and Howe 1999; Knell 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 144–210.

limited Roman contributions to these subjects, which he sought to rectify with his own work.³³⁹ Through Vitruvius we learn about the various roles that an architect might undertake during a major construction project. The architect's most important task was to design proposed constructions, producing architectural plans for a specific building or monument.³⁴⁰ In addition, the architect functioned as a general supervisor for the entire project, ensuring the endeavor remained within budget, supplying materials and labor, and authorizing contracts.³⁴¹ Given the paucity of evidence concerning the architect specifically, however, it is difficult to distinguish the precise role he played in relation to that of the patron, contractors, and supervisory committees, with the responsibilities of all parties often overlapping.³⁴²

Professional Training and Social Status

The building boom of the second century provided architects with ample opportunities to develop their craft and advance innovative designs that simultaneously highlighted their own expertise and their patron's standing. In designing a temple, second-century architects expressed their ability to navigate the needs of the patron and those of the cult. This faculty to both negotiate and inspire perhaps stemmed from their advanced professional training. Many architects likely learned through experience by working their way up through the building trades.

³³⁹ Vitr. 7.praef. The only Roman sources on architecture Vitruvius acknowledges are by Fuficius, Varro, and Publius Septimius, but interestingly he makes no mention of the most famous Roman architect of his own time, Cossutius. In contrast, his list of Greek sources on architecture include Silenos, Philo, Arkesios, Theodoros, Chersiphron, Metagenes, Pytheos, Iktinos, Karpion, Hermogenes, and Satyros.

³⁴⁰ Vitr. 1.1.4, 1.2.2. Additional ancient sources that mention architectural plans include Cicero's discussion of the plans for his brother's house (Cic. *QFr.* 2.6[5].3); the public display of plans for bath complexes as mentioned in Aulus Gellius (10.10.2); and Plutarch's description of the commission process for city contracts, whereby competing contractors provided plans to the governing council (*Mor.* 498E). On architectural plans discovered on the walls of ancient buildings, see Haselberger 1997.

³⁴¹ On the architect's role in obtaining materials, see Vitr. 5.6.7, 6.8.9, 7; see also the discussion in Anderson 1997, 11–14.

³⁴² Pearse 1974, 101–102; Jones 2009, 29.

Especially by the Hellenistic period, as J. J. Coulton suggests, the sheer number of major architectural commissions would have made a practical training more easily attainable.³⁴³ Yet Vitruvius discusses the need for architects to obtain a wide-ranging education that encompassed literature, drawing, geometry, history, philosophy, music, medicine, law, and astronomy.³⁴⁴ The academic training of architects can be gleaned from what survives of ancient architectural treatises, the existence of which indicates that some practitioners possessed enough education to share their theories and greatest designs and wished to express the intellectual underpinnings of their craft.³⁴⁵ Vitruvius himself followed in this tradition and clearly had access to the written work of his predecessors. Vitruvius, however, may have been an outlier in the field as a native Roman of sufficient social standing to attain such comprehensive training and then compose a treatise on his profession.³⁴⁶ The writing of treatises may have also helped delineate the division of labor among professionals holding the title of architect, distinguishing the architect who designed the building from the architects who served as contractors or supervisors.³⁴⁷

Architects generally held a slightly higher social position than their artisanal counterparts in sculpture, painting, and other crafts, in large part because the position required more theoretical skills and supervisory roles, and consequently less physical labor.³⁴⁸ By the late Republican period in Rome, even elite Romans pursued architecture for their personal

³⁴³ Coulton 1977, 25. Many architects, however, likely honed their skills through some mix of practical and theoretical training; see Anderson 1997, 10–11.

³⁴⁴ Vitr. 1.1.3.

³⁴⁵ Vitr. 7.praef.

³⁴⁶ On the aristocratic values in Vitruvius's description of architects, see Pearse 1974, 118; Stewart 2008, 24–25.

³⁴⁷ von Hesberg 2015a, 146.

³⁴⁸ Plato regarded the architect as an intellectual (*Plt.* 259E–260A). On the status of architects, see also Coulton 1977, 23–26; Gros 1983; Hellmann 2002, 34–35; von Hesberg 2015a, 137–138. Nonetheless, an architect's salary was comparable to that of other professional artisans, although they could earn additional income through their supervisory responsibilities; see Loomis 1998, 97–120, 277–282; Hellmann 2002, 50–51.

pleasure.³⁴⁹ Despite their elevated social status, however, architects never gained the fame and recognition that other craftsmen could achieve. We know relatively few architects by name, in comparison with the hundreds of sculptors, painters, potters, and other artisans who practiced their crafts in the ancient Mediterranean.³⁵⁰ In Roman dedicatory inscriptions, the patron most often received credit for the erection of a building. If the actual construction team received mention at all, the contractors were noted most frequently, followed by the supervising official, and only then the architect.³⁵¹ Similarly, while the inclusion of a famed sculptor's name on a patron's statue could increase both its value and prestige, highlighting the name of an architect on his building seemingly did little to advance the patron's investment.³⁵² Through their innovative temple designs, however, a few second-century architects literally made a name for themselves.

Second-Century Architects

Just as with sculptors, the number of architect's signatures increases in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, likely for similar reasons.³⁵³ The increase in commissions, especially by the expanding Hellenistic kingdoms and Roman Republic, provided more work for architects, making a career in this field more viable. Not only were sacred monuments being constructed at an impressive rate in this period but civic buildings, like stoas, baths, and gymnasia, also increased in number. As a result, architects may have felt a greater need to distinguish

³⁴⁹ For example, Quintus Cicero occasionally served as his own architect (Cic. *QFr.* 3.1.2–5) and Lucius Aemilius Paullus may have taken responsibility for his reconstructions of the Basilica Aemilia, thereafter called the Basilica Paulli; see also Anderson 1997, 25–26; Stewart 2019, 84–85.

³⁵⁰ Of the 2,500 artist's inscriptions from the Archaic–Byzantine period studied by Vollkommer, only 300 concern architects; see Vollkommer 2015, Appendix 3.

³⁵¹ Anderson 1997, 37–38.

³⁵² Jones 2009, 28.

³⁵³ Vollkommer 2015, Appendix 3. Vollkommer found 43 inscriptions naming architects in the Archaic and Classical periods and 72 in the Hellenistic and Republican periods; see also Miles 2017, 106.

themselves by signing their works, thereby advertising their skills to potential new clients.³⁵⁴

Such economic self-promotion would not differ considerably from that of the sculptors discussed above or even the elite benefactors discussed below, who attained public recognition through their service and largesse on behalf of their communities. All parties wanted to get their name out and thus benefited from the rise in monumental building in this period.

Name recognition brought with it several benefits, not least of which was access to new, increasingly lucrative commissions. All five of the known second-century temple architects worked in a single region, suggesting that the architectural profession was perhaps more stable than that of sculpture and therefore required less investment on the part of the artisan to widely seek out new commissions (**Graph 2.3**). Architects were not necessarily limited to their own geographic origins, however, as the Roman architect Cossutius worked in Athens and the Greek architect Hermodoros constructed several buildings in Rome.

Certain architects achieved enough renown to change significantly the direction of proposed buildings, such as Hermogenes allegedly did at Pergamon.³⁵⁵ The Greek architect's extant works in Asia Minor indicate he enjoyed a profoundly active and influential career in the second century. He is best known as the inventor of the pseudodipteral temple, in which enough space was left between the peristyle and cella for a second colonnade, even though such a feature was not included.³⁵⁶ Vitruvius also lauded Hermogenes for propagating the eustyle system of column spacing, which the Roman architect himself found most pleasing.³⁵⁷ The wider spacing

³⁵⁴ For competition among architects seeking contracts, see Plin. *Ep.* 10.39.4; Plut. *Mor.* 498E; Gell. 19.10.1–4.

³⁵⁵ According to Vitruvius (4.3.1), Hermogenes convinced his patrons to change a temple of Dionysos at Pergamon from the Doric to the Ionic order. Bingöl (2004) believes this temple is the so-called Temple R on the upper gymnasium terrace (**Cat. T58**).

³⁵⁶ Vitr. 7.praef.12. On Hermogenes and the pseudodipteral style, see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1990; Alzinger 1991; Bingöl 1996; Haselberger 2012; Hennemeyer 2012; Schulz 2012b; Haselberger and Holzman 2015.

³⁵⁷ Vitr. 3.2.6; 3.3.8–9. Eustyle column spacing consists of intercolumniations that measure 2.25 times the lower diameters of the columns. On Hermogenes and eustyle column spacing, see Haselberger 1990.

in the intercolumniations and between the peristyle and cella produce the illusion of a light, airy monument that belies its actual proportions. Hermogenes also displayed his intellectual acumen by authoring treatises on two of his masterworks, the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia (**Cat. T45**) and the Temple of Dionysos at Teos (**Cat. T103**). He never worked in Rome or for Roman patrons, but Hermogenes' influence is clearly found in Vitruvius's treatise on architecture, and other Roman architects likely learned their craft by using the Greek architect's writings as their textbooks.³⁵⁸

The physical remains of Hermogenes' buildings demonstrate that the placement of the cult image was among the concerns of temple architects in this period. Within the Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, Hermogenes built both a new altar and temple to the city's patron goddess (**Cat. T45A**). The altar was impressive in its own right, measuring 23 meters wide, 15 meters deep, and 8 meters tall, and decorated with an over-lifesize frieze depicting an assembly of the gods.³⁵⁹ Looming behind the altar, however, was the architect's magnum opus: the temple to Artemis, one of the largest temples in Asia Minor, which the Magnesians proudly claimed superseded all others in "size and magnificence."³⁶⁰ Hermogenes incorporated a number of innovative features beyond its imposing mass to enhance the building's grandeur: the temple became the exemplar of the architect's pseudodipteral style and was the first Ionic temple to feature a continuous frieze along the entablature.³⁶¹ In addition, its pediment contained three

³⁵⁸ Anderson 1997, 16–17.

³⁵⁹ Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 175–182; von Gerkan 1929.

³⁶⁰ *IMagn.* 100 A, lines 14–15. The temple measured 41.10 x 67.50 meters in size. Despite the Magnesians' lofty claims, the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene paled in comparison to the Temple of Apollo at Didyma or the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. It is a testament to Hermogenes' skill that the Magnesian temple's design provided such a sense of scale.

³⁶¹ Herring 2016; Hammerschmied 2018, 104.

windows (**Cat. T45D**), perhaps for the illumination of the cult statue.³⁶² Inside the cella, the cult statue stood enshrined within a set of columns, creating a dramatic frame for this cultic focal point. The epiphany of the goddess played a significant role in the Magnesian sanctuary's second-century monumentalization and correspondingly Hermogenes' design accentuated the cult statue housed inside.³⁶³

While Hermogenes' concern for the visibility of the cult statue appealed to his civic patrons, other second-century architects served the growing desire for Hellenic architectural designs in Rome. Hermodoros of Salamis, another architect of this period, is mentioned by Vitruvius as the first attested Greek architect to work in Rome.³⁶⁴ Hermodoros is credited by some as being the progenitor of Hellenic influence in Roman architecture, but this inflated claim fails to consider that the Romans already encountered Greek architecture when they conquered Sicily in the third century BCE.³⁶⁵ Hermodoros's Temple of Jupiter Stator (**Cat. T82**), however, was the first marble temple constructed in the city, erected for the triumphant Roman general Quintus Metellus Macedonicus, who brought significant amounts of booty back from his campaigns in the Hellenistic East.³⁶⁶ These spoliated works, including many in marble, spurred a fascination in Rome and the Italian peninsula with marble architecture and sculpture. Prior to this period, Etrusco-Italic constructions used only local stones, like travertine and tuff, rather than marble. As native Italian artisans consequently lacked experience in working marble, these

³⁶² Bingöl 1999; Jürgens 2017. The windows in the pediment may have served simply to lessen the weight of the entablature. Without knowing even an approximate size of the cult statue, it is impossible to reconstruct precisely how it was lit, in either daylight or moonlight.

³⁶³ On the role of the goddess's epiphany in the construction of the Magnesian sanctuary, see *IMagn.* 16; Rigsby 1996, 185–190; Sumi 2004, 79–80; Stavrianopoulou 2006, 141; Thonemann 2007; Herring 2016, 136–137; Jürgens 2017, 89.

³⁶⁴ Vitr. 3.2.5; see also Anderson 1997, 17–19; Jones 2009, 20. In addition to the temples he built, Hermodoros also constructed or renovated Rome's *navalia*; see Cic. *De or.* 1.62.

³⁶⁵ Pollitt 1986, 158.

³⁶⁶ Cic. *De or.* 1.62; Vitr. 3.2.5; Plin. *HN* 36.35.

triumphant patrons brought architects, sculptors, and stoneworkers with them from the Hellenistic East to build their new marble edifices. Hermodoros's temple evoked the military conquests of his patron while also making a dramatic mark on the urban landscape with its novel material and design. This striking statement in stone surely encouraged other elite patrons, especially triumphant generals, to seek out the architect when it came time to construct their own monuments to their personal and professional achievements. In addition to the Temple of Jupiter Stator, Hermodoros is credited with designing the temples of Mars and Neptune in the Campus Martius (**Cat. T86, T88**),³⁶⁷ and some scholars have attributed to him the Round Temple by the Tiber (**Cat. T64**).³⁶⁸

Hermodoros and his colleagues likely trained local Romans in the field of architecture, yet the first recorded Roman architect working in the capital is not attested until the very end of the century with Gaius Mucius, who designed the Temple of Honos and Virtus (**Cat. T78**).³⁶⁹ As noted above, despite the limited evidence for Roman architects, we must be cautious about overemphasizing a singularly westward flow of artisans in the second century. The Roman architect Cossutius, for example, worked in Athens and was selected by Antiochos IV to complete the Temple of Olympian Zeus there (**Cat. T7**).³⁷⁰ The Cossutii were involved in the marble trade from at least the early second century, with various attestations to the family also

³⁶⁷ Plin. *HN* 36.26.

³⁶⁸ Coarelli 1988, 100–101; Ziolkowski 1988, 327. No literary or epigraphic evidence links Hermodoros with the Round Temple by the Tiber, but its contemporaneity with his other commissions in Rome, its Greek-inspired architectural form, and its marble construction led Coarelli and Ziolkowski to identify Hermodoros as a likely architect for the building.

³⁶⁹ Clarke 1963, 17; Anderson 1997, 24–26. The Temple of Honos and Virtus was constructed around 100 BCE, having been vowed by Marius in the Cimbrian War; see Vitruvius 7.praef.17.

³⁷⁰ Vitruvius 7.praef.15. An honorific statue base found at the site of the Olympieion names “Dekmos Kossoutios Popliou Romaios” (*CIA* 3.561 [*IG* II–III² 4099]). On Cossutius and the Cossutii family, see Rawson 1975. Rawson speculates that the family may have been based in Athens already by the early second century and Cossutius subsequently acquired his architectural training in Greece. Supporting Rawson's supposition is an inscription from the Kerameikos in Athens, which mentions a “Maarkos Kossutios Gaiou Romaios” (*IG* III.2 2873 [*IG* II–III² 10154]).

found in Campania, Delos, and Euboia.³⁷¹ The Cossutius of Olympieion fame likely worked on other projects for Antiochos, suggesting an even larger geographic scope for the family.³⁷² The widespread influence of this family and its popularity among both Greek and Roman patrons indicates the complexity of the second-century art market and the mobility of both human labor and material goods throughout the Mediterranean.

No cult statues can be attributed to the Cossutii, but the geographic scale and diversification of their engagement in the marble industry indicate the possibilities for collaboration and training across multiple fields. Architectural modifications on surviving second-century temples further suggest that architects acknowledged the cult statue as the focal point of their buildings. Hermogenes, as discussed above, incorporated architectural modifications into the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene to highlight the cult image, perhaps in a nod to the centrality of the goddess's epiphany within the local mythology and rituals. At Kleonai, the remains of the Temple of Herakles (**Cat. T32**) reveal numerous structural adjustments that accentuated the cult statue's visibility, including an extraordinarily wide central intercolumniation, sloped cella floor, and axial positioning of the cult image, door, and altar.³⁷³ Both architects and sculptors in the second century shared the goal of constructing an awe-inspiring monument, one that would make a prominent mark on the sacred landscape and boost the reputation of the craftsmen whose intellectual and physical labor brought it to fruition.

³⁷¹ Rawson 1975; Anderson 1997, 20–23. In Lanuvium, two signatures of a freedman of the Cossutii family have been found on a pair of Pan figures. On Delos, Lucius Cossutius “Maarkou,” with three other Italians, made two dedications between 150 and 126 BCE (*ID* 1738, 1739, 1767). No later than the first century BCE, Marcus Cossutius is listed as *nauarchos* in the cult of Isis at Eretria in Euboia (*IG* XII Suppl. 557, line 25).

³⁷² Rawson 1975, 37. The name “COSSVTIVS” was found scratched twice into the interior of an aqueduct above Antioch (*IGLSyr* 3.1 825), dated archaeologically to the second century BCE and thus likely part of the public works projects of Antiochos IV.

³⁷³ The complementarity of the architecture and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles at Kleonai is discussed in greater depth in chapter 4 of this study.

In so doing, what the artisans of the second century reveal most clearly is their ability to adapt to the demands of a market that stretched from the Italian peninsula to the Anatolian coast. The Cossutii, for example, could please clients in Greece and Rome, even an Anatolian dynast. The architect may have possessed the intellectual acumen and creativity to design the building, but when it came to cult statue and temple construction in the second century, it seems the patrons—and their pocketbooks—wielded considerable influence.

The Patron

In both the Greek and Roman worlds, the patron could play a major role in determining the final design of a statue or building, often receiving more credit for the monument than either the sculptor or architect. For the purposes of this study, a patron is defined as an individual or body who financed and/or commissioned a built structure or work of art. The relationship between a patron and an artist or architect served the interests of both parties, but typically favored the patron.³⁷⁴ This unequal relationship is perhaps best illustrated by the disjunction between the number of named artists and architects recorded in ancient sources and the number of named patrons. In the second century, we can identify 19 sculptors and architects who created cult statues and temples. In contrast, over twice as many individually named patrons (42) are specifically credited with the construction of these same kinds of monuments, with 59 (32%) works having an identified patron (**Graph 2.4**). Patrons, whether personally supporting an individual artist or financing a major architectural or artistic work for a community, gained much from their munificence. Prestige, power, and publicity were just some of the benefits accrued

³⁷⁴ On the patronage of Greek and Roman art and architecture, see Coulton 1977, 15–29; Gold 1982; Hellmann 2002, 50–55; Varner 2015; Wescoat 2015.

from affixing one's name to a major monument.³⁷⁵ The cultural cachet and seeming permanence of cult statues and temples, I suggest, made them particularly attractive targets for patronage and contributed to their increased production in the second century.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, Greek patrons typically comprised one of two groups: the collective polis or a wealthy individual. During the Hellenistic period, the polis and elite benefactors continued to serve as major patrons for new temples and cult statues, but royal donors became more prevalent, impacting both the physical structures and political messaging of these monuments.³⁷⁶ A similar situation occurred in Republican Rome, where the Senate instituted new cults and erected temples on behalf of its citizens, but by the second century, it was almost entirely the responsibility of private individuals, especially victorious generals and other elite magistrates, to construct temples in the city.³⁷⁷

In this section, I investigate the three major sources of artistic patronage in the second-century Mediterranean—civic bodies, royal dynasts, and elite individuals—and assess their influence on the construction of cult statues and temples in this period. The extant evidence indicates that private patronage overwhelmingly accounted for the most sacred monuments constructed in this period with attested sponsorship, especially within the western Mediterranean (**Graph 2.5**). Royal dynasts, on the other hand, were almost exclusively limited to their own kingdoms in the region of Anatolia. Civic bodies were more diffusely represented across the regions of this study. I would like to note that the data presented in **Graph 2.5** only includes instances in which the patron of a monument is explicitly stated in the epigraphic or literary

³⁷⁵ Veyne 1990; Bringmann 1993, 2000; van Bremen 1996; Schmidt-Dounas 2000.

³⁷⁶ On Hellenistic elite patronage, see Veyne 1990, 103–110; Meier 2013; Steuernagel 2015a. On Hellenistic royal patronage, see Thompson 1982; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992; Bringmann 1993, 2000, 2001; Winter 1993; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995; Schmidt-Dounas 2000; Ma 2002; Williamson 2014.

³⁷⁷ On elite patronage in Republican Rome, see Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 1987; Tanner 2000; Carlsen 2009; Leach 2010; Walther 2016. For an overview of the patron-client relationship in Republican Rome, see Deniaux 2006.

record. The ubiquity with which civic institutions funded their community's cult statues and temples within the Greek world may have made such direct mention unnecessary and therefore I believe that many of the sacred monuments erected within the Greek poleis in the second century received civic sponsorship despite the data outlined here.

The significantly higher number of recorded patrons than sculptors and architects for second-century cult statues and temples suggests that the sponsors played the most visible role in the erection of these monuments. By looking at each of the three classes of patrons individually, I seek to understand what motivated patrons to sponsor sacred monuments in this period and how those incentives affected aesthetic design. The regional differences seen especially in individual patronage by private citizens and royal dynasts indicates that local circumstances likely influenced this phenomenon, but as we have seen, the second-century Mediterranean was a highly dynamic and interconnected environment. I contend that the implicit benefits patrons saw in sacred monuments, whether strengthening civic identity and pride, displaying power and wealth, commemorating a victory, or some combination, impacted decisions regarding the design, materials, and location of such significant constructions. While the incentives behind the funding of a monumental work varied from commission to commission, some broad trends can be discerned. Many of the motivations behind the patronage, whether individual or communal, of cult statues and temples related to the sociopolitical climate of the second century with the increased opportunity—and need—to make a statement. In the eastern Mediterranean, Hellenistic dynasts and Roman generals threatened the security of many poleis, while in the Italian peninsula elite magistrates jockeyed for social and political standing. Bold, elaborate, and permanent reminders of the influence of the patron communicated to friends and competitors alike that the gods favored these powerful benefactors.

Civic Bodies as Patrons

Across the Mediterranean, civic institutions sponsored the construction or renovation of cult statues and temples in the second century. The prevalence of publicly funded monuments, those financed with resources belonging to the state, polis, or sanctuary, within all four regions of this study indicates that civic bodies continued to value the presence of these monuments within their communities. I argue that civic bodies funded cult statues and temples because such monuments profoundly shaped civic life, promoted communal identity, and distinguished the local landscape. Just as the choice of deity selected to receive new or renovated cult trappings could impact significantly a community's internal and external relationships, as discussed earlier, so too could the actual monuments.³⁷⁸ A visually stunning cult statue and temple could effectively put a community on the map; innovative designs, spectacular displays, and luxurious materials heightened the prestige of a cult, bringing in visitors—and money—from around the Mediterranean.

Despite some scholars citing a decline in the status of sacred monuments in the Hellenistic period generally,³⁷⁹ which the sheer number of new constructions particularly in the second century contradicts, cult statues and temples continued to serve as important sources of a community's identity and revenue. Temple treasuries often acted as physical expressions of a city's prosperity, power, and devotion; these riches could be displayed during religious processions, a particularly evocative way to demonstrate the influence and repute of a community to both its resident population and the entire Mediterranean.³⁸⁰ The rash of cities that

³⁷⁸ For the role of deities in peer polity interactions and the formulation and reinforcement of civic identity, see chapter 1 of this study.

³⁷⁹ See, for example, Knell 1980; Winter 1993; Gruben 2001; Hellmann 2006. For an alternative view as it pertains to Pergamon, see Steuernagel 2015b.

³⁸⁰ Linders 1987, 121–122.

instituted new Panhellenic festivals in the second century further suggests that the opportunity to showcase the physical trappings of their affluence through religious processions and sacred constructions was viewed as an effective means to achieve local and international recognition in this period.³⁸¹ Even smaller local sanctuaries fulfilled a multitude of functions for the people they served with many festivals to local deities understood as critical to maintaining the well-being of the populace.³⁸² Consequently, the construction of cult statues and temples offered civic bodies the opportunity to promote the religious, social, and political needs of their communities.

The second century witnessed, on the one hand, the expansion, contraction, and dissolution of empires while, on the other hand, many Greek poleis and federated leagues found themselves pulled between the maintenance of their own autonomy, the acquisitive interest of Hellenistic dynasts, and the increasing economic and political pressure from Rome. Devoting resources to a significant sanctuary communicated a position of strength to a community's internal and external stakeholders. With the widespread monumentalizing efforts exhibited across the Mediterranean in this period, coinciding with the rise in Panhellenic festivals, competition for attention, visitors, and tourist dollars grew. The increase in artist and architect's signatures noted earlier for this period may be related to this phenomenon; one way to attract attention and denote the repute of a sanctuary may have been to advertise its temple designed by Hermogenes or cult statue crafted by Damophon. Such monuments also bolstered civic pride, as permanent reminders of the ties between a community and its gods and the benefits of maintaining and proclaiming that relationship.

³⁸¹ As discussed in chapter 1 of this study, at least 45 festivals were promoted to Panhellenic status from the 260s BCE to the end of the second century. On this development, see Chaniotis 1995, 164–168; Rigsby 1996; Potter 2003, 415; Parker 2004; Mikalson 2007, 216–217; Hammerschmied 2018, 91–95.

³⁸² Marinatos 1993.

I suggest that many autonomous cities therefore exploited their temples and cult statues to facilitate peer polity interactions in this period. This motivating factor spurred civic bodies to finance extensive and expensive monumental sacred constructions, as seen in one of the most prominent temples of the second century, that of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (**Cat. T45**), discussed above.³⁸³ Prior to the temple's renovation, the citizens of Magnesia sought recognition from both Hellenistic monarchs and other poleis to promote their cult by transforming their local festival to Artemis Leukophryene into a stephanitic, Panhellenic celebration and thereby obtain *asylia* for their city.³⁸⁴ The tenuous political, social, and economic conditions of the Hellenistic period made this request for *asylia* key, as was the ability to avoid the influence of powerful benefactors in financing the construction. By receiving Panhellenic approval of the inviolable status of their main sanctuary, the Magnesians raised their profile within the Mediterranean region and ensured not only the future of the cult but also of the city itself. To highlight this fact, the so-called Archive Monument located near the sanctuary recorded the affirmations of the sanctuary's *asylia* from cities and dynasts around the entire Mediterranean. This reassertion of autonomy made a clear statement regarding the city's inviolability amidst political upheaval and the Hellenistic monarchs' growing interest in the expanding sanctuary.³⁸⁵

By the second century, many cities on the Greek mainland and some islands belonged to federated leagues. These alliances united communities politically and militarily to address foreign policy concerns, while ostensibly allowing each polis to maintain its autonomy over its

³⁸³ See also chapter 1 of this study.

³⁸⁴ On the Magnesian decrees concerning the establishment of the Leukophryeneia and *asylia* for the Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene, see *IMagn.* 16–24; Rigsby 1996, 185–190; Steuernagel 2015b, 363–364.

³⁸⁵ Parker 2004, 10–11; Sumi 2004, 82; Platt 2011, 151.

internal affairs.³⁸⁶ Cult statue and temple construction featured in the public works projects of federations as well, again, I suggest, serving both domestic and foreign aims. The cities which comprised these federations employed a number of well-known sculptors to craft new cult statues for their temples, old and new, as they sought to strengthen their partnerships and diminish the competition and subjugation threatened by neighboring powers. As discussed above, the Polykles family created the cult statues of Asklepios (**Cat. S21**) and Athena Kranaia at Elateia (**Cat. S22**) and likely produced similar commissions for other cities in the Aitolian League, before it fell under Roman dominion in 189 BCE. Ever the opportunists, this prominent family of sculptors then developed lucrative connections with Roman patrons on Delos and in Rome itself.³⁸⁷ The Athenian sculptor Eukleides worked within the Achaian League, most notably on the colossal acrolithic statue of a male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2**).³⁸⁸ Similarly, Damophon worked for various cities in the Achaian League prior to its own subjugation by the Romans in 146 BCE and seemed especially cognizant of their aesthetic inclinations, political needs, and financial insecurities. His monumental cult statue group at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**), for example, likely supported Megalopolis's prominent position within the Achaian League by coalescing Arkadian identity around a regional cult, while also strengthening the League's standing against its regional rivals and the burgeoning interests of Rome.³⁸⁹ The motivations behind these cultic constructions varied, but the monuments commonly represented the power

³⁸⁶ For Greek federal states, see Verfenstein 2002; Funke and Haake 2013; Kralli 2017.

³⁸⁷ Stewart 1990, 221, 230, 304–305; 2012, 668–673, 681–687. Members of the Polykles family created the portrait of Gaius Ofelius Ferus on Delos (*ID* 1688) and statues of Apollo, Leto, Diana, and the Muses erected near the Porticus Octaviae in Rome (Plin. *HN* 36.34–35).

³⁸⁸ Paus. 7.26.4; Walter 1919b, 1–14; 1932a; Stewart 1979, 51–53, 1990, 221; Madigan 1991, 503–510; Faulstich 1997, 94–100; Damaskos 1999, 33–38; Ridgway 2000, 239–240; Kaltsas 2002, 282.

³⁸⁹ For the Lykosoura cult group's expressions of Arkadian identity and a more detailed study on the relationship between regional sanctuaries and federated leagues, see the discussion on Megalopolis and the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura in chapter 1 of this study.

and prestige of both the individual polis and the federation to which it belonged, highlighting unifying sacred and regional bonds that simultaneously benefited the two entities.

Individual patronage predominated within the second-century production of cult statues and temples in Rome, as will be discussed below, but the Senate maintained final authority for the addition of a cult to the state religion, a position not without its benefits.³⁹⁰ New cults and temples bolstered the *pax deum* and publicly acknowledged the role of the gods, especially those added to the pantheon through this process, in safeguarding the Roman state. Through its participation in this procedure, the Senate itself was inextricably linked to the health of the Roman religious system.³⁹¹ The Senate's role in instituting new cults also had practical advantages whereby the political body could solidify its relations with foreign leaders, as seen in the introduction of the cult of Magna Mater (**Cat. T85**) in 205 BCE, at the end of the Second Punic War.³⁹² This move had significant political implications in the Mediterranean, as discussed earlier, on the one hand making clear to all that the Romans were still very interested in the Hellenistic East, while on the other hand solidifying their ties with Attalos I, who assisted in the transfer of the cult. The introduction of cults with their accompanying constructions was a powerful tool to aid the Roman Senate in achieving its political aims, especially with foreign powers. As Rome expanded its territorial reach, its religious landscape grew in response.

Civic bodies on both sides of the Mediterranean recognized the power of sacred monuments to elicit powerful responses among their own populations as well as their allies and competitors farther afield. The welcoming of a new deity into one's city could facilitate a promising relationship with a powerful foreign power, while the outfitting of a sanctuary long

³⁹⁰ Ziolkowski 1992, 219–234; Orlin 1997, 163–172; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 88.

³⁹¹ Orlin 1997, 190.

³⁹² Burton 1996; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 83–89; Gruen 2000, 26–27.

established within civic memory could bolster communal pride and bridge internal divides. The purposes for which a civic institution intended the cult therefore impacted the design and appearance of its monumental constructions. As noted above, for example, everything about the Athenian cult statue and temple to Isis on Delos (**Cat. S16, T22**) communicated Athenian-ness to proclaim Athenian hegemony over the island and its numerous cults.³⁹³ Cult statues and temples proved evocative and effective communication tools for communities seeking to establish their own foothold within the second-century Mediterranean.

Human and/or Divine: Royal Patrons and Synnaos Theos

While the political seesawing of the second century spurred considerable sacred construction by encouraging civic bodies to enhance their cultic infrastructure, not all communities could do so on their own. Many Greek cities sought out assistance from Hellenistic dynasts, especially in critical situations following warfare or natural disasters. Benefactions from individual donors had long been a hallmark of Greek civic life, but similar gifts from foreign dynasts came packaged with implicit expectations on the part of the benefactor, establishing a *quid pro quo* relationship.³⁹⁴ Some cities therefore viewed royal benefactions as unwelcome meddling in their affairs, and the erection of a permanent visual marker like a temple or cult statue was particularly off-putting. Dynastic donations established an unequal relationship that made the city beholden to the beneficent king; acceptance of royal patronage frequently

³⁹³ For Athenian influence on Delos and its sacred monuments, especially after 166 BCE, see chapter 1 of this study.

³⁹⁴ On Hellenistic royal benefaction within Greek cities, see Bringmann 1993, 2000; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995.

amounted to diplomatic alliance.³⁹⁵ Royal patrons consequently recognized that the political gains of a sacred monument might easily outweigh its cost.

Hellenistic royal patronage clearly provided numerous advantages to the beneficent dynast by encouraging (and perhaps even mandating) military alliances, invoking the recognition of one's power, and eliciting lavish praise in the form of written decrees, monuments, and civic and religious honors. From the beginning of the Hellenistic period, dynasts used lavish donations to solidify their power and sprinkle the Mediterranean with permanent reminders of their triumphs and reach. Yet the motivations behind dynastic donations changed from the third to the second century, as noted by Klaus Bringmann in his study of royal benefactions in the Hellenistic period.³⁹⁶ According to Bringmann, early Hellenistic rulers erected monumental constructions to legitimate their rule and establish their authority in the wake of the power vacuum created by the death of Alexander the Great and the ensuing establishment of a new political order. By 200 BCE, however, the growing influence of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean transformed the dynamics between Greek cities and Hellenistic dynasts. Bringmann argues their relationship was “entpolitisierte” (depoliticized), with both parties now seeking to augment the glory and splendor of the cities and sanctuaries of Greece and Asia Minor.³⁹⁷ Where before the construction of a monumental building by a royal patron might be met with apprehension,³⁹⁸ these grand donations increasingly found eager and welcoming recipients in the second century. In return, cities granted ever more lavish honors to their

³⁹⁵ For example, in his attempt to convince Athens and the Boiotian League to join his campaign against Philip V, Attalos I reminded the cities of Attalid benefactions on their behalf; see Polyb. 16.26.16; Livy 31.15.14, 33.2.1. Philip V did likewise with the Achaian League; see Polyb. 18.6.5; Cic. *Off.* 2.63; Livy 32.34.11. See also Bringmann 1993, 17–19; 2000, 108–142.

³⁹⁶ Bringmann 2000, esp. 150–165.

³⁹⁷ Bringman 2000, 151.

³⁹⁸ In one particularly famous anecdote, the people of Ephesos refused financial assistance from Alexander the Great when building their impressive new Temple of Artemis: Strabo 14.1.22; see also Umholtz 2002, 288–289; Steuernagel 2015b, 363.

benefactors, even cult status (and statues). This new dynamic between civic and royal institutions in the second century encouraged royal patronage of all sorts which in turn prompted compensatory honors in the form of cult statues. I contend that these honorific cult images impacted second-century cult statue production, especially in Anatolia, as sculptors and architects alike anticipated the erection of complementary images beside that of the deity.

Religion played a significant role in Hellenistic royal self-perception, with many dynasts viewing themselves as either the product of a divine lineage or at least divinely protected.³⁹⁹ From this narrative developed the institution of ruler cult, in which the monarchs themselves became the recipients of worship.⁴⁰⁰ These cults frequently derived from honors bequeathed upon the rulers by grateful poleis in the seemingly unending game of “I-owe-you.”⁴⁰¹ Although ruler cults often resulted in the creation of cult statues and temples, they are not included in this study, which focuses instead on public cults dedicated to gods and heroes, as addressed in the previous chapter. In this analysis of royal patronage, however, one aspect of the religious honors bequeathed upon dynastic benefactors in the second century requires examination, that of an honorary statue erected beside a temple’s cult statue. An investigation into the development of this phenomenon in the second century reveals that honorific images of royal patrons impacted the design and appearance of cult statues, some of which were now distinguished by their axial alignment alone.

Statues of Hellenistic rulers placed within a temple’s cella in a practice known from accompanying inscriptions and honorific decrees as *synnaos*, literally “temple-sharing,” allowed

³⁹⁹ The Ptolemies considered themselves incarnations of Serapis (see Stambaugh 1972, 94–98; Pfeiffer 2008) and Dionysos (see Goyette 2010), the Seleukids tied their lineage to Apollo (see Nawotka 2017), and the Attalids claimed descent from Herakles (see Gruen 2000).

⁴⁰⁰ On Hellenistic ruler cults, see Damaskos 1999, 257–315; Shipley 2000, 156–163; Chaniotis 2003; Habicht 2017.

⁴⁰¹ Chaniotis 2003, 439–443; Gyax 2016, 255–257; Strootman 2021.

the honored rulers to become co-owners of the deity's temple and cult.⁴⁰² While private benefactors and cult personnel could also erect their portrait in or near the cella of a temple, such works do not seem to have been confused with the cult statue of the temple, nor did they become recipients of cult in their own right. The images of royal *synnaoi theoi*, however, frequently resembled the deity's cult statue in size, material, and spatial positioning, making them both distinct from the other objects dedicated in the cella as votives and nearly indistinguishable from the primary cult image. Although this practice did not originate in the second century, it witnessed a dramatic increase in this period as cities proved more open to royal patronage and scrambled to find appropriate honors in recompense for their benefactors' generosity.⁴⁰³

The Attalids proved particularly receptive to cultic honors, with Attalid rulers enjoying joint worship in cults at home and abroad. An illustrative example concerns the Temple of Hera Basileia in Pergamon (**Cat. T56**). Commissioned by Attalos II in the second century, the temple was located just above the upper gymnasium terrace and represents Hera's first cult in the city.⁴⁰⁴ The temple itself was rather small, but Attalos chose a particularly prominent location for his new construction and outfitted it in marble, a notable departure from the surrounding buildings made of local andesite.

While nothing remains of the cult statue to Hera, its base survives with a form and dimensions that suggest the goddess was depicted seated and flanked by two additional figures (**Cat. S46A**).⁴⁰⁵ One of these adjacent figures may survive in an over-lifesize, heroically nude male statue found nearby, missing its head and right arm but otherwise largely intact (**Cat.**

⁴⁰² On Hellenistic rulers and *synnaoi theoi*, see Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994; Damaskos 1999, 301–304.

⁴⁰³ In 311 BCE, for example, Skepsis, a city within the Troad, honored Antigonos Monophthalmos as *synnaos* by granting him his own sacred precinct, altar, and statue (*OGIS* 6).

⁴⁰⁴ The patronage of Attalos II is commemorated by a dedicatory inscription within the architrave; see Schazmann 1923, 105; Damaskos 1999, 137. On the Temple of Hera Basileus, see Schazmann 1923, 104–110; Rumscheid 1994, 36; Rheidt 1996, 179; Damaskos 1999, 137–149.

⁴⁰⁵ Schazmann 1923, 108; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 105–107; Damaskos 1999, 137–149; Radt 2016, 186–188.

S46B). The figure wears a himation draped off the left shoulder and over the left arm, then looped around the waist, an iconography consistent with representations of Zeus, an appropriate *synnaos* for Hera. The few locks of hair remaining on the neck of the extant sculpture, however, indicate that the figure wore his hair short, a style rather unlikely for a mature male deity. Consequently, the statue more plausibly represents a human figure, probably Attalos II himself.⁴⁰⁶ If this identification is correct, then the cult statue base presumably held the statue of Hera flanked by Attalos II and his wife Stratonike, clearly associating the royal family with the Olympian queen.

Wolfgang Radt argues that this temple functioned more as a testament to the Attalid ruler than as a cult site to Hera,⁴⁰⁷ and it may be the only example where a Hellenistic temple was purposely built for both a deity and ruler. The cult image base was constructed at the same time as the temple and its large, T-shaped design clearly indicates it could accommodate three statues, with an enthroned Hera positioned on the middle projection.⁴⁰⁸ Barbara Schmidt-Dounas, however, questions whether the statues were erected as tribute from the demos or priesthood in thanks for the construction of the temple, rather than at the direct instigation of Attalos himself.⁴⁰⁹ As we have seen, grateful beneficiaries of a dynast's largesse felt obliged to repay the donor's generosity, often with a religious honor or commemorative statue. The contemporaneous construction of the cult statue base with a temple that so clearly identified Attalos II as patron suggests that the architect and sculptor intended from the outset to include honorific statues near Hera's cult image. Whether Attalos as patron demanded the inclusion of this feature is unclear,

⁴⁰⁶ Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 105–107; Damaskos 1999, 137–149; Radt 2016, 186–188; Palagia 2020, 77. Palagia posits that the male figure instead represents Attalos's father, Attalos I, and that the pair of portraits therefore depicted the patron's deified parents.

⁴⁰⁷ Radt 2016, 186–188.

⁴⁰⁸ Schazmann 1923, 108; Jacob-Felsch 1969, 153.

⁴⁰⁹ Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 114.

but even if sole credit for the design does not belong to him, it seems likely he at least understood that such an honor might await him.

Additional Attalid patronage and self-promotion through demonstrations of *synnaos theos* can be observed at Pergamon's extramural Asklepieion.⁴¹⁰ The sanctuary suffered twice from besiegement, first by Philip V in 201 BCE and then again by Prousius II of Bithynia in 155 BCE. Each instance resulted in the destruction and subsequent rebuilding of the sacred complex. Following the earlier devastation, the Asklepieion was expanded and rebuilt under Eumenes II, at which time the sculptor Phyromachos created the now-missing cult image that stood inside the temple to Asklepios (**Cat. S45, T53**).⁴¹¹ Prousius famously stole this statue and the cult images of the Nikephorion (**Cat. T54**), also located outside the city walls, when he besieged the citadel and trashed the two sanctuaries.⁴¹² Attalos III, the last Pergamene king, oversaw the redevelopment and expansion of the Asklepieion following Prousius's siege. Upon his return from a successful military campaign, the Pergamenes decreed the erection of a cuirassed statue of the ruler beside the temple's cult statue.⁴¹³ The positioning of this statue alongside Asklepios's cult image equated Attalos III with the salvific qualities of the deity, while the annual sacrifices and procession mandated in the decree further ensured that any distinction between ruler and divinity remained blurred. Much like his predecessor and the temple to Hera Basileia, Attalos III enjoyed quasi-divine status in return for his civic and military accomplishments.

Many Attalid benefactions were focused within Pergamon itself, yet cities outside the capital also honored the Pergamene kings with apparent acts of *synnaos theos*. The

⁴¹⁰ For the Pergamene Asklepieion, see Ziegenaus and de Luca 1968, 1975; Damaskos 1999, 132–136; Kranz 2004.

⁴¹¹ On Phyromachos and the Asklepieion cult statue, see Stewart 1979, 9–16; Andreae 1980; 1990, 45–100; Müller 1992; Queyrel 1992, 368–371, 374–375; Moreno 1994, 263–268; Damaskos 1999, 132–136; Ridgway 2000, 234.

⁴¹² Polyb. 32.27.1–5; Diod. Sic. 31.35.

⁴¹³ *OGIS* 332; *IvP* I 246; see also Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 82–86, 90; Radt 2016, 222–223; Palagia 2020, 74–76.

Peloponnesian city of Sikyon, for example, erected a colossal statue of Attalos I beside that of the cult statue of Apollo in his temple on the agora in 198/7 BCE. The Sikyonians bestowed this great honor upon Attalos in gratitude for the king's generosity in purchasing the temenos of Apollo on behalf of the Sikyonians and subsequently returning it to the community.⁴¹⁴ Upon granting the city additional benefactions of money and grain, the Sikyonians awarded Attalos another statue, this one of gold, and instituted annual sacrifices in his honor.⁴¹⁵ These varied tributes directed toward the Attalid rulers demonstrate the eagerness with which cities welcomed dynastic aid in this period and the honors, previously unthinkable, that they were willing to grant in exchange, not least of which was incorporating the beneficent ruler into the sacred fabric of the city.

Evidence for the practice of *synnaos theos* crops up across the Aegean in the second century. In addition to the Attalids, several other Hellenistic rulers were worshipped alongside various deities. Shortly after 204/3 BCE, Antiochos III and Laodike were venerated by the demos of Teos with marble cult statues placed within the Temple of Dionysos for releasing the polis from its taxes; an honorary decree indicates that the two rulers were meant to share the temple with Dionysos.⁴¹⁶ Similarly in Athens, a marble stele found in the Panathenaic Stadium dated to the mid-second century documents the erection of a statue of Ariarathes V near that of the god Dionysos by the Dionysiak Artists. According to the decree, the statue received a wreath, torch, and an incense sacrifice.⁴¹⁷ Finally, an honorary monument was dedicated to Mithradates VI in the Samothrakeion on Delos in 102/1 BCE.⁴¹⁸ The dedicatory inscription for the so-called

⁴¹⁴ Polyb. 18.16. On this dedication, see Allen 1983, 147; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 82.

⁴¹⁵ Polyb. 18.16.

⁴¹⁶ *SEG* 45.1630; see also Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 79–80. The decree honoring Antiochos and Laodike was discovered near the Temple of Dionysos in 1963. Antiochos and Laodike's visit to Teos has been dated to 204/3 BCE and this decree and its accompanying cult statues were presumably erected in the temple shortly thereafter.

⁴¹⁷ *OGIS* 352; see also Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 81.

⁴¹⁸ *ID* 1562; see also Chapouthier 1935, 32–38; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 86–88.

Mithradates Monument indicates that the priest Helianax erected the monument to Poseidon, the Great Gods of Samothrace, and Mithradates VI, leading some scholars to suggest that Mithradates was worshipped as *synnaos* with the deities of this monument.⁴¹⁹

It is difficult to determine the extent to which statues of Hellenistic dynasts erected near a deity's cult image were intended to themselves serve as secondary cult statues. The confusion scholars confront today about the purpose of such images was perhaps also felt by the worshippers and visitors in these temples, and maybe that was intentional. Schmidt-Dounas argues that the size of the portrait statues relative to that of the cult statue indicated their secondary status,⁴²⁰ but many of the *synnaos theos* statues ranged from over-lifesize to colossal, similar in scale to most cult statues produced in this period.⁴²¹ In contrast, portrait statues of cult personnel or prominent benefactors that were erected within temples were generally lifesize or smaller.

The considerable size of these *synnaos theos* portrait statues likened them to cult images, such that their off-axis positioning within the temple may have been the only indicator of their inferior status. In the Temple of Hera Basileia in Pergamon, the possible statues of Attalos and Laodike remained subsidiary to the cult image of the goddess, which retained the prime location within the cella on the base's central projection.⁴²² The increasing prevalence of cultic honors for royal patrons suggests that sculptors and architects, especially in Anatolia, planned in advance for the inclusion of honorific statues to dynastic benefactors. Damaskos, however, cautions against equating the erection of statues, even those resembling cult statues, with the divinity of a

⁴¹⁹ Bruneau 1970, 577; Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 86–88.

⁴²⁰ Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 112–114.

⁴²¹ For an investigation of the scale of cult statues, especially in relation to their architectural setting, see chapter 4 of this study.

⁴²² Damaskos 1999, 304. Additionally, these statues, although over-lifesize, were still smaller than Hera's cult image.

ruler, arguing that only the epigraphic evidence can confirm whether or not a dynast was deified.⁴²³ Although several poleis and associations granted various rulers the honor of sharing sacrifices with an established deity, Damaskos contends that simply being a recipient of cult did not equate to deification, which could occur only through royal decree. Just such a declaration instituted after her death honored Apollonis, an Attalid queen, with *synnaos theos* in Aphrodite's temple at Teos, where the two cults shared the same priestess.⁴²⁴

Whether or not statues of *synnaoi theoi* constituted the divinization of a ruler, they did impact the cult statues of the deities with whom they shared temples. In patronizing the construction of a temple, a ruler expected a significant honor in return, perhaps even the grand gesture of residing with the gods themselves. The Temple of Hera Basileia in Pergamon provides the clearest example that *synnaoi theoi* images could be considered during the construction of a temple and its cult statue. In this case, the surviving evidence suggests that the installation of *synnaoi theoi* statues reinforced an implicit hierarchy. The goddess resided at the top, consequently receiving the largest statue positioned along the central axis of the temple, followed closely by the dynasts, who received similarly sized or slightly smaller images adjacent to that of the deity. Royal patrons, then, brought a new dimension to the construction of cult statues and temples in the second century by blurring the boundaries between the human and divine with their own representations placed nearly on par with that of the god. Such a bold statement was outside the reach of even the most audacious private patrons, as we will see.

⁴²³ Damaskos 1999, 304.

⁴²⁴ *OGIS* 308. The decree dates to c. 166–159 BCE; see also Schmidt-Dounas 1993–1994, 80.

Private Patronage by Elite Individuals

Wealthy individuals in both the Greek and Roman worlds contributed to their communities through public service, monetary contributions, and the patronage of public buildings. These private benefactors regularly served in political and religious offices which required financial obligations from the officeholders' personal fortunes, but they also voluntarily contributed to their communities by sponsoring public works, festivals, and other niceties and necessities of civic life. Like Hellenistic rulers, individual benefactors frequently received compensatory honors for their largesse. Patronage and service thereby improved the social standing of elite individuals. In the second century, the evidence for the private funding of cult statues and temples indicates that the nature of patronage differed notably between the eastern and western Mediterranean. Only six monuments in the eastern Mediterranean identified the patron while nearly every temple constructed in Rome (c. 30) was associated with a private individual (see **Graph 2.5**). An investigation into the role of elite patrons in the construction of second-century cult statues and temples reveals that Greek and Roman benefactors in this period shared similar personal and political goals but enjoyed widely divergent opportunities for the public proclamation of their largesse. I argue that the historical precedents of euergetism in the Greek world discouraged individual patrons in the eastern Mediterranean from directly associating their names with sacred monuments. This situation began to change, however, in the mid-second century following more prevalent and direct Roman influence in the region.

The patronage system in Rome resembled that of the Hellenistic kingdoms in its overt display of wealth and prestige through the dedication of grand works of art and architecture.⁴²⁵ Just as in the Hellenistic East, religion and politics remained closely tied in the Roman Republic:

⁴²⁵ On Republican Roman patrons, see Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Varner 2015, 160–161; Wescoat 2015, 190–192. For an overview of the general patronage system in Rome, see Deniaux 2006.

state religion served primarily to ensure the *pax deum*, such that the welfare of the entire community depended upon maintaining proper relations with the divine.⁴²⁶ The powerful messages communicated through patronage spurred Roman temple construction, which increased dramatically in the third and second centuries. Around sixty temples were dedicated in the city of Rome in this period, contrasting sharply with the fourteen temples attested in the previous two-hundred-year span.⁴²⁷ Despite Rome's growing political and military interest in the eastern Mediterranean, however, the majority of these temples continued to venerate Roman and Italian deities.⁴²⁸ The deities worshipped in Rome at this time may have rarely come from the other side of the Mediterranean, but the same was not true for the materials, artisans, and artistic forms.⁴²⁹ Like the Hellenistic dynasts, Roman elite patrons developed a unique visual language that communicated the power of these individuals and the growing empire of which they were a part.⁴³⁰

The competition among the Roman elite drove second-century architectural and artistic development within the Italian peninsula and accounts for the large number of individuals identified as patrons of cult statues and temples in in this region. Many of these patrons were successful military generals seeking to fulfill battlefield vows and broadcast their victories. The incorporation of Hellenic architectural details and materials bolstered this triumphal message by visually connecting military accomplishments with the physical art form. The employment of “Greek” techniques and materials was one way of making a monument pop, while also serving as a statement of the patron's philhellenism or mastery over the conquered eastern

⁴²⁶ Orlin 1997, 4–5.

⁴²⁷ Orlin 1997, 200–201. For temple construction in the fourth and third centuries, see Ziolkowski 1992.

⁴²⁸ Beard, North, and Price 1998, 89–91; Orlin 2010, 180.

⁴²⁹ For the movement of materials from the Hellenistic East to Rome and the use of Greek marble in Republican temples, see chapter 3 of this study. For the mobility of artists in this period, see above.

⁴³⁰ La Rocca 2019, 582.

Mediterranean. Such was the case with the mid-second century Temple of Jupiter Stator (**Cat. T82**), allegedly the first Roman temple built of marble, constructed by Quintus Caecilius Metellus following his military victories in Greece.⁴³¹ Further adding to this effect was the display of spolia brought back from victorious campaigns, often in spaces built especially for this purpose.⁴³² As such, these votive temples became sacred museums that displayed the magnificence of the Roman state—and the glory of the individual general—through the wondrous treasures captured from its enemies. In the desire to make their monuments stand out, patrons became increasingly innovative in their use of architectural styles and adornment.⁴³³ Alternatively, benefactors could take the opportunity to solidify what were perceived as traditional Roman values by purposely employing Etrusco-Italic architectural forms and materials in their dedications. As “Greek”-inspired constructions began populating the sacred landscape of Rome, the use of conventional “Roman” forms and materials became a means of differentiating a monument and making a statement about one’s values.⁴³⁴

The establishment of a new temple and cult in the state religion was just one of several options open to individuals seeking to bolster the *pax deum* and increase their own glory, but dedicating a temple provided numerous additional benefits which may account for the frequency with which it was employed in the second century. The entire process of founding a new cult in Rome kept the benefactor’s name in the public eye: from the vow to the dedication ceremony to subsequent offerings within the temple precinct, the link between the patron and the interests of

⁴³¹ Vitr. 3.2.5; Vell. Pat. *Res. Ges.* 1.11.5, 1.11.305; Plin. *HN* 34.64, 36.35, 36.40; Macrobian. *Sat.* 3.4.2; see also Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 128–134; Stamper 2005, 53–55.

⁴³² Russell 2016, 128.

⁴³³ Russell 2016, 127–129.

⁴³⁴ Russell acknowledges the complexities of the terms “Greek” and “Roman” as used in modern scholarship, stating that “‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ are not necessarily separable or commensurable concepts, nor was the ancient world divided into two and only two cultures. ‘Greece’ is the Greece of the Roman imagination” (2016, 128).

the Roman people remained clear and present.⁴³⁵ In addition, founding a temple and cult visually linked the patron with the qualities encapsulated by the divinity, thereby accelerating the promotion of cults to divine personifications in this period.⁴³⁶ Encapsulating this idea is the temple to Pietas vowed by Manius Acilius Glabrio in 191 BCE after his victory over Antiochos III at the Battle of Thermopylae (**Cat. T89**). The temple was built in the Forum Holitorium and dedicated by Glabrio's son of the same name a decade later.⁴³⁷ Although erected in fulfillment of a vow, the temple was more than just an expression of religious piety. The monument provided a physical link between the Glabrio family, especially the victorious general who vowed the temple, and the abstract concept of *pietas*, simultaneously promoting Glabrio's military achievements and ensuring his family received a permanent monument to its civic piety. Glabrio's son further exploited the link between the divine personification and his own family by erecting a gilded bronze statue of his father inside the temple in an explicit display of filial piety.⁴³⁸ The temple subsequently became a locus of layers of symbolic meaning connected with the idea of *pietas*, concurrently enshrining the deified concept of piety, Glabrio's personal reverence for the gods and his community, and his son's devotion to his father. The possibility of connecting one's own accomplishments with the qualities inherent in the worship of a divine being or personification resulted in the frequent use of sacred constructions for self-promotion as members of the aristocracy sought to bolster their reputations.

In second-century Rome, individual elite patrons account for the majority of new and renovated temples and cult statues. Many of these patrons were military generals seeking to

⁴³⁵ Orlin 1997, 161.

⁴³⁶ On the connection between divine personifications and elite Roman patrons, see chapter 1 of this study.

⁴³⁷ Livy 40.34.4–6.

⁴³⁸ Livy 40.34.4–6; Val. Max. 2.5.1. For a discussion of this temple and the family's dedications, see Clark 2007, 69–71.

commemorate their military victories and battlefield vows. These individuals introduced new materials, designs, and artists to the city of Rome, most notably from the newly conquered territories in the eastern Mediterranean. The ability of an individual not only to vow, construct, and dedicate a temple in Rome but also to dictate its location, appearance, artisans, and recipient contrasts sharply with the situation in the Hellenistic East. The breadth and depth of control elite Romans maintained over second-century construction projects ensured that these monuments remained indelibly tied to their patrons and served as magnificent memorials to the patron's glory and piety, perhaps even as much or more so than the deity worshipped therein. Elite Greek patrons sought the same benefits from their benefactions but with seemingly less authority over the process and fewer opportunities for lasting association with their significant gifts.

As in Rome, elite citizens of the Greek world donated their wealth and service to their cities in a system dubbed by modern scholars as euergetism.⁴³⁹ Euergetism had been a hallmark of civic life in the Mediterranean since the Archaic period, but the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms altered the social order of many Greek cities and thereby impacted the role elite individuals played within their communities.⁴⁴⁰ These sociopolitical developments changed the nature of elite patronage whereby euergetism, in which wealthy individuals were expected to contribute their funds and service to public projects of their choice and received honors in return, replaced an earlier system of leitourgia, found especially in Athens and the Greek world, in which the elite were required to fund festivals, naval ships, and other designated civic amenities.⁴⁴¹ Cities consequently placed an even greater emphasis on euergetism and

⁴³⁹ For a definition of euergetism and its impact on Greek and Roman communities, see Veyne 1990, 10–13.

⁴⁴⁰ On the Archaic and Classical roots of euergetism, see Gygax 2016.

⁴⁴¹ On leitourgia and euergetism, see Gauthier 1985; Veyne 1990; Wescoat 2015, 179.

increasingly required substantial wealth for the acquisition of certain political and religious offices.⁴⁴²

By the Hellenistic period, the epigraphic record reveals a growing financial urgency behind elite activity within the Greek poleis, such that priesthoods, especially in Asia Minor, could be attained through purchase rather than appointment.⁴⁴³ Religious offices typically required officeholders to personally fund sacrifices and feasts but now the construction or repair of sanctuary buildings often became an added obligation. These extra responsibilities, however, were not without benefits for the officeholder, in a system not unlike the carousel of honors expected by the Hellenistic dynasts. Such costly and enduring acts of euergetism allowed the patron to make prominent, visual displays of their beneficence and prestige, frequently receiving reciprocal honors in the form of a portrait statue erected in a prominent civic or sacred space.⁴⁴⁴ Such statues grandly and publicly proclaimed the benefactor's generosity and standing to the entire community and, in the case of sacred buildings, their piety toward the gods. Unlike the change observed in the patronage activities of Hellenistic rulers from the third to the second century, that of elite donors in the Greek world appears largely continuous until the mid-second century. This continuity signals the enduring power of cult statues and temples as key components in the construction of civic pride and elite status. The dramatic shifts in the political makeup of the Hellenistic East by the midpoint of the century, however, altered the socioeconomic role of many elite Greek citizens and, I believe, encouraged more individual patrons to record their benefactions.

⁴⁴² Van Bremen 1996, 28–30.

⁴⁴³ Van Bremen 1996, 28–30. A notable extreme is found on the island of Kos, where the priesthood of Adrasteia and Nemesis was auctioned in the first half of the first century BCE for the astounding sum of 19,800 drachmas (*IG* XII.4 1:325, line 30); see also Meier 2013, 43.

⁴⁴⁴ On Hellenistic portrait statues, see Eule 2001; Dillon and Baltes 2013; Ma 2013.

Unlike the rash of private patronage that spurred second-century cult statue and temple construction in Rome, relatively few individual patrons are recorded for these monuments in the eastern Mediterranean. On Kalymnos, we know that Nikodamos son of Aratogenos dedicated a temple and cult statue to the Dioskouroi (**Cat. S26, T26**).⁴⁴⁵ Similarly, Therilaos, son of Heroidas, erected the cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Pheneos (**Cat. S48**).⁴⁴⁶ A cluster of private patrons is found on Delos, which once again offers an exemplary case for the Aegean world. In the late third century, the epiphany of Apollonios led to the construction of Serapieion A, the first sanctuary space dedicated to Egyptian deities on Delos.⁴⁴⁷ Multiple private patrons were responsible for the cult buildings and statues in the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods (**Cat. T15**),⁴⁴⁸ while Dionysios Nikonos Palleneus funded the restoration of the temple and cult statue of Aphrodite near the theater (**Cat. S11, T18**).⁴⁴⁹ The general dearth of named patrons of sacred monuments within the Greek world, especially in comparison with their counterparts on the Italian peninsula, I suggest, stems from the nature of euergetism prior to the mid-second century. In the Hellenistic East, elite benefactors generally donated to their cities in their capacity as political or religious officeholders. Wealthy individuals no doubt contributed to the construction costs of many of the civic-sponsored monuments of this period, but their largesse was not recorded or tied specifically to these constructions. Philippe Gauthier, in his study of Hellenistic euergetism, however, notes a change in this practice around the mid-second century.⁴⁵⁰ Following the disappearance of royal patrons after much of the Hellenistic East fell to Rome, wealthy Greek citizens took over the role of the earlier dynastic benefactors. In doing so, they

⁴⁴⁵ Segre 1944–1945, 153, no. 117.

⁴⁴⁶ *SEG* 29.328.

⁴⁴⁷ *IG* XI.4 1299.

⁴⁴⁸ The patrons included Achaios, son of Apollonios; Seleukos, son of Zenodoros; Demetrios of Antiocheia; and others whose names are lost (*ID* 2226, 2227, 2247, 2256).

⁴⁴⁹ *ID* 1810, 1811.

⁴⁵⁰ Gauthier 1985, esp. 53–75; see also van Bremen 1996, 11–13; Migeotte 1997.

made benefactions outside of their responsibilities as officeholders and expected “royal” treatment in return. The epigraphic evidence for the private patronage of sacred monuments on Delos and at Pheneos, all of which dates after the mid-second century, corresponds with this new phenomenon.⁴⁵¹ The vacuum left by the Hellenistic dynasts therefore seems to have opened up new avenues for Greek elite patrons—and more permanent commemorations of their largesse—in the second half of the century.

If attaching their name to a monumental construction remained out of reach for many Greek elite during much of this period, savvy individuals found other ways to increase their social standing and public recognition. The adornment of the cult statue was one venue through which individuals could literally leave their mark. While the sculptor and his workshop produced the statue itself, the cult image could serve as an armature for additional donations, especially of clothing and jewelry, supplied by worshippers and priestly personnel. In the small temple of Aphrodite renovated by Dionysios Nikonos Palleneus (**Cat. T18**), for instance, the temple inventory records that a woman named Demetria dedicated a pair of golden earrings to the cult statue (**Cat. S11**) in the first half of the second century.⁴⁵² Just before 156 BCE, Demetria’s earrings were supplanted by a gilded silver pair presented to the goddess by Pleistarche, who identified herself as a former priestess.⁴⁵³ Demetria and Pleistarche’s donations to the cult statue indicate that individuals could alter a cult statue’s appearance after its construction. Earrings might represent only a minor change to the statue but one that may have been anticipated by the original sculptor and patron. Several female second-century cult statues, for instance, retain holes

⁴⁵¹ The inscription from Kalymnos has not been dated more specifically than the second century BCE, thus it is unclear whether the benefaction of Nikodamos fits this pattern.

⁴⁵² *ID* 1417, face A, column II, lines 1–3.

⁴⁵³ *ID* 1423, face Ba, column II, lines 18–19. On these donations to the Temple of Aphrodite, see also Durvyne 2009, 155, 161, 163–164; Steuernagel 2015a, 83.

for the attachment of earrings and other jewelry.⁴⁵⁴ Perhaps by allowing other parties to sponsor these items, the initial patron, whether individual or civic, reduced the costs of the statue's construction while also ensuring that the work remained present in public discourse.

Another avenue by which elite individuals augmented the appearance of second-century cult statues was by placing their own portraits near the cult image itself, not unlike the *synnaoi theoi* statues of Hellenistic dynasts discussed above. In second-century Athens, a certain Satyra, a priestess of the Thesmophoria, obtained permission to hang a pinax portrait of herself inside the Temple of Demeter and Kore, for which she funded the renovation.⁴⁵⁵ A wealthy patroness at Pergamon also enjoyed the honor of having her portrait placed within the pronaos of the Temple of Demeter in the late second century.⁴⁵⁶ Despite emulating the *synnaoi theoi* portraits of Hellenistic rulers, images of non-royal patrons featured neither the cultic honors reserved for the dynasts nor their monumental appearance. They did, however, at least temporarily provide a public form of recognition for the patron when a more permanent record, in the form of an inscription, was unachievable or unwelcome.⁴⁵⁷ The symbolic significance of placing votive dedications on or near the cult statue is indicated by the mid-second-century inventories from the temples of Artemis and Isis on Delos. These inventories suggest a hierarchical ranking to votive offerings based on their position relative to the cult statue, with some dedications particularly

⁴⁵⁴ For example, the heads of Artemis from Lykosoura (**Cat. S36I**), Artemis Orthia from Messene (**Cat. S42F**), Hygieia from Pheneos (**Cat. S48A**), and Fortuna Huiusce Diei from Rome (**Cat. S53C–D**), have holes for metal earrings, while the head of Demeter from Lykosoura (**Cat. 36R**) has a series of drill holes around the head for a metal diadem or radiate crown.

⁴⁵⁵ *SEG* 42.116; see also Woodhead 1997, 390–391, no. 277; Miles 1998, 66, 84, 193, no. 135; Steuernagel 2015a, 85.

⁴⁵⁶ Hepding 1910, 465–466, nos. 47–48; Ippel 1912b, 278–281, no. 2. The inscription does not mention Philotera's service as priestess of Demeter, nor is it referenced in other contemporaneous sources. Instead, the statue was dedicated by Philotera's sons, who praise their mother for her maternal care. The numerous benefactions of Philotera on behalf of her city are attested by several other inscriptions found throughout Pergamon dating to the second and first centuries, including a second statue base located near the Temple of Demeter dedicated by the people of Pergamon. For a discussion of this inscription and the implications of other dedications and honorific portraits placed near cult statues, see Steuernagel 2015a, esp. 85–87.

⁴⁵⁷ On the Greek hesitancy for inscribing the names of patrons on temples, see Umholtz 2002; Mylonopoulos 2019.

noted for their placement on barriers before the cult image.⁴⁵⁸ Consequently, savvy patrons sought to place their dedications or, even better, own portraits in close proximity to the cult statue to increase the visibility and prestige of their public image.

An analysis of the private patronage of cult statues and temples in the second century reveals that elite Greek citizens enjoyed significantly fewer opportunities than their Roman counterparts to proclaim publicly their participation in the erection of these monuments. As a result, their role in the construction process is less clear. Presumably the change in patronage practices in the second half of the century not only included the opportunity to permanently inscribe the donor's name on the monument but also to participate in decision-making processes regarding design, materials, artists, and location. Other forms of intervention, however, included adorning and augmenting the cult statue itself. The ability to exchange elements of a cult image also impacts our understanding of these statues, making them less static and inviolable than typically thought. At least in the second century, a cult statue could be updated with new accessories to reflect contemporary artistic styles and promote the interests of the elite.

Across the second-century Mediterranean, the patronage of temples and cult statues, or even pieces of a cult statue, provided the opportunity to make a permanent statement about one's character, thereby elevating one's status among both elite peers and the broader public. The surviving evidence for the patronage of sacred monuments indicates that the Roman elite enjoyed more frequent opportunities to sponsor these monuments than their counterparts in the eastern Mediterranean, although we begin to notice a reduction in this disparity beginning in the mid-second century following Rome's subjugation of much of the Hellenistic East. Cult statues and temples remained key components of civic and communal identity in the Greek poleis,

⁴⁵⁸ Artemision inventories: *ID* 1417, face B, column II, lines 56–57; 1443, face C, column II, lines 9–11; Isieion inventories: *ID* 1416, face A, column I, line 9; 1417, face B, column I, line 4; 1452, face A, lines 9–10.

which might be undermined by recognizing a single individual in their construction or renovation. A much different attitude toward these monuments pervaded Republican Rome, one which often highlighted the personal triumphs of their dedicators.

The complex interweaving of religion with civic life and identity in both the Greek and Roman spheres made sacred monuments extremely powerful communication tools. The connection between deities and the founders—whether civic, royal, or individual—of their cult statues and temples was profound. This relationship could be promoted publicly through dedicatory inscriptions, the erection of portrait statues within the sanctuary, or the magnificent visual impact of the temple and cult statue. New and impressive cult statues could promote the significance of a polis seeking to define and protect itself against the incursions of a Hellenistic dynast or its rival cities. They could also highlight a Hellenistic kingdom's divine sanction, power, and prosperity. For individual Roman patrons, they could conflate the donor with the attributes of the deity and raise his profile among his peers. In all respects, patronage allowed individuals and civic bodies to make meaningful visual statements about their place within the contemporary political order.

Cult statues and their accompanying temples therefore played a significant role in the sociopolitical developments of the second century, elevating communities, individuals, and dynasts through their evocation of the divine. Patrons had much to gain from a well-crafted cult statue and thus often took a heavy hand in its planning and outfitting, frequently receiving more public acclaim and credit than the sculptor or architect. The master sculptor and architect also contributed their expertise and designs, showcasing their profound skills with works that satisfied both their patrons' needs and the public's conception of the divine. Although the

patron's name more frequently appeared in connection with a specific monument, sculptors and architects also benefited from the creation of these works, as these highly publicized projects brought much-needed financial benefits and recognition. The increase in artists' signatures on cult statues, temples, and other works of art in this period indicates that these artisans could use high profile commissions to promote their own interests.

Part of the monumental impact of these works stemmed from the materials chosen for their construction. Certain materials best communicated the might of the divinity, while others expressed the cultural and financial capital of the patron. Selecting the medium for a cult statue, then, was not a decision to be taken lightly. The materials available to second-century cult statue makers and the implications of their use is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Materials, Materiality, and Techniques

The previous chapter examined the significant roles the sculptor, architect, and patron played in the construction of cult statues and temples in the second century. All three benefited considerably from these high-profile commissions, which frequently facilitated both piety and personal glory. As material objects crafted by human hands, cult statues were grounded within the physical world, yet they could transcend the mortal sphere and manifest the deity itself. This tension between real and representational highlights the unique nature of cult images, and the challenging task presented before the sculptor: how did one create a divine object with physical materials?⁴⁵⁹

In this chapter, I seek to identify what materials second-century sculptors and viewers found most appropriate for cult images. The prevalence of cult statues constructed of lustrous materials, such as marble, suggests that the preciousness and physical properties of luminous objects best communicated a divine presence that reflected the gleaming gods visualized in Homer.⁴⁶⁰ In this period, however, cult statues represented more than just the deity; they also promoted the responsible polis, community, or patron. In the eastern Mediterranean, the motivation behind the installation of a new cult statue or temple was often to highlight a cult's antiquity and prestige in addition to its central role within the life of the community. Some materials used in the construction of cult statues, like locally sourced stones, therefore proclaimed a connection between a deity and the local landscape.⁴⁶¹ As communal icons, these

⁴⁵⁹ Gordon (1979) initiated an examination into the confluence of deities and their depictions in the ancient Mediterranean world that has since been taken up by numerous scholars; see, for example, Gladigow 1986; Versnel 1987; Vernant 1991; Donohue 1997; Steiner 2001, 99–104. For an overview of the debate, see Platt 2011, 78–114.

⁴⁶⁰ For the significance of shiny divine images, see Plin, *HN* 8.31; Paus. 5.12.3.

⁴⁶¹ Gordon 1979, 13–17; Damaskos 1999, 1–2; Ridgway 2000, 230–231; Platt 2011, 78–114.

statues frequently appeared on ancient coinage and in other forms to denote the significance of the local cult or god and its sculptural representation.⁴⁶² Elsewhere, especially in Rome, patrons sought to make their mark on the sacred landscape of a specific area with a novel building or noteworthy statue of luxurious, imported materials in grand, public expressions of the stature and largesse of these beneficent individuals. Alongside aesthetic considerations, I argue that the choice of materials played a key communicative role in the appearance and reception of second-century cult statues, expressing significant messages from and about the aristocrats, poleis, and rulers who commissioned them.

An understanding of the types of materials found in second-century cult statues exposes patterns of use that help define the production of these images. In this chapter, I reveal how physical properties, geographic origin, and symbolic weight impacted the choice of specific materials and sculpting techniques. The patterns observed in the materials selected for second-century cult statues demonstrate that contemporary aesthetic, economic, and sociopolitical developments influenced material manifestations of the divine in the second-century Mediterranean.

Cult Statues and Their Materials Prior to the Second Century BCE

The origins of cult statue-making followed different trajectories for the Greeks and the Romans. Little is known about Greek cult images prior to the Archaic period, but they were likely either aniconic objects, such as unhewn stones, or crafted out of a pliable material like

⁴⁶² For representations of cult statues on Greek coinage in the Archaic and Classical periods, see Lacroix 1949. In the Hellenistic period, Meadows (2018, 304–305) notes a distinct change in Greek coinage such that appreciably more cities issued coins with images of deities than previously, often labeled with the god's local epithet or represented in the form of its cult statue.

wood.⁴⁶³ In the Archaic period, wood also served as scaffolding for other materials, including bronze and ivory. The cult statue triad from Dreros, for example, exemplifies the sphyrelaton technique, in which artists hammered bronze sheets over a wooden core.⁴⁶⁴ Other Archaic cult statues were made completely of ivory, leading to the development of the chryselephantine technique of combining gold and ivory over a wooden armature.⁴⁶⁵ Advancements in bronze-casting in the sixth century, however, likely led to a decrease in the popularity of wooden cult images as the novelty, expense, and golden color of bronze made cult statues of this material more fitting for representations of the divine.⁴⁶⁶

Beginning in the second half of the fifth century, cult statues in ancient Greece, especially in Attika, diverged significantly from their Archaic predecessors. With the introduction of Pheidias's chryselephantine statues, these works became massive in size, extravagant in their use of precious materials, and lavish in their decoration. Few cult statues prior to the Classical period were made of marble, but both chryselephantine and marble cult images came into vogue at this time. After the conquests of Alexander, however, a dramatic increase in marble cult statues is attested as the newly formed Hellenistic kingdoms furiously built temples and erected cult statues in "Greek" materials and styles.⁴⁶⁷ Marble eventually became the most popular medium for cult images, although the physical evidence for this phenomenon may be skewed in part by the nature of preservation.

The development of Etruscan and Roman cult images was notably distinct from the progression of the genre in the eastern Mediterranean. Little literary or physical evidence

⁴⁶³ Romano 1980, 351–372; Donohue 1988, 219–230; Gaifman 2010.

⁴⁶⁴ Beyer 1976, 154–156; Papadopoulos 1980; Romano 1980, 284–293.

⁴⁶⁵ Lapatin 2001, 38–60.

⁴⁶⁶ For Archaic bronze cult statues and the casting pit thought to have been used for the cult statue of Apollo Patroos in the Athenian Agora, see Mattusch 1982, 11–15; 1988, 56–59; 1996b, 24.

⁴⁶⁷ Penny 1993, 42.

survives to reconstruct the early works, although Pliny, writing in the first century CE, laments the frivolous cult images of his time and longs for a return to the simple wooden and terracotta statues of the ancestors.⁴⁶⁸ Perhaps the most famous terracotta cult statue in the Roman world was that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, erected in the sixth century BCE and attributed to the Etruscan artist, Vulca. Despite Pliny's lamentations, numerous terracotta cult statues still stood in his day, which he praised for their artistry, technical virtuosity, and sensible materials.⁴⁶⁹ In addition to wood and terracotta, evidence for bronze cult statues first emerges in the fifth century BCE with that of Ceres, whose temple was located on the slopes of the Aventine.⁴⁷⁰

As we will see, the materials and techniques used in crafting cult statues in the second century BCE broke from these earlier traditions. Sculptors generally produced statues in various media in this period, but only certain materials seemed suitable for divine representations. Artemidorus, writing much later in the second century CE, contended that hard and indestructible materials, such as gold, silver, bronze, ivory, stone, amber, and ebony, gave statues an auspicious quality, while more perishable materials, like terracotta, clay, plaster, and wax, were indicative of works of lesser value.⁴⁷¹ The literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence for second-century cult statues largely confirms this qualitative division, with marble as the primary construction material for these images, and wood and bronze less frequently employed (**Graph 3.1**). The following sections investigate the origins, aesthetic and cultural values, and processing techniques of these materials to determine what each substance contributed to the production of cult images in this period. In addition to the primary material of a statue, artisans

⁴⁶⁸ Plin. *HN* 34.34. H. Martin (1987, 19–20) points out that much of Pliny's commentary on earlier cult images stems from his own conservative and nostalgic view of the contemporary state of religious worship in Rome.

⁴⁶⁹ Plin. *HN* 35.158. Pliny considered terracotta more revered even than gold.

⁴⁷⁰ Plin. *HN* 34.15; see also H. Martin 1987, 47–50.

⁴⁷¹ Artem. *Oneirocritica* 2.39.

further embellished their creations with applied substances, such as plaster, paint, gold leaf, and attachments of metal and stone. Both primary and subsidiary materials generally shared reflective and luminous qualities; I contend that for second-century artists, patrons, and viewers, these properties encapsulated a divine radiance and ethereal quality that created a worthy and expressive representation of the deity.⁴⁷²

Wood

Of the materials employed in the construction of Greek and Roman cult statues, wood was one of the earliest used. Few such examples survive into the present, however, and only four can be supposed for the second century: an unknown deity worshipped at Kourno (**Cat. S31**), Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (**Cat. S37**), Hermes at Megalopolis (**Cat. S39**), and Vediovis on the Capitoline in Rome (**Cat. S57**). Wood instilled cult statues with an added value that conveyed antiquity and commanded veneration, a particular concern especially of civic patrons in the eastern Mediterranean, yet it was not a popular medium for cult images of the second century.

The one attested wooden cult image from the Italian peninsula is that of Vediovis (**Cat. S57**), installed in the god's temple on the Capitoline in Rome (**Cat. T91**). Pliny praised the longevity of the statue's high polish, a characteristic he ascribed to the cypress wood from which it was made, which still retained its shine 250 years after the temple's dedication.⁴⁷³ Another wooden statue for which we have literary evidence of its production is that of Hermes in the Temple of Aphrodite at Megalopolis. Damophon created the cult images of Aphrodite and

⁴⁷² The terms αἰθέριος and *aetherius* (ethereal) were used in antiquity to describe the Olympian deities and their celestial environment; see Arist. [*Mund.*] 392a31, 401b17; Verg. *Aen.* 6.579.

⁴⁷³ Plin. *HN* 16.216.

Hermes for this temple; according to Pausanias, the statue of Aphrodite was acrolithic while that of Hermes was entirely of wood.⁴⁷⁴ On Roman Imperial coins of Megalopolis that feature the two deities, they are likely depicted in the form of their cult images. Aphrodite is shown nude with a dolphin at her left side (**Cat. S39A**). Hermes, in contrast, appears in two distinguishable types, but in both cases his image is in the form of a herm (**Cat. S39B-C**).⁴⁷⁵ The evidence for the dating of the other statues at Kourno and Magnesia is more speculative; as they may not date to the second century, they are discussed separately below.

Ancient sculptors, like their modern counterparts, chose woods known for their resistance to decay and insects and their ability to be carved without cracking or splitting. In antiquity, woods that also emitted a pleasant scent added a decided advantage.⁴⁷⁶ Pausanias described the wood used for Greek sculptures as ebony, cypress, cedars, oaks, yew, and lotus.⁴⁷⁷ Similarly in the Roman world, Vitruvius stated that cedar and juniper woods were of a sufficiently high quality for sculpture, while Pliny praised the longevity of ebony, cypress, and cedar.⁴⁷⁸ Especially when used to create a cult statue, cultivated wood further added to the prestige of the image as a material that signified the fruits (quite literally) of the community or city that commissioned the work.⁴⁷⁹ One such example is the *xoanon* of Athena Polias on the Athenian acropolis, constructed of the very olivewood that the goddess bestowed upon the city in her competition with Poseidon.

Due to the nature of preservation, however, most of our evidence for wooden cult statues stems from literary sources, especially Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, rather than physical

⁴⁷⁴ Paus. 8.31.5–6.

⁴⁷⁵ Damaskos 1999, 57–58.

⁴⁷⁶ Meiggs 1982, 300–308.

⁴⁷⁷ Paus. 8.17.2.

⁴⁷⁸ Vitr. 2.9.13; Plin. *HN* 16.79.

⁴⁷⁹ Pemberton 1990, 4.

remains. We must be careful, however, in how we apply Pausanias's work to reconstruct ancient Greek cult images because of the periegete's at times contradictory use of two well-known words: *xoanon* and *agalma*. On the one hand, Pausanias remains surprisingly consistent with his use of *xoanon*, for which he means an image of a deity made of wood or wood in combination with additional materials.⁴⁸⁰ The term *xoanon* likely stems from the word ξέω, meaning "to smooth or polish by shaving, scraping, planing, or filing."⁴⁸¹ Such an etymology would link *xoana* to the generic process of carving, a technique used in the production of ancient sculptures in various media and not, then, representative of wooden sculpture alone.⁴⁸² Several scholars, however, have demonstrated that Pausanias exclusively used the term for sculptures partially or wholly composed of wood; frequently, his *xoana* are also cult statues.⁴⁸³ On the other hand, Pausanias identifies several different objects as *agalmata* throughout his text, employing the term variously as any gift that pleases the gods, a statue of a deity, or a statue that lacks any association with a deity. As a result, *agalma* cannot consistently be understood in reference to a cult statue. For Pausanias, then, a *xoanon* may also be an *agalma*, but an *agalma* need not be a *xoanon*.

While modern scholars frequently refer to cult images of particular antiquity as *xoana*,⁴⁸⁴ Pausanias does not give the term any chronological significance.⁴⁸⁵ Small, wooden cult statues

⁴⁸⁰ Paus. 2.11.8; 2.37.2; 4.34.7.

⁴⁸¹ *LSJ*, s.v. ξέω.

⁴⁸² Donohue 1988, 8–12. As Donohue has argued, the term *xoanon* cannot indicate only a "primitive wooden 'cult statue'" due to the multiplicity of uses ancient authors put to the term (1988, 8). In her examination of *xoana* in the second century BCE, Donohue found that epigraphical evidence indicated two separate groups of *xoana*: one used for private dedications, yet often lavish and expensive, and another used for objects involved in public cult rituals.

⁴⁸³ Bennett 1917; Donohue 1988, 146; Arafat 1992, 395. For instances of Pausanias's use of the term *xoanon* for acrolithic statues, see Paus. 2.4.1, 6.24.6, 6.25.4, 7.23.5, 8.31.6, 9.4.1. Second-century acrolithic cult statues will be discussed below under the medium of marble as the stone pieces of these works are all that survive today.

⁴⁸⁴ For an analysis of the modern misconception regarding the ancient use of *xoanon*, see Donohue 1988, 2–7.

⁴⁸⁵ On the lack of chronological distinction in Pausanias's use of *xoanon*, see Bennett 1917; Romano 1980, 351–352; Meiggs 1982, 301–302; Donohue 1988, 146; Arafat 1992, 395–397.

could be understood as possessing greater consequence and antiquity due to their alleged connections to a heroic past, when wood carving was more prevalent; Pausanias himself linked several *xoana* that he saw with the mythological sculptor Daidalos.⁴⁸⁶ Yet the periegete applied the term in a blanket fashion to any wooden statue, whether one he identified as by the hand of Daidalos or the second-century sculptor Damophon. Further distinguishing wooden *xoana* from other ancient statues were the fantastic stories surrounding them, some of which are recorded in ancient literary sources, such as that of Artemis at Tauris and Dionysos Kadmos at Thebes, both of which fell from the sky.⁴⁸⁷ Such legendary origins imbued these statues with an aura of power and tradition that occasionally was augmented by other stories of the statues coming to life by reacting to human actions or miraculously warding off danger.⁴⁸⁸ Even if constructed in the second century, wooden cult statues exhibited the mythos and characteristics of famed cult images from both mythology and the Archaic period, like the Trojan Palladion or *xoanon* of Athena Polias.

Possible Second-Century Wooden Cult Statues

As noted above, numerous communities renovated sanctuaries to their patron deities in the second century in order to elevate the cult's prestige and build civic identity.⁴⁸⁹ It is not, however, always known in these cases if they retained the original cult statue or commissioned an entirely new one. These statues are often identified as *xoana* in the available literary and epigraphic sources, but as we have seen, this label alone does not indicate a statue's date. They

⁴⁸⁶ See, for example, Paus. 2.4.5, 8.35.2, 9.11.4–5, 9.40.3.

⁴⁸⁷ Eur. *IT* 85–92, 977 (Artemis Tauropolos); Paus. 9.12.4 (Theban Dionysos Kadmos).

⁴⁸⁸ For example, the Trojan Palladion looked away during the rape of Kassandra (Apollod. *Epit.* 5.22; Strabo 6.1.14; Lycoph. *Alex.* 361), and the statue's subsequent theft by the Greeks signaled the downfall of Troy. See also Romano 1980, 353–356.

⁴⁸⁹ For further discussion, see chapter 1 of this study.

also appear in herm-like forms on local coinage, but again this evidence does not reveal whether the statues were earlier images rededicated in the second century or products of the second century designed in a deliberately archaistic style to highlight their antiquity. This situation occurs at Magnesia, Messene, and Kourno. Little is known about Kourno, but Magnesia and Messene both renovated important sanctuaries in this period. The evidence suggests that the cult statues installed in these second-century temples were likely wooden, but the date of their construction—whether contemporaneous or predating the temple’s construction—is uncertain. They will be discussed here as wooden cult statues possibly of the second century.

Nothing of the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (**Cat. S37**) survives today, but literary and numismatic evidence suggests it was an under-lifesize *xoanon* depicting Artemis in much the same guise as her more famous Ephesian instantiation: in a frontal pose wearing a tall polos and tight-fitting cylindrical dress that was accentuated by bands of decoration and spherical ornaments.⁴⁹⁰ Based on its shape and scale, the Magnesian cult image was likely constructed of wood; minute traces of gold leaf observed in the cracks of the cult statue base indicate that the image may also have been gilded.⁴⁹¹ Whether this statue dated to the early second century or earlier, however, is debated. The sanctuary was significantly embellished between the late third and early second century following the epiphany of the goddess and the successful establishment of a festival in her honor, the Leukophryeneia.⁴⁹² A second festival at Magnesia, the Eisiteria, was founded in the first half of the second century to commemorate the installation of Artemis’s cult image, but it is unclear whether this ceremony

⁴⁹⁰ Head 1981, 158–172; Herring 2016, 137–138.

⁴⁹¹ Kern 1901, 507–508.

⁴⁹² For the epiphany and foundation of this festival, see chapter 1 of this study.

celebrated a new statue or the reinstallation of an earlier figure.⁴⁹³ Coins bearing Artemis's image in the form of her cult statue first appear in Magnesia after 190 BCE, suggesting that the statue was indeed a second-century creation.⁴⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the evidence for the statue's physical appearance clearly evokes an image of venerable antiquity; either the statue survived from an earlier time or was crafted in the second century to appear ancient. In either case, the choice of wood for the cult statue communicated the longevity and esteem, whether fabricated or otherwise, the polis felt its cult deserved.

In Messene, the renovation of the city's sanctuary to Artemis Orthia included a brand-new colossal marble cult statue by the hometown sculptor Damophon (**Cat. S42**).⁴⁹⁵ In addition to the stone statue, archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicate that rituals affiliated with Artemis's cult at Messene involved a wooden *xoanon* of the goddess. One of the bases in the Artemision, dated to the first century BCE, honored a girl named Mego, who, according to the dedicatory inscription, carried the *bretas*, or *xoanon*, of Artemis.⁴⁹⁶ A fragment of a girl's arm holding a small, herm-like statue has been associated with the portrait of Mego on the basis of style, scale, and marble oxidation (**Fig. 3.1**).⁴⁹⁷ The headless statue in the girl's arm is covered in a cloth and stands on a square base. The statue is missing its head and arms and the cloth covering the image's body makes it difficult to determine its iconography, but long strands of hair resting on the right shoulder indicate that the hair was unbound.

⁴⁹³ *IMagn.* 100a, lines 21–48. Chaniotis (2013, 30–38) suggests the Magnesians set up a new cult statue. Pirenne-Delforge (2010, 128), however, argues that the festival commemorated the reinstallation of the goddess's *xoanon* in the new sanctuary.

⁴⁹⁴ Head 1981, 158–172; Herring 2016, 137–138.

⁴⁹⁵ Paus. 4.31.10. On the excavation and analysis of the statue's surviving remains, see Orlandos 1963a, 122; 1963b, 88; Themelis 1993b, 27–30; 1994a, 111; 1994b, 21–22; 1996, 165–166; 2015, 142; Damaskos 1999, 42–43; Franck 2014, 221, no. 18.

⁴⁹⁶ *SEG* 23.220.

⁴⁹⁷ Orlandos 1962a, 110–111; Themelis 1994a, 115.

Due to its ability to be carried singlehandedly by an adolescent, the *xoanon* must have been made of a lightweight material, likely wood, but perhaps ivory. The use of a portable cult image is also attested in Pausanias's description of the activities associated with the Archaic cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, where the priestess of Artemis held the *xoanon* during the ritual flagellation of young male initiates.⁴⁹⁸ Here again, the priestess could hold the statue in her hands, suggesting that it was made of wood or another lightweight material. The inclusion of a portable cult statue within the goddess's second-century sanctuary at Messene may indicate that similar rituals to those at Sparta took place within other Peloponnesian cults of Artemis. As nothing of this secondary Messenian cult statue remains, it is impossible to know for certain whether it was created in the second century to align the Messenian rituals with those of Sparta or was transferred when the cult moved from its original sanctuary in Messene to its new space. The earliest portrait statues to include an image of the *xoanon* date to the first century BCE, suggesting that it might have even been a later addition. That the wooden image played a significant role in the cult's activities, however, is attested by the number of portrait statues discovered within the sanctuary commemorating young girls initiated into the cult, like Mego, who likely also carried the goddess's *xoanon*.⁴⁹⁹ Sculptural fragments found in the course of excavations depict lifesized left hands holding fragments of statuesque objects that correspond to five different statues.⁵⁰⁰

The portability of small, wooden statues makes it difficult to date these objects even when physical evidence survives, such as at Kourno. A base within the cella of Kionia 1 (**Cat. S31**) contains a round, central socket unsuitable for a stone statue; it seems likely that this base

⁴⁹⁸ Paus. 3.16.6–10. On the flagellation rituals and the role of the *xoanon*, see Falb 2009, 142–144.

⁴⁹⁹ Similarly, statues of the twelve gods were carried in a procession during the festival in Aigai at which Philip II was assassinated; see Diod. Sic. 16.92.5.

⁵⁰⁰ Orlandos 1962a, 112; Themelis 1994a, 116–119.

held a wooden image. The date of this statue, however, is unclear. If installed contemporaneously with the temple, it was constructed in the late second century, but excavators question whether it may have been moved here from another location.⁵⁰¹

The limited examples of wooden cult statues suggest that wood was not a preferred medium for cult images in this period but remained important in select circumstances. Most of the second-century wooden cult statues exhibit archaistic traits which the material enhanced, thereby amplifying the cult's perceived antiquity. The lightweight medium further enabled these statues to participate in ritual activities taking place outside of the cella itself. While a wooden cult statue heightened the perceived venerability of a cult, other materials better communicated the radiance of the gods and thus seemed more appropriate choices for a cult statue. One of these lustrous materials was bronze, yet the substance did not find widespread use among makers of second-century cult statues.

Bronze

Like wooden statues, it is impossible to determine accurately the number of cult statues made in bronze due to their relatively low preservation rate; few ancient bronze statues of any type survive to the present day as a result of the ease with which they could be melted down and their metal reused. Nonetheless, bronze does not seem to have been a favored medium for second-century cult statues, especially in comparison to its use for other kinds of dedications. Only three cult images from this period are identified as bronze with any certainty: a cult statue group of three Egyptian deities on Delos (**Cat. S19**), the cult statue of Artemis Hegemone at Lykosoura (**Cat. S35**), and that of Hercules Aemilianus in Rome (**Cat. S74**). The material of a

⁵⁰¹ Moschou and Moschos 1978–1979, 100–101; Winter and Winter 1983, 5.

fourth statue, that of Asklepios at Pergamon (**Cat. S45**), is unknown and may have been bronze, but this attribution seems unlikely.⁵⁰²

The one surviving bronze statue likely dating to the second century, the Hercules Aemilianus in Rome (**Cat. S74**), depicts the hero in the guise of a victorious athlete with an olive wreath bound in his hair. He bears the characteristic marks of a boxer, including cauliflower ears and exaggerated musculature, and stands with his weight on his left leg while holding his club in his right hand and the apples of the Hesperides in his left. Many large-scale bronzes of this period possessed eyes inlaid of another material, but those of the Hercules Aemilianus instead were cast with the head and then incised. This technique was more prevalent in the Roman period, leading Olga Palagia to suggest a later Imperial date for the work.⁵⁰³ The statue's traditional association with the temple of Hercules erected by Scipio Aemilianus in the Forum Boarium (**Cat. T75**) and its stylistic affinities with contemporary statues of the hero, however, support a second-century date.⁵⁰⁴ Although lacking gleaming eyes made of glass paste or some other shiny material, the statue still evoked the radiance befitting a deity from the gilding of its entire surface.⁵⁰⁵ Like other bronze and marble sculpture of the period, this bronze statue was also pieced together. A missing element, perhaps a bull's head or a rock, fit onto the bronze tenon at the end of Hercules' club.⁵⁰⁶

Despite the lack of extant intact statues, bronze was a popular medium for Hellenistic statuary in general. Literary sources and surviving statue bases indicate that many of the

⁵⁰² Andrae (1990, 45–100) argues that the cult statue of Asklepios by Phryomachos was a bronze seated statue located in the Nikephorion, Müller (1992) advocates for a marble statue in the Asklepieion, and Moreno (1994, 263–268) suggests that the cult statue was chryselephantine and stood within the Asklepieion.

⁵⁰³ Palagia 1990, 56.

⁵⁰⁴ On the cult statue of the tholos temple to Hercules in the Forum Boarium, see Lydus, *Mens* 4.67. On the temple itself, see Livy 10.23.3; Festus 282L. For the Hercules Aemilianus and its comparanda, see H. Martin 1987, 90–98.

⁵⁰⁵ For gilding, inlaid eyes, and additional materials applied to second-century cult statues, see the discussion below.

⁵⁰⁶ H. Martin 1987, 211; Palagia 1990, 55. Martin argues for a bull's head, while Palagia cites as comparanda a smaller-scale marble figure in the Terme Museum (Inv. 8573), which instead features a rock beneath the club.

dedications that filled ancient sanctuaries were made of bronze, which also was the most common material for portrait statues, whose production rose dramatically in the Hellenistic era.⁵⁰⁷ The small number of bronze cult statues in the regions of this study is also surprising given the production of bronze cult statues elsewhere at this time. Literary and archaeological evidence, for example, attest to a noted interest in bronze cult statues within the Seleukid Kingdom.⁵⁰⁸ One such example is the colossal bronze statue of Anahit from the site of Satala in modern Armenia, of which the head and left hand survive today in the British Museum (**Fig. 3.2**).⁵⁰⁹ The rarity of second-century bronze cult statues also stands in contradiction to the Greek notion of luminous deities, which they sought to replicate in the physical representations of these figures. Ivory, gold, and marble best conveyed the luster of the gods, but certainly the gleaming color of polished bronze would also suit the representation of a deity, as a newly worked, highly polished bronze would have glinted like gold. The application of a bitumen lacquer further enhanced and protected this radiant shine.⁵¹⁰ When bronzecasters developed the hollow-casting method in the Archaic period, moreover, evidence for bronze cult statues increased in the sixth and fifth centuries.⁵¹¹ The new technique allowed sculptors to create large-scale bronze statuary

⁵⁰⁷ For example, Pausanias (10.7.1) contends that Nero took 500 bronze statues from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Pliny comments further that “[bronze statuary] has flourished to an extent passing all limit and offers a subject that would occupy many volumes if one wanted to give a rather extensive account of it—as for a completely exhaustive account, who could achieve that?” (*HN* 34.36, trans. Rackham 1938). On the rise of honorific statues in the second century, see Ma 2013, esp. 79–85 for honorific statues erected in sanctuaries and shrines.

⁵⁰⁸ For an analysis of these sources, which document large bronze cult statues in the region’s dynastic sanctuaries, see Canepa 2015a, 90–92; 2015b.

⁵⁰⁹ London, British Museum Inv. 1873,0820.1, 1875,1201.1. On the statue of Anahit, see Stewart 1990, 224; Mattusch 1996b, 303–304, no. 6; Canepa 2015a, 90; Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 234–235, no. 23. Originally dated stylistically to the fourth century BCE, the casting thickness (2–3 mm) and evidence of copper inlay on the lips more likely suggest a second or first century BCE date for this statue; see Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 235. On using casting thickness as a criterion for dating, see Stewart 2015, 43–44.

⁵¹⁰ Plin. *HN* 34.15; see also Wünsche 2007, 128. Pliny states that the Greeks covered their statues with bitumen, which, if thinned with oil, produces a protective lacquer. For a recent experiment in replicating these bronze coatings, see Brinkmann 2014, 100–105.

⁵¹¹ For example, several literary references document the bronze cult statue group by Alkamenes that stood within the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora, dated to 421–415 BCE. Not only does a portion of the construction accounts survive (*IG* I² 370, 371), but Cicero (*Nat. D.* 1.30), Valerius Maximus (8.11), and Pausanias (1.14.6) also

in sizes befitting the superhuman presence of the deities, but these large, metallic images of the gods seem to have fallen out of favor by the second century.

One reason for the dearth of second-century cult statues in this medium may be linked to a change in the composition of the material itself. Bronze is an alloy of copper and tin. Within the Mediterranean world, tin was always less prevalent and thus more expensive than copper.⁵¹² It should come with little surprise, then, that by the Hellenistic period some of the costly tin was augmented with lead, a material much easier and cheaper to obtain. In the second and first centuries, the percentage of lead used in bronze alloys rose to 10–15%, whereas only trace amounts of the element had been used in the fourth and third centuries.⁵¹³ The higher lead concentrations made the metal both less expensive and more ductile, two important benefits for the sculptor. The resulting statues, however, lacked the shininess of their Classical predecessors. The dulling of the metal thus may account for its far more prevalent use in second-century statues of human subjects than those representing the luminous deities.

Hellenistic inscriptions further highlight a distinction between *agalmatopoiói*, sculptors of divine figures, frequently in marble, from *adriantopoiói*, sculptors of human figures in bronze.⁵¹⁴ Ancient sources fail to explain this division, but Andrew Stewart suggests that the artificiality of bronze may have better suited human portraits. In contrast, a natural material like marble, which also recalled the ancient Greek practice of worshipping divine figures in the form of natural features such as trees, rocks, and water features, was more appropriate for

mention these statues. On the development of hollow-casting and the rise in large-scale bronze statuary in the sixth and fifth centuries, see Mattusch 1988, 51–85; Stewart 1990, 38–39.

⁵¹² On the relative availability and cost of copper and tin, see Mattusch 1988, 12; Stewart 2019, 66. The surviving construction accounts for the fifth-century bronze cult statue group of the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora (*IG I³ 472*) record that the cost of tin was over 6.5 times more expensive than copper.

⁵¹³ On the compositions of ancient bronzes, see Mattusch 1988, 13–15. On the increase in lead content in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Haynes 1992, 87–88; Neer 2010, 77; Stewart 2015, 40, 43.

⁵¹⁴ *Laterculi Alexandrini* 7.3–9; see also Stewart 1990, 63–64.

representations of the divine.⁵¹⁵ The seemingly imperishable nature of marble also made it more appropriate for the eternal deities, whereas bronze was easily—and frequently—melted down.

Another reason for the dearth of bronze cult statues in the second century may lie in one of the hallmarks of the material: its reproducibility.⁵¹⁶ As we have seen, cult statues often became symbols of cities, sanctuaries, and regions. A statue rendered in a medium that could be replicated easily in a near perfect copy thus might not have appealed to the patrons commissioning these works. Of course, statues in other media were also reproduced. The basic method of stone carving, for instance, necessitated that the sculptor copy a smaller plaster model to produce a larger scale work, and significance evidence indicates that statues of all media were replicated in antiquity.⁵¹⁷ Whereas duplication in stone carving still requires significant freehand sculpting, however, bronze statues can be reproduced using an original mold. Multiple copies can therefore be cast from a single master mold, with the addition of minor details to the wax form or after casting being the only signifiers of originality.⁵¹⁸

The development of hollow-casting resulted in an increase in large-scale bronze cult statues in the Classical period but the trend had diminished by the second century, perhaps because the significant addition of lead to bronze alloys dulled statues produced in this medium. The application of gilding, as in the Hercules Aemilianus, could produce an image that shone

⁵¹⁵ Stewart 2015, 41.

⁵¹⁶ On the replication of bronze statues, see Mattusch 1978; 1996a, 221; 2015. Cult statues of all sizes and media were commonly replicated in other forms, however; see Gaifman 2006.

⁵¹⁷ Lucian (*Iupp. trag.* 33) notes that sculptors repeatedly made molds of the statue of Hermes Agoraios located near the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora. The discovery of a cache of plaster molds in an ancient marble workshop at Baiae, including part of the face of Aristogeiton from the famed fifth-century Tyrannicides statue group, further indicates that mold-making was a common means of replicating ancient statues; on the Baiae workshop, see Landwehr 1985. For an overview of the use of models and a pointing process to replicate statues, see Stewart 1990, 25; Rockwell 1993, 115–122.

⁵¹⁸ Mattusch 1996a, 37; 2002, 110; 2015.

like the ethereal light of the gods, yet few sculptors produced bronze cult statues for their patrons. Instead, marble arose as the material of choice for second-century cult statues.

Marble

By the second century, marble was the material most frequently used for the construction of cult statues, with around fifty examples attested through literary or archaeological evidence. The marble-rich Aegean world had long used the stone as one of its primary media for statuary, but the first marble cult statues appeared in the Italian peninsula in this period. Before they even established control of the eastern marble quarries, the Romans began importing Greek marble to Italy. Once the entire eastern Mediterranean fell under their purview, the Romans opened new marble quarries and expanded operations at existing quarries like Aphrodisias, Dokimeion, and Prokonessos.⁵¹⁹ With the increased demand for high-quality stone, sculptors revived earlier techniques of marble-working, especially piecing and acrolithic construction, to efficiently use this highly sought material. These techniques not only stemmed from the trade and transport of marble in this period, but also seem to have appealed to contemporary aesthetic tastes and technical training.

Marble is a richly diverse material such that even within the Mediterranean different regions produce marbles of widely varying quality and visual and technical characteristics. In antiquity, those of finer grain size, such as Parian, were used almost exclusively for sculpture, while others of larger grain size, such as Thasian, predominantly appeared in architecture.⁵²⁰ By examining the sources from which Greek and Roman sculptors obtained their marble, we

⁵¹⁹ Penny 1993, 42.

⁵²⁰ Herrmann, Attanasio, and van den Hoek 2014; Herrmann and Attanasio 2018, 457. The main source of dolomitic marble in the ancient Mediterranean was the Cape Vathy region of Thasos. Dolomitic marble is much harder to carve, especially in fine detail, than calcitic marble; see Tykot et al. 2002.

therefore learn not only which marbles were used most often for second-century cult statues but also how the prestige of a stone and the regional trade networks impacted the choice of material for these significant sculptural works.

This section first investigates the marble sources exploited for cult statue construction in the second century to assess how both aesthetic and economic considerations factored into the decision to use one type of marble over another. It then examines the production of the statues themselves by looking at the various techniques sculptors employed in the creation of cult statues in this period. Overwhelmingly, sculptors worked in the acrolithic technique, which combined both wood and marble, and the piecing technique, which produced a statue out of numerous pieces of stone, rather than a single block.

Marble Sources

The Aegean world, as is well known, possessed rich marble resources, from mainland Greece to the Cycladic islands to western Anatolia.⁵²¹ Each quarry produced stone of distinctive coloring, grain size, and luminosity, resulting in ancient sculptors and patrons prizing different marbles for different purposes, with some being better suited to architecture, others to sculpture. The ancient Greeks had a keen interest in the radiance of their sculpture and found that their

⁵²¹ Many scholars have investigated Mediterranean marble sources, with the published proceedings of the ASMOSIA conferences an essential resource for all aspects of marble provenance, quarrying, stoneworking, and trade. See also Renfrew and Peacey 1968; Fant 1988; Dodge and Ward-Perkins 1992; Attanasio 2003; Schilardi and Katsonopoulou 2010; Russell 2013b.

local marbles captured this shining quality better than most other materials.⁵²² They even derived the term μάρμαρος, “marble,” from the verb μαρμαίρειν, meaning “to sparkle or shine.”⁵²³

Of the marbles which have thus far been identified in second-century cult statues, the most luminous came from the island of Paros and were valued, in antiquity as they still are today, for their pure white color and translucence. Both Parian and Pentelic were the most commonly used stones for second-century cult statues for which the marble provenance is known (**Graph 3.2**). Cult images known to have been produced, in whole or in part, of Parian marble include Apollo at Bassai (**Cat. S8**), Athena Kraniaia at Elateia (**Cat. S22**), the female deities in Atlanta (**Cat. S62**) and Rimini (**Cat. S72**), the figure of Kybele in the cult group from Butrint (**Cat. S64B**), and likely Athena Polias at Priene (**Cat. S51**), Diana at Nemi (**Cat. S68**), and Asclepius at Ostia (**Cat. S44**). Several ancient marble quarries operated on the island, supplying stone of different attributes. The highest quality stone was the so-called lychnites, characterized by its luminosity and brilliant whiteness imparted by its almost total lack of impurities.⁵²⁴ Parian lychnites can only be quarried in small blocks and thus in antiquity was used exclusively for sculpture.⁵²⁵ The Choridaki Valley, meanwhile, produces a type of Parian marble that features a larger crystal size and moderate inclusions in the stone that can be brought to the surface through weathering.⁵²⁶ Marble of both types was long used for the finest figural sculptures in the Aegean

⁵²² Chryselephantine sculptures, however, were likely considered “shinier” than marble. The white luster of the ivory next to the bright gleam of the gold produced divine effects; see Lapatin 2001, 5–6, 15–16. Both Pausanias (5.12.3) and Pliny (*HN* 8.31) note that ivory was a fitting material for divine images. Philostratos (*VA* 5.22) also expressed his preference for chryselephantine cult statues, no matter the size, over large, terracotta images. For Greek sculptors generally and their choice of material, see Stewart 1990, 36.

⁵²³ *LSJ*, s.v. μάρμαρος; *LSJ*, s.v. μαρμαίρω; see also Stewart 1990, 36; Neer 2010, 74–76.

⁵²⁴ Attanasio 2003, 186–190. Parian lychnites marble is transparent to a depth of more than 3 cm. Today, the source for this marble has been identified as the Stefani Valley near Marathi; see Russell 2013b, s.v. Marathi.

⁵²⁵ Penny 1993, 42.

⁵²⁶ Russell 2013b, s.v. Choridaki. Parian marble from the Choridaki Valley was known previously as Parian II, but continued investigation of marble provenance has defined further the quarry sources on the island of Paros, as discussed in Herz 2000; Schilardi 2000.

world, but numerous examples of second-century cult statues of Parian marble also herald from Italian contexts (**Graph 3.3**).⁵²⁷

On the Greek mainland, one of the most recognizable types of ancient marble originates in the quarries of Mt. Pentelikon outside of Athens. Most famously employed in the major building projects of the Athenian Acropolis, Pentelic marble was used commonly throughout Greece and Italy by the second century.⁵²⁸ This marble is a fine-grained stone with a bright white coloring when initially quarried, but can take on a warm, honey-gold hue over time. Its hardness and ability to be polished makes it particularly well-suited for architectural purposes and it was thus used extensively for building projects throughout Greece.⁵²⁹ It was also, however, highly appropriate for sculpture, with cult statues of Pentelic marble found in both Greece and Italy, including the male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2**), Eileithyia of Aigion (**Cat. S5**), Juno Regina (**Cat. S54**) and the Capitoline Hercules (**Cat. S73**) of Rome, the figure of Attis from the cult group at Butrint (**Cat. S64A**), and likely Asklepios and Hygieia of Pheneos (**Cat. S48**) and, in Rome, Apollo of Timarchides (**Cat. S52**) and Fortuna Huiusce Diei (**Cat. S53**).⁵³⁰

The use of Pentelic marble exploded in the Classical period, especially in mainland Greece, but the quarries became relatively dormant in the third century. This downturn

⁵²⁷ Notable earlier examples of Greek cult statues sculpted from Parian marble include the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles (Lucian, *Amores* 13) and the Nemesis of Rhamnous by Agorakritos (Paus. 1.23.2–3); see also Palagia 2010a, 352.

⁵²⁸ Many of the earliest marble temples in Rome were constructed of Pentelic marble, including the Round Temple by the Tiber (**Cat. T64**), Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (**Cat. T73**), Temple of Mars in Circo (**Cat. T86**), and Temple of Neptune (**Cat. T88**). For the trade and general use of Pentelic marble in monumental architecture in Rome, see Gorgoni et al. 2002; Attanasio 2003, 190–194; Bernard 2010.

⁵²⁹ In addition to the monuments of the Athenian Acropolis, some of the Greek buildings constructed of Pentelic marble by the end of the second century included the Tholos at Delphi (see Pomtow 1912; Roux 1988; Laroche 1992), Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (see Roux 1961, 83–130; Burford 1969; Prignitz 2014), and Stoa of Attalos in Athens (see Thompson and Wycherly 1972, 103–108; Bernard and Pike 2015). For the general use of Pentelic marble in monumental architecture in mainland Greece, see Abraldes 1996. For the quarries on Mt. Pentelikon, see Korres 1995, 2001.

⁵³⁰ On the use of Pentelic marble for statuary, see Attanasio 2003, 190–194.

corresponded with a general decline in the political power of Athens at this time.⁵³¹ The patronage of various Hellenistic dynasts improved the fortunes of Athens and the Pentelic quarries—and likely the sculptors who worked this material—in the second century, and production once again ramped up. One of the projects reviving interest in the Pentelic quarries was the renewed construction of the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (**Cat. T7**). Begun under the Peisistratids but never completed, this monumental temple was expected to be one of the largest in the ancient Greek world. Under the patronage of the Seleukid king Antiochos IV, construction of this massive building project resumed and with it the need for an impressive amount of Pentelic marble and masons.⁵³² Pergamene monuments within Athens also began using local materials, including Pentelic and Hymettan marble and Piraeus limestone, by the reign of Attalos II, in contrast to earlier Attalid projects that sourced marble from their homeland in Asia Minor.⁵³³ At the same time, the first marble temples were constructed in Rome using Pentelic marble.⁵³⁴ The renewal of the Pentelic quarries thus coincided with a time in which monumental building projects initiated throughout the Mediterranean by Hellenistic rulers, Roman elite, and the Athenians themselves created a massive demand for this Greek marble.

The Peloponnese also had its own marble quarries, yet they frequently receive less scholarly attention than the more famous fine-grained white marble sources in Attika and the Aegean islands. Nonetheless, the stones of this region were significant enough to capture the attention of Greek and Roman authors, who commented on the color and quality of the marbles found here.⁵³⁵ Many of the Peloponnesian quarries are located near the Taygetos mountain range

⁵³¹ Camp 2001, 167.

⁵³² Bernard and Pike 2015, 454–455. Ultimately, the temple would once again remain unfinished, only finally completed in the Hadrianic period.

⁵³³ Bernard and Pike 2015, 451–452.

⁵³⁴ See n. 528 above.

⁵³⁵ For example, Strabo 8.5.7; Plin. *HN* 36.29.135, 36.43.158; Mart. *Epigrams* 6.42.11–13; Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.90–92; Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* 1.130.

that extends into the Mani peninsula, including quarries of white and colored marbles at Marmari, gray marbles at Gorani, and white marbles at Doliana.⁵³⁶ The fine-grained white marble of Doliana, a relatively small quarry located southeast of Tegea, was especially appropriate for statuary and thus may have been used in the creation of regional cult statues, such as the cult statue group from the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**). Macroscopically similar to Pentelic marble, Doliana marble is slightly darker and less translucent than its Attic counterpart, at times acquiring a blue-gray hue.⁵³⁷ The marble, however, contains iron oxide and large calcite crystals, which respectively can cause it to exhibit a yellowish- or reddish-brown color and a sandy texture upon weathering.⁵³⁸ Isotopic testing of Doliana marble thus far has been fairly limited, but it is possible that the stone was used at several regional sites, including Lykosoura, Tegea, Bassai, and Mantinea.⁵³⁹

In contrast to the widespread appeal of Pentelic marble, the use of Peloponnesian marble remained largely local. The massive cult statue group at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**) as well as the cycle of statuary created for the newly built Asklepieion at Messene (**Cat. S42–S43**), both completed by the sculptor Damophon, were made from local Peloponnesian marble. Many factors may account for the choice of this stone for these commissions. As a Messenian, Damophon may have been most familiar with the stone of his native region, yet his ability to craft statues in other media is well-attested.⁵⁴⁰ More plausibly, the use of local marble likely reduced the cost of the statues by cutting transportation expenses. Land transport of heavy stone

⁵³⁶ For a survey of the marble quarries in the Mani region, see Cooper 1988.

⁵³⁷ For the earliest study of the Doliana quarry, see Lepsius 1890, 31–34. For a more recent examination of the Doliana quarries, including the marble's isotopic signatures, see Attanasio, Brillì, and Ogle 2006, 105–108.

⁵³⁸ Lepsius 1890, 33.

⁵³⁹ Lepsius 1890, 31–32, although Attanasio, Brillì, and Ogle (2006, 105) remain cautious about these attributions and stress the need for more isotopic testing.

⁵⁴⁰ Pausanias informs us that, in addition to his works in marble, Damophon produced acrolithic (7.23.5–6, 8.31.6, 8.32.2) and bronze statues (8.37.1) and knew enough about chryselephantine statues to repair the Olympian Zeus (4.31.6).

cost significantly more than sea transport, and the mountainous terrain of Arkadia surely made even small distances seem great. The use of indigenous material also added to the local flavor of the cults. Within both Messene and Lykosoura, the sanctuaries embellished with Damophon's statues belonged to those deities with distinct ties to the region; Asklepios was worshipped as a Messenian hero, while Despoina was unknown outside of Arkadia. The use of a local stone, then, allowed Damophon and his patrons to physically express the ties between these powerful deities and the natural resources that fell under their purview.

An interest in local materials is found also in Asia Minor, where Prokonnesian marble was likely used for two cult statues, that of Apollo Smintheus from Chryse (**Cat. S9**) and Kybele from Pergamon (**Cat. S71**). This marble from the island of Prokonnesos (modern Marmara), is a medium-grained stone characterized by its pale blue-gray streaks. Two major types of Prokonnesian marble have been identified: a pure white variety used primarily for sculpture and a second type with gray streaks that was preferred for architectural elements, especially columns and cladding.⁵⁴¹ The ancient quarrying operation of Prokonnesos was immense; the quarries cover an area of more than 40 km² and their proximity to the sea made for relatively easy transport throughout the Mediterranean. The scale of the quarries further allowed for the large blocks necessary for massive architectural components.⁵⁴²

No isotopic analyses of cult statues of this period have yet revealed definitive extant works of Prokonnesian marble, but the as-yet-untested fragment of the cult statue at the Temple of Apollo Smintheus (**Cat. T8**), located about 300 kilometers from the quarries, was almost certainly of Prokonnesian marble. Much of the marble façade of the temple was converted into

⁵⁴¹ On the isotopic analysis of Prokonnesian marble quarries, see Asgari and Matthews 1995; De Nuccio et al. 2002; Gorgoni et al. 2002.

⁵⁴² Attanasio 2003, 201.

lime, but the surviving material is a medium-grained stone with a gray tint, corresponding to the characteristics of Prokonnesian marble.⁵⁴³ The coloring and grain size of the cult statue fragment matches that of the rest of the temple. Isotopic analyses of marble architectural fragments from Pergamon further indicate that Prokonnesian marble was favored by the Attalids for their building projects at home,⁵⁴⁴ despite their eventual interest in Pentelic marble in Athens. As a result, the stone may have been used for the supposed cult statue of Kybele discovered there. By the Roman Imperial period, large quantities of Prokonnesian marble were being shipped to Italy, but in the second century, the trade in this marble was limited mainly to the cities of Asia Minor and the northeastern Aegean islands.⁵⁴⁵

In the Greek world, it seems that marble usage generally remained relatively local, although some long-haul transport did occur.⁵⁴⁶ The Greek reluctance to move stone was due in part to the Aegean world's extensive marble supplies, making the requisition of local marble relatively easy. The Roman interventions in the eastern Mediterranean, however, has led some scholars to assume that many of the raw materials, finished works, and artisans entering the Italian peninsula in the second century were forcibly removed by the victorious Romans, thereby draining the Aegean of its natural and human resources.⁵⁴⁷ The contemporary flourishing of

⁵⁴³ Weber 1966, 108; Özgünel 2015b, 28. I thank A. Coşkun Özgünel for allowing me to study the temple and the cult statue fragment in the Smintheion Archaeological Museum.

⁵⁴⁴ Cramer, Germann, and Heilmeyer 2002; Cramer, Germann, and Kästner 2004.

⁵⁴⁵ Strabo (13.1.16) comments on the extensive use of Prokonnesian marble at Kyzikos, which took control of the island in the fourth century BCE; see Paus. 8.46.4. Vitruvius (10.2.15) contends that Prokonnesian marble was considered for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos. At Ilion, the Propylaia of the Sanctuary of Athena and several tombs in the Granikos Valley were constructed of Prokonnesian marble; see Rose 2014, 100–101, 188–189. Prokonnesian marble was found in architectural structures on Samothrace by the early third century BCE and perhaps even in earlier sculptures; see Maniatis et al. 2012. On Prokonnesian marble at Klaros, see Carlson 2011, 2014; Aylward et al. 2012.

⁵⁴⁶ Parian marble was used for the pedimental sculptures of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth and Temple of Zeus at Olympia, for example, as well as for sculptures from the Hekatompedon at Athens; see Younger and Rehak 2009, 50–51.

⁵⁴⁷ For example, Rakob 1976; Pollitt 1978; Gordon 1979; H. Martin 1987; Hölscher 1994; Coarelli 1996; Bernard 2010; Davies 2014; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; Zanker 2016.

temple construction in mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, and western Anatolia demonstrates that these communities were not being simply denuded of their sacred art. Instead, a robust trading network was established which circulated both raw materials and finished goods throughout the Mediterranean.

The Hellenistic Marble Trade

The trade of marble locally within the Aegean, as evidenced by the marble cult statues of the eastern Mediterranean, is supported by maritime archaeology. The Kızılburun shipwreck, dated to the first half of the first century BCE, for example, carried unfinished column drums of Prokonnesian marble to the Sanctuary of Apollo at Klaros (**Cat. T31**).⁵⁴⁸ This wreck verifies a sea trade in Prokonnesian marble from the island to points along the west coast of Asia Minor. It also provides important insight into the practicalities of local trade. Many scholars have discussed the contemporaneous development of *naves lapidariae*, large, wide vessels specially designed for carrying heavy loads of stone,⁵⁴⁹ but the Kızılburun wreck demonstrates that smaller vessels with more diverse cargoes also engaged in the Hellenistic maritime stone trade.

An entire column could not fit within the small hold of the Kızılburun ship, necessitating the separate shipment of four additional drums. These smaller shipments may reflect the state of manufacture specific to the Klaros temple. Building of the structure began at the end of the fourth century but was not completed until the Hadrianic period. In the intervening centuries, construction occurred in fits and starts, which is further confirmed by the different types of marble used in the temple's construction. As an extramural sanctuary, the construction depended heavily on private benefactors; lack of funding could delay the entire process, and the input of

⁵⁴⁸ Carlson 2011; Aylward et al. 2012.

⁵⁴⁹ Casson 1971; Russell 2011; Tusa 2015.

multiple benefactors may account for the varied sources of materials.⁵⁵⁰ Perhaps the small size of the Kızılburun cargo corresponded to the amount of marble a private benefactor could afford to purchase and ship at one time; if so, this wreck might shed even more light on patronage and trade in this period.

In the western Mediterranean, the evidence for second-century cult statues clearly suggests that Parian and Pentelic were the preferred marble sources used in cult image construction in this period. The cult statues discovered at the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi, however, indicate that the overseas trade in marble was varied and extensive. Isotopic analyses of the female cult statue heads, now in Copenhagen (**Cat. S68**) and Philadelphia (**Cat. S69**), revealed that the marble for the head in Copenhagen is Parian lychnites, while that in Philadelphia came from Iznik.⁵⁵¹ Underwater archaeological excavations further corroborate the diverse sources of marble for second-century Roman monuments and illuminate Mediterranean trade networks in this period. Shipwrecks containing raw materials for art and architecture, such as marble, copper, and scrap metal, as well as sculptures, both roughly worked and finished, dramatically increase for the last two centuries BCE.⁵⁵² The surviving cargo assemblages

⁵⁵⁰ Aylward et al. 2012.

⁵⁵¹ Moltesen, Romano, and Herz 2002, 102. The other second-century cult statue from the site, a male bust in Nottingham (**Cat. S70**), has not been tested.

⁵⁵² Hemingway 2016; Bouyia 2017; Velentza 2020. Shipwrecks from this time period include the Antikythera wreck, which sank off the island of Antikythera carrying bronze and marble sculptures (see Throckmorton 1970, 113–168; Parker 1992, 55–56; Kaltsas, Vlachogianni, and Bouyia 2012); the Apollonia wreck, which sank off the coast of Libya carrying bronze furniture and sculptures (see Parker 1992, 56–57); the Artemision wreck, which sank off the northern coast of Euboea carrying large-scale bronze statuary (see Vertos 1926; Parker 1992, 60; Hemingway 2004); the Fourmigue C wreck, which sank off the southeastern coast of France carrying metalwork for furniture and dining vessels (see Parker 1992, 183; Baudoin, Liou, and Long 1994); the Mahdia wreck, which sank off the coast of Tunisia carrying marble architectural elements and marble and bronze statuary (see Fuchs 1963; Parker 1992, 252–253; Hellenkemper Salies 1994); the Megadim wreck, which sank off the Carmel coast of Israel carrying over-lifesize bronze statuary (see Misch-Brandl 1985; Parker 1992, 273); the Spargi wreck, which sank off the northwestern coast of Sardinia carrying amphorae and sculpture (see Parker 1992, 409–411); and the Styra wreck, which sank in the southern Euboean Gulf carrying amphorae, bronze furniture, and lifesize bronze statuary (see Koutsouflakis et al. 2012, 50–52). Prior to this period, shipwreck evidence supports the Mediterranean transport of bronze and terracotta statuary, but not marble. I thank Aikaterini Velentza for sharing her research database with me.

indicate that these ships originated in the Hellenistic East, often Piraeus, Delos, or a major city on the western coast of Asia Minor, then traveled west.⁵⁵³ The cost and risk of maritime transport in the second century was great, but the prevalence of cult statues created of imported marble indicates that Roman patrons placed a high value on statues and marbles from the eastern Mediterranean.

Ancient Mediterranean shipwrecks attest to a change in maritime transport in the second and first centuries BCE, especially in the size of merchant vessels. It is not until the end of the second century that ships carrying cargo well over 100 tons appear in the archaeological record, suggesting that long-haul trade volume increased in this period.⁵⁵⁴ One of the most well-known ancient shipwrecks, the so-called Mahdia wreck, records the fate of a *navis lapidariae* that sank off the Tunisian coast sometime in the late second or early first century.⁵⁵⁵ What archaeologists recovered of its cargo provides some indication of the state of the marble trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean in this period. The Mahdia wreck's cargo consisted of 70 marble columns with bases and capitals in addition to marble and bronze statuary, for a total load that weighed between 200 and 250 tons. While some marble architectural elements, including the capitals and bases, had been worked and completed, the column shafts were unfinished and thus likely recently quarried. Isotopic analysis confirmed that most of the marble pieces on board the Mahdia ship, including the column shafts, were Pentelic.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ Both the Mahdia and Fourmigue C ships presumably started out from Piraeus, whereas the route of the Antikythera ship may have begun somewhere in the central/eastern Aegean area, such as Delos, Pergamon, or Ephesos. On the route of the Mahdia ship, see Hellenkemper 1994; on that of the Fourmigue C ship, see Baudoin, Liou, and Long 1994, 105; and on that of the Antikythera ship, see Bouyia 2012a, 290; 2012b, 38.

⁵⁵⁴ Wilson 2011, 39. The second century BCE marks the beginning of this increase in large, long-haul stone cargoes, the peak of which was reached in the second–third century CE; see Russell 2011, 2013a; Wilson 2011, 40.

⁵⁵⁵ Fuchs 1963; Hellenkemper Salies 1994; Herrmann et al. 2011; Hemingway 2016, 89–90.

⁵⁵⁶ Hellenkemper 1994, 153–162; Mattusch 1994, 435; von Hesberg 1994, 176–177; Bernard 2010, 45. The artworks included a marble ephebe torso, a few other small marble sculptures, a collection of bronze statuettes, and a herm of Dionysos. The herm was inscribed with the name of its creator, Boëthos of Chalcedon, a second-century sculptor.

The majority of these large transport ships carried stone from just one source, suggesting that they were engaged in direct, commissioned trade rather than tramping, which involved exchanging goods as one moved from port to port.⁵⁵⁷ Patrons or workshops purchased cargoes of stone, architectural members, or sculptures directly from sellers in the eastern Mediterranean and paid for their shipment to Rome. In his letters to Atticus, for example, Cicero advised his colleague to privately arrange shipment for the artworks he purchased in Greece.⁵⁵⁸

Greek Marble in Rome

As demonstrated by the underwater archaeological evidence and contemporary literary accounts, the Roman interest in products, especially marble, from the eastern Mediterranean grew in the second century. The Romans, however, encountered Greek architectural and artistic forms long before their impact began to appear within the city's temples. Already in the 270s BCE, Rome conquered the Greek colonies of southern Italy, after which point Greek culture began to seep into Rome, although stopping short of directly influencing sacred architecture. Instead, Roman temples maintained their traditional character with local materials, terracotta decoration, and ground plans reminiscent of that of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁵⁵⁹ Evidence of the incorporation of ideas from the architecture of mainland Greece and Asia Minor occurs only after the Punic Wars with the construction of the first marble temples in Rome. As monuments erected by aristocratic magistrates, I contend that these temples reflected the state of elite competition in this period, which was only in part driven by Rome's burgeoning ambitions in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶⁰ The choices made in the architectural and artistic decoration

⁵⁵⁷ Russell 2011, 148–149.

⁵⁵⁸ Cic. *Att.* 1.8–9.

⁵⁵⁹ Stamper 2005, 47; Howe 2016.

⁵⁶⁰ On the impact of elite competition on second-century Roman temples and cult statues, see chapter 2 of this study.

exhibited the individual benefactor's desire to literally enshrine his accomplishments, both military and civic, in a monument that would impress the public with its novelty.

Many scholars have analyzed the use of Greek materials and styles in Republican Rome through the lens of Roman victories and subsequent plunder in the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶¹ Martin, for instance, argues that many of the late Republican cult statues constructed in Italy exhibited Greek stylistic traits and materials in order to proclaim Rome's conquest of the Greek world, but I will demonstrate this argument is insufficient.⁵⁶² Certainly, Rome's first marble temple, the Temple of Jupiter Stator (**Cat. T82**), supports this argument. Quintus Caecilius Metellus commissioned this temple in 146 BCE to celebrate his triumph in the fourth Macedonian War, erecting it within the same portico that displayed his victory spoils.⁵⁶³ The connection between Rome's conquest in Greece and the material of the temple was undoubtedly clear to a Roman audience. Artistic networks in this period, however, were much more robust than the one-sided exchange frequently discussed. The appearance of a Roman architect, Cossutius, in Athens to continue work on the unfinished Temple of Olympian Zeus (**Cat. T7**) is just one example showing that artistic exchange was not unidirectional, while two additional Pentelic marble temples constructed in the late second century in Rome, the temples of Mars (**Cat. T86**) and Neptune (**Cat. T88**), had nothing to do with victories in Greece.⁵⁶⁴

Manubial explanations for the importation of Aegean marble for second-century temples and cult statues is equally inadequate and oversimplifies the complex exchange between the eastern and western Mediterranean. In part, the growing Roman interest in Greek art and

⁵⁶¹ For example, Rakob 1976; Pollitt 1978; H. Martin 1987; Hölscher 1994; Coarelli 1996; Bernard 2010; Davies 2014; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; Zanker 2016.

⁵⁶² H. Martin 1987.

⁵⁶³ Vit. 3.2.5; Plin. *HN* 36.40; Val. Max. 1.11.3.

⁵⁶⁴ Bernard 2010, 47.

architecture stemmed from elite Romans who valued Greek culture as an essential part of a well-rounded education.⁵⁶⁵ To employ Greek materials, craftsmen, or forms within a monument therefore expressed very clear notions about the patron's character and standing. Similarly, in a period of intense competition among the Roman elite, these works left a notable impression upon both the landscape and the minds of the patron's contemporaries. Just as Hellenizing influences found their way to Rome, however, Romanizing influences impacted the Aegean. It is therefore more appropriate to consider the diverse cultures comprising the Mediterranean in this period as in dialogue rather than in competition.⁵⁶⁶

This overview of the major known sources of marble for second-century cult statues in Greece, Anatolia, and the Italian peninsula demonstrates that the stone came almost exclusively from the Aegean world, especially Attika, Paros, Prokonnesos, and the Peloponnese. The cost and time this valuable material added to the construction of a cult image may be just one underlying reason behind a noticeable change observed in techniques of stoneworking in this period, whereby sculptors predominantly used small pieces of marble to create monumental works. Both acrolithic statues, those which combine stone and wood, and pieced statues, those completely of stone but formed from multiple parts, typify the construction of marble cult statues of all scales in the second century.

⁵⁶⁵ Zanker 2016, 92.

⁵⁶⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 3–37; Townsend 2016.

Acrolithic Technique

The English term acrolith comes from the Greek word ἀκρόλιθος, meaning “with extremities of stone,” but ancient sources rarely used the term.⁵⁶⁷ It is only found in an epigram of the third century BCE,⁵⁶⁸ Hellenistic inscriptions from Argos and Delos,⁵⁶⁹ and brief quotations in Vitruvius and the *Historia Augusta*.⁵⁷⁰ Pausanias never specifically uses the term, instead describing the statues as composites of wood and marble.⁵⁷¹ Winckelmann was the first to apply the term in modern scholarship for statues which combined a wooden body or core with exposed flesh, such as the head and limbs, carved from marble. Acrolithic sculptures were produced already in the Archaic period and the technique remained popular into the Roman Imperial period. Two female figures from San Francesco Bisconti in Morgantina represent the earliest attested acrolithic cult statues in the Greek and Roman worlds, dating to the late sixth century.⁵⁷² From the end of the sixth to the mid-fifth century, most acrolithic statues were produced in South Italy and Sicily,⁵⁷³ but the technique was more widespread by the High Classical period, with even Pheidias creating an acrolithic cult statue.⁵⁷⁴

In the second century, the technique proved especially popular among sculptors of cult statues, with about 30% of all known second-century cult images produced in this technique, accounting for nearly 40% of all marble cult statues (**Graph 3.4**). Of these acrolithic statues, only the stone extremities survive to the present day. The heads of such statues, however, exhibit technical details that distinguish them from other forms of marble statue construction, typically

⁵⁶⁷ *LSJ*, s.v. ἀκρόλιθος; see also Häger-Weigel 1997, 3–11; Marconi 2007a, 4.

⁵⁶⁸ *Anth. Pal.* 12.40.2.

⁵⁶⁹ Argos: *IG IV* 558, line 14; Delos: *ID* 1417, face A, column I, line 50; 1426, face B, column II, line 22.

⁵⁷⁰ *Vitr.* 2.8.11; *Hist. Aug.* 30 tyr. 32.

⁵⁷¹ See, for example, Paus. 7.23.5, 8.31.6.

⁵⁷² Marconi 2008.

⁵⁷³ Häger-Weigel 1997, 259–264.

⁵⁷⁴ According to Pausanias (9.4.1), Pheidias made an acrolithic cult statue of Athena Areia at Plataia.

ending in a rounded, shallow tenon for insertion into a body or core of another material, often wood (**Fig. 3.3**). The tooling on the lower part of the neck tenon, moreover, is left roughly finished to secure the adhesive used to join the marble head to its body. In addition, a cavity extends through the neck of the head for the insertion of a wooden pole support. A feature common to many over-lifesize marble heads of both acrolithic and pieced statues from the second century is the hollowing out of the back of the head. This surface is left rough and unfinished, with deep furrows from the use of a point chisel. The rest of the head would then be added as a separate piece of marble or plaster. This technique may have been used to reduce the weight of the stone on top of the wooden core and prevent the head from tilting forward under its own weight.⁵⁷⁵

The drapery of acrolithic statues was crafted out of more lightweight materials, often gilded or painted wood, bronze sheeting, marble veneer, or plaster. Two of the second-century cult statues discovered at the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi preserve evidence of such added drapery. Of these, the male bust now in Nottingham (**Cat. S70**) likely received drapery of bronze, perhaps gilded, as evidenced by green staining along the left side of the chest, while the head of Diana in Copenhagen (**Cat. S68**) may have been draped in marble veneer, a piece of which was discovered at Nemi and is now in the collection in Nottingham. This latter fragment includes two small holes where wooden dowels would have secured the fragment to the statue's wooden core.⁵⁷⁶ While the inclusion of marble drapery strays from the precise definition of the acrolithic technique, in which only a statue's extremities were made of marble, the process of

⁵⁷⁵ On acrolithic construction and the evidence for the technique gleaned from extant heads, see Despinis 1975, 2004; Guldager Bilde 1995, 2000; Faulstich 1997, 97; Häger-Weigel 1997; Ridgway 2000, 234–245; Giustozzi 2001.

⁵⁷⁶ Nottingham, Castle Museum Inv. N791; see Guldager Bilde 1995, 199–200. Guldager Bilde suggests that the marble type, size, technique, and iconography of the drapery fragment connect it to the Copenhagen head.

applying the veneer to the central wooden core is technically similar to the attachment of marble limbs. Such drapery of marble veneer was more costly than other materials and thus would have added extra prestige to this particular statue.⁵⁷⁷

By joining parts made of marble, bronze, and wood, acrolithic statues closely resembled those constructed in the chryselephantine technique, which united ivory and gold leaf over a wooden core; such sculptures were particularly popular as cult statues in the Classical period.⁵⁷⁸ The acrolithic technique thus is frequently seen as a derivation of chryselephantine statuary, intended as a less expensive alternative to these works of ivory and gold.⁵⁷⁹ The earliest attested acrolithic cult images, those from Morgantina, support this idea as they date shortly after the appearance of lifesize chryselephantine statuary on mainland Greece.⁵⁸⁰ The cost and extravagance of the gold and ivory used in chryselephantine statues not only showcased the wealth of the polis or patron who commissioned these works, but also exemplified a fundamental component of the Greeks' vision of their gods: more than any other materials, gold and ivory possessed an inherent radiance that translated a divine presence into the physical world.⁵⁸¹ Later literary accounts also describe Pheidias's unmatched skill at envisioning and representing the gods,⁵⁸² leading Faulstich to argue that patrons and artisans of Hellenistic cult images sought to emulate the great cult statues of the Classical period, especially the Pheidian chryselephantine statues of Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus.⁵⁸³ While these works undoubtedly shaped how

⁵⁷⁷ Guldager Bilde 1995, 199–200, 213; Romano 2006, 80–81.

⁵⁷⁸ Guldager Bilde 1995, 213–214; Lapatin 2001, 137. Among the corpus of Classical chryselephantine cult statues are the famed Athena Parthenos and Olympian Zeus by Pheidias.

⁵⁷⁹ See, for example, Guldager Bilde 1995, 214–215; Faulstich 1997; Ridgway 2000, 231–232; Giustozzi 2001, 62; Despini 2004.

⁵⁸⁰ Lapatin 2001, 57–61; Marconi 2007a, 5.

⁵⁸¹ Plin. *HN* 8.31; Paus. 5.12.3; see also Stewart 1990, 36. Homer describes the skin of Penelope (admittedly, a mortal) as “whiter than new-sawn ivory” (*Od.* 18.186).

⁵⁸² Philostr. *VA* 6.19.

⁵⁸³ Faulstich 1997; followed by Ridgway 2000, 231–232.

ancient Greeks and Romans conceptualized cult statues, much as they still do today, this view, I suggest, is overly simplistic, failing to take into account the varying styles and materials used in second-century cult images. Most importantly, it neglects the sheer number of acrolithic cult statues in Italy—more so than in Greece—where a chryselephantine tradition of cult images might have been known but never emerged prior to this period.⁵⁸⁴

In addition to acrolithic statues, there survives a small group of “pseudo-acrolithic” or “polylithic” sculptures which combine a body of one stone, often limestone, with extremities of another, often marble; they thus cannot properly be termed acrolithic as the entire statue is of stone.⁵⁸⁵ Evidence for polylithic statuary comes primarily from Sicily where the technique is first found within architectural sculpture, in figures carved on the metopes of the Temple of Hera (E) at Selinous, and free-standing sculpture, in a female statue from Morgantina.⁵⁸⁶ A colossal cult statue of Zeus from Soluntum (**Cat. S59**), dated to the second half of the second century, was also constructed in the polylithic technique: the face and neck were sculpted from white marble while the rest of the body was carved from limestone.

Clemente Marconi suggests that a lack of white marble resources in Sicily was the impetus behind the development of this polylithic technique, which would explain why it is not commonly found in other, marble-rich regions of the Mediterranean, such as Greece and Asia Minor.⁵⁸⁷ However, the technique occurs in a statue from the fourth-century Mausoleum of

⁵⁸⁴ On the introduction of the chryselephantine technique to Rome through looted artworks and the migration of Greek sculptors following the Roman conquests in the eastern Mediterranean, see Lapatin 2001, 121–122. Of the second-century acrolithic cult statues, one is from Anatolia, two are from the Aegean islands, seven are from mainland Greece, and twelve are from Italy and Sicily. For further discussion, see below.

⁵⁸⁵ On “pseudo-acrolithic statues,” see Pollini 1988; Marconi 2007a. Despinis (2004, 250–251), however, argues against the use of the term “pseudo-acrolithic,” contending that the technique is not intended to imitate true acrolithic statues of wood and stone. He instead prefers the term “polylithic,” which is the term I use here. Statues made of different types of marble, such as Parian for the head, but Pentelic for the body, also fall under the category of polylithic sculpture.

⁵⁸⁶ Aidone, Archaeological Museum Inv. 19; Marconi 2007a, 6–7.

⁵⁸⁷ Marconi 2007a, 9–10; 2012. On polylithic figures as a Sicilian phenomenon, see also Pollini 1988.

Halikarnassos and perhaps also in a votive statue dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis in the Archaic period.⁵⁸⁸ The second-century cult statue of Zeus Sosipolis of Magnesia (**Cat. S38**), moreover, exhibits this technique; white Cycladic marble was used for the figure's flesh while its drapery was rendered in a blue-gray marble from Anatolia. These non-Sicilian examples and the absence of the technique in surviving statuary from other marble-poor regions, such as the Italian peninsula, suggest that a lack of resources alone cannot explain its development. From an aesthetic standpoint, the mixed materials may have enlivened compositions produced in this technique and distinguished them from statues constructed of a single material. Additionally, the resurgence of acrolithic and polyolithic statues in the second century may be linked to contemporary artists' training and workshop practices, which reveal a general interest in selecting, calibrating, and assembling stone statues of all types.⁵⁸⁹

Piecing Technique

Sculptors also combined exclusively marble components to form statues in the so-called piecing technique. The two techniques are closely linked and appear to have developed nearly simultaneously in the Archaic period.⁵⁹⁰ The piecing technique was the most common technique by which second-century cult statues were constructed, accounting for 37% of all known cult images in this period and nearly half of those made of marble (see **Graph 3.4**). This technique seems to emerge as an alternative to monoliths and was used in the production of Hellenistic

⁵⁸⁸ The body of the statue of "Mausolos" from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (London, British Museum Inv. 1000) is made of Pentelic marble while the head is in Parian; see Waywell 1978, 97–103, no. 26. In addition, the attached forearms of a kore statue from the Acropolis (Athens, Acropolis Museum Inv. 671) are of Parian marble, but its body may be Pentelic; see Jacob 2019, 658.

⁵⁸⁹ The Nike of Samothrace, for example, was assembled from individually sculpted pieces of marble from three different quarries on Paros; see Pagès-Camagna and Laugier 2015, 100–103.

⁵⁹⁰ Despini 2004, 251; Jacob 2019, 664.

marble statues of all types, not just cult images.⁵⁹¹ Sculptors of the Archaic and Classical periods generally followed natural anatomical divisions in dividing stone statues into multiple parts, but Hellenistic sculptors took piecing to a new extreme by increasing the number of parts and dividing sections of the figure in rather surprising ways.⁵⁹²

Most significantly for pieced statues, the body itself is composed of two or more blocks onto which are joined the remaining body parts.⁵⁹³ Many of the pieces joined typically take the form of discrete body parts, as can be seen by the numerous fragments of the cult statue group from the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, where the display of the statues in the on-site museum includes a hodgepodge of appendages (**Cat. S36**). Stone pieces inserted into one another frequently employed mortise and tenon joins. These joins could rely simply on the force of gravity and the weight of the marble to hold everything together, but more often adhesive, dowels, or crosspins—and at times all three—were used to ensure stability.⁵⁹⁴ This diversity of joining techniques is found within the extant fragments of second-century cult statues.

Everything from large, rectangular wooden dowels for bulkier pieces, like the insertion of an arm into a shoulder socket, down to small metal dowel holes for the attachment of individual pieces of hair were part of the second-century sculptor's bag of tricks.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ General introductions to the technique of piecing stone statues in antiquity include Adam 1966, 80–82; Claridge 1990; Jacob 2019. Marcadé (1969) provides a good overview of the technique for the Hellenistic period based on the statues of Delos. For a summary of the scholarship on pieced sculpture in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods, see Guldager Bilde 1995, 213–215.

⁵⁹² Jacob 2019, 668.

⁵⁹³ Jacob 2019, 658–661. Jacob distinguishes between “assembled” statues, those in which the body is composed of multiple blocks, and “completed” statues, where the body is monolithic but extraneous elements, like the head and limbs, are attached separately.

⁵⁹⁴ For ancient adhesives, see Adam 1966, 81–82; Claridge 1990, 136, 153–154. For insertion techniques, see Jacob 2019, 671–675.

⁵⁹⁵ For example, a large dowel hole is found on the left arm of the male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2B**), while small holes for the attachment of hair can be seen on the head of Anytos from the cult group at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36D**).

Even individual parts could themselves be formed from several pieces of marble. The head of Demeter from the Lykosoura cult group exemplifies such a technique (**Cat. S36R**). The majority of the head was carved from a single piece of marble, but roughly tooled bedding surfaces for the attachment of additional pieces of the veil and hair can be seen clearly on both sides of the head. Instead of mortise and tenon joins, here the sculptor employed butt joins. As in architecture, the joining surfaces were prepared with a roughed-out surface surrounded by anathyrosis; the anathyrosis allowed for a seamless join between the two pieces while the abraded center facilitated the bonding of the adhesive. A lightweight attachment might only require the adhesive, but most butt joins were further secured with a dowel.⁵⁹⁶ The inclusion of dowels within a butt join is apparent on the torso of Artemis from Lykosoura, where the socket for the right arm has been worked into a roughly picked bedding surface and a dowel hole inserted to secure the arm's attachment (**Cat. S36J3**).

The Second-Century Preference for Assembled Statues

The physical evidence clearly demonstrates a prevalence for pieced and acrolithic cult statues in the second century but the impetus behind the dramatic resurgence of these assembling techniques is less certain.⁵⁹⁷ Some scholars have suggested that these techniques were more cost effective than the creation of similarly-sized monolithic statues: by using smaller pieces of stone, sculptors reduced the amount of waste material they produced of this expensive, potentially imported, material.⁵⁹⁸ In addition, a sculptor could more quickly and easily carve a limb from a

⁵⁹⁶ Jacob 2019, 676–678.

⁵⁹⁷ Pieced statues appear already in the Archaic period, but the practice becomes far more common in the Hellenistic period; see Jacob 2019, 658–659. For a partial list of pieced Hellenistic statues, see Hamiaux 2004, 128–129.

⁵⁹⁸ For example, Merker 1973; H. Martin 1987; Claridge 1988, 140–141; Guldager Bilde 1995, 213–215; Ridgway 2000, 232–233. Ridgway notes that acrolithic construction allowed for a lighter and less expensive statue, thereby making a colossal sculpture more practically and financially feasible.

small piece of stone than from a monolithic block intended for the entire statue.⁵⁹⁹ While this explanation may make sense for Roman cult statue production, these construction techniques enjoyed similar popularity in the Aegean, where marble supplies were extensive and existing quarries could easily accommodate the increased demand for marble, exemplified by the revival of the Pentelic quarries outside Athens.⁶⁰⁰ Archaeological evidence of shipwreck assemblages, meanwhile, attests to a thriving trade in raw materials and finished sculptures throughout the Mediterranean in this period. As we have seen, the transport of stone cargoes, whether raw material or finished sculptures, was not limited to large *naves lapidariae*. While such large shipments like that carried on the Mahdia ship undoubtedly cost a significant amount of money, other wrecks, like that at Kızılburun, indicate that marble could also be transported in less expensive cargoes on smaller ships. Under the right circumstances, the opportunity to import quantities of foreign marble was available even to patrons and clients with smaller pocketbooks. Nonetheless, the Mediterranean trade network may have played a role in the resurgence of these techniques in a different way. The ability to transport small pieces of a sculpture which could then be assembled on site reduced the chance of breakage in transit.⁶⁰¹

Piecing a statue together, moreover, requires greater skill and time to measure, align, and set components; carve dowels and dowel holes; and create joining surfaces. Amanda Claridge has therefore suggested that by the second century, a sculptor's ability to create a seamless join may have been prized more highly than his skill at carving from a single block of stone.⁶⁰² To join two separate pieces together accurately and flawlessly required a consummate level of expertise on the part of the sculptor; indeed Lucian considered the piecing of stone a requisite

⁵⁹⁹ Jacob 2019, 665.

⁶⁰⁰ Bernard and Pike 2015, 451–455; see also the discussion above.

⁶⁰¹ Jacob 2019, 665.

⁶⁰² Claridge 1988, 140; 1990, 135.

skill for sculptors.⁶⁰³ Elements of the composition, such as deep drapery folds or edges of garments, could help conceal joins, but exposed flesh left little room for error.⁶⁰⁴ The dexterity and time required to skillfully join pieces of marble together to form a statue may suggest, then, as Irene Romano has argued, that the cost of labor was relatively low and thus less significant for the choice of a sculpture's technique than the cost of the marble.⁶⁰⁵ Piecing required smaller blocks of stone and ensured less waste of the material; the technique also provided more forgiveness for mistakes with each part interchangeable. A miscut arm or lumpy foot could be easily swapped for a new appendage and avoided the emotionally and financially devastating prospect of starting completely anew.

Alongside such economic factors, the prevalence of assembled statues perhaps also indicates developments in workshop practices. Carving a statue could involve specialists in certain areas of sculptural production; such a division of labor seems especially probable for major commissions, like large, multigure compositions.⁶⁰⁶ In modern Italian marble sculpting, workshops consist of artisans who specialize in particular anatomical features, such as hands or feet, or in specific techniques, like surface finishing.⁶⁰⁷ Such an approach seems likely for ancient sculptural workshops as well, but perhaps not to the same degree of specialization. This division of labor may have allowed a workshop to more easily divide the work of a single statue among its personnel.

The piecing technique may have found further favor for its ability to reduce the susceptibility of the statue's extremities to breakage. The dowels and adhesives holding the

⁶⁰³ Lucian, *Somn.* 2.

⁶⁰⁴ Claridge 1988, 140.

⁶⁰⁵ Romano 2006, 80.

⁶⁰⁶ Younger (2004) argues that repetitive scenes on the Parthenon frieze allowed for a division of labor that sped up the completion process; see also Hasaki 2012, 267–268; Claridge 2015, 113–114.

⁶⁰⁷ Rockwell 1993, 178–186; Conlin 1997, 87.

disparate pieces together functioned as an internal support network, with the result that these statues no longer required the conspicuous external struts and supports found in sculptures carved from a single block of stone.⁶⁰⁸ As a heavy material with low tensile strength, marble requires either external struts or internal reinforcements to support outstretched appendages. Internal support systems could take several forms, including adhesive, cement, or dowels of wood or metal. Pieced sculptures, then, could occupy more active poses than their monolithic counterparts without external supports to detract from the overall composition.⁶⁰⁹

By employing the piecing technique, an exceptionally skilled sculptor could create the illusion of a work crafted from a single block of marble but with a lower likelihood of breakage. When Pausanias observed the colossal cult group of Damophon in the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**), he found credible the local legend that the entire composition was crafted from a single piece of stone miraculously discovered near the sanctuary, specifically citing the lack of iron clamps or cement as proof.⁶¹⁰ The fragments of the Lykosoura cult group that survive to the present, however, indicate very clearly that the statues were joined together from multiple pieces of marble, as discussed above. Part of Damophon's skill as a sculptor, therefore, may have lain in his ability to mask the process of his craft and deceive viewers into believing that a pieced sculpture was in fact a monolith.⁶¹¹

In parallel to such financial and technical arguments, other scholars, as discussed above, have proposed that pieced and acrolithic cult statues exploded in popularity during the

⁶⁰⁸ Guldager Bilde 1995, 214; Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, 16; Romano 2006, 80.

⁶⁰⁹ The figure of Artemis from the Lykosoura cult statue group exemplifies a pose achieved through the piecing technique as she rushes forward with her hunting dog at her heels, with no struts to mar the action of the image; see **Cat. S36A–B**. Anguissola (2018), however, argues that the Romans may have valued the appearance of struts, some of which were decoratively carved or painted.

⁶¹⁰ Paus. 8.37.3.

⁶¹¹ Statues carved from a single block of stone earned particular acclaim in the ancient Greek world. Pliny claims the same feat for the Laokoon (*HN* 36.5), and the inscription on the base of the Naxian Apollo on Delos (*ID* 4) attests that the statue and its plinth were crafted from one stone.

Hellenistic period as a way to imitate the famous chryselephantine statues of the Classical period.⁶¹² While the materials and techniques of such images do emulate, to some degree, chryselephantine statues, the style and scale of these works simply cannot compare with their monumental predecessors. Overwhelmingly, second-century cult statues exhibit a mixture of styles that combine motifs from a variety of sculptural traditions. The Lykosoura cult statue group nicely demonstrates this eclecticism. Both the idealizing forms of Classical cult statues and the softer modeling of fourth-century sculpture are particularly visible in the group's two female heads (**Cat. S36I, R**), while the hair and beard of Anytos (**Cat. S36D**) more directly align with contemporary Hellenistic interest in movement and expression.⁶¹³ Similarly, the scale of second-century cult statues falls far below that of the famed Classical chryselephantine masterpieces. Most second-century works range from just over lifesize to about 6.00 meters in height, with a select few reaching as high as 8.00 meters.⁶¹⁴ The Athena Parthenos, on the other hand, stood about 11.50 meters high and the Olympian Zeus over 13.00 meters.⁶¹⁵

An alternative explanation for the popularity of these techniques may lie, I suggest, in the fact that some sculptors were trained in multiple techniques and media. Under such circumstances, both the acrolithic and piecing technique may have developed out of a practice intended to be easily adaptable to disparate materials. Damophon, for example, is known to have created statues of bronze, wood, and marble, both pieced and acrolithic. He also possessed enough skill in working ivory that he was commissioned to repair the chryselephantine cult

⁶¹² For example, Faulstich 1997; Ridgway 2000, 231–232; see also the discussion above.

⁶¹³ For stylistic analyses of the Lykosoura cult group, see Stewart 1990, 94–96; Faulstich 1997, 167–168; Damaskos 1999, 58–70; Ridgway 2000, 237; Marcadé 2008; Platt 2011, 125–131.

⁶¹⁴ The tallest second-century cult statues are those from the statuary group in the Temple of Apollo at Klaros (**Cat. S28**) and the statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei in Rome (**Cat. S53**). Based on the size of the surviving fragments, these statues would have reached about 8.00 meters in height.

⁶¹⁵ Pliny (*HN* 36.18) records the height of the Athena Parthenos as 26 cubits (11.54 m). On the size of the Olympian Zeus, see Pfeiffer 1941; McWilliam et al. 2011.

statue of Zeus at Olympia.⁶¹⁶ The simultaneous development of the piecing and acrolithic techniques in the Archaic period, and their re-emergence together in the second century, further suggests that the technical similarities between these two processes was a strong motivator for their concurrent use. Perhaps assembling became a popular technique in this period due to a new aesthetic that prized both the skill required in piecing statues and the stability provided by internal supports. While logistical and financial concerns may have spurred an interest in assembled statues in Italy, technical training and workshop practice stimulated the resurgence in the Aegean. After all, statues of all scales were pieced during this period, indicating that the practice went beyond that of cult image making.⁶¹⁷

Applied Materials

In addition to the primary materials used in their construction, applied materials, including plaster, paint, metal attachments, and inlays of various stone or metals, augmented second-century cult statues, just as they did other Greek and Roman sculptures. While many of these materials no longer survive, evidence of their use remains on the extant statues from this period. These supplementary additions are found on statues of all media; both wood and bronze cult statues were gilded, while bronze and marble statues contained inlays of other metals and stones. Through their form and material, the application of these supplements helped to create the stunning centerpieces that graced temple cellas in this period.

⁶¹⁶ On Damophon's repair of the Olympian Zeus, see Paus. 4.31.6; Poimenidou 2015. On Damophon's numerous cult statue commissions and successful career as a sculptor, see chapter 2 of this study.

⁶¹⁷ For example, the Nike of Samothrace was assembled from multiple pieces of Parian marble quarried from three different sources on the island; see Pagès-Camagna and Laugier 2015, 100–103. On a smaller scale, second-century statuettes found at Nemi were also pieced together; see Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, 15–16; Romano 2006, 79–81.

Plaster

Plaster is made by burning marble or travertine to create lime, which is then mixed with pulverized marble and other ingredients to create a hard mortar. Plaster can be cast in molds or quickly worked with spatulas and incising tools to create desired forms before the surface dries.⁶¹⁸ Although primarily used in the ancient Mediterranean as architectural decoration, interest in which increased in the Hellenistic period,⁶¹⁹ plaster also featured in both bronze and marble statue construction. The ability to use waste product from the carving process made plaster readily available to ancient sculptors. As a result, it formed the cores of bronze statues and additional compositional elements attached to marble sculptures.

Before applying plaster, the underlying surface must be scored or roughened to bond the substance to its base. Once formed, plaster can be decorated with paint or by incisions and impressions made by hand or simple tools.⁶²⁰ Several extant second-century cult statues reveal evidence that they once included additional elements modeled in plaster. Rough tooling with the claw chisel and the lack of dowel holes on the back of the head of Anytos from Lykosoura (**Cat. S36D2**), for example, suggests that the entire back half of the head was formed out of plaster. Similarly, parts of the beard for the male bust from Nemi, now in Nottingham (**Cat. S70**), were likely added in plaster. The bottom and right side of the beard are missing today; a joining surface created by the claw chisel follows the shape of the face, making an addition in marble unlikely.⁶²¹ Additional cult statues, such as the colossal male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2**), also show signs that additional hair or beard locks were added in plaster.

⁶¹⁸ Penny 1993, 191.

⁶¹⁹ Wright 2005, 171.

⁶²⁰ Wright 2005, 173–174.

⁶²¹ Guldager Bilde 1995, 207.

Sculptors saved both time and money by adding details in plaster to their stone statues. Like pieced marble statues generally, we might expect to see statues with plaster additions primarily in Italy, where the limited resources and cost of imported stone might have necessitated the use of cheaper and more readily available materials to complete certain works. The statues from Nemi attest that the phenomenon can be found in the Italian peninsula, but the statues from Aigeira and Lykosoura once again indicate that the practice was widespread and thus unconnected to the availability and cost of materials alone. Its use may relate more to the division of labor within the workshop, where entry-level artisans had the task of modeling certain details, such as hair and beard locks, in the more forgiving material of plaster. In the case of the head of Anytos, it also seems that plaster was appropriate for aspects of the statue that would not be visible to the general viewer, such as the back or top of the head. Plaster, like white marble, could also be painted with ease, not only to hide any joins or telltale signs of the added material, but also to enliven the overall composition.

Paint

All extant second-century marble cult statues were made from white marbles; the use of colored marbles within sculptural compositions would not become popular until the Roman Imperial period.⁶²² The monochromatic material, however, provided sculptors with a blank slate which they could embellish using paint and specific carving techniques to create evocative and textured works of art. It is well-known that ancient Greek and Roman marble statues were

⁶²² Gregarek 1999, 2002. Colored stone sculpture in Rome first emerged in the Augustan period but flourished especially in the Flavian and Hadrianic periods. Strabo (9.5.16) discusses how white marbles declined in value as colored stones became popular under Augustus. The earliest examples of Greek sculpture of colored stones come from Rhodes and date to the late second century BCE. These statues, however, were constructed of red and green limestone, not marble.

brightly painted. That sculpture and painting were collaborative crafts in the ancient Mediterranean is attested by an anecdote concerning the value Praxiteles placed on his own works, whereby he regarded most highly those statues which had been painted by Nikias.⁶²³ Unfortunately, little evidence survives of the original polychromy of many second-century cult statues. In part, this lacuna is due to preservation; paint does not survive as well as the underlying stone. In addition, early modern conservation and restoration techniques destroyed evidence of polychromy through abrasive cleaning. Further, few statues have undergone extensive analyses using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) or ultra-violet (UV) illumination which can help identify any remaining traces of paint. Increased interest in ancient polychromy, however, has shed more light on second-century techniques for painting sculpture.⁶²⁴

While other materials, such as limestone, require a ground upon which to apply pigment, fine-grained white marbles, like Parian and Pentelic, can have paint directly applied to their surface if sufficiently smoothed and polished. These high-quality marbles, free of impurities and inclusions, provide an ideal base for the application of paint.⁶²⁵ Recent polychromy studies of Hellenistic sculpture have identified several technical developments in the painting of marble statues in this period. Although direct application of the paint is found in Archaic and Classical marble statues, by the Hellenistic period artisans more frequently used a chalk primer prior to

⁶²³ Plin. *HN* 35.133.

⁶²⁴ See, for example, Brinkmann and Wünsche 2007; Brinkmann and Scholl 2010; Østergaard and Nielsen 2014; Brinkmann, Dreyfus, and Koch-Brinkmann 2017. On the presence of Egyptian blue on the Nike of Samothrace, see Pagès-Camagna and Laugier 2015, 95–99.

⁶²⁵ Brinkmann 2014, 97.

painting, especially to cover imperfections in the marble.⁶²⁶ In addition, Hellenistic artists began using the tempera technique, adding organic binders like egg yolk to their pigments.⁶²⁷

Another development identified in Hellenistic painting is the expanded palette of colors available to artisans. Artists not only discovered new sources of pigment, but aesthetic tastes also affected the application and selection of colors. Studies of painted terracotta statuettes indicate that a preference for more saturated colors emerged in the second century,⁶²⁸ and in particular reveal a fondness for light blue and bright pink.⁶²⁹ The colors available to second-century artists were numerous, including reds, yellows, greens, pinks, and blues, as well as black and white.⁶³⁰ Artists further expanded this palette by applying multiple layers of different colors to create varied hues.⁶³¹ To accentuate the colors and protect them from the elements, painted stone statues were finished with a layer of wax. This process of *ganosis* involved the application of a mixture of paraffin wax and olive oil.⁶³² The wax mixture not only protected the painted surfaces from the damaging effects of the sun, wind, and rain but also intensified the natural luminescence of the stone.

Although little evidence of painting remains on the extant fragments of second-century cult statues, recent conservation analyses have revealed important findings that help illustrate

⁶²⁶ Brinkmann 2007, 167. Brinkmann suggests that this practice arose from the use of lower quality materials. In the Archaic and Classical periods, craftsmen only primed the surface when painting on limestone. He suggests, however, that the quality of marble decreased in the Hellenistic period, requiring artisans to prime the surface before painting.

⁶²⁷ Zink 2014, 245.

⁶²⁸ Brinkmann 2007, 162.

⁶²⁹ Blume 2014, 172.

⁶³⁰ Blume identifies both organic and inorganic sources for Hellenistic pigments: “The pigments were particularly ochre in red, yellow and green tones, red, bright pink and yellow iron oxides (such as hematite and goethite), cinnabar red, madder lake (an organic bright pink or red colour made from a root) light yellow vanadium, blue azurite, Egyptian blue (an artificially produced colour), green malachite, green celadonite (a form of green earth) as well as lead white and black coal” (2014, 168–172).

⁶³¹ Blume 2014, 168.

⁶³² Vitruvius (7.9.3–4) claims this polish was only applied to the nude parts of marble sculptures, while Pliny (*HN* 33.122) contends it was put on all painted surfaces; see also Stewart 1990, 41–42; Palagia 2006, 260–261.

how these works might have looked upon completion. Polychromy studies of Hellenistic statues indicate that black and white were used almost exclusively to highlight details, such as the outlining of eyes or the corners of lips. Black, however, was also applied to make elements of a work “invisible,” thereby helping guide the viewer’s eye to the important elements of the composition by making other areas less noticeable.⁶³³ During a recent conservation treatment that utilized both UV illumination and XRF, conservators examining the statue of Zeus from Soluntum (**Cat. S59**) discovered black pigment in the creases of the drapery and strands of the beard.⁶³⁴ The black pigment in the drapery and beard enlivened the figure by both drawing attention to the more brightly painted areas of the composition and accentuating the chiaroscuro effect of the sculpted form by deepening the shadows in the recesses of the drapery and strands of hair. In addition to the black pigment, researchers discovered two layers of pigment had been placed in the pupils and irises of the Soluntum Zeus to add depth to the figure’s eyes. Similar techniques may have been used in other marble cult statues of this period. The head of Demeter from Lykosoura, for example, has grooved irises (**Cat. S36R**), perhaps for the application of paint or even inlay of another material. When painted, the eyes, although carved, may have resembled other statues with inlaid eyes.

Color was an essential component of Greek and Roman statues, despite its virtual absence today. Both marble and bronze were prized for their own aesthetic value, but the frequent embellishment of these statues with colorful materials enlivened the overall compositions. In the second century, paint seems to have been used to create the most evocative representation possible; consequently, even statues of the highest quality Parian marble, noted

⁶³³ Blume 2014, 172.

⁶³⁴ Milazzo et al. 2018, 86–91.

for its translucency and purity, were painted to resemble flesh.⁶³⁵ Very few artists left the color of the stone alone to represent the figure's skin, but some statues reveal that artists upped the ante even further by using gold leaf instead of paint.

Gilding

The portrayal of golden skin may have emphasized the divinity of the subject represented, especially for the Greeks who sought gleaming representations of their gods. Gilded statues from the Hellenistic period most often depicted deities, rulers, and heroes, indicating that this dazzling feature helped denote the exceptional nature of the figure represented.⁶³⁶ In addition, gilded marble emulates chryselephantine statues, reproducing materials connected closely with the Greek conception of the divine.⁶³⁷ Gilding also added to the luxury and expense of the statue; neither the raw material nor the labor needed to complete the delicate process came cheaply.⁶³⁸ Despite these prestigious connotations, however, the only gilded second-century cult statue to survive is the Hercules Aemilianus (**Cat. S74**), discussed above. Gilding appeared more often in a statue's accessories, including two marble cult statues from Delos (**Cat. S10–S11**) that held gilded marble or wooden attributes, while acrolithic statues, such as the male bust from Nemi (**Cat. S70**), might have borne gilded drapery and other accoutrements.⁶³⁹

Bronze sculptures already shone like gold, but the statue of Hercules Aemilianus indicates that the gleaming material was not immune from further embellishment through the

⁶³⁵ Blume 2014, 177–178; Koch-Brinkmann, Piening, and Brinkmann 2014.

⁶³⁶ Blume 2014, 178–182.

⁶³⁷ For example, Virgil compares polished ivory to gilded Parian marble: Verg. *Aen.* 1.592.

⁶³⁸ Bourgeois, Jockey, and Karydas 2011; Anguissola 2018, 95–96.

⁶³⁹ Agathe Tyche from Delos (**Cat. S10**) held a gilded cornucopia and wore a gilded bronze wreath; the cult statue of Aphrodite in the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (**Cat. S11**) held a gilded wooden phiale. For the addition of bronze, possibly gilded, drapery fragments to the male bust from Nemi, see Guldager Bilde 1995, 199–200, and the discussion above.

application of gold leaf. It is clear from both extant bronze statues and literary sources that bronze corrodes and changes color rather quickly, turning from a lustrous golden hue to matte brown, blue, green, and black. Both Pausanias and Pliny recorded efforts by ancient curators to delay this inevitable corrosion with the application of bitumen and oil.⁶⁴⁰ Recent experiments in replicating the bitumen-oil mixture described by these ancient authors revealed that the degree of dilution impacted the lacquer's color, ranging from a transparent polish to a black coating.⁶⁴¹ A failsafe measure to preserve the golden color of freshly cast bronze, however, was quite literally to cover it in gold. Ancient artisans used two separate processes for the gilding of bronze statues: cold gilding and fire gilding. The technique of cold gilding resembles painting, through which artisans apply the gold leaf to the bronze surface and adhere it with a bonding agent.

Alternatively, in fire gilding craftsmen heat the bronze surface, then cover it with quicksilver and gold sheets. This process causes the gold to bind chemically with the bronze, creating a much more resilient surface.⁶⁴²

Marble statues could also be gilded in a process like that of cold gilding in bronzes, as revealed through recent analyses of Hellenistic sculptures on Delos.⁶⁴³ Prior to gilding the statue, artisans worked the stone with a rasp or abrasive to better adhere the added materials to the marble. The gold leaf then was bound to the surface with an adhesive, perhaps some sort of glue, gum, egg white, or honey.⁶⁴⁴ The impetus behind the gilding of stone statues is not entirely clear, but some scholars suggest it may have been to intentionally emulate bronze statuary.⁶⁴⁵ Given how much more quickly bronze responds to climatic conditions and changes color or loses its

⁶⁴⁰ Paus. 1.15.4; Plin. *HN* 34.15, 34.21.

⁶⁴¹ Brinkmann 2014, 100–105.

⁶⁴² Boucher 1990, 172–173.

⁶⁴³ Bourgeois and Jockey 2004–2005, 2005; Bourgeois, Jockey, and Karydas 2011.

⁶⁴⁴ Plin. *HN* 33.64. Pliny states that the Romans exclusively used egg white to adhere gold leaf to marble.

⁶⁴⁵ Bourgeois, Jockey, and Karydas 2011, 655.

luster, gilded marble statues may have become a preferred alternative to bronze statues. Yet, as we have seen, bronze statues were also gilded in antiquity.

I suggest instead that the gilding of Hellenistic cult statues was a way to express not only the exceptional nature of the figure represented but also augment the value of the work itself and thus its patron through the incorporation of a luxurious material. For bronze statuary, gilding also helped preserve the bright and shiny luster of newly cast bronze. Gold leaf, like paint, added to the rich polychromy of ancient statues. Similarly, the inlay of disparate metals and stones heightened the visual variegation of second-century cult statues.

Inlay

Both bronze and marble statues were embellished with inlays of various materials. In bronze works, supplementary metals provided contrasting colors to the gleaming bronze, creating vibrant, lifelike images.⁶⁴⁶ Artisans included these ancillary metals either through inlay or directly into the bronze alloy itself. Adding rust to the alloy, for example, could make a bronze statue blush,⁶⁴⁷ while analyses of some of the bronzes from the Mahdia shipwreck indicate that they were intentionally darkened via a sulfur supplement.⁶⁴⁸ Sulfur, when added to a bronze alloy, alters the copper content to create green, blue, red, or black patinas.⁶⁴⁹ Additional metals inlaid into the surface further enlivened the statue and highlighted specific details. The use of certain metals became standardized, such as copper for lips and nipples; silver for teeth, fingernails, and eyebrows; and gold for decorations on garments and fillets. The Terme Boxer in Rome exemplifies the dramatic impact of these additions; a black eye and inlaid copper blood

⁶⁴⁶ Plin. *HN* 34.8; see also Descamps-Lequime 2015.

⁶⁴⁷ Plin. *HN* 34.140.

⁶⁴⁸ Mattusch 1996a, 27.

⁶⁴⁹ Brinkmann 2014, 100.

dripping from his wounds reveal the gory realities of the athlete's battle wounds.⁶⁵⁰ Both the blood and the black eye were cast separately from the main statue and then inserted, with the black eye achieved by means of a copper-rich alloy.⁶⁵¹ The technical application of inlaid color on bronze statues, however, differed among Greek and Roman bronzeworkers. Greek statues, for example, typically feature solid copper lips, while the lips of Roman bronzes contain only a thin sheet of copper hammered onto the statue.⁶⁵²

Metal was not the only material inlaid in second-century cult statues. Nearly all Greek bronzes and many Roman bronzes included inlaid eyes,⁶⁵³ but by the second century, a growing number of marble cult statues also showcased this feature. These eyes were formed from various materials, including bone, ivory, gemstones, glass paste, metals, marble, or other natural minerals. In addition to the inlaid eyeball, a thin strip of bronze might outline the iris to hold the inlay in place.⁶⁵⁴ The combination of the white eyeball and bronze outline create the illusion that the figure possesses the shining eyes of a living being.

According to a study by Verena Hoft, inlaid eyes only occur in three groups of Hellenistic marble sculpture: Ptolemaic portraits, Republican portraits, and cult statues.⁶⁵⁵ Undoubtedly, inlaid eyes made a statue's face appear more naturalistic, which may be why the technique is found in portraiture and cult statues. Hellenistic sculpture, however, generally exhibits an increasing interest in veristic portrayals of the everyday, yet no genre sculpture of this period contains inlaid eyes. Alternatively, Hoft and Ridgway both suggest that the inclusion of inlaid eyes in Hellenistic cult statues stemmed from the tradition of chryselephantine cult images

⁶⁵⁰ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano-Palazzo Massimo alle Terme Inv. 1055; see Mattusch 1996, 24–27; Descamps-Lequime 2015, 156.

⁶⁵¹ Brinkmann 2014, 106; Descamps-Lequime 2015, 156.

⁶⁵² Wünsche 2007, 121.

⁶⁵³ Wünsche 2007, 122.

⁶⁵⁴ Blume 2014, 168.

⁶⁵⁵ Hoft 2018, 124; in prep.

in the Classical period, especially the famed works by Pheidias.⁶⁵⁶ As discussed above, the techniques involved in the crafting of acrolithic statues closely resemble those used for chryselephantine works. Consequently, we would expect to find inlaid eyes in many acrolithic cult statues, but the extant physical evidence does not support this. While the head of the male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2A**) and that of Hygieia from Pheneos (**Cat. S48A**) contain inlaid eyes, other acrolithic statues, such as those from Nemi (**Cat. S68–S70**) or Fortuna Huiusce Diei from Rome (**Cat. S53A**), lack these features. Further, inlaid eyes are found just as frequently in cult statues constructed entirely of marble, such as the Asklepios of Mounychia (**Cat. S67A**) and the figures of Anytos and Artemis from Lykosoura (**Cat. S36D, I**).

Perhaps, then, the impetus behind the inclusion of inlaid eyes in Hellenistic cult statues goes deeper than simply an interest in realism or a desire to emulate earlier traditions. It instead may have to do with the interaction between the viewer and the statue which the cult image was meant to represent.⁶⁵⁷ As the physical embodiment of the deity, the statue served as a conduit between human worshippers and the divine. Humans naturally seek eye contact during communication; thus, an image with bright, sparkling eyes could have better facilitated an interaction from the perspective of the viewer. In a dimly lit cella, shining eyes may have especially stood out, providing a sense of liveliness that enhanced the worshipper's experience inside the temple. The only extant second-century cult statue which still retains its eyes is that of Hygieia from Pheneos, whose startlingly blue eyes enliven the otherwise stoic expression of the deity. Other cult images, such as the male deity from Aigeira and the figures of Anytos and Artemis from Lykosoura, simply retain the hollow sockets where the inlaid eyes would have been placed.

⁶⁵⁶ Ridgway 2000, 235; Hoft 2018, 124.

⁶⁵⁷ On the importance of eye contact with cult statues already in the Archaic period, see Guggisberg 2013, 80–81.

The cult statue group at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36**) provides an intriguing case for the use of inlaid eyes in Hellenistic cult images. The composition consisted of four main figures: Artemis, Demeter, Despoina, and the Titan Anytos. The central focus of the cult statue group, as reconstructed, was Demeter and Despoina seated on an elaborate throne with a footstool, flanked by Artemis and Anytos (**Cat. 36B**). Interestingly, all four figures were constructed from the same material, by the same sculptor, and in the same technique, but only the outside two figures, Artemis and Anytos, have inlaid eyes, while Demeter (**Cat. S36R**), one of the two central figures, has carved eyes. Despoina's head does not survive, so we are unable to determine if Demeter alone is the outlier or if both enthroned goddesses had carved eyes. The two deities at the center of the composition were clearly the more important figures of the composition, representing the owner of the temple and her mother, so the addition of inlaid eyes therefore cannot connote higher status. Alternatively, if inlaid eyes were intended to promote eye contact, then perhaps the outer figures, because they had lesser roles in the local mythology, would have seemed more accessible to human worshippers than the central deities. Similarly, the nature of Despoina's mystery cult may have made it all the more inconceivable that human beings might engage with the goddess and her mother.

From a practical standpoint, the natural and artificial illumination of cult statues within the cella may have also factored into a sculptor's decision to include inlaid eyes. Far too often, cult statues are divorced from their architectural contexts and we fail to consider how their original settings impacted their appearance and visibility, a problem addressed in the subsequent chapters of this study. One might imagine, for example, that the lighting within the Temple of

Despoina at Lykosoura may have reflected better off the outer figures, causing their inlaid eyes to glitter.⁶⁵⁸

The inlaying of metals and other materials in second-century cult statues therefore contributed to the polychromatic and realistic representation of these figures. In particular, the incorporation of inlaid eyes made these superhuman figures seem truly alive and provided a direct point of contact for the viewer. Light reflecting off the shiny metal, stone, or glass inlays further enlivened the statues and complemented the ethereal luminosity of the bronze, marble, or gilded wood that comprised the primary material of these images. One final category of supplemental materials, metal attachments, also contributed reflective surfaces and veristic details to these complex compositions.

Metal Attachments

Objects typically made of metal, such as jewelry and armor, embellished stone statues in the form of bronze or lead attachments. The incorporation of these metal attachments began in the Archaic period and can be found on both freestanding and architectural sculpture. Interest in the modeling and forms made possible through bronzecasting may have spurred ancient artisans to mix the two media. Some metal attachments, such as locks of hair, were far more difficult to render in stone than in bronze, while for others, including jewelry, weaponry, and armor, metal was simply the more appropriate medium to accurately represent these metallic objects.⁶⁵⁹ Metal additions also accentuated specific features, like the profound impact made by metal eyelashes surrounding inlaid eyes. The head of Hygieia from Pheneos (**Cat. S48A**), for example, retains

⁶⁵⁸ For further discussion, see chapter 5 of this study.

⁶⁵⁹ Ridgway 1966, 1990; Jacob 2019, 678–682.

both its inlaid eyes and bronze eyelashes, dramatically drawing the viewer's own eyes to those of the goddess.⁶⁶⁰

The inspiration for the addition of metal attachments on cult statues specifically may stem from the practice of dressing wooden statues, such as that of Athena Polias, with garments and jewelry.⁶⁶¹ Many extant second-century cult statues preserve drill holes for metal attachments; frequently these cavities consist of single holes for the insertion of earrings or a series of holes encircling the head for the attachment of a diadem. The head of Artemis from Lykosoura, for example, has holes for metal earrings (**Cat. S36I**), while the head of Demeter from the same sculpture group contains a series of drill holes for a metal diadem or radiate crown encircling the head (**Cat. S36R**). Similarly, analyses of the statue of Zeus from Soluntum (**Cat. S59**) conducted during its recent conservation treatment revealed traces of gold, copper, and zinc in a hole in the statue's left arm, leading conservators to suggest that the cavity once held a metal fibula or brooch made of a gold-plated copper alloy.⁶⁶²

Metal attachments, inlay, gold leaf, and paint all served to enliven second-century cult statues through the application of color, mixed media, and reflective materials. These additional materials frequently provided essential details that clarified the identity and context of the figures represented, details unfortunately often lost today but which would greatly aid in our modern interpretations of these statues. While some of these materials added features that made the figures look more human, such as dramatically realistic eyes of inlay and bronze, others enhanced the ethereality of the figures through gilded skin and metallic attributes. The quality of

⁶⁶⁰ Ridgway 1966, 41, fig. 30.

⁶⁶¹ Ridgway 1990, 187.

⁶⁶² Milazzo et al. 2018, 90–91.

the materials and their luminosity further increased the statues' status and highlighted their presence within the temple, clearly separating them from other dedications deposited nearby. Light was a critical component in ancient conceptions of divinity; Homer, for example, often describes the gods as "bright," "shining," or "gold-gleaming." Second-century viewers surely approached cult statues with an appreciation for the reflective properties of their materials. Poseidippos, a poet in the Ptolemaic court, for example, devotes an entire collection of poems, his *lithika*, to stonecarving, and expresses great delight in the sparkly creations.⁶⁶³ The materiality of these cult statues, augmented by both primary and secondary materials of high shine, physically manifested the divine form in ways that made the figures accessible to worshippers yet still clearly elevated beyond the human realm. In the second century, a colossal, pieced marble sculpture, bedecked in metal attachments, brightly painted, and potentially gilded became the standard form by which Greeks and Romans alike physically represented divine recipients of cult. The various artistic devices employed in their construction helped manifest the presence of the deity while also impressing both locals and visitors with the awe-inspiring image before them.

Many cult statues created in the second century were built in conjunction with new or renovated temple buildings. Within its architectural space, the cult statue served as the primary focal point, the ultimate destination for visitors to the temple. As a result, the sculptor likely worked closely with the architect to ensure the surrounding architecture highlighted this visual locus. The statue's scale and visibility within its architectural space affected the impact of the monument as a whole. The result of this sculptural and architectural collaboration, the spectacle of the cult statue enshrined within its temple, is the subject of the next chapter.

⁶⁶³ *PMil. Vogl.* VIII 309; see also Elsner 2014.

Chapter 4: Visibility and Visuality of Cult Statues in Their Architectural Environments

In the second century, a colossal statue composed of lustrous, high quality materials, positioned within a temple's cella appropriately communicated the presence of a deity. The luxurious and radiant materials allowed worshippers to visualize the deity manifest in its statue, but the precise positioning of the image within the temple set the cult statue apart from other dedications. Together, the cult statue and temple produced an awe-inspiring shrine worthy of the deity, defining of its community, and reflective of the donor. Scholars of antiquity have long approached the study of architecture and the study of sculpture as separate phenomena but bringing these two foci together provides a richer appreciation of how the craft of the sculptor and the architect complemented one another.⁶⁶⁴

While their temple setting classified cult statues apart from other sculptures, it similarly fell to cult statues to distinguish the cella from other rooms in the temple. The cult image, as a physical manifestation of the deity, heightened the sanctity of this specific space. The locus of ritual activity may have been the altar, but the cult statue enshrined within the cella became the agent by which worshippers communicated directly with the divine. As we have seen, ancient artisans and patrons developed numerous tactics to highlight the power of the deities honored with cult statues, including relating miraculous stories about their discovery and creating physically awesome representations that literally shone through gilding, luminous marble, and other reflective materials. In this chapter, I explore the relationship between cult images and their surrounding architecture to assess how the framing of these images and manipulation of the

⁶⁶⁴ On this problem even for architectural sculpture, see Marconi 2007b, xiii–xiv, 1–3. For the study of portrait statues, Hallett advocates for visually reuniting these statues with their inscribed bases to appreciate the entire composition; see Hallett 2017, 889. For notable exceptions to the separation of architecture and sculpture, see Zinserling 1957; Mattern 2006; Montel 2014; Kiernan 2020.

viewing experience contributed to the visual impact of second-century cult statues. My investigation is driven by the following questions: how were cult statues scaled to their environments in the second century? From what points inside and outside the temple was the cult statue visible? Did the designs of second-century cult statues and temples result in a distinctly second-century viewing experience? Architectural elements demarcated the inviolability of the cult statues' space, and interchangeably accentuated and restricted the cult statues' visibility. The extant evidence for second-century cult statues and their temples reveals that changes in temple design, especially an interest in squarer cellas, altered the visual impact of cult statues in this period. I argue that second-century sculptors negotiated these changes by acknowledging the foreshortened viewing space in their designs and scaling their images to visually fill the surrounding environment. These modifications created the perception of a powerful divine presence within the cella interior.

Second-Century Architectural Developments

Archaeological evidence for cult statue bases appears first in the eighth century but only sporadically until about 500 BCE.⁶⁶⁵ Examples from the sixth century reveal that the placement of the statue on a central axis at the rear of the cella was already standardized in Doric buildings by this period.⁶⁶⁶ The fifth century ushered in a preference for monumental cult images, which also led to an increase in cult statue construction across the Greek world.⁶⁶⁷ These statues, especially the monumental chryselephantine cult statues by Pheidias, dominated their cellas with their impressive size and extravagant materials. The second century was another period that

⁶⁶⁵ The earliest evidence for a cult statue base comes from the eighth-century Hekatompedon at Samos; see Miller 1995, 205–206.

⁶⁶⁶ For example, in the Temple of Athena at Tegea and the Temple of Hera at Olympia; see Miller 1995, 203.

⁶⁶⁷ Miller 1995, 206–207; Ridgway 2005.

witnessed a boom in cult statue construction. The amount of extant material on cult images and their buildings from the second century, more so than any other time in antiquity, offers a rich dataset from which to investigate the relationship between statue and architecture.

Archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence attest to 107 temples constructed or renovated in this period; of these, 91 have extant physical remains, 20 of which have surviving physical fragments of their associated cult statues.

In the regions of this study, the temples constructed or renovated in the second century ranged from petite distyle in antis buildings to monumental peripteral structures and included all three canonical orders: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Second-century temples were most often prostyle in form, but in antis buildings were also common (**Graph 4.1**). These types were prevalent among all four regions of this study. In contrast, pseudoperipteral and tholos temples were only found in the western Mediterranean, while Anatolia was the locus of pseudodipteral temples, largely spurred by Hermogenes and his followers. The sole second-century dipteral temple was that of Olympian Zeus in Athens (**Cat. T7**), the massive podium of which had already been laid in the sixth century BCE.

With the preference for prostyle and in antis temples, the second century witnessed a reduction in overall building size from previous periods. Especially important for the appearance of the cult statue was a contraction of interior space as cellas became shallower and squarer. In her analysis of 87 temples from Greece, Anatolia, and Sicily dating from the seventh to second century BCE, Christina Williamson found that cellas became noticeably more quadratic in the Hellenistic period.⁶⁶⁸ When examining the ratio of cella width to cella length (calculated as length ÷ width), Williamson's data indicates that many temples from the seventh to fifth century

⁶⁶⁸ Williamson 1993, 11–13, fig. 2.

BCE had a ratio of 2.0 or higher, which then increasingly decreased in the fourth century and following. The data provided by extant second-century temples indicates that most temple cellas were close to perfect squares, with a ratio of 1.0, and very few examples featured a ratio of 2.0 or higher (**Graph 4.2**). This interest in square cellas was especially prominent in Anatolia, the Aegean islands, and Greece; the temples of the western Mediterranean still favored a more rectangular cella.

Shallow cellas provided new challenges and opportunities for sculptors of cult statues in this period. Like Pheidias with the Olympian Zeus, second-century sculptors manipulated their figures' scale to ensure these cult statues maintained a larger-than-life presence within the interior space of the cella. Almost always placed against the rear cella wall, the compressed cella space impacted a viewer's perception of the cult statue, often resulting in a foreshortened view. Temple interiors were further demarcated by additional physical markers, including decorative mosaic floors and barricades, that distinguished cult images from the surrounding space and impacted a viewer's perspective. Such features have led some scholars to argue for a "museum-style" display of Hellenistic cult statues within their respective temples, thereby reducing these important works to passively viewed objects or elements of stage setting.⁶⁶⁹ Even more elaborate frames, such as colonnades and pools, however, had marked out cult statues within the temple interior already in the fifth century. These features strengthened the inaccessible and inviolate impression of cult images befitting of divine representations. In addition, we have seen the significance of cult statues to their respective communities and patrons and, simultaneously, the weight placed upon epiphanic encounters with the divine. Rather than relegating these images to

⁶⁶⁹ For example, Cain 1995; Knell 2007, 196–197; Mylonopoulos 2008. Cain and Mylonopoulos suggest that more grand festivals and processions took place in the sanctuary space in the Hellenistic period, thus turning the temple and cult image into a theatrical backdrop for such performances.

the background or placing them behind theoretical cases of Plexiglas, we must consider instead that the temple and cult statue together formed a unified composition. The temple architecture guided viewers to the innermost reaches of the cella where the cult statue stood, often providing tantalizing glimpses of the image along the way. A more complete understanding of these multimedia compositions can be achieved by examining how ancient viewers approached and encountered cult statues, how the details of the statues' design—their size, materials, and techniques of construction—impacted their visibility and appearance, and how the surrounding architecture facilitated or hindered that presentation.

The extent to which the general public or even dedicated worshippers had access to temple cellas and the cult statues therein varied widely and, in some cases, remains unknown. The public accessibility of temples was site specific, but undoubtedly certain people at certain times could enter the cella as priestly personnel, initiates, or sightseers. Both literary references and temple designs strongly indicate that temples were accessible. Peter Corbett compiled a corpus of literary evidence documenting temple visits in Greece and analyzed temple design, concluding that although it is impossible to lump all temples of all periods together under a universal access regulation, visits to temples by members of the general population were the norm rather than the exception.⁶⁷⁰ Euripides' *Ion*, for example, begins with the arrival of a group of female visitors to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi who request permission to enter the temple.⁶⁷¹ In the third century BCE, Herodas's Fourth Mime describes the visit of two women to a temple, who enter the building without any seeming difficulty with a crowd of other people.⁶⁷² Additional sources detail the effectiveness of praying immediately before the cult image,

⁶⁷⁰ Corbett 1970.

⁶⁷¹ Eur. *Ion* 190–235.

⁶⁷² Herod. 4.54.

indicating that such a practice was possible.⁶⁷³ In Sicily, Cicero observed in the first century BCE that the beard and chin of the cult statue of Hercules at Akragas had been worn smooth from repeated touching, denoting not only access to the cella but to the statue itself.⁶⁷⁴ Polly Weddle similarly discusses the numerous tactile experiences recorded for Roman divine images, concluding that cult statues were particularly inviting of physical contact in various forms, from bathing and adornment to touching, kissing, and even more amorous exploits.⁶⁷⁵

Although writing significantly later, Pausanias, one of our primary literary sources for Greek temples and cult statues, clearly entered numerous temple interiors in the second century CE. The physical design of certain temples further indicates that public access was regulated—and therefore allowed—within the cella. In his study of barriers placed before cult statues, Mylonopoulos concluded that the very presence of these barricades indicates that these temples were open regularly to the general public, who needed a clear demarcation between accessible space and the inviolable area around the cult image.⁶⁷⁶ Similarly, other aspects of temple design and accoutrements, such as lockboxes, suggest these spaces received visitors who might be encouraged to make a contribution.⁶⁷⁷ Such security devices would be unnecessary if only priestly personnel trod the halls of these sacred buildings. Finally, in select cases, burnt sacrifices took place within the temple interior, instead of at the altar, such as at the Temple of Hera on Kos.⁶⁷⁸ The literary and physical evidence suggests that worshippers and interested members of

⁶⁷³ Hdt. 1.31.4, 5.72, 6.61; Eur. *Andr.* 1117.

⁶⁷⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.94.

⁶⁷⁵ Weddle 2010.

⁶⁷⁶ Mylonopoulos 2011; see also Gladigow 1990.

⁶⁷⁷ Such a feature is found beside the cult statue base in the Artemision at Messene (**Cat. T47**), and Hellenistic inscriptions from Andania (Sokolowski 1969, no. 65) and Kos (Sokolowski 1969, no. 155) record the construction of locked *thesouroi* within temples. On temple interiors, see also Mylonopoulos 2011; von Hesberg 2015b; Miles 2016.

⁶⁷⁸ Sokolowski 1969, no. 151B.

the public had access to temple cellas in the second century, even if only at certain times or on certain days.

In this chapter, I question how a second-century cult statue fit within its architectural environment and the degree to which the surrounding space impacted the sculpture's appearance and visibility. Some of the temples studied here reveal evidence of modifications intended to highlight the cult statue, while other examples indicate the statue's design was influenced by its architectural space. In order to examine the scale of the images in relation to their architectural frames and the impact of the architecture on the statue's internal and external visibility, I use digital models of both sculpture and architecture to recreate the spatial environment of select second-century cult statues. In the case studies below, I investigate the scale, appearance, and internal and external visibility of these cult images to determine if viewers could expect a distinctly second-century viewing experience when entering a temple constructed in this period. The models provide evidence of regional differentiation in a cult statue's appearance and visibility and demonstrate how a viewer's engagement with the cult statue changed when moving from outside the temple into the cella.

Digital Modeling Study

As images intended for specific architectural spaces, a full understanding of the visual impact of second-century cult statues requires an assessment of their relationship with the interior space of their temples. Unfortunately, both the sculptural and architectural remains are frequently fragmentary and full-scale anastylosis or reconstruction is impossible. Further, while two-dimensional reconstructions can provide some information about scale, in the end, they quite literally fall flat. Instead, I have reconstructed cultic spaces using three-dimensional digital

models which provide the ability to move virtually around a space to test the complementarity of the cult statue and its architectural frame, as well as investigate the visual effects that set a cult image apart from other sculptures.

My analysis aims to probe the visual experience of an ancient visitor to these temples, with a focus on the visibility and appearance of their cult statues. Each case study begins first in the temple's cella and examines the relationship between the statue's volume and area with the interior volume of the cella and the area of the rear cella wall. The impact of additional features, such as columns and physical barriers, on the demarcation of the cult statue's space or its visibility are also considered. From the cella, this reconstruction of the viewer's experience moves outward, to outer rooms or spaces of the temple and finally outside the structure itself to understand the degree of visibility of the cult statue at key external areas, such as at the altar or along the processional way. By exiting the cella, so often the view privileged in two-dimensional reconstructions of cult statues, we can understand the extent to which the statue's impact was felt beyond its immediate surroundings. These visualizations also attest to the frequency with which people might interact visually with these images by identifying whether they were fully visible from outside the temple or only upon entry into the cella. This study thus reverse engineers how a worshipper approached and viewed the cult statue and demonstrates how the statue and architecture curated that experience.

Methodology

To produce these digital models, I used the fixed platform 3D-modeling programs Sketchup and 3ds Max. Using the published plans of the temple, I first reconstructed the corresponding architectural space within Sketchup. These models are scaled, measured, and

geolocated, but are stripped down to their basic geometric forms. This minimalist approach focuses more attention on the cult statue and its architectural frame, rather than on unassociated ornamental details, and further reinforces the hypothetical nature of the models.⁶⁷⁹ Incomplete remains have made it impossible to definitively reconstruct certain details for some temples, such as door heights or the precise position of the cult statue within the cella. Rather than reflecting the speculative nature of the study, a “too perfect” model appears conclusive. One of the benefits of these simple models is their adaptability and interactivity, making it possible to test different arrangements and even adjust the models if new information comes to light.

To reconstruct the cult statues, I used preformed wireframe biped figures with adjustable appendages available in 3ds Max. The figures’ respective positioning and stance were determined from the surviving physical fragments, comparanda, and literary evidence of the cult statues. The cult statue models are not intended to reproduce the materials of these works but rather to recreate their scale and potential posture in order to investigate the relationships between the sculptures and their architectural frames. The figures therefore reflect the approximate posture of the original statues but lack any accompanying attributes or material designations. The wireframe 3ds Max models were imported into their respective temple models in Sketchup, appropriately scaled, and positioned within the cella. With a complete model of both temple and cult statue, I then examined the scale of the statue in relation to the temple’s architecture and assessed the visibility of the statue from points inside and outside the temple from the viewpoint of a human visitor. The models provide visual data regarding the cult statue’s appearance at various positions within the cella itself but also at points outside it. Mathematical ratios allow us to quantitatively compare second-century cult statues and their architectural

⁶⁷⁹ Other scholars using Sketchup to digitally reconstruct archaeological material have followed a similar methodology; see Dillon and Baltes 2013; Baltes 2020, esp. 363–364.

environments across the regions of this study, but digital models recreate the qualitative experience of how these statues were perceived and viewed.

The ability to accurately reconstruct a cult statue and its temple in digital form required physical evidence of both statue and architecture. Material remains of the temple allow for a precise reconstruction of the architectural space, including size, space divisions, and other features that impacted the viewing of the statue, such as apertures and columns. Similarly, physical remains of the cult statue were needed to estimate its original size and, where possible, posture. If the statue base survived, this feature further solidified not only the size of the statue but also its exact placement within the cella. The requirement for both sets of physical evidence dramatically reduced the number of monuments that could potentially serve as models, such that only 20 examples fulfilled this criterion.⁶⁸⁰ This corpus was limited further by the publication status of the temple architecture. The ground plans of many temples from this period have been published, but three-dimensional models require elevation data as well, which proved more elusive within the available scholarship. Delos, for example, has extant evidence for several cult statues and their associated temples but the architectural remains are insufficiently published, especially with relevant elevation data, to reproduce the temples in three dimensions. In certain cases, lack of scholarly consensus regarding the attribution of a statue with a specific temple also eliminated it from consideration here. Debate still rages, for example, as to which, if any, temple the male deity from Aigeira (**Cat. S2**) belongs,⁶⁸¹ and doubt has been cast on the attribution of

⁶⁸⁰ In addition to the 7 case studies fully examined below, these 20 monuments include the male deity of Aigeira (**Cat. S2**); the female deity of the Bastion Sanctuary (**Cat. S14, T12**), Hadad (**Cat. S15, T15**), Isis (**Cat. S16, T22**), Poseidon (**Cat. S17, T13**), and Roma (**Cat. S18, T13**) on Delos; Apollo of Gortyn (**Cat. S23, T24**); the cult group at Klaros (**Cat. S28, T31**); the male deity of Temple R at Pergamon (**Cat. S47, T58**); Asklepios and Hygieia of Pheneos (**Cat. S48, T59**); Athena Polias of Priene (**Cat. S51, T63**); Zeus of Soluntum (**Cat. S53, T73**); Feronia of Tarracina (**Cat. S60, T100**); and the cult group on Tenos (**Cat. S61, T101**).

⁶⁸¹ Madigan (1991) and Trummer (1993) attribute the statue to Naiskos D. Walter (1919b) initially linked the sculptural fragments with Naiskos D but later (1932b) determined they did not fit inside the building. Similarly, Tanner (2020) argues the statue was not housed in any of the naiskoi near Aigeira's theater.

the temple discovered at Nemi (**Cat. T50**), leaving all three cult statues from this site (**Cat. S68–S70**) without an evident home.⁶⁸²

Following this criteria, seven temples and their cult statues were modeled and analyzed. The case studies discussed below include examples from three regions of this study—Anatolia, Greece, and Italy—and represent all three of the canonical orders—Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. They also feature a wide range of temple types to reflect the diversity of building in this period, including some of the plans constructed most often as well as an especially unique setting for a second-century cult statue. Two of the Ionic examples, a tetrastyle prostyle and a pseudodipteral temple, come from Anatolia, while the Corinthian tholos comes from Italy, the only region in which this temple type was found in the second century. The remaining four examples come from the Peloponnesian region of mainland Greece. Three of the four are Doric temples and include a tetrastyle prostyle, hexastyle prostyle, and peripteral temple. The final Greek example is the most unconventional of the sacred spaces examined here, a sanctuary that resembles an Ionic tripartite oikos located within a stoa. The studies are arranged in order of preservation state, beginning with the best preserved and concluding with the most speculative.

Temple of Herakles, Kleonai (Doric Tetrastyle Prostyle)

Situated about 400 meters south of the ancient city of Kleonai, the remains of the Temple of Herakles survive within a modern vineyard (**Cat. T32**). The Doric tetrastyle prostyle temple measured 9.25 meters wide and 15.25 meters long and was orientated to the northeast, facing a structure tentatively identified as an altar courtyard. In plan, the temple consisted of a cella and

⁶⁸² Temple K at Nemi was initially identified as the main temple of the sanctuary but reservations have been raised regarding its dedication to Diana. Excavators now believe the remains of the Temple of Diana may be found on the sanctuary's upper terrace; see Ghini 1993, 1995, 2000, 2006; Rous 2007, 338.

shallow porch with a single entrance on its eastern façade. Nineteenth-century British travelers first identified the architectural remains as the Temple of Herakles, leading to its initial excavation by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Athens between 1909 and 1910.⁶⁸³ The Balkan Wars and World War I prevented further study and full-scale publication until excavation commenced in 2000 and 2001 under Torsten Mattern.⁶⁸⁴ In the intervening period, the temple suffered from spoliation, such that the superstructure, including key blocks mentioned by the early German excavators, now form part of a nearby church or are lost entirely. Additionally, local farmers leveled the land surrounding the temple to accommodate the vineyards seen today, resulting in the destruction of the unexcavated areas of the “altar courtyard.”⁶⁸⁵ Despite this loss of material, enough of the structure remains to reconstruct the building accurately.

The cult statue base survives in situ as well as a large fragment of the marble statue itself, still lying within the cella (**Cat. S29A**). This significant fragment, which preserves the figure’s nude torso, is substantial enough to attempt a recreation of the statue’s original size and appearance. The fragment of a toe from an over-lifesize statue found east of the temple in 2000 may also belong to the cult statue based on its size (**Cat. S29B**). The large torso fragment measures 0.80 meters wide, 0.85 meters long, and 0.55 meters deep. Examination of the torso and related comparanda strongly suggests a seated figure with a slightly forward-leaning posture. The well-muscled torso indicates that a figure of a heroic male, most plausibly Herakles, sat leaning to his left side while supporting himself. In his assessment of the comparanda for seated Herakles figures, Mattern found that the inclined posture of the Kleonai torso best resembled that of the “Sensitive Herakles” type.⁶⁸⁶ This type derives from a colossal statue of the hero created

⁶⁸³ Gell 1817, 157–158; Müller 1910; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911; Frickenhaus 1913.

⁶⁸⁴ Mattern 2002, 2015.

⁶⁸⁵ Mattern 2015, 30.

⁶⁸⁶ Mattern 2015, 65–66.

by Lysippos for Tarentum, known today only through statuettes (**Fig. 4.1**).⁶⁸⁷ These figures of Herakles show the hero seated with his legs spread apart, holding his head with his right hand while his left hand clutches his club between his legs. Such a pose seems an odd choice for a cult statue; Damaskos had earlier suggested that the torso may have conformed to the Herakles Epitrapezios type, which he also proposed for the male torso affiliated with Temple R in Pergamon (**Cat. S47**).⁶⁸⁸ The type is seen also in the nearly complete first-century BCE cult statue of Hercules from Alba Fucens (**Fig. 4.2**).⁶⁸⁹ Mattern, however, found the modeling of the torso, especially its forward tilt and leftward lean, better suited the posture of the “Sensitive Herakles” type,⁶⁹⁰ so the posture used in the reconstruction here is based on his analysis. The dimensions of the extant fragment indicate that the complete figure standing upright would have stood about 4.25 meters high, but when reconstructed as a seated figure it would have risen approximately 3.30 meters above its base.⁶⁹¹

The base, directly abutting the rear cella wall, measures 3.74 meters wide and 3.92 meters deep. As the top course of blocks was robbed out, the precise height of the base is lost, but it likely measured between 1.07 and 1.11 meters.⁶⁹² On its base, the statue thus stood about 4.40 meters high, or just over half of the cella’s interior height of 8.07 meters.⁶⁹³ The internal width of

⁶⁸⁷ Niketas Choniates, *De signis Constantinopolitanis* 5. For an example of a statuette of the “Sensitive Herakles” type in the Palermo Archaeological Museum, see Danner 1993, pl. 5.1–5.2.

⁶⁸⁸ Damaskos 1999, 21–22 (Kleonai), 154–157 (Pergamon).

⁶⁸⁹ Chieti, Museo Archeologico Nazionale d’Abruzzo Inv. 4742; see De Visscher 1962; De Ruyt 1982, 122–126; H. Martin 1987, 161–171, 234–235.

⁶⁹⁰ Mattern 2015, 65–66.

⁶⁹¹ The cult statues in these case studies have been reconstructed based on a proportional relationship of 1:7.5 between the height of the head and the height of the entire figure. For the figure of Herakles, the extant fragment extends from the shoulder line to the navel, approximately 1.5 times the size of the head for a figure at this scale. The Human Proportion Calculator on the Anatomy for Sculptors website (<http://humanproportions.com/>) has been helpful in calculating the height of all the cult statues examined here, which have been reconstructed based on disparate surviving fragments.

⁶⁹² Mattern 2015, 63–64.

⁶⁹³ For the interior dimensions of the cella and a detailed description of its roofing and ceiling design, see Mattern 2015, 59–61.

the cella was 7.70 meters and its length 10.38 meters, resulting in an internal volume of 645.00 m³. The volume of the cult statue as reconstructed here is 64.51 m³, indicating that the cult statue occupied approximately 10% of the cella's volumetric space. The cult statue placed against the rear cella wall can also be considered in two-dimensional terms. For a viewer standing at the cella threshold, the proportional relationship between the statue and the solid wall behind it, constituting a two-dimensional visual plane, may have made a greater impact than the volumetric relationship between the statue and the overall space of the cella. We can evaluate this view by examining the proportional relationship between the area of the frontal plane of the cult statue (determined by multiplying its height by its width) and the area of the rear cella wall (also determined by multiplying its height by its width). From this perspective, the area of the Herakles statue occupied about 27% of the area of the rear cella wall (**Fig. 4.3**).

The base discovered in the temple's cella was larger than necessary to accommodate the cult image reconstructed from the surviving torso fragment. A seated figure requires a larger base than a standing one but the Kleonai base nonetheless seems exceptionally larger than the reconstructed statue. As a result, Mattern suggests that a canopy or baldachin may have surrounded the Kleonai cult image.⁶⁹⁴ A hypothetical canopy approximately one meter taller than the statue alters the view of the cult statue before the cella's rear wall, such that the canopied cult statue would take up roughly one-third of the wall's area and about 13% of the interior volume (**Fig. 4.4**).

In addition to this possible canopy, a barrier that ran the entire width of the cella separated the cult statue from the rest of the interior space, a feature also found at Lykosoura. Likely sometime after construction, a cult table was placed before the cult statue in the middle of

⁶⁹⁴ Mattern 2015, 66.

the cella, necessitating the reinstallation of the cult barrier closer to the statue base.⁶⁹⁵ Excavators were unable to identify the date of the cult table's installation; as it seemingly postdates the original construction of the temple and cult statue it has been omitted from the digital reconstruction. From the time of the temple's construction, however, the barrier set off the cult statue within the cella, dividing the interior space in two (**Cat. T32B**). The barrier not only maintained physical separation between visitors and the cult statue but also contracted the volume of space in which the statue stood. If we consider only the volume of space beyond the barrier, approximately 339.90 m³, the cult statue without a canopy occupied about 19% of the interior volume, and about 23% with the reconstructed canopy (**Fig. 4.5**).

The barrier clearly indicates that the cult statue was the focal point of the interior space, a prominence accentuated by its central location and scale within the cella. The architectural design of the temple, however, also seemed designed specifically to facilitate and enhance the presentation of the temple's cult statue.⁶⁹⁶ One feature that literally elevated the cult image was a gradual slope in the cella floor causing it to bulge in the middle of the cella before the cult statue base. The floor rose here as much as 0.115 meters higher than its level before the doorway and along the cella walls. Mattern suggests that this feature of the pavement helped optically enlarge the appearance of the cult statue for viewers entering the sacred space inside the cella.⁶⁹⁷ This minor elevation change may have been indiscernible to most visitors, but it nonetheless created a subtle optical enhancement that magnified the appearance of the cult statue. By raising the level of the floor upon which the cult statue rested, the temple's architect accentuated the prominence

⁶⁹⁵ Mattern 2015, 61–62.

⁶⁹⁶ Mattern 2015, 36.

⁶⁹⁷ Mattern 2015, 35–36.

of the statue within the room, quite literally lifting the god above his human visitors and creating a slight visual and physical tension between the viewer and the cult image.

The Kleonai temple lacked a pronaos such that exiting the cella through the door took a visitor out onto a shallow porch. The surviving architectural fragments allow us to reconstruct the entire doorway—a rare achievement. The tapered door measured 2.80–2.90 meters wide at the bottom and 2.66 meters wide at the top, with a height of approximately 4.49 meters.⁶⁹⁸ This door was the lone opening into the cella; consequently, it represented the only sightline into the room. From the temple's shallow porch, the cult statue was visible when on axis with the entrance but was blocked by the cella walls as one moved closer to the temple's sides (**Fig. 4.6**).

Once entirely outside the temple, another interesting feature of the temple's architecture became apparent: its significantly widened central intercolumniation. The two flanking intercolumniations were only 0.90 meters each, but the central intercolumniation measured 3.47 meters.⁶⁹⁹ A viewer standing at the temple's altar attempting to view the cult statue inside benefited greatly from this architectural modification. The altar occupied an uncommon position at Kleonai, seemingly notched into the krepis directly in front of the temple door. In the middle of the temple's front façade, a single block still occupies both steps of the krepis directly on axis with the doorway, thereby prohibiting access to the temple from this central area.⁷⁰⁰ As no altar foundations were found elsewhere on site, Mattern posits that this block served as the base for the altar. The setting of the block appears to coincide with the temple's original construction, indicating that the two were constructed simultaneously. Based on the height of the base block, Mattern reconstructs the height of the altar as approximately 1.26 meters, about breast-high,

⁶⁹⁸ Mattern 2015, 52–54.

⁶⁹⁹ Mattern 2015, 58.

⁷⁰⁰ The block measures 0.86–0.88 m W x 2.06 m L x 0.63 m H. Mattern (2015, 74–76) suggests that the reconstructed altar may have been twice the height of the surviving block, approximately 1.26 m H.

which is the height to which it has been scaled in the digital model.⁷⁰¹ In their discussions of the purpose and placement of cult images, some scholars have postulated that deities oversaw the sacrifices held in their honor through the eyes of their cult statues.⁷⁰² As a result, this viewpoint requires consideration when analyzing the relationship between cult statue and architecture.

From the perspective of a worshipper standing near the altar, the Kleonai cult statue appeared fully within the temple doorway, entirely capable of observing the activities taking place outside (**Fig. 4.7**). Even when moving around the altar, worshippers maintained a clear view of the cult statue within the temple. The columns blocked these sightlines near the temple's corners, but the majority of the area in front of the temple enjoyed unobstructed views of the cult statue. As the altar's height was roughly chest-high, this structure did not impede the view of the cult statue for people of standard adult height. The axial placement of the altar therefore obstructed physical but not visual access.

In addition to the altar perched prominently on the front steps of the temple, the Herakles sanctuary included a structure tentatively identified as an "altar courtyard" located 8.85 meters from the front of the temple. The construction techniques of the temple and "altar courtyard" differ enough to suggest that they were not built simultaneously but whether the "altar courtyard" pre- or postdated the temple is unclear. If it predated the construction of the temple, that may help explain the altar's position on the krepis. Even murkier than the date of this feature, however, was its function; although labeled an "altar courtyard," no remains of an altar have been identified. The foundations of the "altar courtyard" measure 10.53 meters wide and 17.80 meters long, making the structure larger than the temple itself. In addition to the building's width nearly equaling that of the temple and the limited distance between the two structures, the door

⁷⁰¹ Mattern 2015, 74–76.

⁷⁰² For example, Bergquist 1967, 111–114; Romano 1988, 127–128; Mikalson 2005, 20; Williamson 2018, 317.

of the “altar courtyard” directly faced the door of the temple, leading Mattern to claim that the two must have had both a contextual and functional relationship (**Cat. T32C**).⁷⁰³ The view from the door of the “altar courtyard” reveals that, once again, the cult statue appeared fully within the temple’s entrance, creating a visual link between the two structures (**Fig. 4.8**). Even more striking, however, is the effect of the hypothetical canopy: the baldachin and doorway create a visually arresting series of frames around the cult image that attracts the eye to the center of this bull’s-eye.

The Temple of Herakles at Kleonai reveals the impact of several architectural modifications that highlight the predominance and visibility of its cult statue. Within the cella itself, the inclusion of a barrier before the cult statue, the sloping floor, and the possible canopy surrounding the image distinguished the sculpture and contracted the space around it. These features simultaneously demarcated the statue’s significance within the interior space and magnified its colossal appearance, which stood over half as tall as the cella walls and represented 10% of the cella’s entire volumetric space. From outside the temple, the wide central intercolumniation and axial alignment of the cult statue provided unimpeded sightlines into the cella from a broad range of vantage points, including around the altar and “altar courtyard.”

Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander (Ionic Tetrastyle Prostyle)

A seated cult statue similar in size to that at Kleonai was found at the Temple of Zeus in Magnesia, also a tetrastyle prostyle temple but of the Ionic order. In the early second century, the agora of Magnesia on the Maeander underwent a significant renovation in conjunction with the rebuilding of the monumental Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, which served as the city’s

⁷⁰³ Mattern 2015, 79–81.

patron deity. Three stoas now enclosed the agora along its northern, southern, and western edges, leaving open the space to the east in the direction of the new Artemision.⁷⁰⁴ A second, smaller temple dedicated to Zeus Sosipolis was erected in the southern half of the agora around the same time (**Cat. T46**).⁷⁰⁵ The Ionic temple faced west toward the stoa and away from the agora. This western façade was tetrastyle prostyle in plan, while its eastern side was distyle in antis. The temple originally stood upon a five-stepped krepis, which was reduced to two steps when the level of the agora was raised as part of the renovations in this area. At the level of the stylobate, the temple measured 7.38 meters wide and 15.82 meters long. The building contained a deep pronaos, nearly square cella, and shallow opisthodomos.⁷⁰⁶

A large cult statue base and substantial fragments of the temple's cult statue were discovered within the cella during excavations in the early twentieth century.⁷⁰⁷ The statue base stood against the rear cella wall and occupied its entire width, measuring 5.65 meters wide, 2.00 meters deep, and 1.00 meter high.⁷⁰⁸ These dimensions, however, likely do not represent the base in its original form. Several inscriptions were found attached to the base, including one honoring Nero, suggesting that the base was enlarged between 50 and 54 CE to accommodate flanking portrait statues.⁷⁰⁹ The surviving pieces of the cult statue include large marble fragments of the figure's torso and legs and small marble fragments of the fingers, hair, and beard (**Cat. S38**). These remains reveal that two different marbles were used in the statue's construction: a translucent, medium-grained white marble from the Cyclades for the figure's flesh and a blue-

⁷⁰⁴ On the Hellenistic renovation of Magnesia's agora, see Jürgens 2017, 89–91; Hammerschmied 2018, 99–102.

⁷⁰⁵ An inscription on the northern anta of the temple's pronaos (*IMagn.* 98) confirms the temple's dedication to Zeus.

⁷⁰⁶ Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 141–161; Hoepfner 1990, 20–23; Stampolides 1990, 118–120; Faulstich 1997, 85–94; Bingöl 2007, 110–115.

⁷⁰⁷ Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 155–157.

⁷⁰⁸ Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 155; Danner 1993, 21.

⁷⁰⁹ *IMagn.* 157; see also Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 157; Damaskos 1999, 180.

gray marble from Asia Minor for the drapery. Based on these fragments and images of the god on the city's coinage, the cult statue represented Zeus bare-chested with a himation wrapped around his waist and legs, seated on a throne, holding an image of Artemis Leukophryene in his outstretched right hand, and grasping a scepter with his left.⁷¹⁰ The extant fragments indicate that the figure of Zeus, seated on a throne, would have risen about 3.00 meters above its base.⁷¹¹

Zeus's cult statue stood within a nearly square cella, 5.65 meters wide and 5.15 meters long. Using the reconstruction just outlined, the statue upon its base occupied just over half of the cella's internal height of about 7.20 meters. Although the extant base likely dates to the first century CE, its dimensions in the second century are unknown and thus the Neronian measurements are used here. On the Neronian base, the statue's volume was roughly 45.20 m³, representing about 22% of the cella's interior volume. When we consider the view from the cella threshold in which the cult statue framed against the cella's rear wall appears as a two-dimensional visual plane, the area of the statue occupied about 56% of the area of the wall behind it (**Fig. 4.9**). If the statue base was expanded to accommodate another figure on either side of Zeus's cult image in the mid-first century CE, it seems unlikely that the base would have spanned the cella's entire width in its original phase. Such a wide base would have been unnecessary, even for a seated figure at the scale of the surviving fragments. A base 2.00 meters wide (and still 2.00 meters deep and 1.00 meter high) could accommodate the reconstructed cult statue. On this smaller base, the cult statue would have instead occupied about 8% of the cella's

⁷¹⁰ Bronze coins minted under Septimius Severus depict Zeus in this guise; see Rayet and Thomas 1877, 132, n. 2; Schultz 1975, 40.

⁷¹¹ Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 155; Schwarzmaier and Scholl 2019, 246–248. The preserved dimensions of the torso are: 0.865 m W x 0.665 m D x 1.230 m H. The preserved dimensions of the legs are: 1.11 m W x 1.12 m D x 1.10 m H.

volumetric space. The area of the cult statue would then comprise just under 20% of the area of the wall behind it.

The Neronian statue base took up about 40% of the room's overall floor space: its width spanned the entirety of the cella's rear wall, and its depth of 2.00 meters impinged upon the already shallow cella space. The design of the statue base therefore limited viewing of the image to the space in front it, which was further reduced by the base's size. No evidence of other features within the cella, such as a barrier or cult table, was found. The foreshortened space between a viewer and the cult image intensified its colossal appearance (**Fig. 4.10**); when a visitor moved into the pronaos it became apparent that the entire cella, which was raised a step above the pronaos, acted as a base that elevated the statue even further above the viewer. The floor of the cella was 0.36 meters taller than that of the pronaos or opisthodomos.⁷¹² From the cella threshold, the entire statue was visible and the increased distance between the image and the viewer helped resolve the distortion observed from within the cella. The cella door was 2.25 meters wide, thereby providing a large opening through which to view the statue from outside.⁷¹³ Within the deep pronaos, at least part of the statue was visible from most vantage points, with the returning walls blocking the view at the very edges of the space (**Fig. 4.11**).

From outside the temple, both the wide cella door and the eustyle arrangement of the colonnade facilitated the cult statue's external visibility. The intercolumniations conformed to the width Vitruvius found most aesthetically pleasing, 2.25 times the column's diameter.⁷¹⁴ While Vitruvius also ascribed a widened central intercolumniation to eustyle temples, such a feature was not present in the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis. The central intercolumniation was

⁷¹² Humann, Watzinger, and Kohte 1904, 150.

⁷¹³ Humann, Watzinger, and Kohte 1904, 150.

⁷¹⁴ Vitr. 3.3.6.

slightly smaller than the cella door. The columns and cella walls intermittently blocked the cult statue as one moved about outside the temple, but the columns rarely hid the statue in its entirety. Remains of the temple's altar were found about 6.50 meters to the west of the building on axis with the entrance.⁷¹⁵ From this viewpoint, the entire statue was clearly visible through the cella entrance. As one moved off the central axis, the columns limited the ability to see the full statue inside (**Fig. 4.12**). The architecture's impact on the statue's visibility decreased the farther one moved from the temple, such that people sheltering within the agora's western stoa on days when the temple doors were open witnessed the image of enthroned Zeus framed by his temple (**Fig. 4.13**).

During the Leukophryeneia procession, many of the worshippers would have walked between the temple's western façade and the agora's western stoa on their way to the altar of Artemis Leukophryene on the other side of the agora.⁷¹⁶ If the doors to the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis were open during this event, the worshippers would have had an excellent view of the magnificent and powerful statue looking out onto the activities while framed by its ornate housing. Vitruvius prescribes temples located near public roads be oriented such that passersby could see the cult images inside.⁷¹⁷ I believe that such a situation played out in Magnesia whereby the orientation of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis intentionally provided a clear view of the cult statue inside for people within the public space of the agora as well as participants in the Leukophryeneia procession. The temple's westward orientation therefore ensured the image of Zeus was prominently displayed along this significant processional route but prevented it from

⁷¹⁵ Humann, Watzinger, and Kohte 1904, 141.

⁷¹⁶ On the processional route through the city, see Jürgens 2017; Hammerschmied 2018.

⁷¹⁷ Vitruvius 6.5.2.

becoming a distraction once worshippers reached the culmination of their journey; at the altar of Artemis Leukophryene, they could focus all their attention on the goddess herself.

The cult statue of Zeus Sosipolis demonstrates the magnifying impact of a colossal statue within a compact space. Of all the second-century cult images examined here, that of Zeus was the largest in proportion to its architectural surroundings. The date and appearance of the cult statue base, of course, problematize the reconstruction presented above. Yet even on a smaller base, the proportional relationship between the statue and the surrounding space would have approached that of Herakles at Kleonai. Several elements of the temple's architecture facilitated the statue's visibility outside the cella itself. The wide door provided a large opening through which to view the statue, while the eustyle spacing of the columns provided sufficient openings through which to glimpse the cult statue from the agora, including from the stoa bounding the agora's western side and the processional route of the city's major festival.

Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome (Corinthian Tholos)

The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei located on the other side of the Mediterranean in Rome demonstrates a similar optical distortion of the cult statue from within the cella and its high visibility from outside the temple as just observed at Magnesia. The consul Quintus Lutatius Catulus vowed a temple to Fortuna Huiusce Diei at the Battle of Vercellae on July 30, 101 BCE (**Cat. T73**).⁷¹⁸ A year later, on the anniversary of the vow, Catulus dedicated the temple in Rome's Campus Martius, in the area today dubbed the Largo Argentina. This section of the Campus Martius already contained three earlier Republican temples, with the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei completing the set (see **Cat. T73A**). The circular shape of Catulus's temple

⁷¹⁸ Plut. *Mar.* 25–26.

originated in the Greek architectural tradition, but the architect combined this form with Etrusco-Italic elements of temple construction, including a high podium, staircase, and indigenous building materials.⁷¹⁹ In an age of intense elite competition, the temple's hybrid nature was a positive compromise: its round shape ensured it stood out from the surrounding rectangular temples in the area and highlighted the Hellenic interests of the patron, while the high podium, axuality, local materials, and construction techniques rooted it in traditional Etrusco-Italic architecture.

The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei stood on a circular podium 2.40 meters high with a diameter of 19.20 meters. Its peripteral colonnade consisted of eighteen Corinthian columns with shafts made of local tuff and bases and capitals of travertine. The columns stood an impressive 11.00 meters tall with a lower diameter of 1.10 meters, thereby exceeding the standard propounded later by Vitruvius, who preferred a ratio of 1:10 between column diameter and height for round temples.⁷²⁰ The temple was rebuilt numerous times but in its original state the cella had an internal diameter of 11.52 meters, providing an interior volume of around 1359.17 m³. During a major renovation in the later first century BCE, the cella walls were removed and the intercolumniations of the colonnade filled in to form an enlarged cella with engaged half-columns. Nothing remains of the entablature or roof except a small frieze of Pentelic marble decorated with acanthus tendrils.⁷²¹

In the temple's original construction phase, the cult statue stood in the middle of the cella on a base 3.87 meters wide and 2.20 meters deep, directly in line with the door.⁷²² Marble

⁷¹⁹ Some of the most well-known tholoi date to the fourth century BCE and come from mainland Greece, such as those at Delphi, Epidauros, and Olympia. Despite the plan's Greek origin, however, the only known tholoi constructed as temples in the second century were located in Rome.

⁷²⁰ Vitr. 4.8.1; Marchetti-Longhi 1959; Coarelli et al. 1981, 19–21.

⁷²¹ Coarelli et al. 1981, 19–21.

⁷²² Marchetti-Longhi 1959, 65.

fragments of a colossal female statue, including the head, right arm, and both feet, were discovered during excavations in the Largo Argentina and have been attributed to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (**Cat. S53**). The fragmentary nature of this temple's cult statue is due in large part to its acrolithic construction; only the statue's exposed flesh was constructed of marble and then pieced into a wooden core. Cuttings on the extant pieces further confirm the statue was acrolithic.⁷²³ The pose and cuttings on the right arm suggest that Fortuna held a cornucopia or other attribute in this arm. The fact that nothing of her left arm survives may indicate that her garment entirely enveloped it.⁷²⁴ Based on the size of the surviving fragments, the cult statue must have been a standing figure as the base was not wide enough to support a seated figure of such dimensions.⁷²⁵ This figure would have stood approximately 8.00 meters tall. The exact height of the cult statue base is unknown, but it has been reconstructed in the digital model as 0.75 meters.

As reproduced in this model, the statue occupied approximately two-thirds of the cella's height. No architectural remains survive to accurately reconstruct the temple's roofing system but like other tholoi, the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei had either a conical, domed, or faceted roof. The center of the roof therefore would have created additional vertical height above the head of the cult statue, providing even more clearance for the monumental sculpture. The cult statue's estimated volume as reconstructed here is 74.50 m³, such that the statue occupied approximately 6% of the cella's interior volume. For any visitors inside the temple's cella, the dramatic height of the colossal cult statue and its central position within the cella, leaving only a

⁷²³ On the acrolithic technique and its prevalence among second-century cult statues, see chapter 3 of this study.

⁷²⁴ H. Martin 1987, 108; Leach 2010, 131–133.

⁷²⁵ For an earlier, alternative reconstruction as a seated statue, since rejected by subsequent scholars, see Marchetti-Longhi 1933, 154–155; 1959, 65–66.

shallow space from which to stand and view the statue, meant onlookers needed to crane their necks to take in the entire image (**Fig. 4.14**).

The temple's plan included only the circular cella and a peripteral colonnade; like the Temple of Herakles at Kleonai, the structure contained no additional outer rooms, such as a pronaos or opisthodomos. The cella door led directly outside. As at Magnesia, simply stepping out of the cella onto the temple's porch decreased the distortion perceived by the viewer, allowing one to take in most of the image with a single glance (**Fig. 4.15**). With this central door being the only known opening into the cella, the entrance served to focus the viewer's attention on the statue enshrined inside. The surviving architectural remains do not retain evidence for the door's height, but it is reconstructed in this model as 8.75 meters based on Vitruvius's recommendations for the relationship between the width and height of an Ionic door.⁷²⁶ Interestingly, this height precisely corresponds to that of the cult statue on its base as reconstructed here. A slightly widened central intercolumniation and a broad staircase leading from the ground level to the stylobate created a monumental entrance on the temple's east side. With the tall door, the entire statue was visible through the entrance when walking up the stairs. Near the bottom of the stairs, the statue base and figure's feet disappeared from view, but the majority of the image remained framed within the doorway (**Fig. 4.16**).

The temple's altar stood at the base of the staircase, about ten meters from the door. It was set directly on axis with the temple's entrance, approximately 2.50 meters lower than the threshold.⁷²⁷ The height discrepancy further elevated the goddess above her worshippers outside. Owing to its position immediately opposite the entrance, Martin described the statue of Fortuna

⁷²⁶ Vitr. 4.6.3.

⁷²⁷ Marchetti-Longhi 1959, 56–58; Coarelli et al. 1981, 19; H. Martin 1987, 104; Stamper 2005, 75–78.

as “appearing” in the open door to observe the sacrifices taking place at the altar.⁷²⁸ A digital reconstruction of the temple and statue confirms that at ground level at the base of the staircase the statue appeared to be standing in the doorway observing the activities happening outside (Fig. 4.17). As with the other temples studied here, the columns partially blocked the view of the cult statue when moving from one side of the temple to the other. Not only was the statue visible by viewers at ground level, but the height of the cult image also highlighted the monumentality of the temple as a whole, with the imposing figure framed by the door accentuating the verticality of the columns.

The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei’s circular shape differentiated it from the other temples examined here. This form highlighted the monumental cult statue housed within its walls, so much so that framing the statue almost seemed its primary purpose. The round cella and the cult statue’s position at the center of the space left only a shallow interior area within which viewers could take in the statue. The angle of viewing from this vantage point produced a distorted view of the image emphasizing its height. Elements of the temple’s architectural design, especially its enlarged entrance leading directly into the cella, facilitated views inside. Worshippers at the altar observed Fortuna’s divine presence through the imposing figure of her cult statue standing just within the temple’s threshold. The statue’s impressive height, accentuated by the high podium, mirrored the verticality of the temple itself, working in concert to enhance the power of the deity and patron.

⁷²⁸ H. Martin 1987, 111.

Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura (Doric Hexastyle Prostyle)

From Rome, we return to mainland Greece and three cult statue compositions constructed by the famed second-century sculptor Damophon. The polis of Lykosoura, known almost exclusively for its Sanctuary of Despoina, was located in the heart of the Peloponnese. The only literary source for its monuments is Pausanias, who describes the sanctuary and especially its cult statue group in detail. The periegete also asserts the mystery cult was the most sacred in all of Arkadia, a mountainous, pastoral region of the Peloponnese.⁷²⁹ The sanctuary was first excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service between 1889 and 1907, but more of the study focused on the cult statue fragments than on the surviving architecture.⁷³⁰ The archaeological remains on the site include the Temple of Despoina; three altars in front of the temple; a Doric stoa to the north; a theatral seating area to the south; and to the southeast on a higher elevation the Megaron, which, according to Pausanias, hosted both the mysteries of initiation and sacrifices to Despoina (**Cat. T44A**).⁷³¹

The precise dating of the Temple of Despoina has been much debated, with scholars placing it anywhere from the late fourth century BCE to the second century CE (**Cat. T44B–C**).⁷³² The temple seems to have had at least two building phases, with its original construction in the Hellenistic period and a renovation in the Roman period, although the extent of the

⁷²⁹ Paus. 8.37.1–8.38.1.

⁷³⁰ Kavvadias 1893; Robert 1894; Leonardos 1896; Normand 1897; Dickins 1905–1906, 1910–1911; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907; Kourouniotis 1911, 1912.

⁷³¹ Paus. 8.37.8. For the most recent study of Lykosoura's Megaron, see Hellmann 2008.

⁷³² Kavvadias (1893, 13) suggests a fourth-century BCE date. Kourouniotis (1911, 18) identifies three building phases: the first in the fourth century BCE when the temple building was constructed; the second in the second century BCE when the south cella door and the cult statue base were added; and the third in the Roman period when the building was restored. Jost (1985, 174–176) proposes a date in the late fourth or early third century BCE. Billot (2008) dates the temple to the early third century BCE based on a study of the temple's plan, proportions, elevation, and architectural decoration. Marcadé and Lévy (1972, 1003) attribute the temple to the third or second century BCE, acknowledging the need for a comprehensive architectural study of the temple to achieve a more precise date. Dickins (1905–1906, 120) tentatively proposes a second-century BCE date. Finally, Normand (1897, 32) and Lévy (1967) argue for a second-century CE date, but Lévy later refined his conclusions by acknowledging multiple building phases; see Marcadé and Lévy 1972.

renovations is unclear. Many scholars date the original construction of the temple to the third or second century BCE, with the most recent analysis of the architectural remains, by Marie-Francoise Billot, indicating a date in the first quarter of the third century BCE based on the temple's architectural details.⁷³³ A comprehensive study of the temple remains, however, is still needed to date the building more precisely. If the architecture preceded the cult statue installation, the Lykosoura temple provides evidence for the degree to which this sculptor acknowledged the statue's prefabricated architectural setting in his design, much like Pheidias's Zeus at Olympia.

In plan, the temple featured a hexastyle prostyle façade of the Doric order and measured 11.15 meters wide and 21.34 meters long. The interior included a pronaos and cella, but the cella was divided in half by a large pebble mosaic that decorated the floor of the eastern part; the cult statue group stood against the rear wall of the western part.⁷³⁴ The cella also contained a doorway in its south wall that led out to the theatral seating area.

The cult statue group was created by the well-known sculptor Damophon, who was also responsible for the cult statue installations at Messene and elsewhere.⁷³⁵ A significant portion of the cult statue base survives, but the marble slabs that supported the statues are missing. Consequently, no concrete evidence attests to the actual position of the figures upon the base. The evidence for the cult statue group, however, includes not only the extant fragments themselves but also Pausanias's description and a Roman coin minted under Julia Domna which features the group on the reverse (**Cat. S36C**).⁷³⁶ Based on these sources, the cult group included

⁷³³ Billot 2008.

⁷³⁴ For an analysis of the mosaic, see Guimier-Sorbest 2008.

⁷³⁵ For an examination of Damophon's career in cult statue production, see chapter 2 of this study.

⁷³⁶ Paus. 8.37.3–6. The extant cult statue fragments are divided between the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and the Archaeological Museum at Lykosoura. Staïs (1912) was the first to discuss the coin (Athens, Numismatic Museum, unknown inventory number) in conjunction with the physical remains of the statue group, prompting Dickins (1910–1911) to immediately amend his proposed reconstruction of the composition.

Artemis, Demeter, Despoina, and the Titan Anytos. The central focus of the cult statue group, as reconstructed, depicted Demeter and Despoina seated on an elaborate throne with a footstool (**Cat. S36A–B**). Demeter held a torch in her right hand while Despoina grasped a scepter with her left hand. Artemis, in her hunting chiton and bow, stood next to Demeter while Anytos, wearing a cuirass, stood beside Despoina.

The surviving fragments of the cult statue group indicate that Damophon constructed the figures at different scales. Demeter and Despoina at the center were about 1.5 times larger than the flanking figures of Artemis and Anytos. Guy Dickins, who worked closely with Panagiotis Kaloudis, the restorer responsible for the partial reconstruction of these statues in the early twentieth century, felt that the scale discrepancy made the side figures appear too diminutive in comparison, creating an unnaturally unbalanced composition.⁷³⁷ In Dickins's reconstruction, he consequently placed these figures on small bases about 0.40 meters high—for which no archaeological evidence exists—to correct this perceived visual imbalance (**Cat. S36A**). When viewing the statues from the perspective of an individual standing within the cella threshold in the digital model, however, the flanking figures, even without bases, do not appear uncomfortably smaller than the central figures (**Fig. 4.18**). On the contrary, Damophon may have intended some disproportion in size. Despoina was the focus of the cult and thus naturally the most important figure in the composition. She was distinguished by her elaborately decorated drapery, which is the most technically skilled of the surviving fragments of the composition, and was placed in the center of the cella on a large, elaborate throne with her mother Demeter. In addition to their larger size and central placement, the design of the statue base was such that these figures projected farther into the viewer's space than the two flanking figures, thus making

⁷³⁷ Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, 375–377.

clear the predominance of Demeter and Despoina both within the cult and the sculptural composition.

The remains of the massive cult statue base still stand today, stretching almost 8.50 meters wide and about 1.50 meters high, thereby dominating the back part of the cella. The interior of the cella measured 9.49 meters wide, 11.75 meters long, and approximately 7.23 meters high, resulting in an interior volume of roughly 806.20 m³. The enthroned figures of Demeter and Despoina rose about 5.86 meters high, leaving 1.37 meters of clearance above their heads. The cult statue group's volume, about 148.47 m³, represented around 19% of the cella's volumetric space.⁷³⁸ The statue group stretched across the entire width of the cella's rear wall and occupied over 80% of the interior height, thereby dominating the space both vertically and horizontally. When viewing the group framed against the rear wall, the area of the composition filled about 72% of the wall's area.

As at Kleonai, a low barrier, likely of wood, further separated the cult statue group from the rest of the cella. All that survives of this barrier today is a line of pavement with postholes spaced across its length about one meter from the front of the cult statue base.⁷³⁹ The barrier separated visitors from the cult statue group and contracted the volume of space in which the statue stood. If we consider only the area beyond the barrier, approximately 386.98 m³, the cult statue comprised about 38% of the volumetric space. When standing within the cella directly before the barrier, the cult statue group loomed overhead, filling the field of view (**Fig. 4.19**). The extant remains do not provide evidence for any other constructions within the cella, and so the view from the cella threshold reveals the entire cult statue composition without obstruction.

⁷³⁸ The Lykosoura cult statue base features a middle projection that extends 1.26 m beyond the rest of the base. The cult statue's volume was calculated by first determining the volume of the main part of the base and adding it to the volume of this middle projection.

⁷³⁹ On barriers before cult statues, including that at Lykosoura, see Mylonopoulos 2011.

As a viewer left the cella and moved into the pronaos, portions of the cult group remained visible through the cella door. This door had a width of 1.95 meters, but no relevant architectural blocks survive at Lykosoura with which to precisely reconstruct its height. The door height in this model is set at 4.25 meters based on Vitruvius's conventions for a Doric door.⁷⁴⁰ The narrow door and shallow pronaos limited the statue group's visibility to viewers on axis with the cella entrance. If standing to either side of the door, the returning walls blocked the cult group from view (**Fig. 4.20**).

Moving from the pronaos outside the temple, digital modeling illustrates the extent to which the building's architectural features concealed and revealed the cult statues inside. At Lykosoura, sacrifices took place at three altars discovered between 15 and 37 meters to the east of the temple. Pausanias states that the altars were dedicated to Demeter, Despoina, and the Great Mother, although the attribution of each altar remains undetermined.⁷⁴¹ The digital model demonstrates that with the temple doors open, viewers at the nearest altar had a nearly unobstructed view of the central figures of the cult statue group (**Fig. 4.21**). From this position, the door lintel blocked the top half of the figures' heads but otherwise both central goddesses appeared fully in the doorway. The view became more complicated from the other two altars, as both were farther from the temple and slightly off axis of the doorway. From these altars, a viewer saw only the figure of Demeter, and her entire head was concealed by the lintel (**Fig. 4.22**). As the door height is reconstructed based on Vitruvius rather than extant architectural remains, the model allows us to test out different heights and how they affected the cult group's external visibility. Raising the door opening to a height of 5.00 meters would provide an

⁷⁴⁰ Vitr. 4.6.1–2. The contemporaneous, similarly-sized Temple of Herakles at Kleonai, discussed above, has a preserved lintel block that indicates its door was c. 4.50 meters tall; see Mattern 2015, 54.

⁷⁴¹ Paus. 8.37.2.

unobstructed view of the face of at least one of the central figures of the cult statue group from all three altars (**Fig. 4.23**); such a height, however, would create an uncommonly tall door for its width and is therefore unlikely. It seems instead that a partial restriction of the cult statue group's visibility was intended. Especially by obscuring the heads of the figures, the external views of the statue group heightened the mystery surrounding this cult, leaving the full reveal and direct engagement with the figures—especially through eye contact—for those who entered the cella itself.

The ancient access route to the temple is unknown, but the building was nestled onto a small plateau with a steep hill directly on its southern side. Visitors to the site today begin at the top of the hill, atop which stood the sanctuary's Megaron, and walk down to the plateau, approaching the temple from the south. If ancient visitors to the sanctuary took a similar path, any view of the temple door leading into the cella would have been blocked until reaching the level of the plateau, approximately at the location of the altars. When walking from the nearest altar on a direct line to the temple door, only the two central figures were visible until the viewer entered the cella itself. Alternatively, a viewer walking from either of the temple's sides toward the building's central axis saw only individual figures, often Artemis and Anytos (**Fig. 4.24**). No matter the direction chosen, the columns and door frame blocked a view of the entire cult statue group until the visitor accessed the cella.

If the Temple of Despoina predates the installation of its cult statue group, this composition reveals the extent to which a second-century sculptor adapted his work to the surrounding architecture. The visibility of the cult statue group from outside the temple was limited by the colonnade and doorframe, but its appearance within the cella was monumental as it filled three-fourths of the area of the back wall. Perhaps the restricted sightlines helped stage a

“big reveal” whereby the viewer saw glimpses of the cult statue group, reserving the final, literally awesome, effect of the composition for the moment of entry into the cella. Once inside the cella, the scale of the figures and the barrier delimiting their space from that of viewers amplified their imposing presence. Damophon may have intentionally sacrificed the cult group’s exterior visibility in order to highlight the composition’s grandeur and scale within the cella interior. He also used scale to distinguish the central figures from the two side figures such that Demeter and Despoina, like the Olympian Zeus, seemed in danger of unroofing their temple if they stood up from their elaborate throne. The Temple of Despoina illustrates Damophon’s skill at adapting his sculptural compositions to accommodate their architectural contexts; two additional installations by the sculptor at Messene further reveal the sculptor’s privileging of the interior view of his cult images.

Temple of Asklepios, Messene (Doric Peripteral)

Damophon acquired honors from numerous cities for his work in crafting or repairing cult statues but earned perhaps the biggest commission of his career from his hometown of Messene. In the first half of the second century, Damophon adorned with statuary the city’s newly constructed Asklepieion complex. Messene’s monumental Asklepieion became the religious and civic center of the city, highlighting the worship of not only Asklepios but also other deities tied to the region. The complex, located next to the agora, consisted of a large Doric temple dedicated to Asklepios that was completely surrounded by stoas, forming a large courtyard measuring 66.97 meters wide and 71.91 meters long (**Cat. T49A**). One of the rooms within the western stoa included a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Orthia; the relationship between this unique sacred space and its cult statue will be examined below.

In the center of this large courtyard stood the Doric peripteral Temple of Asklepios, constructed of local gray limestone (**Cat. T49**). The temple rested on a three-stepped krepis that measured 13.66 meters wide and 27.97 meters long. Six columns lined the building's short sides and twelve columns ran along its long sides. A ramp 3.34 meters long extended up the center of the temple's eastern façade leading to the main doorway.⁷⁴² The temple featured a cella flanked by a pronaos and opisthodomos, each with two columns in antis. The naos was elevated above the stylobate by another step of 0.24 meters. In addition to the main eastern entrance, a second door led into the cella's south side.⁷⁴³ Few other architectural remains survive to reconstruct in detail the interior of the cella, but several sculptural fragments found during excavations provide evidence for the temple's cult statues.

Pausanias reports that Damophon produced all the sculptures erected within the Asklepieion save an iron statue of Epameinondas, including the cult statues of the complex's primary temple.⁷⁴⁴ Excavations within the complex revealed a cache of sculptures, many of which have been dated to the second century and attributed to Damophon.⁷⁴⁵ The periegete, however, is uncharacteristically restrained about the cult statue within the Temple of Asklepios, leading excavators to reconstruct the composition from the surviving physical remains alone. Among the sculpture found during the temple's excavation, researchers propose that six fragments of a male figure belong to the cult statue of Asklepios, encompassing three joining fragments of the god's staff and himation, a fragment of the left shoulder, and two fragments from the rear of the head (**Cat. S43A–D**). Themelis reconstructs the statue as a standing male

⁷⁴² The function of this ramp remains unclear; see Sioumpara 2011, 41–43.

⁷⁴³ On the cella and its two doors, see Sioumpara 2011, 79–139, 143–144.

⁷⁴⁴ Paus. 4.31.10.

⁷⁴⁵ Themelis 1994b, 10–23.

figure wearing a himation and holding a staff in his left hand.⁷⁴⁶ The dimensions of these pieces suggest that the original statue was larger than lifesize, standing approximately 2.60 meters tall.

In addition to these fragments of a figure tentatively identified as Asklepios, Themelis suggests that two nearly complete statues of nude young men represent Asklepios's sons Machaon and Podaleirios,⁷⁴⁷ statues of whom Pausanias claims stood within the sanctuary.⁷⁴⁸ One of the figures, identified as the older son Machaon, wears his himation draped from his left shoulder and wrapped around his left arm and holds a sheathed sword turned upwards in his left hand (**Cat. S43F**). The other figure, identified as Podaleirios because of the more youthful body, is completely nude with long locks of hair falling onto his shoulders (**Cat. S43H**). Themelis also associates two male heads with the figures (**Cat. S43E, G**). These statues originally stood about 2.10 meters tall. Themelis thus proposes that the Temple of Asklepios contained a monumental cult statue group that included Asklepios, his two sons, and likely Hygieia. No fragments of the female figure survive, but dedications found within the sanctuary address themselves to both Asklepios and Hygieia, making plausible her inclusion within the cult statue group.⁷⁴⁹ The digital reconstruction includes all four figures with Hygieia scaled slightly smaller than Asklepios in order to represent visually the god's premier position within the cult and its statue group.

Nothing remains of the cult statue base to aid in the reconstruction of the statues' positioning or the precise location of the base within the cella.⁷⁵⁰ Damophon's four-figure cult group at Lykosoura has therefore served as a model in this reconstruction. Within the digital model, the proposed statue base measures 3.60 meters wide, 1.00 meter deep, and 1.00 meter

⁷⁴⁶ Themelis 1994b, 10–15.

⁷⁴⁷ Themelis 1994b, 11–13.

⁷⁴⁸ Paus. 4.31.10.

⁷⁴⁹ On the reconstruction of the cult statue group and problems concerning the temple's attribution, see Themelis 1994b, 4–15; Zunino 1997, 184; Sioumpara 2011, 219–223.

⁷⁵⁰ Sioumpara 2011, 224.

high, sized so as to accommodate a four-figure statue group. In this hypothetical reconstruction, the two larger, central figures of Asklepios and Hygieia stand in the center of the base while the two smaller figures of Machaon and Podaleirios flank the central figures and stand slightly behind them on the base (**Fig. 4.25**), reminiscent of Damophon's composition at Lykosoura. The base was placed on axis with the doorway and just before the cella's rear wall, as was common in second-century temples, including most of the examples discussed in this study.

The internal dimensions of the cella measured 6.36 meters wide, 7.30 meters long, and approximately 7.40 meters high, resulting in a volume of 343.57 m³.⁷⁵¹ The volume of the reconstructed four-figure cult statue group upon an appropriately sized base is roughly 12.96 m³, such that the composition occupied approximately 4% of the interior volumetric space. When considering the statue group framed against the cella's rear wall, the largest figure of the reconstructed cult statue group stood approximately 3.60 meters above the cella floor, thereby occupying nearly half the height of the wall. In this reconstruction, the area of the statue group comprises 28% of the area of the rear wall. Excavators found no evidence of a barrier, cult table, or other features within the cella that might have impacted the appearance or visibility of the cult group within this space.

The view from the cella threshold reveals that a four-figure composition fills the horizontal space of the room with all four figures clearly visible and framed by the rear wall (**Fig. 4.26**). This doorway had a width of 2.40 meters, equal in size to the central intercolumniation, which was wider than the temple's other intercolumniations. When walking around the pronaos, the wide door facilitated a viewer's ability to see the cult statue group within the cella with at least one figure visible from nearly all vantage points (**Fig. 4.27**). From the

⁷⁵¹ Sioumpara 2011, 79–84, pl. 15.

pronaos, our viewer entered the east pteron. The pteron on both the front and rear façades was so deep it could have accommodated another row of columns but remained the length of a single intercolumniation along the flanks, thus corresponding in plan to a subset of peripteral temples that includes the Hephaisteion in Athens and the Archaic Temple of Athena at Assos. The wide front pteron provided ample area for viewers to gather. The two pronaos columns and the deep pteron, however, created additional impediments for the visibility of the cult statue from this point. As a viewer moved throughout this area, the pronaos columns and cella walls intermittently blocked the cult statue group, with the entire composition hidden from view upon reaching the edge of the temple. Nonetheless, the majority of the front pteron provided visual access to at least one, and often more, of the figures within the cult statue group (**Fig. 4.28**).

A viewer progressing down the temple steps to ground level might have approached the altar. A monumental altar, built of the same local gray limestone as the temple, stood approximately seven meters from the temple directly in line with its main entrance. The two-part altar was nearly as wide as the temple at 12.67 meters and rose to a height of over 1.70 meters.⁷⁵² From directly in front of the center of Asklepios's altar, all four figures of the reconstructed cult statue group were visible through the temple door. When moving around the altar, however, the pronaos columns blocked each figure at different points, obscuring a vision of the entire composition for anyone not positioned directly on axis with the temple door (**Fig. 4.29**).

If reconstructed as a multigure composition, the cult group of Messene's Asklepieion would have occupied demonstrably less space than Damophon's multigure cult group at Lykosoura: the Asklepieion cult group as reconstructed constituted only 4% of the volumetric space and 28% of the area of the rear cella wall while the Lykosoura composition comprised

⁷⁵² Themelis 2015, 66–67.

18% of the volumetric space and 72% of the area of the rear cella wall. The discrepancy arises from both the Asklepieion figures being smaller than their counterparts at Lykosoura and placed within a larger temple. The internal and external visibility of the Asklepieion figures, however, was greater than at Lykosoura. The wide door into the cella and the ample space within the pronaos and front pteron provided multiple vantage points from which to catch a glimpse of the cult statue enshrined within the cella. From the altar, the broad door and axial positioning of the statue group would have facilitated a complete view of the entire composition as reconstructed here, but the external colonnade restricted this view as one moved away from the central axis.

Artemision, Messene (Ionic Tripartite Oikos)

The final work of Damophon's examined here is the cult statue of Artemis, placed within a very unique setting: the stoa just west of the Temple of Asklepios. In addition to the sanctuary's primary temple, a series of rooms in the western stoa of Messene's Asklepieion contained sculptures by Damophon. The northernmost and largest of these rooms, Oikos K, functioned as a cult space for Artemis Orthia (**Cat. T47**), as confirmed by several inscribed bases found in the room.⁷⁵³ The space, which was 14.00 meters wide and 7.15 meters deep, was divided into three aisles by two internal colonnades formed by two columns in antis on either side of the larger central aisle. This unusual architectural context, a cult room nestled within a stoa, offers an additional perspective on the relationship between a cult statue and its surrounding architecture, and illustrates the range of settings in which these statues could be found in this period.

⁷⁵³ Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 194, 975, 1027, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034.

Marble fragments of an over-lifesize female figure found in the vicinity of the sanctuary have been identified by excavators as Damophon's cult statue of Artemis Orthia, which stood upon the high base that survives in Oikos K. The extant remains include the right knee; left shin; right hand holding a cylindrical object, likely a torch; two upper arm fragments; and three head fragments of a female figure (**Cat. S42**). Messene's cult of Artemis Orthia originally occupied a fourth-century tetrastyle prostyle temple located on a terrace just a few meters to the north of Oikos K until it moved into the Asklepieion stoa in the second century BCE. Terracotta figurines discovered in the fourth-century temple may represent the cult statue of the building in which they were found. Based on the surviving marble fragments from the second-century statue and these earlier terracotta figurines, excavators postulate that Damophon's statue resembled the previous cult image, depicting the goddess in a short, sleeveless chiton holding a torch.⁷⁵⁴ The second-century fragments are diverse and quite fragmentary, but their dimensions suggest that Damophon's cult statue stood about 3.22 meters tall and was thus bigger than the figure of Asklepios located in the much larger temple nearby.

A large rectangular base for the cult statue stands against the west wall, directly on axis with the entrance to the space. The base measures 3.16 meters wide, 1.04 meters deep, and 1.03 meters high.⁷⁵⁵ On its base, the statue's volume was approximately 13.97 m³. The internal dimensions of the Artemision were 12.47 meters wide and 5.62 meters deep. No blocks survive to aid in reconstructing the roof and ceiling of the Artemision, but the interior height may have been as much as 5.57 meters.⁷⁵⁶ Standing upon its base, the reconstructed cult statue occupied approximately 75% of the interior height, leaving about 1.32 meters of clearance above its head.

⁷⁵⁴ For the fourth-century Temple of Artemis Orthia at Messene and the finds discovered during its excavation, see Themelis 1991, 86–102; 1994a, 101–107.

⁷⁵⁵ Chlepa 2001, 29.

⁷⁵⁶ Chlepa 2001, 67.

The volume of the total interior space of the Artemision was roughly 390.35 m³, such that the cult statue occupied approximately 4% of the volumetric space. Framed against the rear wall, the area of the statue comprised about 19% of the area of the wall behind it (**Fig. 4.30**). The two rows of columns inside the Artemision, however, created a central nave within the interior space that measured 5.75 meters wide and 5.62 meters deep. If we consider the Artemision's cult statue within this central nave alone, it occupied approximately 8% of the volumetric space and its area comprised about 42% of the area of the wall behind it (**Fig. 4.31**).

Immediately in front of the cult statue base stood a cult table, as indicated by an in-situ block with a cutting on each corner for the table legs. To the right of the cult statue base sits a block with a deep square cutting in the middle that likely once held the treasury box for collecting initiation fees.⁷⁵⁷ Neither installation would have impacted the visibility of the cult statue within the cella. The two side chambers, however, each contained a row of stone benches decorated with lion's paws along their exterior walls. Themelis posits that the council of elders occupied these benches while observing the rituals of the sanctuary, but the benches might also have held votive offerings or facilitated initiation rituals or ritual dining.⁷⁵⁸ Recreating the view from these benches within the model reveals that the area directly in front of the cult statue was clearly visible from the entire seating area, despite the interior columns blocking the cult statue itself at certain points (**Fig. 4.32**).

As visitors moved out of the side chambers toward the doorway to exit the cult space, they saw the entire cult statue framed against the rear wall. The Artemision's cult statue was positioned directly on axis with the entrance into the central nave. This entrance was divided into three parts by two Ionic half-columns, with the central opening 1.77 meters wide. A low

⁷⁵⁷ Orlandos 1962a, 102–112; Themelis 1994a, 107–111; Chlepa 2001, 20–23.

⁷⁵⁸ Themelis 1994a, 122.

balustrade ran between each half-column and the returning walls, thereby blocking entry through these two side openings and funneling all visitors into the central chamber directly on axis with the cult statue. Screens may have extended up from the balustrade, which would have further restricted both physical and visual access through these side openings.⁷⁵⁹

Once outside the cult space, the stoa's architectural design impacted the cult statue's visibility. A visitor walking within the stoa would not have been able to see the cult statue unless within the entrance to the cult space, especially if screens covered the two side openings flanking the central door (**Fig. 4.33**). Upon exiting the stoa into the courtyard, the stoa's colonnade continued to restrict the statue's visibility as a viewer walked in front of the cult space. Again, the only place it could be seen was when positioned between the two columns of the stoa that flanked the Artemision's entrance. The sanctuary's altar stood about 15 meters outside the entrance to Oikos K, slightly off axis from the entrance and cult statue base. From the center of the altar, the cult statue appeared prominently in the cella's entrance (**Fig. 4.34**). Once again, however, the unknown height of the door precludes making any conclusions with certainty. At a height of 3.20 meters, as reconstructed by Chlepa,⁷⁶⁰ the cult statue's face was blocked by the lintel; however, a height of 3.70 meters allowed Artemis to see out of her sanctuary onto the activities occurring at the altar (**Fig. 4.35**).

The unique space of Messene's Artemision, nested within a stoa, demonstrates a quite different architectural setting from the other temples examined here. Internally, the tripartite division of the space augmented the cult statue's appearance by placing it within its own nave. The scale to which Damophon constructed the statue further magnified its appearance as it occupied three-fourths of the interior height. The sculpture figured prominently inside this space

⁷⁵⁹ Themelis 1994a, 122; Chlepa 2001, 15.

⁷⁶⁰ Chlepa 2001, 68–69, figs. 54α, 55α.

where it served as the focal point of the benches lining the side chambers. From outside the space, however, views of the statue were limited. The possible screens surrounding the entrance would have provided just glimpses of the magnificent statue, limiting a complete view of the image until a worshipper arrived at the main entrance. In addition, the architectural frame of the larger stoa, especially its colonnade, restricted the statue's visibility unless positioned on axis with its entrance.

The cult statue's limited visibility contrasts greatly with the stoa's high degree of public access. The extent to which the sanctuary itself was open to the public is unknown but surely people would have been frequently passing by the space as they conducted their business. Significantly limiting the external visibility of the cult statue and much of the interior space distinguished this unique sanctuary from its surroundings and ensured that entrance into the space remained a special experience. The benches along the side walls further indicate that internal visibility was important in this cult. If the majority of ritual activity took place inside the sanctuary, as seems likely, such events remained distinct from the other, more secular, happenings in the surrounding stoa and any cult activity at the nearby Temple of Asklepios.

Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse (Ionic Pseudodipteral)

Limited external visibility also impacted the final cult statue examined here, that of Apollo Smintheus in the god's temple at Chryse (**Cat. T8**). On the eastern shore of the Troad near the modern town of Gülpınar sits the remains of this temple. In part due to the god's role in the Trojan Wars,⁷⁶¹ his cult enjoyed particular regard in Asia Minor with cult sites called

⁷⁶¹ Apollo Smintheus features prominently in the opening lines of the *Iliad* (1.1–67), where the god wreaks havoc on the Greeks, spreading plague amongst the warriors in response to the capture of Chryseis, the daughter of his priest at Chryse.

Sminthia found at Hamaxitos, Larisa, and Parium, as well as at Lindos on Rhodes.⁷⁶² The most prominent of these sanctuaries, however, was located at Chryse; the remains today near Gülpınar have been identified as this significant regional sanctuary. Based on a stylistic comparison with architectural elements from temples designed by Hermogenes in Asia Minor, the Smintheion has been dated to the mid-second century, or just after the famed architect's floruit.⁷⁶³ The Smintheion was an Ionic pseudodipteral temple of 8 x 14 columns set upon a high podium of 11 steps and measured 22.58 meters wide and 40.44 meters long at the top of the stylobate.⁷⁶⁴ The temple's plan consisted of a cella flanked by a deep distyle in *antis pronaos* and a shallow distyle in *antis opisthodomos*. Unfortunately, little remains of the temple's interior architecture. Already when discovered in the 1860s, much of the marble from the superstructure had been plundered or fallen victim to the lime kiln.⁷⁶⁵ Further, sometime between the initial excavations by Richard Pullan in the 1860s and Hans Weber's reexamination a century later, an olive oil workshop was built directly atop the temple.⁷⁶⁶ Consequently, nothing of the superstructure or paving of the cella survives *in situ* and anything that might have remained of a cult statue base was likewise obliterated.

The temple interior's poor state of preservation makes a reconstruction of the Smintheion and its cult statue difficult, a feat further complicated by the conflicting evidence for the statue's appearance. The only literary evidence for the cult image describes a statue of Apollo with a mouse beneath his foot attributed to the fourth-century sculptor Skopas of Paros.⁷⁶⁷ The numismatic evidence, however, tells a slightly different story. Numerous coin types from

⁷⁶² Strabo 13.1.48.

⁷⁶³ Bingöl 1990a; Özgünel 2015b, 17. On the architecture of Hermogenes, see Hoepfner and Schwandner 1990; Bingöl 1996; Schulz 2012a.

⁷⁶⁴ Pullan 1881, 40–48, 1915; Weber 1966; Özgünel 2001, 2015a.

⁷⁶⁵ Texier and Pullan 1865; Pullan 1881, 40–48; 1915.

⁷⁶⁶ Weber 1966, 100.

⁷⁶⁷ Strabo 13.1.4.

Hamaxitos and Alexandria Troas dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods include a figure labeled as Apollo Smintheus on the reverse.⁷⁶⁸ The earliest such coin to depict Apollo Smintheus is a fourth-century issue of Hamaxitos.⁷⁶⁹ On the reverse, Apollo is shown standing alone, draped in a himation, holding out a phiale in his right hand and clutching a bow in his left. The same iconography is echoed on the coins minted by Alexandria Troas, where Apollo is again represented standing in profile, wearing a himation, and holding a phiale and bow (**Cat. S9A**). Given the prevalence of this image and the significance of the cult to the region, scholars have generally agreed that the figure represents the cult statue of Apollo Smintheus.⁷⁷⁰ On later Roman coins, this same figure frequently appears on a pedestal and even inside a temple (**Cat. S9B**), further highlighting its connection with a standing sculpture.

Excavations at the site in 1980 brought to light a significant piece of physical evidence for the temple's cult image: a marble fragment of a leg thought to belong to the cult statue based on its size (**Cat. S9C–E**).⁷⁷¹ The white marble fragment represents the knee and calf of the right leg of a male statue with the knee bent slightly, corresponding to the coin images of the god that show Apollo's right leg bent as he either strides forward or steps upon a mouse. The front of the leg is significantly damaged but does not appear to include elements of the god's himation, which he dons in the numismatic images. Based on the size of the surviving fragment, the full statue would have stood around 5.13 meters tall, which is the height to which the statue is scaled in the digital reconstruction. Due to the post-antique destruction of the temple's interior, the precise placement of the statue within the cella is unknown; the model therefore shows the statue

⁷⁶⁸ Wroth 1964, xvi–xviii.

⁷⁶⁹ Wroth 1964, 56, no. AE 55; Bresson 2007, 150–151.

⁷⁷⁰ De Witte 1858, 27–28; Wroth 1964, xvi–xviii; Bellinger 1979, 81; Çizmeli Ögün 2015, 95–97.

⁷⁷¹ Özgünel 2001, 26; 2015b, 61–62; pers. comm. The fragment measures 1.10 m high. I would like to thank A. Coşkun Özgünel for allowing me to study the cult statue fragment in the Smintheion Archaeological Museum and for kindly discussing the temple and its development with me.

positioned against the rear wall of the cella centrally aligned with the doorway, as was common in the second century. As the statue base also does not survive, the reconstructed base measures 2.00 meters wide, 2.00 meters deep, and 0.75 meters high, similar in size to surviving single-figure cult statue bases of the second century.

The internal dimensions of the long, rectangular cella were 8.12 meters wide and 13.55 meters long with an interior height around 14.02 meters, resulting in a volume of 1542.56 m³. The cult statue upon its base as reconstructed here has a volume around 23.52 m³, accounting for approximately 2% of the interior volumetric space. If we consider the cult statue two-dimensionally within the frame of the cella's rear wall, it stood less than halfway (42%) up the back wall and its area occupied about 10% of the area of the wall behind it (**Fig. 4.36**). Due to the post-antique destruction of the temple's interior, few other architectural details of the temple's cella can be reconstructed from the surviving remains to assess whether additional elements, such as a barrier or interior colonnade, impacted the cult statue's appearance and visibility. The long cella added to the impression of the image's small scale within the surrounding space, especially the farther one stood from the statue.

From the cella's threshold, a viewer could take in the entire space of the cella and its cult statue (**Fig. 4.37**). According to the published plans of the temple, the cella door had a width of 2.96 meters, a measurement that matched that of the temple's intercolumniations.⁷⁷² The resulting door was narrower than prescribed by Vitruvius, whose specifications regarding the width of an Ionic door suggest the Smintheion's entrance should have been approximately 4.00 meters wide.⁷⁷³ A viewer moving within the pronaos therefore had a limited view of the cella and

⁷⁷² Özgünel 2001, 86–89, plan 18.

⁷⁷³ Vitr. 4.6.3.

cult statue through this narrow entrance. The cult statue was visible in the center of the pronaos, but the doorframe blocked the figure of Apollo as one walked toward the side walls (**Fig. 4.38**).

The narrow door continued to impede the cult statue's visibility when moving beyond the pronaos to the pteron. The temple's pseudodipteral plan created a deep pteron beyond the pronaos, like at the Temple of Asklepios at Messene, leaving plenty of space to congregate and move about. Within this space, the two pronaos columns intermittently blocked the cult statue from view, but the cella walls more often functioned as visual impediments. When standing on the edge of the top step directly in front of the door to the cella, for example, the statue was clearly visible, but the returning walls and pronaos columns hid the statue when moving to the left or right (**Fig. 4.39**).

From the pteron, we travel outside the temple itself to assess the cult statue's visibility from ground level. The statue's external visibility depended in large part upon the number and spacing of the columns. Vitruvius credits Hermogenes not only with the development of the pseudodipteral plan but also with the articulation of temple symmetries based on the building's colonnade.⁷⁷⁴ According to Vitruvius's classification of temples, the Smintheion was pycnostyle, having an intercolumniation of 1.5 column diameters, the closest-set columns acceptable to the Roman author. Vitruvius writes that a drawback of pycnostyle temples is the close placement of the columns, which blocks the view of the doorway and the cult statue inside the cella.⁷⁷⁵

The model reveals, however, that more than just the width of the intercolumniations and door affected the visibility of the Smintheion's cult statue at ground level. Unfortunately, nothing survives of the temple's altar to indicate its position relative to the temple and thus allow for a reconstruction of the view of the cult statue from this ritual focal point. Instead, the model

⁷⁷⁴ Vitr. 3.3.1–6.

⁷⁷⁵ Vitr. 3.3.1–3.

reveals how the statue appeared when moving toward the temple. From afar, the statue was faintly visible in the doorway, but upon approach it gradually disappeared from view. The high podium of steps, 4.09 meters in height, made it difficult to see the cult statue from ground level. Indeed, if walking up to the temple directly in line with the cella and cult statue, the position with the best view of the statue inside, the statue was no longer visible at a distance of 5.80 meters from the temple, at which point the podium steps completely blocked it. At 40.00 meters from the temple, the closest distance at which the entire statue could be seen from outside the temple, the statue was most visible when directly on axis with the doorway but was partially or completely blocked at various points by the columns and, more often, the cella walls (**Fig. 4.40**). The dual impact of the podium and pycnostyle design thus inhibited the visibility of the cult statue from outside the cella.

The model reveals that Vitruvius's criticism of pycnostyle temples and their impact on the cult statue's visibility may be correct, at least in the case of the Smintheion. The columns intermittently blocked the view of the cult statue from outside the cella, but the width of the doorway had a far greater impact on the statue's visibility. This narrow entrance harmonized with the compact intercolumniations of the entire temple but sharply restricted the cult statue's external visibility. Yet the glimpses of the statue upon approach to the temple may have heightened the anticipation of an encounter with the divine presence manifested within the cult image, thereby building up momentum for the final reveal upon entry into the cella.

Once inside, the Smintheion's cult statue had the smallest proportional relationship with its architectural setting of the examples studied here. The temple's long cella contributed to the statue's petite appearance, even though it stood nearly half as tall as the interior space. Perhaps this scale was intentional and part of a tradition that favored small cult statues, even within large

temples, most prevalently seen in Anatolia. The cult statue of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene (**Cat. S37**), for example, was likely a small, wooden image that stood within a large interior space, much like the earlier cult statue and temple of Artemis at Ephesos. Alternatively, if the Smintheion's cult statue was created in the fourth-century instead of the second, it may have appeared mismatched within the second-century temple because it was initially designed for another building. Archaeological investigations inside and outside the temple found no trace of an earlier building at the site, making it unlikely that a structure housed the cult statue here prior to the second century.⁷⁷⁶ If the statue was indeed created by Skopas of Paros in the fourth century, it must have been brought to the temple from another site in the region and thus designed for a different architectural space. It is also possible, however, that the surviving fragment came from a second-century cult statue that had been modeled on an earlier image, such as that depicted on the coins, and perhaps created by a descendent of the earlier Skopas.⁷⁷⁷

Study Conclusions

The relationship between a sculpture and its architectural setting is one rarely examined by scholars of antiquity, yet the case studies above illustrate the profound interconnections of the two. From its conception, the architectural setting of a cult statue was known to be the cella of a temple. The cult statue was not a static object within a museum-like setting; on the contrary, it played significant roles in the rituals and life of its respective cult. These seven case studies reveal the extent to which the temple's architectural design facilitated viewership and

⁷⁷⁶ Özgünel 2015b, 17.

⁷⁷⁷ Palagia suggests that the sculptor was not the famed fourth-century sculptor Skopas but instead Skopas Minor, whom she argues worked in the northern Aegean in the second century BCE; see Palagia 2010b.

engagement with the cult image. Two key areas of the relationship between sculpture and architecture and its impact on a viewer's experience emerged from these studies: the cult statue's scale and visibility.

Scale

The first of these issues, that of scale, is one which scholars of Hellenistic sculpture have long considered. One observed trend in the production of Hellenistic cult statues was the growing interest in placing colossal statues within relatively small temples, with Lykosoura and the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia often cited as examples of this phenomenon.⁷⁷⁸ More so than the overall size of the building, however, was the contraction of space within the cella itself. As noted above, the increasingly quadratic cellas in second-century temples reduced the space between the viewer and the cult image, creating a foreshortened perspective. The shallow viewing space coupled with the physical size of the statues produced an arresting image of divine power.

Two of the temples examined here, Kleonai and Lykosoura, included a barrier that ran the width of the cella. The impacts of these internal divisions were numerous. First, they distinguished the inviolate space around the cult statue from the "public" area of the cella, where visitors might congregate to view or address the cult image. Secondly, by reducing the amount of space in which the statue stood, the visual impression of its size grew. Finally, interior barriers and colonnades dictated the frame within which the statue was observed. They drew the viewer's eyes to the heart of the composition, the cult statue itself. A colonnade added a decorative border

⁷⁷⁸ On the placement of cult statues within small temples as a Hellenistic phenomenon, see Lauter 1986, 192–193; Danner 1993, 22; Cain 1995; Damaskos 1999, 208–213; Ridgway 2000, 235; Hölscher 2004, 63–64.

to the image, therefore increasing its luxurious appearance, while a barrier underscored the statue's mystique by clearly indicating that the image was beyond human reach.

Although exceptions can be found, second-century cult statues regularly stood immediately before the rear cella wall. For a viewer located on the cella threshold, the appearance of the statue within the entire volumetric space of the cella was important. Yet when the viewer entered the cella itself, much of the cella space was behind the individual and thus out of sight. The vision before the viewer's eyes was the cult statue directly in front of the rear cella wall, which might serve as a frame for the composition and impacted the visual perception of the statue's size. The results from the case studies reveal that the area of these statues in comparison to the area of the back walls of their temples ranged from 10% to 72% (**Table 4.1**). The digital models indicate, however, that the visual perception of these monuments did not necessarily align with the mathematical relationships calculated from the dimensions of statue and architecture. The area of the statue of Herakles at Kleonai, for example, only occupied about one-quarter of the area of the back wall but appeared visually comparable to statues like the Zeus of Magnesia that occupied much higher percentages of the two-dimensional space. These findings indicate that the appearance of the statue before the rear cella wall was critical; an image like the Lykosoura cult group made a monumental impression on the viewer, often belying the actual size of the sculpture. Alternatively, even a colossal statue might appear smaller than its actual size when placed within a sweeping space, such as at the Smintheion.

Of all the temples examined here, the cult statue of the Smintheion was scaled the smallest in relation to its architectural surroundings. This disjunction between statue and architecture may reflect a diversity in second-century cult statue display seen especially in Anatolia. Surviving evidence for Anatolian cult statues and temples reveal a sharp divide in the

relationship between the cult image and the surrounding architectural space: some quite large temples housed rather small images while other small temples, like the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia, housed colossal statues. Much like the Magnesian Zeus temple, for example, Temple R at Pergamon also had a small, perfectly square cella that housed a colossal (c. 3.00 m high) cult image (**Cat. S57, T58**).⁷⁷⁹ While the statue of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia represents the highest end of the scale for the proportional relationships between cult image and architecture found in this period, the city's much larger Temple of Artemis Leukophryene (**Cat. T45**), in contrast, likely held a small, wooden image of the goddess (**Cat. S37**).⁷⁸⁰ Two larger temples, that of Apollo at Klaros (**Cat. T31**) and Athena Polias at Priene (**Cat. T63**), demonstrate a third arrangement for second-century Anatolian cult images: colossal statues placed within large temples. The cult statue of Athena Polias (**Cat. S51**) stood about 6.79 meters high in a cella 8.84 meters wide and 14.70 meters long, while the cult group of Apollo at Klaros (**Cat. S28**) represented the literal heights to which second-century cult statues were known to be produced, rising between 7.50 and 8.00 meters tall within a temple that measured 25.16 meters wide and 46.29 meters long.

Within many of the temples in Greece and the Aegean islands, second-century sculptors scaled their cult statues to accommodate increasingly quadratic cellas that contracted the available viewing space. The combination of the statues' scale and the foreshortened perspective created the perception that these images were larger than their actual size and appropriately conveyed the dignity and power of the divine. Damophon seemed particularly skilled at scaling and manipulating his cult images to elicit a monumental presence within the cella, as seen especially at Lykosoura and the Messene Artemision. In these two spaces, the statues filled 75–

⁷⁷⁹ The cella of Temple R measured 6.75 x 6.75 m.

⁷⁸⁰ Head 1981, 158–172; Herring 2016, 137–138.

80% of the cella's height and evoked a dominating presence within the cella that the sculptor's cult group within the Asklepieion noticeably failed to match. The stark differences in the presentation of Damophon's cult statues may have been due to the different architectural environments. While the overall size of the Temple of Asklepios was larger than that of the Temple of Despoina, however, its cella was actually smaller. I think it may be more likely that the sculptural fragments attributed to the Asklepios cult group may instead belong to a different composition within the larger Asklepieion and not necessarily to the temple's cult statue group.

The impacts of scale and contracted viewing space on the visual perception of second-century cult statues observed in Aegean temples also appears in the tholos temples of the western Mediterranean, as demonstrated by the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei above. Other Roman temples, however, featured more rectangular cellas which likely altered the viewing experience from that described here.⁷⁸¹ A cult statue's scale in relation to its architectural environment played a significant role in how the image was perceived within the innermost room of the temple. In addition to creating an imposing presence within the cella, the cult statue's size impacted its visibility elsewhere inside and outside the temple. A larger statue could be seen more clearly from distant points, even when elements of the architecture restricted significant sightlines.

Visibility

The other major area of investigation identified within these case studies was the cult statue's visibility both inside and outside the temple. Nothing in the extant evidence indicates

⁷⁸¹ None of these temples survived with sufficient physical remains of both architecture and cult statue to model here. On the importance of traversing the length of the cella to reach the cult image in Roman temples, see Gladigow 1994, 9–11.

that major architectural components negatively impacted the viewing of the cult statue within the cella. Even when barricades, cult tables, or other elements populated this space, as at Kleonai, Lykosoura, and Messene, they served to demarcate the space around the cult statue, not block it from view. Such features in turn suggest temple cellas were relatively accessible; if significant numbers of people were not entering the cella such barriers would be unnecessary. The importance of spectatorship within the cella is highlighted best by the Artemision at Messene, which contained stone benches along the side walls from which visitors could observe the cult statue and any activities taking place before it.

The temples examined here represent a sampling of temple types constructed in this period. They range in both overall size and the number of internal divisions, such that in some the cella opened directly to the pteron (Kleonai and Rome) while others featured intervening rooms (Magnesia, Lykosoura, Messene, and Chryse). The axial positioning of the cult statue directly in line with the cella entrance facilitated the cult statue's visibility internally and externally. The temple architecture, however, could variously conceal and reveal the cult statue within. Several of the case studies revealed architectural modifications that bolstered the cult statue's visibility and augmented its appearance. Both Kleonai and Magnesia, for example, featured an elevated cella floor that visually raised up the statue. The extraordinarily wide central intercolumniation at Kleonai also showcased the cult statue inside, which was clearly visible from both the altar and "altar courtyard."

As recreated in the digital models, the external viewing experience of the cult statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei appears vividly different from any of the other examples, with the cult image of the goddess seemingly standing just within the doorway. The Temple of Fortuna featured a monumental entrance characterized by a flight of stairs leading to its large entrance,

mirrored by the temple's widened central intercolumniation. Viewers standing at the altar or on the temple stairs attempting to see the incredibly tall cult statue inside benefited from the lower elevation relative to the cella, thereby providing a view of the statue in its entirety. It is difficult to determine if the sharp distinction between the viewing experience at the Temple of Fortuna and the other modeled examples represents a regional difference that stemmed from the frontal emphasis of Roman temples. Perhaps instead the particular shape of the temple itself profoundly altered the viewing experience. Circular structures may have been more likely to house a cult statue in the middle of the cella than against the rear wall, thereby moving the image closer to the temple door. The evidence for the placement of cult statue bases in second-century Roman temples is scarce, but the Temple of Lares Permarini (**Cat. T84**), a peripteral temple with its cult statue set against the rear cella wall, indicates that the positioning of the cult statue in the center of the cella may have indeed been a feature of circular temples and not a general Roman phenomenon. None of the other second-century Roman tholoi, however, preserve evidence for their cult statue bases to confirm this supposition.

As the locus of ritual activity, the altar and its view of the cult statues was particularly significant, especially if the deities were understood to monitor the proceedings through the eyes of their cult statues. In every temple examined here for which evidence of the altar's position survives, an individual standing in front of the altar on axis with the temple door had a view of the cult statue inside. In the case of multigure compositions, at least the two central figures could be seen clearly. Deviating from this central position, however, often resulted in the temple's columns intermittently restricting the view inside, with the extent of their impact dependent upon their spacing.

The primary feature impacting the statue's visibility was the size of the cella door. Wide doors increased the statue's visibility beyond the cella, whereas the cella walls often hid the statue from view when flanking a narrow entrance, such as at Chryse. The size of the door seems to have been a greater factor in the statue's visibility than the number of internal divisions within the temple. The wide door of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, for example, allowed both people going about their everyday business in the agora and participants in the Leukophryeneia to clearly see the cult statue inside. Similarly, at the Temple of Asklepios at Messene, the statue group remained visible from a number of vantage points within the pronaos and pteron on account of the broad cella door, whereas a viewer in the pronaos of the Smintheion rarely caught sight of the statue of Apollo unless directly before the cella entrance. The relative visibility of the cult statue as determined by the easily manipulable door size suggests that in certain cults the external visibility of the cult statue was not deemed preferable or appropriate. Such an obfuscating effect might have been particularly desirable for mystery cults, such as that of Despoina at Lykosoura. Rather than indicating regional preference, it seems that the ability to see the cult image from outside the temple was a significant consideration in overall second-century temple and cult statue design; the nature of the cult and local traditions may have been more critical components in those examples in which the architecture better shielded the cult image from outside eyes.

Impediments to a cult statue's external visibility typically came in the form of the temple's columns, but in the case of the Smitheion, its high podium caused the statue to slowly disappear from sight as a visitor approached. The limited external visibility of the cult statue should not necessarily evoke criticism, however. Vitruvius, for example, complains about the impact of narrowly spaced columns on the cult statue's visibility, but perhaps that actually

enlivened the experience of visiting a temple. As a worshipper approached the temple, the architecture simultaneously concealed and revealed the cult statue inside, providing tantalizing glimpses of the sculptural centerpiece within the various layers of the building but preventing a complete view of the composition until the visitor's experience culminated in the cella. The result was an engaging and noteworthy experience for the viewer that highlighted the synergetic relationship of statue and architecture.

This dynamic experience was notably observed at two of the temples housing cult statues by Damophon: Lykosoura and the Messene Artemision. The unique setting of Damophon's cult statue of Artemis Orthia within an inner room of a stoa precluded its visibility from points outside the sanctuary unless directly in front of the entrance. The Lykosoura cult group, in contrast, was at least partially visible from the temple's nearest altar, but its visibility noticeably decreased from the other two altars. Even at Lykosoura, however, the entire cult group was never visible until a viewer entered the cella itself. At both sites, the interior experience with the cult image seems to have been considerably more privileged than the exterior, perhaps best exemplified by the benches lining the side aisles of the Messene Artemision. Neither cult statue composition was fully visible from its altar as the lintel blocked the figures' faces and prevented the gods from seeing out—or, perhaps more importantly, restricted human eyes from seeing in. As worshippers moved from the respective altars into the temples, they caught glimpses of the cult statues within, but the culmination of the experience inside the cella was clearly preferred to any activities taking place outside. The architecture therefore heightened the anticipation for the final, face-to-face encounter with the deity manifested in the cult statue. This heavily curated experience may have been a feature of Damophon's work, but the dramatically different viewing experience at the Temple of Asklepios in Messene urges caution. Even if the extant sculptural

fragments attributed to the Asklepios cult group belong elsewhere in the complex, the deep pteron of the Temple of Asklepios facilitated gathering and viewing of the cult image from points outside the cella, while the wide door and central intercolumniation showcased the cult statue or statue group from the altar. The restricted external visibility observed at Lykosoura and the Messene Artemision may thus have been tied instead to the nature of these cults. Both required initiation into the cult such that complete engagement with the images of these deities may have been reserved for a select group of worshippers.

Cult statues drew visitors to the temple and enticed them into the cella where these magnificent works offered the exceptional opportunity of an encounter with the divine. Factoring into this presentation was the often-overlooked ability to actually see the statue and its surroundings. The final chapter of this dissertation uses the same methodology and case studies evaluated here to assess the role of light in the visibility and appearance of second-century cult statues.

Chapter 5: Seeing Cult Statues in a New Light: The Impact of Natural Illumination

Within the cella, the cult statue stood as the focal point of the room, distinguished by its magnificent materials, axial positioning, and relative scale to the surrounding space. The previous chapter demonstrated the ways in which the temple architecture curated a visitor's experience, culminating in entry into the cella and direct confrontation with the cult statue framed by the surrounding architecture. In the second century, cult statues often filled much of the cella's rear wall, thereby magnifying their visual impact within the interior space. In addition to relative scale, however, the illumination of the statue affected both its visibility and visual impact. Here again, the architecture and cult statue formed a synergetic composition. Elements of the temple's architecture, such as doors or windows, and the structure's orientation in relation to the sun provided natural lighting for interior spaces, and the strategic placement of these features quite literally shed light upon the cult image. In this chapter, I question how second-century cult statues were seen by investigating the impact of natural light on the visibility, appearance, and accessibility of these images.

As I have demonstrated, many of the materials used to construct second-century cult statues were chosen for their luminous qualities, thereby indicating that the ancient Greeks and Romans envisioned an ethereal aura around such significant divine statues. In order to shine, however, these reflective materials required a light source. Undoubtedly, artificial lights, like braziers, lamps, and other devices, helped illuminate interior spaces.⁷⁸² The bulk of the light, however, likely came through apertures in the architecture itself, primarily doors and windows. Inside the cella, the materials of the statue as well as the surrounding architecture, especially if

⁷⁸² For a recent study of artificial lighting in ancient Greece, see Moullou and Topalis 2017.

white marble, further brightened the space and irradiated the cult image as the incoming light reflected off their surfaces.

Few studies of Greek and Roman architecture concern the impact of light within temple interiors.⁷⁸³ Recently, increasing interest in archaeoastronomy has led to investigations of building alignments with celestial bodies.⁷⁸⁴ Archaeoastronomical analyses of temples often posit that these buildings were designed such that light struck the cult image at a particularly opportune moment, frequently coinciding with the deity's festival.⁷⁸⁵ More practically, however, light played a significant role in the year-round visibility and impact of the cult image. In the limited scholarship on the interior illumination of Greek temples, scholars propose that architectural developments from the Archaic to the Classical period demonstrate an increasing concern for interior illumination that culminated in the Hellenistic period when cellas became their brightest. Annette Beyer, for example, examined a small selection of temples from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period to assess whether architectural developments impacted the ratio of light entering the cella through the temple door.⁷⁸⁶ She argues that in Hellenistic pseudodipteral temples, light only reached the temples' outer spaces but never the innermost cella. In contrast, she found that the nearly square cellas of small, in antis temples greatly increased the ratio of light that entered the room through the door.⁷⁸⁷ Williamson similarly notices a growing interest in embellishing temple interiors in the fifth century, most notably in the Parthenon, to highlight and augment the cult statue, a development that became widespread in the fourth century. In turn, the building was designed and oriented to spotlight the cult statue

⁷⁸³ Notable exceptions include Durm 1910, 432–437; Scranton 1946, 43; Beyer 1990; Williamson 1993.

⁷⁸⁴ For example, Bingöl 1999; Boutsikas 2007; Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011; Connelly 2014, 48, 268; Frischer et al. 2016.

⁷⁸⁵ Dinsmoor 1939; Bingöl 1999; Williamson 1993, 4.

⁷⁸⁶ Beyer 1990.

⁷⁸⁷ Beyer 1990, 5–6.

on a specific day.⁷⁸⁸ She suggests that as cellas became wider and squarer in the Hellenistic period, light coming through the door often had less distance to travel to reach the farthest reaches of the cella, thereby creating more brilliantly lit interiors for a longer duration than in previous centuries.⁷⁸⁹ Awash in light, the cult statue was not only more visible but likely more radiant as well.

The digital models studied in the previous chapter provide an opportunity to investigate the degree of natural interior illumination within structures housing second-century cult statues. Using these models, I interrogate the extent to which the temple's architectural design facilitated the statue's natural illumination and determined the timing, duration, and intensity of light within the cella. This investigation seeks to identify patterns or preferences within the interior illumination of second-century temples. The following seven case studies identify architectural factors which alternatively improved and limited interior lighting and how these features impacted the visitor's experience with the cult statue. I argue that the overall reduction in length of second-century temples compared to their predecessors created more brightly lit cellas than previously but that these interior spaces still remained generally dim. From out of this shadowy backdrop, light striking the radiant materials of second-century cult statues highlighted and enlivened these images and contributed to their ethereal appearance.

Digital Modeling Study

This illumination study follows the same methodology and investigates the same case studies as in the previous chapter. The digital models were geolocated within Sketchup, which includes a sunlight feature that recreates the annual solar cycle for a specific location. In this

⁷⁸⁸ Williamson 1993, 28–32.

⁷⁸⁹ Williamson 1993, 29.

program, the solar cycle cannot be recreated for the second century, but instead reproduces the sun in its current, 21st-century position.⁷⁹⁰ The models do not include clouds or other atmospheric effects that might have minimized the amount of sunlight reaching the Earth's surface. Under these ideal conditions, the models reveal the variations in the level of natural illumination within the cella throughout the day and year; the accompanying figures contain three illustrations of a single day (at 08:00, 12:00, and 15:00) at quarterly intervals throughout the calendrical year (on March 20, June 20, September 20, and December 20). The amount of light reaching the interior cellas, and therefore the cult statue, depended on several factors, including the temple's orientation, size of the building's apertures, and the depth and number of spatial divisions between the cult statue and the exterior entrance. At every site examined here, the cella door (or doors) was the only known aperture that allowed light into the cella. In all cases, the width of the entrance can be reconstructed from the extant remains, but the critical blocks that identify the door's height only survive at Kleonai. At the other sites, the height of the entrance has been reconstructed based on Vitruvius's principles for determining temple door heights.⁷⁹¹ The studies are presented in the same order as in the previous chapter, conforming to the preservation state of the surviving remains.

Temple of Herakles, Kleonai (Doric Tetrastyle Prostyle)

The Temple of Herakles (**Cat. T32**) was oriented to the northeast, thus providing the cella with the best illumination in the early to mid-morning. The cella door was the only opening into the temple and cella, making it the single source of natural light for the building's interior.

⁷⁹⁰ The open source software Stellarium can recreate astronomical cycles for any period in Earth's history. Placing the digital models of this study within Stellarium, however, was beyond the abilities of the author at the time of writing.

⁷⁹¹ Vitr. 4.6.1–3.

The extant architectural fragments allow for a complete reconstruction of the doorway. The tapered door measured 2.80–2.90 meters wide at the bottom and 2.66 meters wide at the top, with a height of approximately 4.49 meters.⁷⁹² A comparison of the area of the door (calculated as width x height) and the area of the cella interior (calculated as width x length) reveals the proportional relationship between the opening through which light could pass and the size of the interior space this light illuminated. This relationship therefore provides a general idea of how much light entered the cella through these openings; the lower the proportional relationship, the more brightly lit the space. At Kleonai, the area of the door was 12.48 m² and that of the cella 79.93 m², for a ratio of 1:6.40. This calculation only considers the size of the aperture in relation to the size of the interior space without acknowledging the distance the light traveled before entering the cella. The longer the light had to travel through the temple to reach the cella, the dimmer it would have been upon reaching this innermost space. The interior distance light traveled to reach the Kleonai cult statue was 10.57 meters, which represents the distance between the front edge of the cult statue base and that of the stylobate. At Kleonai, the door led directly out to the temple porch, such that sunlight streaming through the door only had to pass through the shallow porch to reach the cella.

The northeast orientation of the temple prevented sunlight from directly striking the cult image through the door at any point throughout the day, except around the time of the summer solstice. Instead, as the sun rose in the east, its light penetrated the eastern edge of the temple porch and entered the cella at an angle, hitting the western wall. From spring to fall, this illumination lasted from sunrise until mid-morning, after which point only ambient light filtered into the cella until sundown (**Figs. 5.1–5.2**). During the period around the summer solstice, the

⁷⁹² Mattern 2015, 52–54.

light grazed the western portion of the cult statue, but never reached the image's center (**Fig. 5.3**). The condensed distance between the cult image and the temple's edge and the lack of intervening spatial divisions created few impediments for the incoming morning light, but the building's northeastern orientation limited the amount of light directly entering the cella. The cella was therefore often lit by ambient light alone.

Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander (Ionic Tetrastyle Prostyle)

The cella of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis (**Cat. T46**) was the most brightly lit of the sites examined here owing to its western orientation, which was unique among these case studies. The temple's orientation was perhaps designed to emulate that of the larger Artemision on the opposite end of the agora, which faced southwest onto the marketplace. As at Kleonai, the cella door at the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis was the only opening into the temple and cella, making it the single source of natural light within the interior space. The threshold measured 2.25 meters wide, and its height has been reconstructed to 5.63 meters.⁷⁹³ The relationship between the door's area, 12.67 m², and the area of the cella, 29.10 m², was 1:2.30, the smallest ratio found among the temples studied here. The temple's interior was divided into a pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos, but only 10.38 meters separated the front edge of the cult statue base from that of the stylobate. This distance was slightly smaller than that seen at Kleonai, which contained no additional spaces outside the cella.

Throughout the morning, the Magnesian cella remained in shadow, but the temple's western orientation ensured that the light level slowly increased until early afternoon, when sunlight directly pierced the interior and illuminated the cult image until sundown. The large

⁷⁹³ Humann, Watzinger, and Kohte 1904, 150.

door allowed a significant amount of light into the short cella, creating a well-lit space throughout the afternoon (**Figs. 5.4–5.5**). Despite the intervening pronaos, the temple's direct orientation with the setting sun and the building's shallow depth allowed intense, direct light to reach the inner recesses of the cella and electrify the cult statue seated inside.

Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome (Corinthian Tholos)

The Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (**Cat. T73**) illustrates the effect of light on a cult statue positioned even closer to the temple's exterior than observed at Magnesia. With its eastern orientation, the cella of the Fortuna temple received direct illumination from the rising sun, which lasted throughout the morning. The sun streamed through the cella entrance, which was 3.50 meters wide and has been reconstructed here to a height of 8.75 meters.⁷⁹⁴ The relationship between the door's area, 30.63 m², and the cella's interior area, 104.23 m², was 1:3.40. The cella opened up immediately onto the temple's pteron, such that no intervening spaces interrupted the flow of light from outside the building. The widened central intercolumniation further facilitated the interior illumination by moving the columns to the door's flanks and thus preventing them from blocking the incoming light. Just 7.92 meters separated the front edge of the cult statue base from the edge of the stylobate directly opposite it, the shortest distance between a cult image and the temple exterior found among the sites studied here.

The cult statue's position directly opposite the door and the temple's eastern orientation ensured that the statue received the best lighting in the morning. In addition, the lack of a pronaos or other space between the temple's entrance and the cella, and the shallow depth of the temple, allowed sunlight to hit the cult image directly through the open door. Although best

⁷⁹⁴ Marchetti-Longhi 1959, 61–62.

illuminated in the morning, the large door and its proximity to the temple's edge brought in ambient light to brighten the cella throughout the afternoon (**Figs. 5.6–5.7**).

Unique for the temples in this study, historical documents record the cult's most important day, the *dies natalis*, or festival day, of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. Catulus vowed the temple on July 30 during the Battle of Vercellae and the temple was dedicated on the same day a year later.⁷⁹⁵ Rome's religious calendar included an annual public sacrifice to the goddess on this significant day.⁷⁹⁶ The digital model illustrates how the cult statue appeared on the day of the cult's most public rituals. From the vantage point of the temple's altar, the most likely location for most worshippers during the sacrifice, the front of the temple was bathed in light during the morning of July 30, with the cult statue best illuminated from sunrise until about mid-morning (**Fig. 5.8**).

Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura (Doric Hexastyle Prostyle)

In contrast to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, the timing of cult activities at the Sanctuary of Despoina at Lykosoura is unknown, but the model reveals the periods of the year when the cella was most visible. Like most of the temples studied here, that at Lykosoura was oriented to the east; consequently, the cella received the most direct illumination as the sun rose in the morning. The cella contained two doors: the main temple door on the east and a smaller door on the south. A similar side door has been identified in other Peloponnesian temples, including the Temple of Asklepios at Messene discussed below, but rarely elsewhere.⁷⁹⁷ The threshold of the eastern door measured 1.95 meters wide and has been reconstructed here to a

⁷⁹⁵ Plut. *Mar.* 26.

⁷⁹⁶ *Fasti Pinciani, fasti Allifani (Inscr. Ital. XIII.2 47, 178 with 488)*.

⁷⁹⁷ The nearby Temple of Apollo at Bassai also had a side door into its cella; see Cooper 1968, 1992.

height of 4.25 meters, while the southern door was 1.58 meters wide and has been reconstructed to a height of 3.45 meters.⁷⁹⁸ When assessing the relationship between the combined area of the two doors, 13.74 m², and the cella's interior area, 111.51 m², the ratio was 1:8.12. The southern door led directly outside, but the eastern door opened up onto the temple's pronaos, resulting in a distance of 16.31 meters between the front edge of the cult statue base and that of the stylobate opposite it.

The digital model shows clearly that at certain periods of the year the sunlight streamed through the eastern door and precisely struck the two central figures of the cult statue. This effect occurred twice yearly, in the spring and fall, around March 19 and September 25, at 6:30–6:45am (**Fig. 5.9**). Experimentation with a digital model alone is not sufficient evidence to suggest that Despoina's festival day occurred on one of these two days, but the greater illumination within the cella around these dates may indicate that rituals or other cult activity more likely occurred in mid–late March and September than at other times of the year. Ambient light from the southern door was also strongest in the spring and fall, thus these were the periods when the cella and its monumental inhabitants could be seen most clearly (**Figs. 5.10–5.11**). The narrow eastern entrance spotlighted the central figures in the early morning light while the additional southern door ensured that the cella remained illuminated and visible throughout much of the day when diffuse, ambient light filtered through the pronaos into the cella from the eastern door.

In addition to the practical issue of the cult statue's visibility and accessibility, the model illustrates how light played with the materials of the sculptural group. In particular, the two figures on the ends of the composition, Anytos and Artemis (**Cat. S36D, I**), had empty sockets

⁷⁹⁸ Billot 2008, 145.

for inlaid eyes, while Demeter's eyes were carved (**Cat. S36R**). A possible explanation for the multiple construction techniques concerns the illumination of the cella, particularly whether the light coming through the eastern door struck the side figures with inlaid eyes. The resultant shining eyes may have facilitated the statue's visual contact with a visitor seeking a divine encounter. The model demonstrates, however, that while light shone specifically on the flanking figures at some points in the year, it never reached as high as the eyes (**Fig. 5.12**). These results stem from the door's height as reconstructed using Vitruvius's principles, but its precise measurement remains unknown. Testing in the digital model revealed that a door height of 5.30 meters allowed the sunlight to strike the eyes of Anytos and Artemis on select days (**Fig. 5.13**); this adjustment, however, would have created an incredibly tall door and is thus unlikely. An appealing alternative to a natural phenomenon is the use of artificial illumination to reflect off the statues' eyes, but such a scenario cannot be tested with any accuracy and thus has not been attempted here.

Temple of Asklepios, Messene (Doric Hexastyle Peripteral)

As at Lykosoura, Messene's Temple of Asklepios (**Cat. T49**) included both a primary entrance on the east and a secondary entrance into the cella on the south. The eastern threshold had a width of 2.40 meters, equal in size to the widened central intercolumniation, and has been reconstructed here as 5.25 meters high. The southern door had a width of 1.20 meters and has been reconstructed to a height of 2.62 meters.⁷⁹⁹ The area of both openings together, 15.72 m², had a relationship of 1:2.95 with the cella's interior area of 46.43 m². The eastern door opened onto the temple's pronaos and then a deep front pteron, leaving 15.18 meters of space between

⁷⁹⁹ On the temple doors, see Sioumpara 2011, 138–139.

the front edge of the cult statue base and that of the stylobate. The Messene temple was oriented just south of east, ensuring that the cella and its sculptural inhabitants were illuminated best throughout the morning, likely the same time of day that sacrifices took place at the altar.⁸⁰⁰

Light streaming through the eastern door bathed the cella with light for several hours in the morning and directly struck the cult statue group at certain points during the year. In the fall and spring, the sun spotlighted each figure of the cult statue group in turn as the beam of light traveled from north to south (**Fig. 5.14**). The size of the eastern door and the widened central intercolumniation provided a large opening through which light could pass without being blocked by the external colonnade. The depth of the pronaos and front pteron, however, diffused the light entering the cella through this opening, especially once the sun had risen above the level of the architrave. The cella and cult group would have been in shadow once the sun was overhead, but the inclusion of the small door in the cella's southern wall ensured that ambient light continued to penetrate these spaces throughout the afternoon. Although more diffuse than the direct light from the rising sun entering through the front entrance in the morning, the southern light extended the period of the cella's visibility for much of the day (**Figs. 5.15–5.16**).

Artemision, Messene (Ionic Tripartite Oikos)

The orientation of the Artemision (**Cat. T47**) mirrored that of the larger temple to Asklepios within the courtyard, such that it also faced just south of east. A tripartite entrance led into the space from the encompassing stoa; the central opening of this entrance was 1.77 meters wide, and Chlepa reconstructs the height of the entrance as 3.20 meters.⁸⁰¹ A low balustrade stood within the side openings, which may have been covered by screens, as reconstructed in this

⁸⁰⁰ On the temple's orientation, see Sioumpara 2011, 25.

⁸⁰¹ Chlepa 2001, 68–69, figs. 54α, 55α.

model.⁸⁰² The relationship between the area of the central opening, 5.66 m², with that of the interior space, 70.08 m², was 1:12.38. Both the existence and nature of the screens over the side openings are uncertain and thus these openings were not factored into this calculation. If left completely uncovered, the ratio between the area of these three openings and that of the interior space would change dramatically, to 1:3.95. The Artemision itself contained no additional architectural spaces once outside its entrance, but it was nestled into a larger stoa. The distance from the front of the cult statue base to the edge of the stoa was approximately 14.34 meters.

According to this model, the rising sun struck the cult statue inside the Artemision at certain times of the year for brief periods in the morning. The cult image was best illuminated by the sun around February 7 and October 31, between 7:00am and 7:30am, when a beam of light coming through the central entrance lit up the statue from the waist down (**Fig. 5.17**). It seems probable, however, that the Asklepieion's eastern stoa (see **Cat. T49A**), which was not reconstructed in this model, would have made such an event impossible as this structure would have blocked the rays of the rising sun from reaching the western stoa. The western stoa's depth and low height further contributed to a dim interior, such that the Artemision's cult statue and interior spaces were in shadow before mid-morning. This timing was significantly earlier than the Temple of Asklepios nearby, which was not only much taller but also benefited from its second door. In addition, screens covering the openings into the two side aisles would have diffused even further the light entering this space (**Figs. 5.18–5.19**). The cult statue of Artemis at Messene therefore was likely in perpetual shadow.

⁸⁰² Themelis 1994a, 122; Chlepa 2001, 15.

Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse (Ionic Pseudodipteral)

Despite residing in a far more canonical temple form than the Messene Artemision, the cult statue of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse stood within a similarly shaded venue. The Smintheion's (**Cat. T8**) orientation to the southwest meant the cella was best illuminated around midday and throughout much of the afternoon.⁸⁰³ A single, narrow door opened into the cella, which measured 2.96 meters wide and has been reconstructed here to a height of 9.97 meters.⁸⁰⁴ The relationship between the area of the door, 29.51 m², and that of the cella's interior, 110.03 m², was 1:3.73. The Smintheion's long cella, pronaos, and deep pteron stemming from its pseudodipteral plan resulted in a distance of 27.50 meters between the front edge of the cult statue base and that of the stylobate, thus representing the greatest distance between the cult statue and the temple exterior among the sites examined here.

In addition to the cella door, remains of window blocks discovered during excavation suggest that the temple's pediment may have included several windows, much like the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia (**Cat. T45D**).⁸⁰⁵ The surviving material remains provide only fragmentary evidence for the windows, revealing that the largest, and presumably central, window had a width of 0.94 meters with an indeterminate height. Additional fragments indicate that the temple also included smaller windows, although the width, height, and number of these additional openings cannot be determined precisely. Excavators based their current reconstruction of the Smintheion on the Magnesian Artemision, in which two small windows flanked a large, central aperture;⁸⁰⁶ the same hypothetical reconstruction has been followed here.

⁸⁰³ The impetus behind the temple's positioning is unclear; the building was located within an open plain and excavators found no evidence of a preceding structure that might have dictated its orientation; see Özgünel 2015b, 17.

⁸⁰⁴ Özgünel 2001, 86–89, plan 18.

⁸⁰⁵ Rumscheid 1995, 47–48. On the pedimental windows of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia, see Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 63–67; Bingöl 1999.

⁸⁰⁶ Özgünel 2015b, 28–30, fig. 13.

What function these windows served is unclear, but some scholars have suggested that the windows could act as a frame during cult activities, perhaps even for the epiphanic manifestation of the cult statue.⁸⁰⁷ Given the probable inclusion of a ceiling within the cella, the impact of these pedimental windows on the temple's interior illumination likely would have been minimal. They may have contributed ambient illumination if the ceiling material was translucent enough to allow some light to penetrate or points of access to the attic could be opened. Nothing survives, however, to indicate the material or form of the Smintheion's ceiling.

The digital model demonstrates that the number and depth of the Smintheion's spatial divisions prevented sunlight from directly reaching the cella for most of the year. The narrow door further limited the amount of ambient light filtering its way through the pteron and pronaos. The Smintheion's cella and cult statue therefore were almost perpetually in shadow (**Figs. 5.20–5.21**). Only around the time of the winter solstice did light reach the rear of the cella and strike the feet (and perhaps mouse) of the cult statue standing there (**Fig. 5.22**). If illuminated exclusively by natural sunlight, the statue was best viewed in the second half of the day when the ambient light was strongest due to the temple's southwestern orientation.

Study Conclusions

Illumination, although often overlooked and difficult to measure, played a critical role in the perception of second-century cult statues, and demonstrates again the interdependence of architecture and sculpture in temple settings. Sunlight could reach the cella only through openings in the architecture, most frequently the temple's main door. This light both enabled visitors to see the cult statue and animated the composition by reflecting off the luminous

⁸⁰⁷ On attic spaces in pseudodipteral temples and “windows of appearance,” see Hommel 1957; Bingöl 1999; Schulz 2012a, esp. 256–257.

materials used in its construction. The sites examined above illustrate the extent to which a temple's design, especially its orientation, apertures, and spatial divisions, impacted the visibility and visual impact of the cult statue it housed.

An eastern orientation was overwhelmingly the most common among temples constructed in the second century and was found consistently among all four regions of this study (**Graph 5.1**). In the case studies above, both temples at Messene, that at Lykosoura, and that at Rome had an eastern orientation, providing the best natural illumination of the cult statue in the early morning hours, presumably when sacrifices took place at the altar.⁸⁰⁸ The period of highest activity outside at the altar coincided with the time when light fell most directly upon the cult statue, thereby improving its visibility and spotlighting the temple's focal point at this critical moment. The models demonstrate, however, that an eastern orientation restricted the amount of time that light directly penetrated the cella, with just ambient light reaching the interior spaces throughout the afternoon. In contrast to our evidence, Vitruvius suggests that temples and cult statues should face west so that worshippers standing at the altar during morning rituals would witness the rising of the sun behind the monument, which would create the illusion of the cult statue itself lifting above the ground.⁸⁰⁹ Few temples of the second century had western orientations; instead, many second-century Roman temples were orientated within the southern quadrant. A southerly orientation also appeared prevalently in Anatolia, including the Smintheion at Chryse.

The temple's orientation therefore impacted the timing and duration of natural illumination within the cella, but the building's form affected the light's intensity. As light

⁸⁰⁸ On the eastern orientation of temples and cult statues within ancient literature, see Aesch. *Ag.* 509–510; Plut. *Num.* 14.4; Lucian, *De domo* 6; Cass. Dio 54.7.

⁸⁰⁹ Vitr. 4.5.1.

passed from the temple exterior through the porch or pteron, pronaos, and length of the cella, it grew increasingly diffuse. The shorter the distance between the cult statue and the temple exterior and the fewer intervening spatial divisions, the easier it would have been to see the cult image by means of natural illumination. Developments in the architectural design of temples from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, namely a decrease in overall length and spatial divisions and the creation of more square cellas, suggests that the cella interior received more light.⁸¹⁰ Most of the second-century temples examined here positioned the cult statue 10–15 meters from the temple exterior (**Table 5.1**). These temples represent a diversity of plan and size, best demonstrated by the contrasting results of the illumination studies of the Smintheion at Chryse and the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia. The Smintheion was the longest temple in the study, with a deep pteron, pronaos, and long cella, which put the cult statue farthest from the temple exterior. Digital modeling revealed that the statue was almost perpetually in shadow. Alternatively, the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis had a porch, pronaos, and nearly square cella, and one of the shortest distances between the statue and the temple exterior. In contrast to the statue of Apollo Smintheus, that of Zeus Sosipolis was the most brightly lit of all those studied. The Magnesia temple's directly western orientation further facilitated the amount and duration of light entering the temple interior, but the Smintheion's southwestern orientation was not dramatically different. Instead, the size and number of spatial divisions within the temple had a greater impact upon the amount of light entering the deepest interior spaces.

The interior illumination of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis was enhanced further by the size of the door in relation to the interior space. Of the temples examined here, the proportion between the area of the door and that of the cella's interior was smallest at Magnesia. The large

⁸¹⁰ Beyer 1990; Williamson 1993.

door allowed a significant amount of light to pour into the small space of the cella. Both the size and number of apertures, of course, impacted the interior illumination of a temple, such that the secondary cella doors in the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura and the Temple of Asklepios at Messene provided additional ambient light throughout the day that improved visibility within the interior space. Most sites exhibited a ratio between the area of the apertures and that of the cella's interior of around 1:3; in contrast, Beyer observed ratios of around 1:12 in Archaic Greek temples and 1:5 in Classical temples.⁸¹¹

This illumination study revealed the periods of greatest illumination and thus visibility of the cult statues within their temples. Other than the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, however, little is known about when precisely activities took place at the various sanctuaries examined here. The illumination models suggest that sunlight struck some cult statues on specific days that may have been important to cult activity. In nearly all cases, the axial positioning of the cult statue facilitated this phenomenon, such that the statue's position directly opposite the main cella door not only increased its external visibility but also created the opportunity for a natural spotlight to shine upon the image. More importantly, however, the digital models reveal periods of the year when light increased visibility within the temple's interior. Rather than tying these solar events to specific cult rituals without complementary historical evidence, these periods may indicate generally when major public activities took place within the sanctuary as the extended illumination allowed visitors to more fully see the temple interior and its cult statue.

Light in the cella not only increased the cult statue's visibility but also amplified the sculpture's appearance. As discussed earlier in this dissertation, many materials used in second-century cult statues were chosen for their luminous qualities. All seven cult statues examined in

⁸¹¹ Beyer 1990, 6–7.

this chapter were partially or entirely constructed of white marble, a particularly lustrous substance that shines in the sun. Many of these statues were embellished further with reflective materials like metal attachments, inlay, and gilding. With the sun glinting off all these surfaces, these statues would have been utterly radiant. I suggest that the architecture heightened the drama of a temple visit in many of the examples discussed here by variously concealing and revealing the cult statue; not only were sightlines physically blocked and accentuated but interior spaces were alternately radiant and shadowy. The dim interior, however, helped evoke the ethereal nature of the divine. The interplay of light and shadow within the temple interior, which could be pierced by brief periods of sunlight or the flickering of lamplight, likely heightened the chiaroscuro effect observed in the sculpting of many second-century cult statues. A glowing image emerging from the shadows provided a truly awesome culmination to the temple experience.

Conclusion

For the Mediterranean regions of this study, the second century BCE was simultaneously upending and business as usual. The growing presence of Rome in the eastern Mediterranean redefined relationships between communities, rulers, and individuals, yet the complex interweaving of religion within the sociopolitical systems of the Greek and Roman worlds meant sacred monuments retained a powerful and impactful force. By creating or reaffirming local divine ties through the construction or renovation of cult statues and temples, communities highlighted the contributions of local religious expression to civic identity. In addition to bolstering communal pride, however, well-known and well-regarded sacred monuments set both polities and individuals apart in a highly competitive society. Acknowledging that cult statues were critical components of ancient religious ritual and cult, my investigation into second-century cult images has centered on identifying how the construction of these monuments helped stakeholders navigate the complex social, economic, and political developments of the period. I contend that the creation or renovation of cult statues and temples provided both civic and private benefactors the ability to negotiate their place within the second-century world with monuments that could effectively communicate beyond the local or regional community.

In this dissertation, I sought to determine the underlying causes of the rise in cult statue production in this period and found that the social and political impulses for new construction varied from community to community. The proliferation of temple construction in Rome has been well-studied;⁸¹² Rome's successful military engagements in the second century, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, provided ample opportunities for military and political leaders to

⁸¹² See, for example, Coarelli 1977; Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Ziolkowski 1992; Orlin 1997; Rous 2010; Davies 2013, 2017.

vow and construct temples and cult statues back home. The extent to which sacred monuments were simultaneously erected in the very regions subjected to political upheaval in this period, however, illustrates that the Aegean was not simply being emptied of its art and artisans. While military victories frequently spurred the erection of a new temple and cult statue in Rome, patrons in the eastern Mediterranean often viewed cults and their monumental material expressions as a diplomatic avenue through which to coalesce shared interests to avoid martial engagements. Within the Greek city-states, local cults therefore took on political connotations that could unify a community around a sacred symbol and bolster its prestige among its competitors and neighbors. Similarly in western Anatolia, royal patronage spurred cult statue construction as dynasts sought to expand their presence both physically and metaphorically. The widespread, intraregional evidence for cult statue construction suggests that these monuments were effective tools by which to communicate and negotiate with both internal and external audiences in the increasingly interconnected milieu of the second-century Mediterranean. Cities, leagues, and dynasts constructed and renovated cult statues and temples to unite communities around shared cultic connections, secure alliances with neighbors and competitors, and promote their economic and political standing.

The changing social, political, and cultural landscape of the second-century Mediterranean encouraged the spread and adoption of religious influences from various regions and traditions, in part contributing to the spate of new sacred constructions in this period. Divine personifications proved especially popular in the western Mediterranean, where Roman magistrates sought to equate themselves with the abstract qualities they represented, while deities imported from Anatolia and Egypt were found primarily in the Aegean, especially on the island of Delos, the trading hub of the Mediterranean. One distinct pattern that emerged from this

examination of cult statues, however, was the frequency with which local instantiations of deities were selected as recipients of these monuments. In some cases, the deity was only known locally, such as Despoina at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36, T44**), Hemithea at Kastabos (**Cat. T30**), and Feronia at Tarracina (**Cat. S60, T100**); elsewhere the deity was a member of the traditional Greek and Roman pantheons but worshipped under an epithet with a local significance, such as Apollo Smintheus at Chryse (**Cat. S9, T8**), Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia (**Cat. S37, T45**), and Fortuna Equestris at Rome (**Cat. T72**). The construction of the temple and accompanying cult statue to Asklepios at Messene (**Cat. S43, T49**), for example, served as a statement of Messene's status as capital of the newly independent province of Messenia, where Asklepios was venerated as a civic deity, a citizen of Messene itself, not as the god of healing as he was worshipped elsewhere in the Mediterranean. I suggest that it was the venerable lineage of these cults and their deep connections with civic identity that both lent their sponsoring patrons a cultural cachet and facilitated individual and communal goals. The diversity of deities honored with cult statues highlights the competing pull of old and new in this period. Local traditions and cultures maintained strong influences on the production of second-century sacred monuments, but the complex networks of exchange found throughout the Mediterranean region encouraged significant new developments.

The circulation that encouraged the spread of new cults also disseminated people and materials between the eastern and western Mediterranean, in turn affecting the human and natural resources used in second-century cult statue construction. To understand how a cult statue was produced in this period, I investigated the roles of three important stakeholders involved in the process: sculptors, architects, and patrons. All too often, scholars studying second-century sculptural production have painted a picture of a one-way street of artists and

materials flowing from the Aegean into Rome.⁸¹³ Rome was indeed a major force in the construction of sacred monuments in this period, but, as I have demonstrated, the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed its own flourishing production. Sculptors were not solely traveling to Rome for commissions or even remaining there for their entire careers. The Polykles family, for example, created cult statues and other works in Rome throughout the second century, but also secured commissions in the eastern Mediterranean.⁸¹⁴ Entirely contradicting this westward migration, Damophon built a prosperous business in cult image making without ever leaving the Greek world. Perhaps best exemplifying the richly complex ties that linked the Italian peninsula with the Aegean in the second century are the Cossutii, a Roman freedman family. As discussed in chapter two, members of this lineage worked in numerous professions linked to the marble trade—stoneworking, architecture, sculpture, and likely more—in a wide range of locales throughout the Mediterranean. Antiochos IV selected the architect Cossutius to complete the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (**Cat. T7**), perhaps the most notable second-century project known to have engaged a Roman craftsman outside Italy. The dynast may have also commissioned him for public works projects in Antioch. Other members of the family are attested as working in Delos and Euboia as well as in and around Rome.⁸¹⁵

My analysis of the evidence for second-century cult statue sculptors demonstrates that traveling across a wide geographic region was not uncommon. With this high mobility came the

⁸¹³ For example, Rakob 1976; Pollitt 1978; Gordon 1979; H. Martin 1987; Hölscher 1994; Coarelli 1996; Bernard 2010; Davies 2014; Howe 2016; Townsend 2016; Zanker 2016.

⁸¹⁴ Polykles (III) made a cult statue of Herakles in Rome (**Cat. S73**) and Timarchides (I), Polykles (III), and Dionysios (I) produced statues of Apollo, Jupiter, and Juno for sanctuaries near the Porticus Octaviae (Plin. *HN* 36.34-35). In Greece, Timokles and Timarchides (II) created the cult statues of Asklepios and Athena Kraniaia at Elateia (**Cat. S21–S22**) and Dionysios (II) and Timarchides (III) produced the portrait statue of Gaius Ofellius Ferus on Delos (Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 4340 + A6461; *ID* 1688).

⁸¹⁵ Evidence for the activities of the Cossutii is found in Athens (*CIA* 3.561 [*IG* II–III² 4099]; *IG* III.2 2873 [*IG* II–III² 10154]; Vitr. 7.praef.15); Antioch (*IGLSyr* 3.1 825); Delos (*ID* 1738, 1739, 1767); Eretria (*IG* XII Suppl. 557, line 25); and Euboia (*IG* XII Suppl. 557, line 25).

need to demonstrate proficiency in a breadth of materials and stylistic conventions to satisfy a varied clientele. The multiple cult statue commissions completed by Menandros, for instance, are known through signed bases attributing the statues to this sculptor.⁸¹⁶ As all the bases were found on Delos, it is not clear if Menandros worked elsewhere in the Mediterranean, but he did cater to a diverse clientele on the island that included the Athenians and Poseidoniasts. Menandros further illustrates a growing trend among artists of all media in the second century, including cult statue sculptors, in signing their works.⁸¹⁷ The fact that the patron, whose name often appeared first and most prominently in an inscription, included the name of the artist suggests that the fame and reputation of the artist was now more highly valued than previously.

The individual or entity financing these monuments nonetheless had the most visible connection with their constructions, not only through accompanying inscriptions but also supplementary monuments like portrait statues. Private patronage of cult statues and temples soared in this period but was almost exclusively relegated to the Italian peninsula. Many Roman patrons were successful military generals or magistrates who sought to commemorate and enshrine their personal service to the citizens of Rome. The contemporary military engagements in the eastern Mediterranean and the competitive nature of domestic politics provided the Roman elite with unprecedented opportunities to vow and construct cult statues and temples, therefore driving their production within Rome and its environs. The significant control Roman benefactors maintained over these construction projects ensured that such monuments simultaneously honored both deity and patron, almost equitably. Within the eastern Mediterranean, in contrast, elite patronage of sacred monuments was rarely publicized to such an extent, at least until the mid-second century. The vacuum caused by the fall of the Hellenistic

⁸¹⁶ *ID* 1778, 2044, 2325, 2342.

⁸¹⁷ Hurwit 2015, 141–143.

kingdoms left the Aegean world bereft of its influential royal patrons. Following this major political change, the evidence for private patronage in the Aegean increases notably, including among cult statues and temples.

The religious and cultural significance of cult statues made them enticing opportunities for patrons, but so too did their visual impact. In addition to identifying the drivers behind the substantial increase in cult statue construction in the second century, a key aim of this dissertation has been to determine whether these cult statues were distinguishable in form, material, technique, and size from other periods of production. Overwhelmingly, second-century cult statues across all regions were constructed of marble. Earlier cult statues exhibited a greater diversity of materials, including marble, bronze, chryselephantine, wood, and terracotta. The dominance of marble in the second century can only in small part be explained by the nature of preservation; even literary and epigraphic sources rarely mention cult statues made of wood or bronze from this period and never chryselephantine statues. Second-century marble cult statues were never monolithic; instead, they were either pieced from disparate stone parts or constructed using the acrolithic technique, which affixed stone appendages onto a wooden core. I have demonstrated above that changing aesthetic tastes, workshop practices, and transportation methods in this period contributed to the noted preference for marble statues, but I contend that the most important factor was the luminosity of the material. The prevalence of second-century cult statues constructed of marble indicates that the preciousness and physical properties of this brilliant stone communicated a divine presence that reflected the gleaming gods as they were visualized in Homer and other literary sources, but with the bonus of a smaller price tag than the chryselephantine statues highly valued in the Classical period.

At the moment of their construction, cult statues were intended for a specific architectural context. I therefore investigated how cult statue and temple design impacted a viewer's experience and perception of divinity in the second century. The seven sanctuary spaces examined through digital modeling in chapters four and five demonstrate that together, both sculpture and architecture shaped the way in which visitors approached and experienced temples in the second century, culminating in a monumental encounter with the cult statue in all its splendor. Only rarely have previous scholars examined cult statues in conversation with their architectural settings,⁸¹⁸ but digital modeling allows new opportunities for doing so. The application of digital modeling enriches our understanding of ancient ritual spaces by illustrating their appearance, visibility, and accessibility. From the case studies examined above, I conclude that second-century cult statues were not simply inviolate objects housed behind barricades and restricted to sacred officials but instead played a significant and visible role in the ritual activities of their respective cults. The lengths to which architects and sculptors facilitated or restricted sightlines to the cult image and enhanced its appearance underscore the importance of the statue as a focal point within the temple.

Previous studies of Hellenistic temples have suggested that temples built in this period were smaller than their predecessors so as to make their cult statues appear bigger.⁸¹⁹ Well-known examples, like the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia (**Cat. S38, T46**) and the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura (**Cat. S36, T44**), support this supposition. The entire corpus of second-century cult statues and temples, however, reveals a diversity in temple and statue size and design, indicating that the second-century temple experience did not solely consist of

⁸¹⁸ Exceptions include Zinserling 1957; Mattern 2006; Montel 2014; Kiernan 2020.

⁸¹⁹ For example, Lauter 1986, 192–193; Danner 1993, 22; Cain 1995; Damaskos 1999, 208–213; Ridgway 2000, 235; Hölscher 2004, 63–64.

colossal statues in small temples. Instead, it seems that changes in temple design, especially an interest in squarer cellas in the eastern Mediterranean, altered the visual impact of cult statues in this period.⁸²⁰ Second-century sculptors used the foreshortened viewing space of quadratic cellas to effectively evoke the magnificent presence of the divine by bringing the viewer closer to the cult image and distorting its appearance. By scaling their works to fill large portions of the cella's interior height or width, sculptors further elicited the impression that their works were larger than their actual size. This manipulation of the viewing experience through foreshortening and scale was also found in the tholos temples of the western Mediterranean, such as the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei at Rome (**Cat. S53, T73**), where the cult statue filled the entire doorway.

As the cult image of Fortuna Huiusce Diei demonstrates, a cult statue's size not only produced a dominant presence within the cella but also impacted its visibility elsewhere inside and outside the temple. Based on the digital modeling study, the external visibility of second-century cult statues varied: in some cases, the temple's design facilitated the statue's visibility from points outside the temple, especially from the altar. The cult statue of Zeus Sosipolis at Magnesia, for instance, was fully visible from the western stoa of the agora, through the agora, and into the outer spaces of the temple when the door was open. In other cases, the cult statue was often wholly or partially blocked from view until a worshipper entered the cella itself. The diversity of viewing conditions experienced by visitors of second-century cult statues indicates that the external visibility of these images was not always deemed preferable or appropriate. As the greatest factor affecting the statue's visibility from points outside the temple was the temple door, a feature whose size could be easily adjusted, it seems likely that the external visibility of

⁸²⁰ On increasingly quadratic cellas in the Hellenistic period, see Williamson 1993, 11–13, fig. 2.

the cult statue was closely linked to local tradition and the nature of its cult.⁸²¹ The Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, for instance, demonstrates that a full view of the statue only upon entry in the cella may have been especially desirable for mystery cults, which required initiation in order to participate in the rituals associated with the god's worship.

The overall reduction in cella length of second-century temples compared to their predecessors impacted the visual effect of their cult statues in more ways than the perception of their size; it also created more brightly lit cellas than previously. Illumination was a crucial component in the reception of second-century cult statues, providing the ability to actually see these works and adding an ethereal air to the compositions. The sculptor and architect worked in concert, likely at the behest of the patron, to design both statue and architecture such that the desired amount of light reached the statue through the surrounding structure. Periods of greater illumination may have equated to increased accessibility and activity at the cult site. Artificial illumination, like braziers or lamps, would have improved visibility within the temple interior, but it is hard to imagine any light source more dramatic than the sun striking and irradiating the cult image.

A cult statue's illumination was almost entirely dependent upon the architectural form of its surrounding temple. Using digital models, I investigated three major architectural features for their impact on interior illumination: building orientation, cella shape, and door size. Building orientation impacted the direction from which light struck the temple and thus the timing, strength, and duration of natural illumination. The shape of the cella affected the strength of the interior light; the longer light had to travel to reach the cult statue at the farthest extremity of the cella, the more diffuse and faint it became. Finally, for the seven examples examined through

⁸²¹ Mattern (2006) found similar results in a study of Peloponnesian temples.

digital modeling, the cella door was the primary source of natural light inside the temple; the larger the door the more light entered the building. Second-century temples were most often oriented to the east. This orientation provided the best natural illumination of the cult statue in the early morning hours, when the rays of the rising sun could directly strike the image, but left the cella dim the rest of the day. In the second century, architects and sculptors used various means of accentuating the sanctuary's significant focal point in the cult statue, from additional doors and windows to widened column spacings to lustrous materials. From out of their shadowy backdrop, light striking the radiant materials of second-century cult statues surely highlighted and enlivened these images and contributed to their ethereal appearance.

This investigation into the construction of cult statues in the second century—encompassing the deities they represented; the people who built, housed, and financed them; their materials and techniques of manufacture; and their nuanced relationships with their architectural contexts—reveals how communities, dynasts, and individual patrons used these images to express local traditions that could communicate globally within an increasingly diverse and expanding world. In the second century, a pieced marble sculpture, axially positioned within the center of the cella, and irradiated by a beam of light, was understood by Greeks and Romans alike to physically represent divine recipients of cult. The scale, position, and materiality of second-century cult statues helped manifest a divine presence such that worshippers could encounter the deity in physical form. The combination of the statue's visual presentation and the belief that it embodied a divine being who could receive prayers, offerings, and ritual worship impressed both locals and visitors with an awe-inspiring epiphanic encounter. Amid the warfare, political turmoil, and social and economic change of the second century, these striking images

imbued with the sanctity of their cult worship maintained their ability to incite wonder—the crafting of cult images not only endured but prospered.

Tables

Numbers enclosed in brackets indicate estimated, not actual, measurements.

Name	<i>Chryse, Smintheion</i>	<i>Kleonai, Herakles</i>	<i>Lykosoura, Despoinda¹</i>	<i>Magnesia, Zeus Sosipolis²</i>	<i>Messene, Artemision</i>	<i>Messene, Asklepieion</i>	<i>Rome, Fortuna Huiusce Diei</i>
Type	Ionic pseudodipteral	Doric tetrastyle prostyle	Doric hexastyle prostyle	Ionic tetrastyle prostyle	Ionic tripartite oikos	Doric peripteral	Corinthian tholos
Temple Dimensions	22.58 x 40.44 m	9.25 x 15.25 m	11.15 x 21.34 m	7.38 x 15.82 m	14.00 x 7.15 m	13.66 x 27.97 m	19.2 m Diam.
Cella Dimensions	8.12 m W x 13.55 m L x [14.02] m H	7.70 m W x 10.38 m L x 8.07 m H	9.49 m W x 11.75 m L x [7.23] m H	5.65 m W x 5.15 m L x [7.20] m H	12.47 m W x 5.62 m L x [5.57] m H	6.36 m W x 7.30 m L x [7.40] m H	11.52 m Diam. x [13.04] m H
Cella Nave³ Dimensions	N/A	7.70 m W x 5.47 m L x 8.07 m H	9.49 m W x 5.64 m L x [7.23] m H	N/A	5.75 m W x 5.62 m L x [5.57] m H	N/A	N/A
Cult Statue Dimensions	[2.00] m W x [2.00] m D x [5.88] m H	3.74 m W x 3.92 m D x [4.40] m H	8.50 m W x 2.40 m D x [5.86] m H + 3.85 m W x 1.26 m D x [5.86] m H	5.65 m W x 2.00 m D x [4.00] m H	3.16 m W x 1.04 m D x [4.25] m H	[3.60] m W x [1.00] m D x [3.60] m H	3.87 m W x 2.20 m D x [8.75] m H
Volume Cult Statue:Cella	1:65.69	1:10	1:5.43	1:4.63	1:27.94	1:26.53	1:18.74
Volume Cult Statue:Cella Nave	N/A	1:5.27	1:2.61	N/A	1:12.88	N/A	N/A
Area Cult Statue:Rear Cella Wall	1:9.68	1:3.78	1:1.38	1:1.8	1:5.17	1:3.63	N/A
Area Cult Statue:Cella Nave	N/A	1:3.78	1:1.38	N/A	1:2.38	N/A	N/A

Table 4.1: Comparison of select second-century cult statues and their architectural space

¹ The Lykosoura cult statue base features a middle projection that extends 1.26 m beyond the rest of the base. The cult statue's volume was calculated by first determining the volume of the main part of the base and adding it to the volume of this middle projection.

² The dimensions given for the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis' s cult statue base are from the extant remains, which likely date to the mid-first century CE. The dimensions of the base in its second-century phase are unknown.

³ A "nave" refers to a space demarcated within the temple's cella, either by a colonnade or a physical barrier.

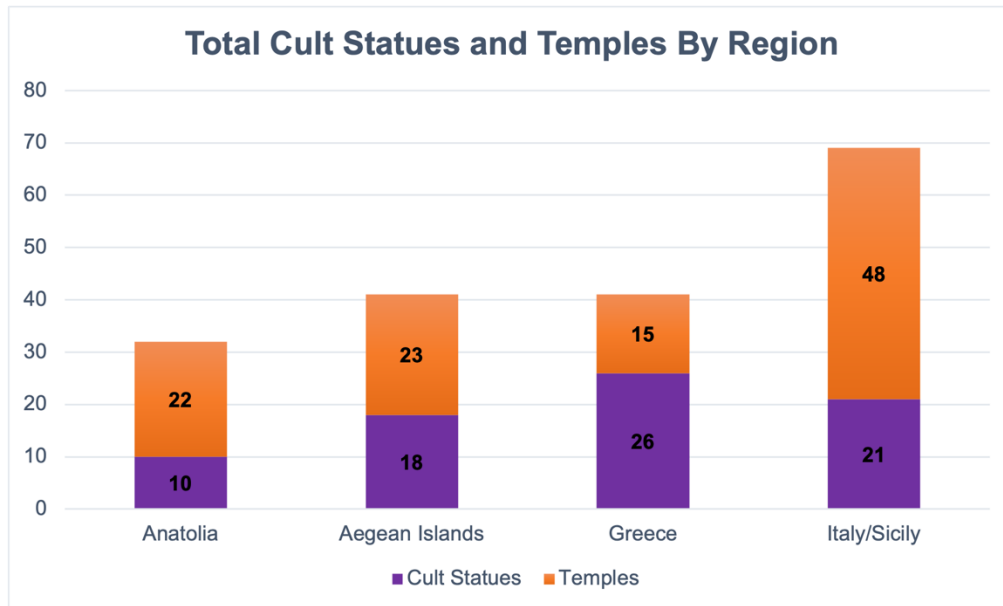
Name	<i>Chryse, Smintheion</i>	<i>Kleonai, Herakles¹</i>	<i>Lykosoura, Despoina</i>	<i>Magnesia, Zeus Sosipolis</i>	<i>Messene, Artemision</i>	<i>Messene, Asklepeion</i>	<i>Rome, Fortuna Huiusce Diei</i>
Type	Ionic pseudodipteral	Doric tetrastyle prostyle	Doric hexastyle prostyle	Ionic tetrastyle prostyle	Ionic tripartite oikos	Doric peripteral	Corinthian tholos
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Cella Dimensions	8.12 m W x 13.55 m L x [14.02] m H	7.70 m W x 10.38 m L x 8.07 m H	9.49 m W x 11.75 m L x [7.23] m H	5.65 m W x 5.15 m L x [7.20] m H	12.47 m W x 5.62 m L x [5.57] m H	6.36 m W x 7.30 m L x [7.40] m H	11.52 m Diam. x [13.04] m H
Cella Door Dimensions	2.96 m W x [9.97] m H	2.78 m W x 4.49 m H	1.95 m W x [4.25] m H	2.25 m W x [5.63] m H	1.77 m W x [3.20] m H	2.40 m W x [5.24] m H	3.50 m W x [8.75] m H
Side Door Dimensions	N/A	N/A	1.58 m W x [3.45] m H	N/A	N/A	1.20 m W x [2.62] m H	N/A
Light Ratio² Door(s) Area:Cella Area	1:3.73	1:6.40	1:8.12	1:2.30	1:12.38	1:2.95	1:3.40
Depth Stylobate Front Edge to Cult Statue Base	27.50 m	10.57 m	16.31 m	10.38 m	[14.34] m	15.18 m	7.92 m
Orientation	Southwest	Northeast	East	West	East	East	East

Table 5.1: Comparison of architectural features impacting the illumination of cellas housing select second-century cult statues

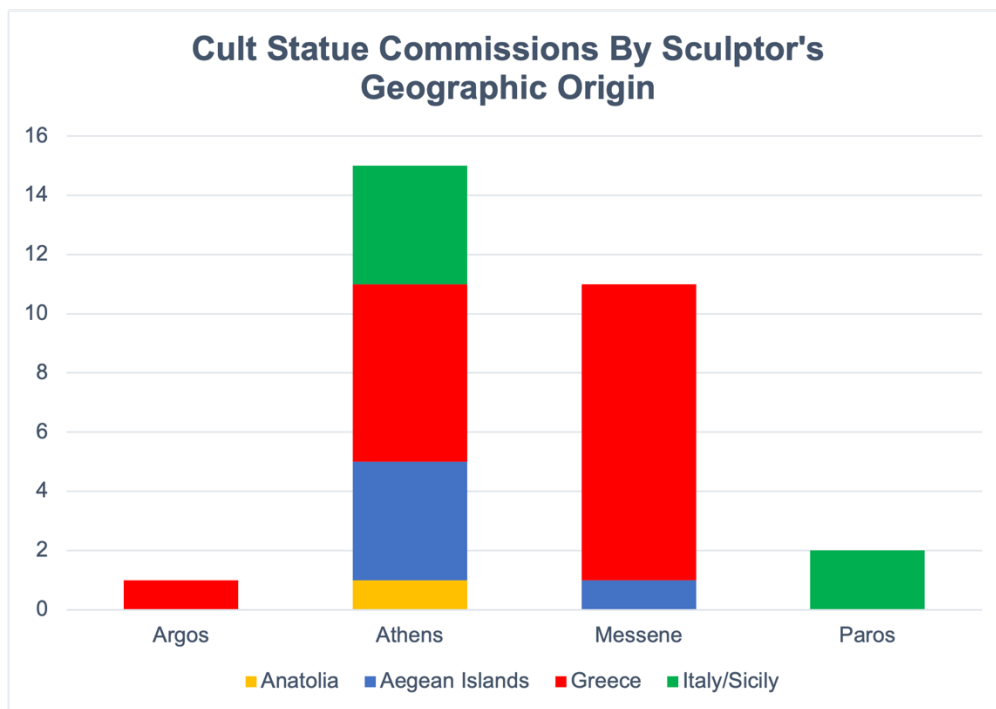
¹ The width of the door at Kleonai tapers from 2.66 m at the top to 2.80–2.90 m at the bottom. The door area was calculated by first taking the average of these measurements and using that value, 2.78 m, as the width of the door.

² For the temples with side doors into the cella, the area of the primary cella door was added to the area of the side door; this total was then compared with the interior area of the cella for the ratios identified here.

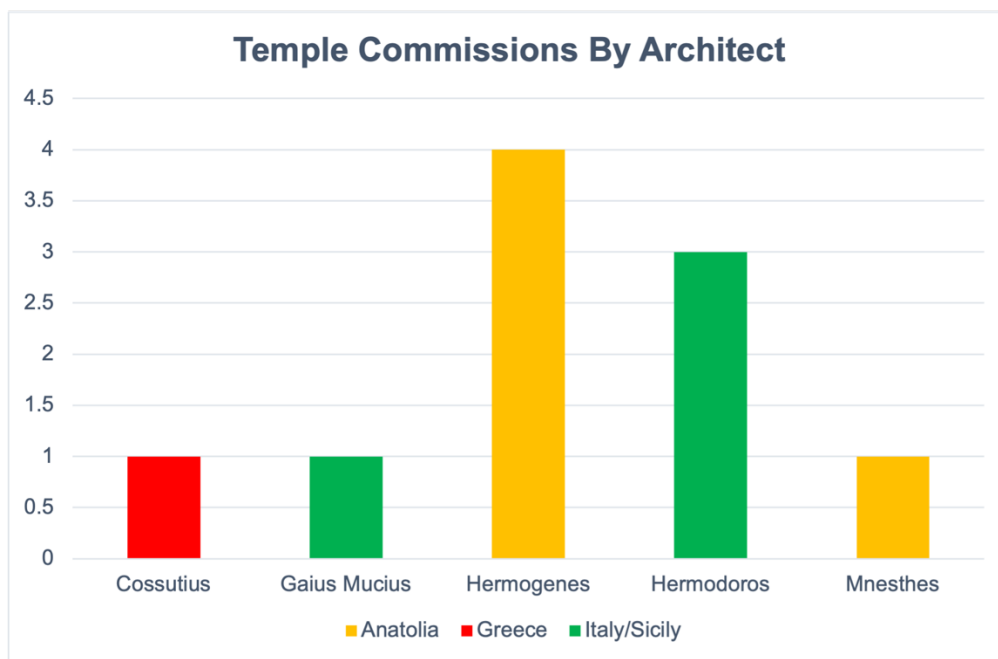
Graphs



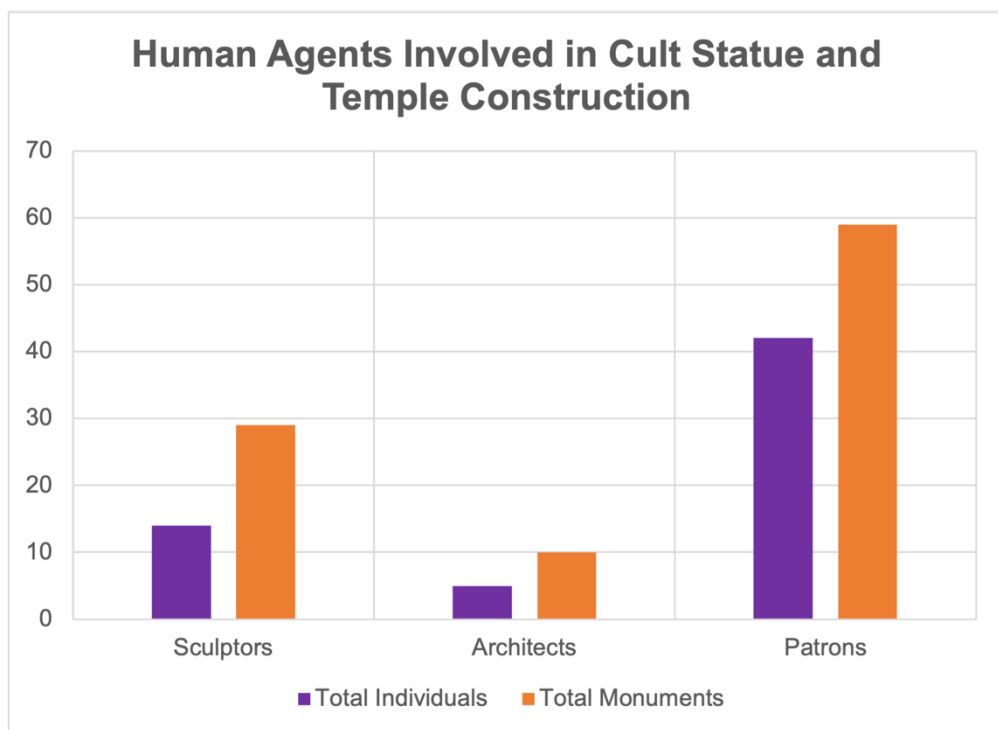
Graph 2.1: Regional distribution of cult statues and temples constructed or renovated in the second century BCE



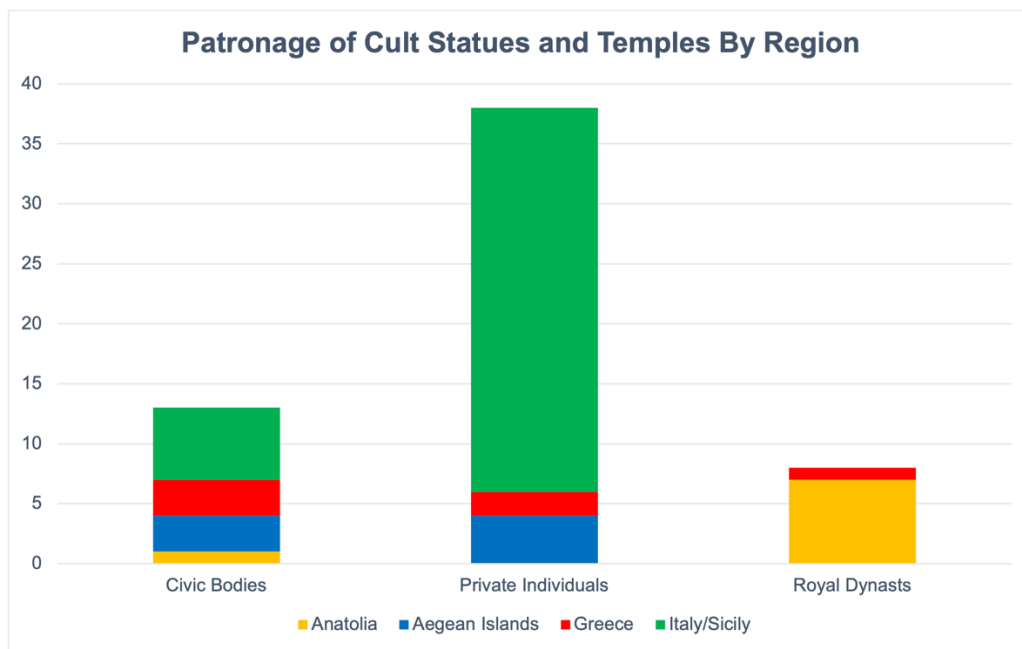
Graph 2.2: Regional distribution of second-century cult statue commissions by sculptor's geographic origin



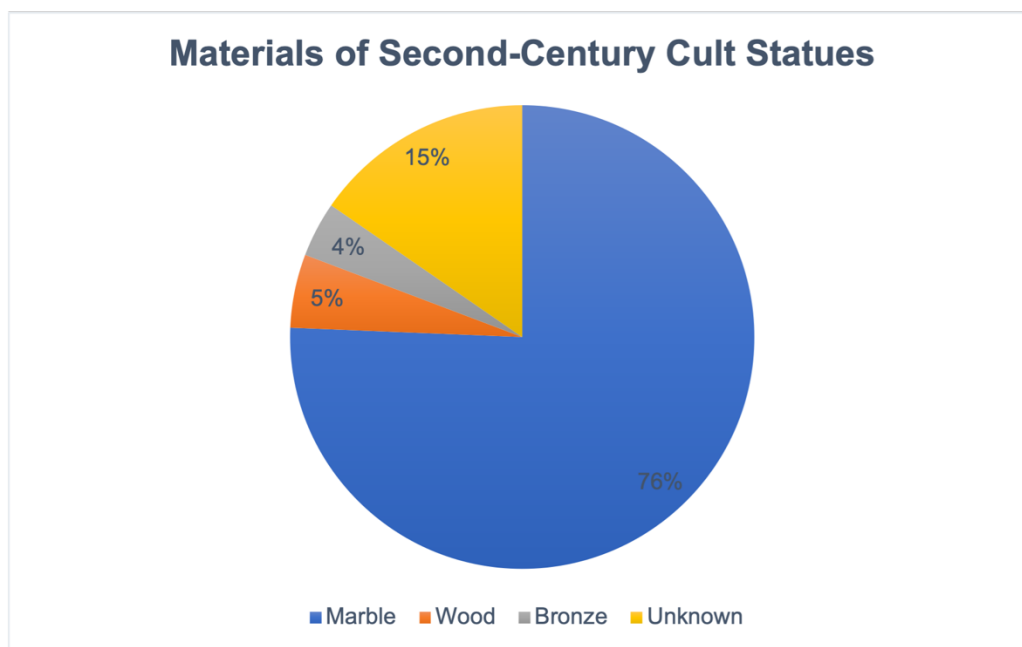
Graph 2.3: Regional distribution of temple commissions among the known architects of second-century temples



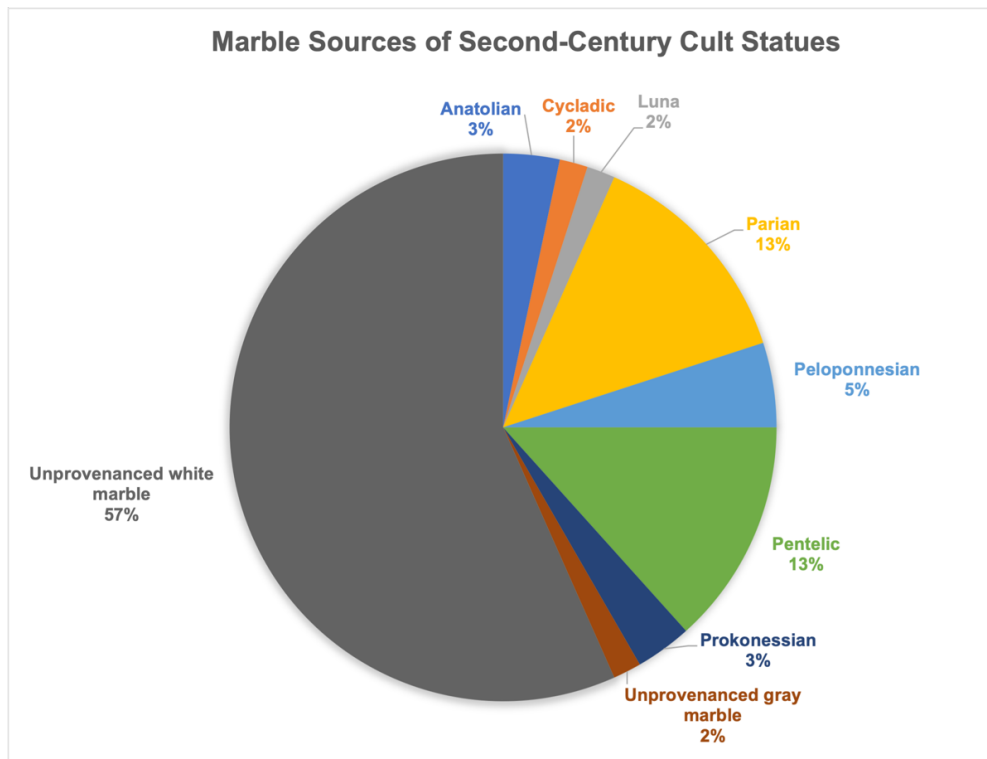
Graph 2.4: Total named sculptors, architects, and patrons and the number of second-century cult statues and temples on which they worked



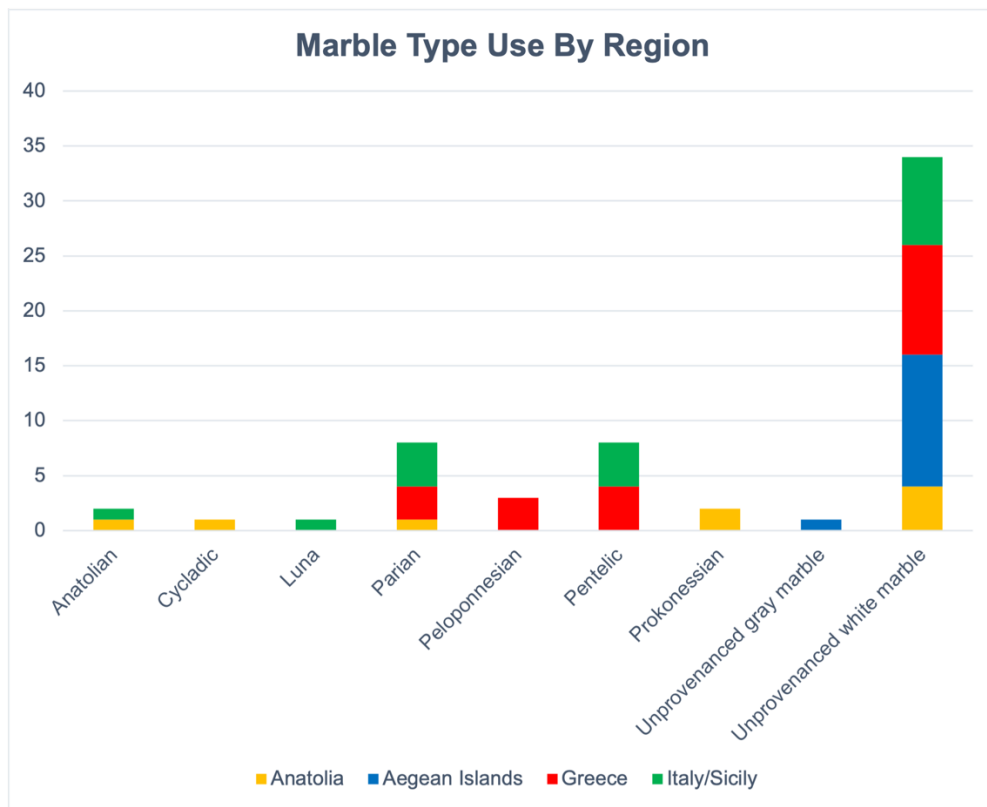
Graph 2.5: Regional distribution of second-century cult statues and temples with identified patrons



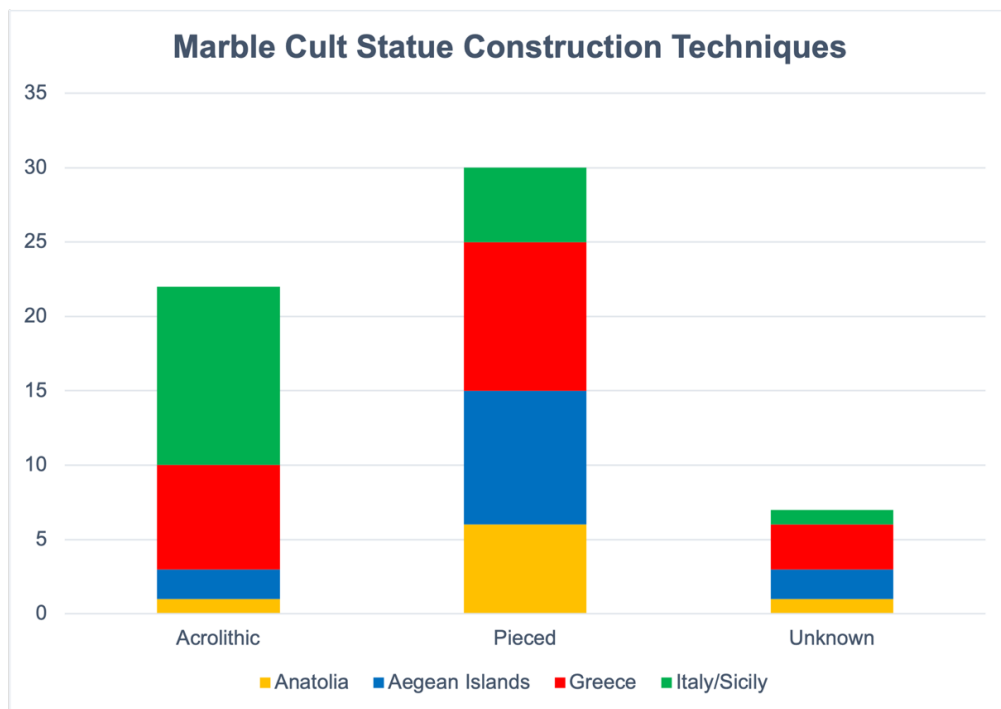
Graph 3.1: Prevalence of primary materials used for second-century cult statues



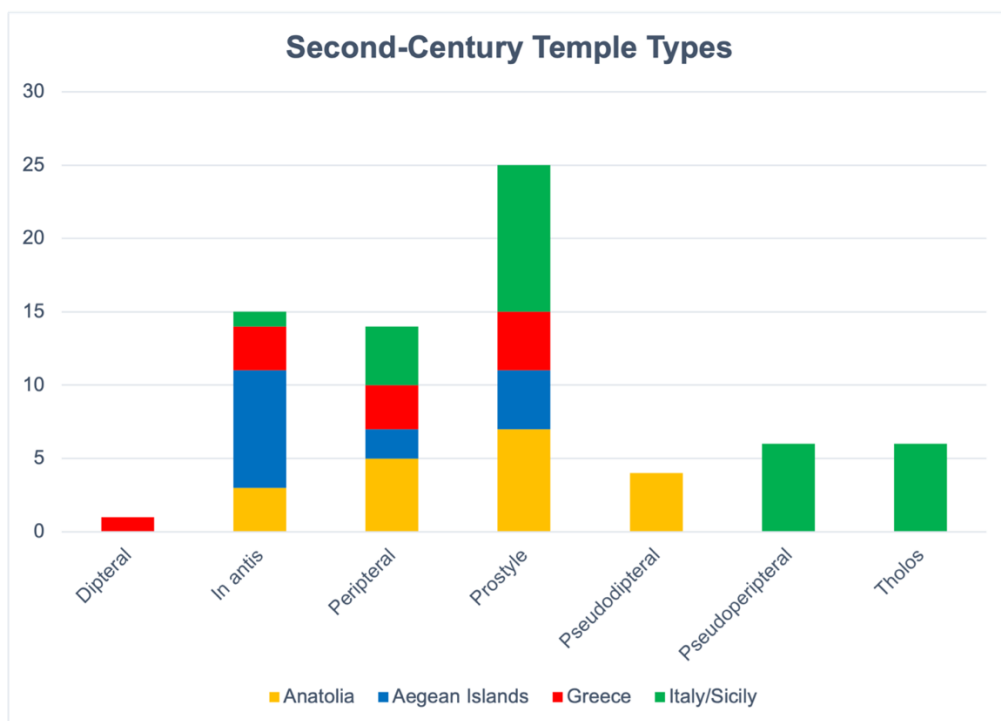
Graph 3.2: Prevalence of marble types used in second-century cult statues



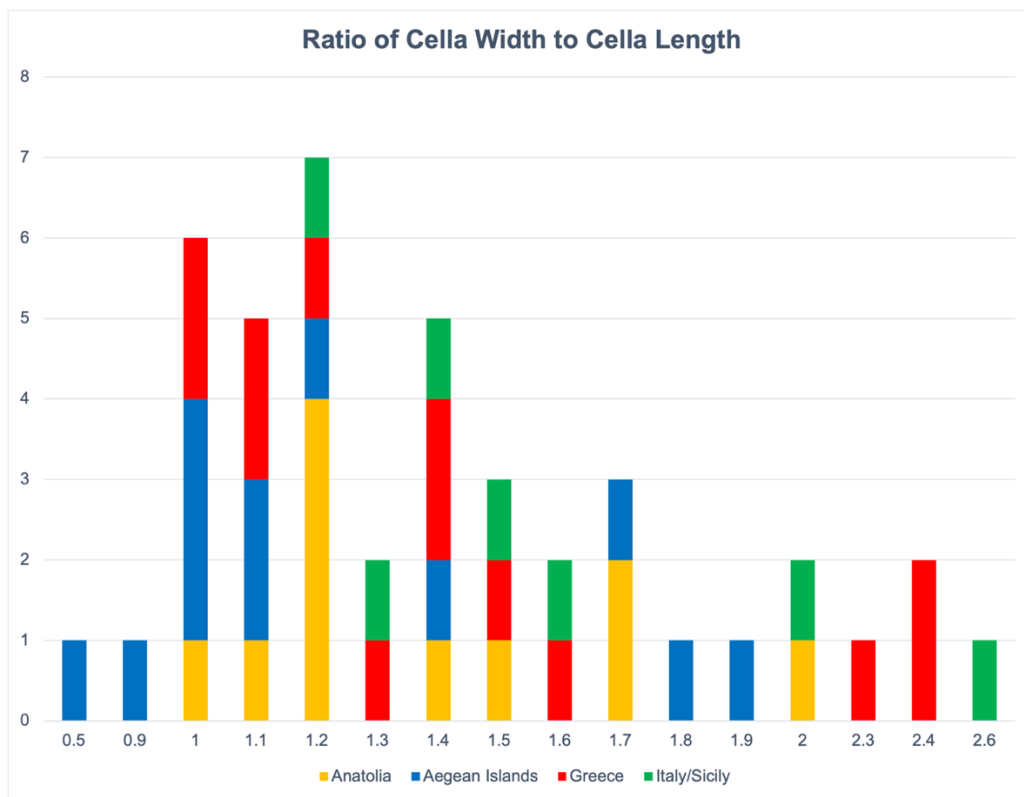
Graph 3.3: Regional distribution of marble types used in second-century cult statues



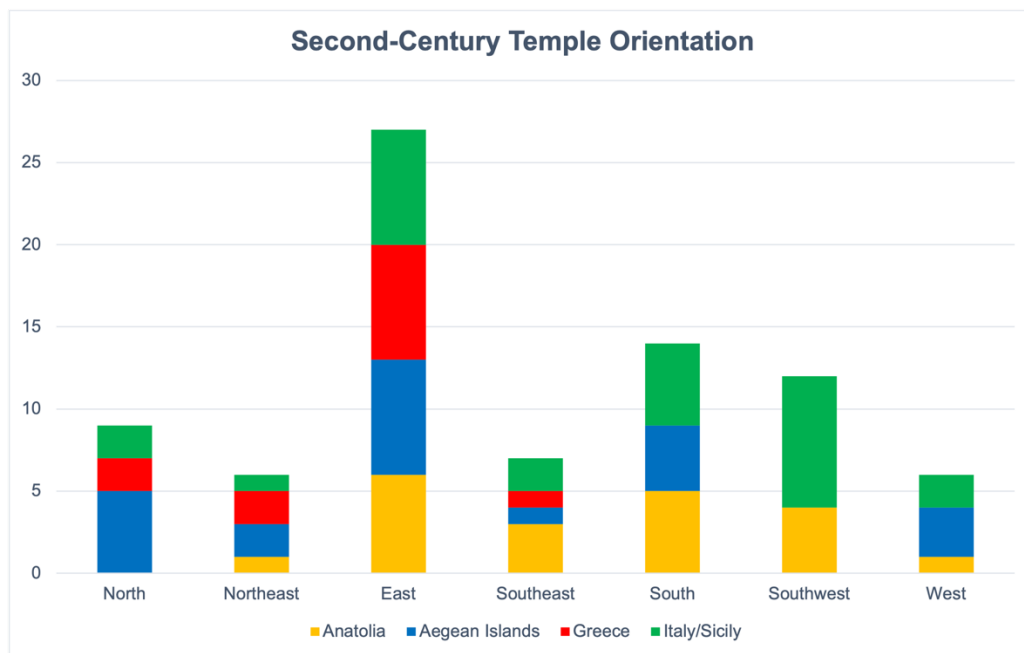
Graph 3.4: Regional distribution of construction techniques used in second-century marble cult statues



Graph 4.1: Regional distribution of second-century temple types



Graph 4.2: Geographic distribution of cella width to length ratio in second-century temples



Graph 5.1: Geographic distribution of directional orientation in second-century temples

Figures



Fig. 1.1: Terracotta theriomorphic figurine from the Sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura, Hellenistic–Roman period. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. A: Photo: A. Eckhardt; B: Drawing: K. A. P. Iselin, in Averett 2019, fig. 10.3



Fig. 1.2: Bronze statuette of Serapis wearing a kalathos, Paramythia, c. 150 BCE. London, British Museum Inv. 1824,0478.1. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 1.3: Marble statuette of Isis wearing a garment tied with an “Isiac knot,” Delos, perhaps second century BCE. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A378. Source: Marcadé 1969, pl. 57

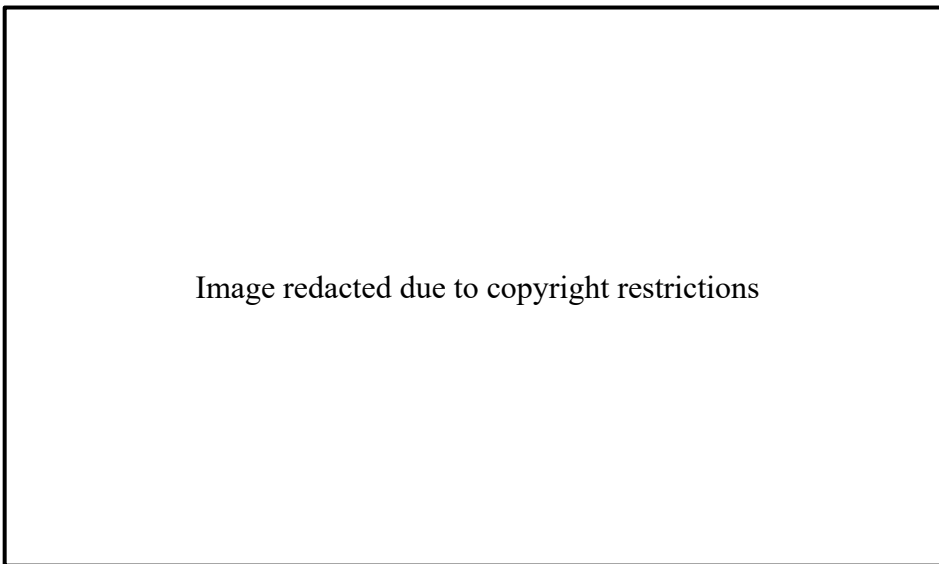


Fig. 1.4: Ground plan, Serapieion A, Delos. Source: Roussel 1915–1916, plan 1

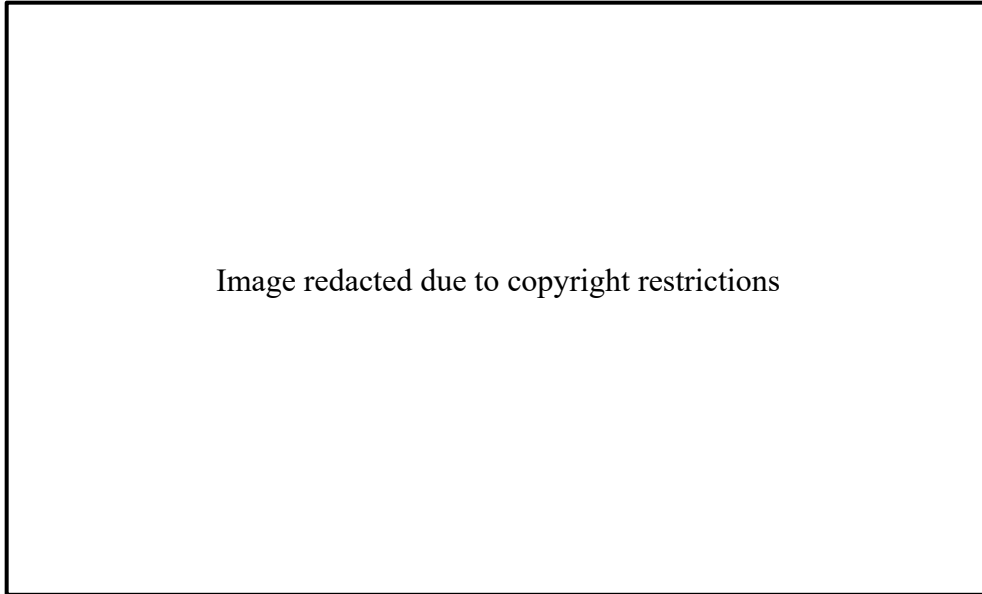


Fig. 1.5: Ground plan, Serapieion B, Delos. Source: Roussel 1915–1916, plan 3

A



B

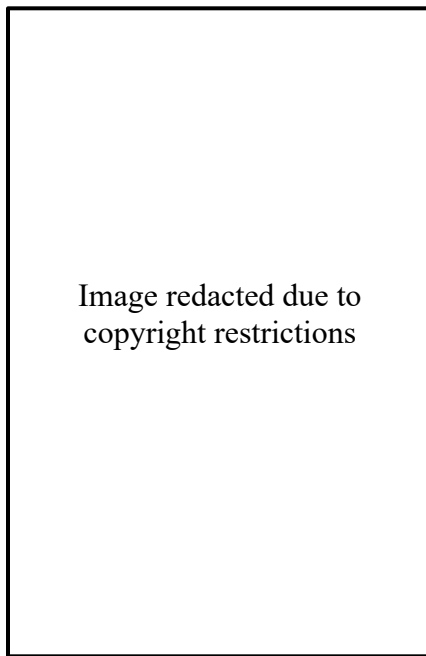


Fig. 2.1: Portrait statue of Gaius Ofellius Ferus by Dionysios (II) and Timarchides (III), Delos, c. 125–100 BCE. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 4340 + A 6461. A: Photo: A. Eckhardt; B: Drawing: A. Stewart and C. Smith, in Stewart 2014, fig. 55

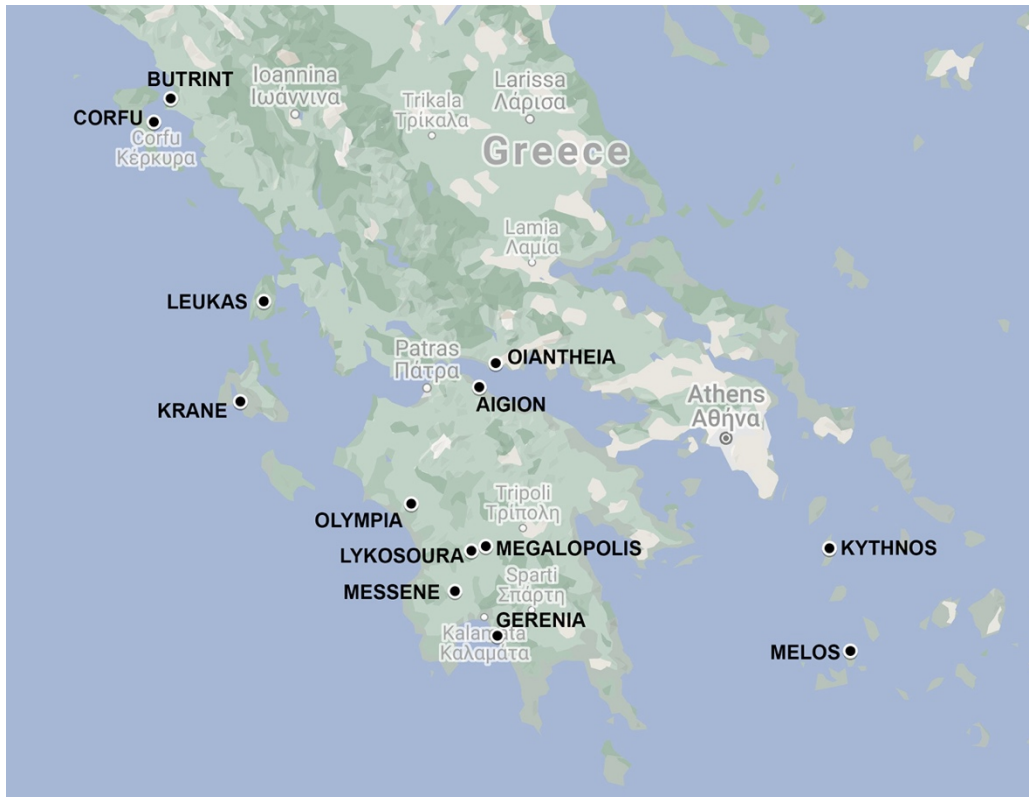


Fig. 2.2: Map of Greece showing the locations of Damophon's commissions. Base map: Google Maps; annotations: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 2.3: Fragment of a statue of Kybele by Damophon, Messene Asklepieion, c. 200–150 BCE. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 6658. Photo: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 2.4: Head of Apollo by Damophon, Messene Asklepieion, c. 200–150 BCE. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 251. Photo: A. Eckhardt

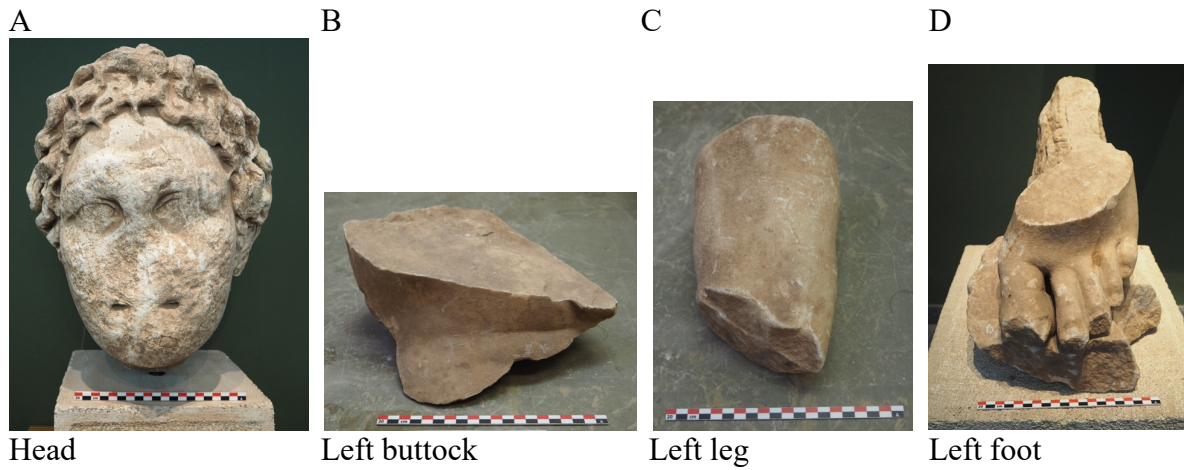


Fig. 2.5: Fragments of a statue of Herakles by Damophon, Messene Asklepieion, c. 200–150 BCE. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 3337 (head), 3043 (left buttock), 256 (left leg), 3042 (left foot). Photos: A. Eckhardt

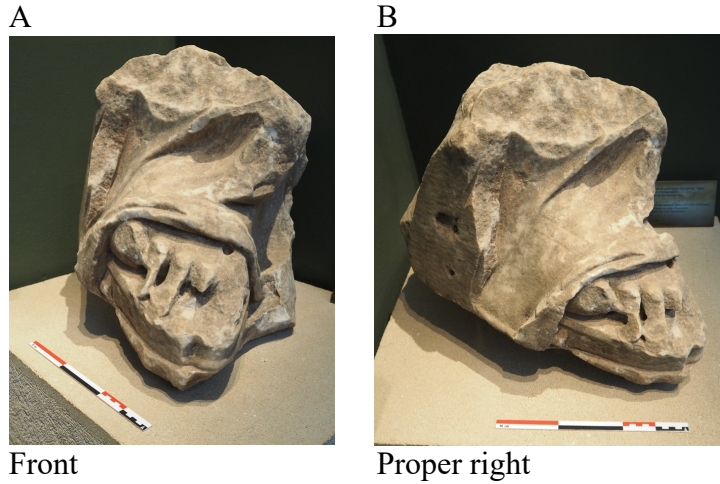


Fig. 2.6: Right foot of Tyche by Damophon, Messene Asklepieion, c. 200–150 BCE. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 257. Photos: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 2.7: Scene from the east frieze of the Pergamon Altar, c. 160 BCE. Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Photo: courtesy P. Katz



Fig. 3.1: Fragment of the honorific statue of Megisto showing the *xoanon* of Artemis, Messene Artemision, first century BCE. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 247. Photo: A. Eckhardt

A



B

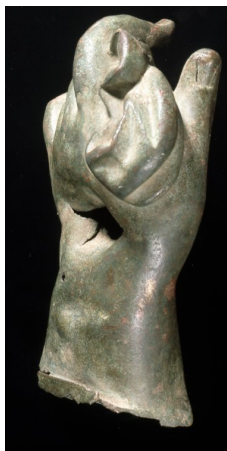


Fig. 3.2: Head (A) and left hand (B) of Anahita, Satala, c. 200–100 BCE. A: London, British Museum Inv. 1873,0820.1; B: London, British Museum Inv. 1875,1201.1. Photos: © The Trustees of the British Museum



Fig. 3.3: Diagram showing the construction of an acrolithic statue of Athena in the Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum. Drawing: G. Kiagia, in Despinis 1975, fig. 1

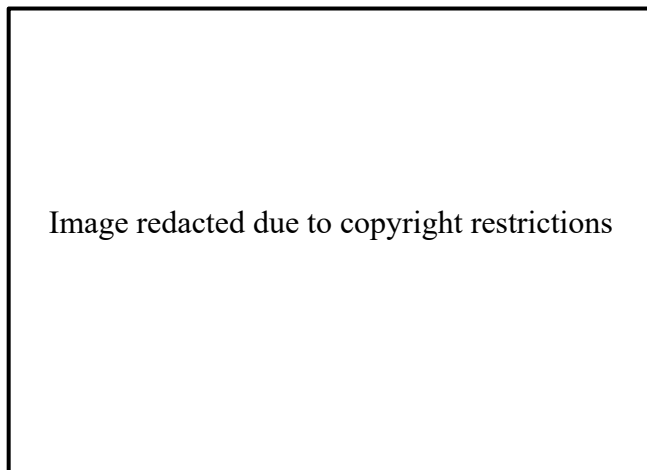


Fig. 4.1: Bronze statuette of the “Sensitive Herakles” type, Pompeii. Palermo, Museo Nazionale Archeologico. Source: Danner 1993, pl. 5.1–2



Fig. 4.2: Hercules, Alba Fucens, first century BCE. Chieti, Museo Archeologico Nazionale d'Abruzzo Inv. 4742. Photo: A. Eckhardt

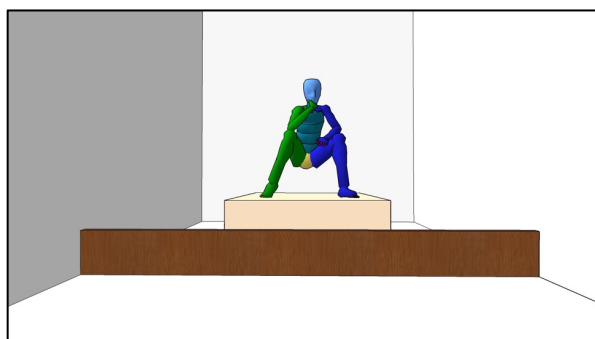


Fig. 4.3: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

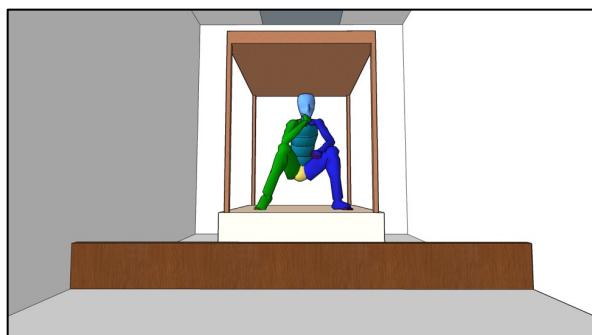


Fig. 4.4: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, view from the cella threshold with proposed canopy (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

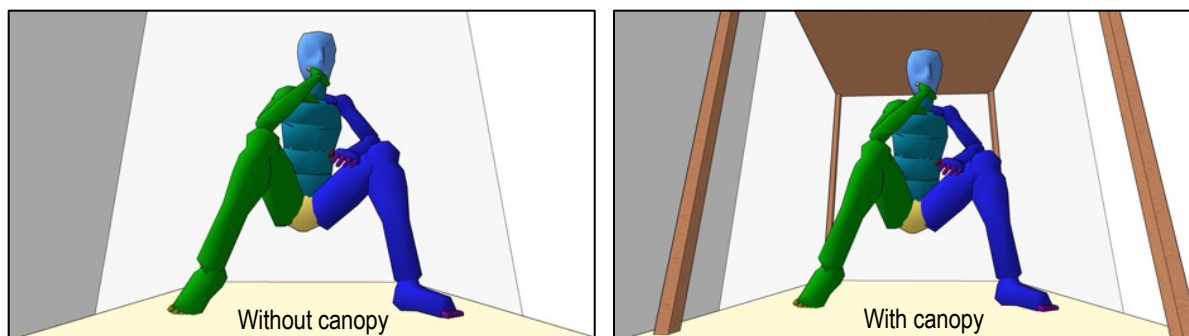


Fig. 4.5: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, view from the cult barrier (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

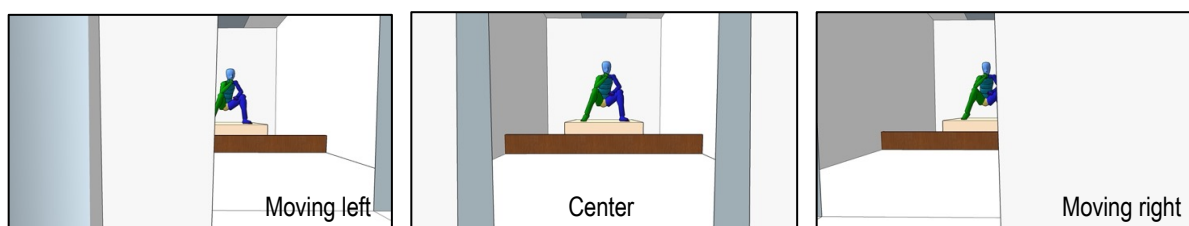


Fig. 4.6: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, views from the temple porch (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

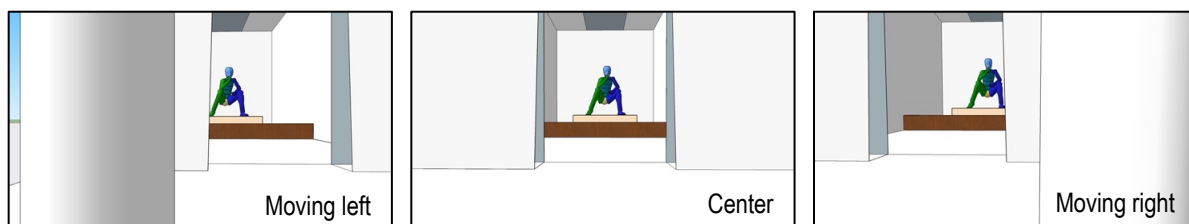


Fig. 4.7: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

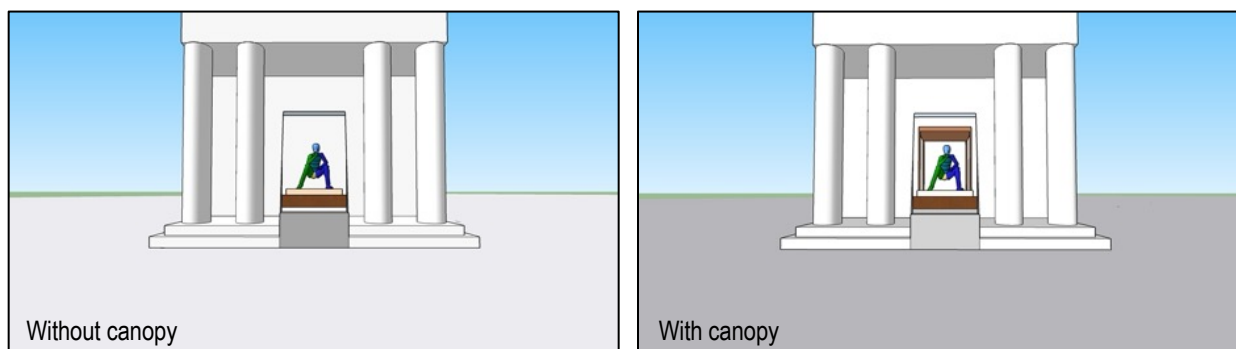


Fig. 4.8: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, view from the “altar courtyard” (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

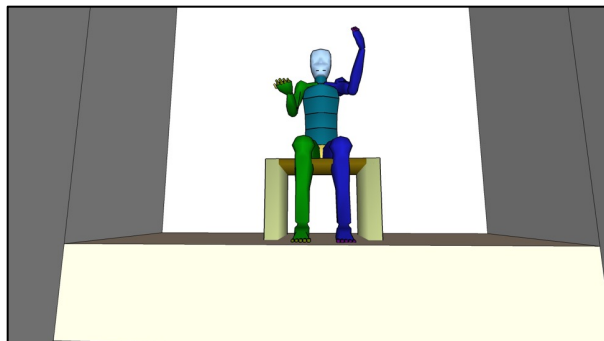


Fig. 4.9: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

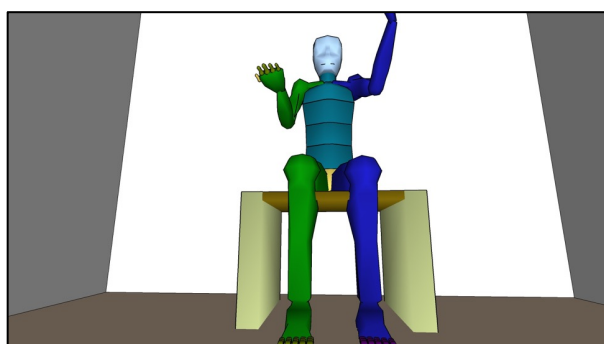


Fig. 4.10: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, view from within the cella (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

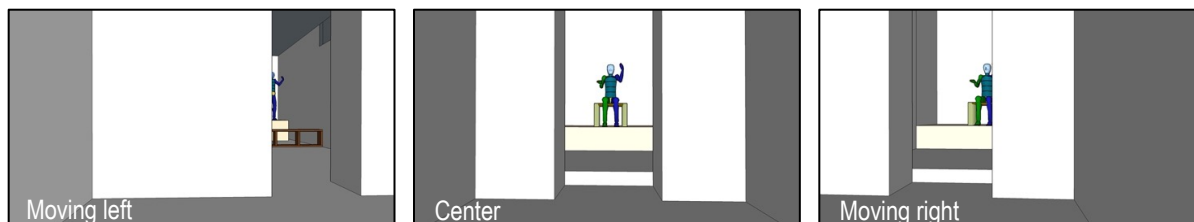


Fig. 4.11: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, views from the pronaos (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

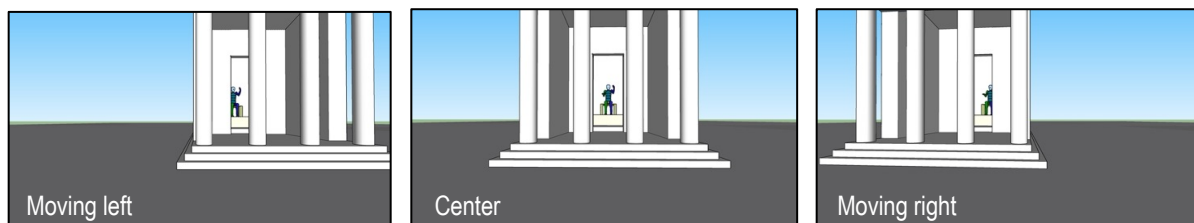


Fig. 4.12: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

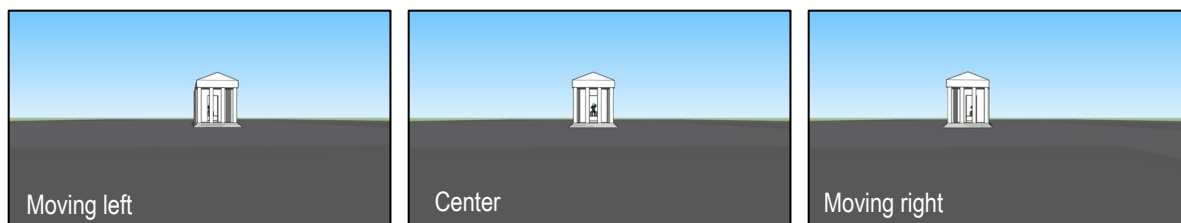


Fig. 4.13: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, views from the western stoa (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

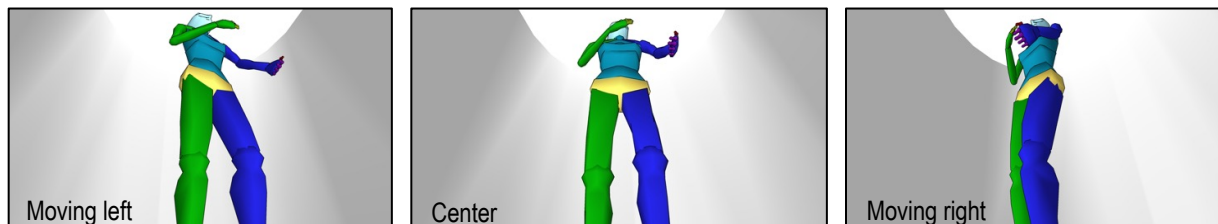


Fig. 4.14: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, views from within the cella (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

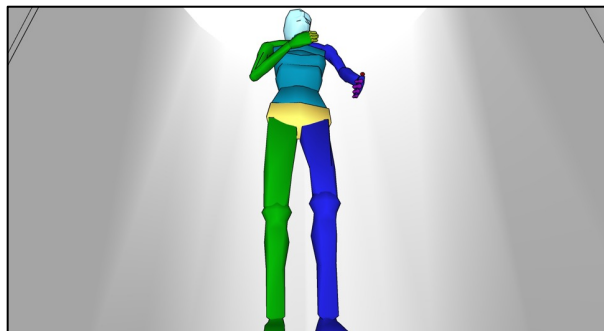


Fig. 4.15: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

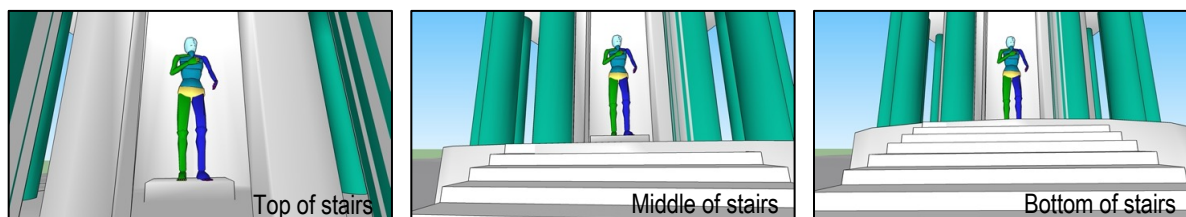


Fig. 4.16: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, views from the front staircase (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

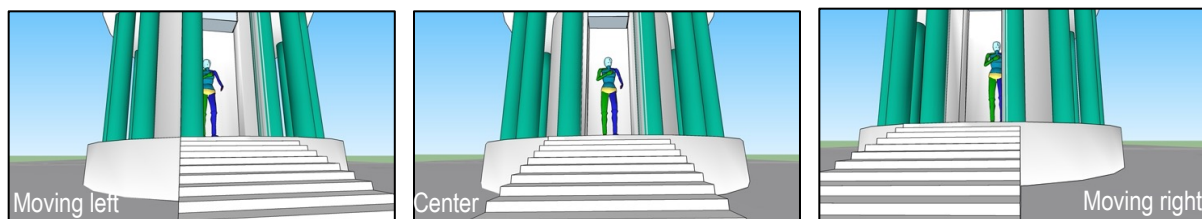


Fig. 4.17: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

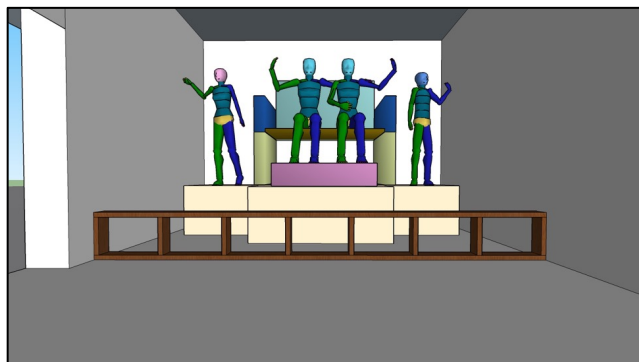


Fig. 4.18: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

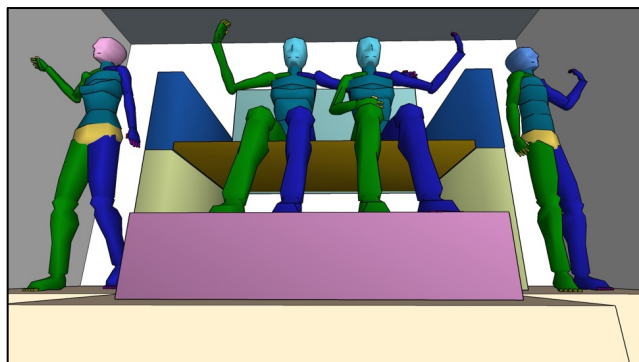


Fig. 4.19: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, view from the cult barrier (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 4.20: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the pronaos (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

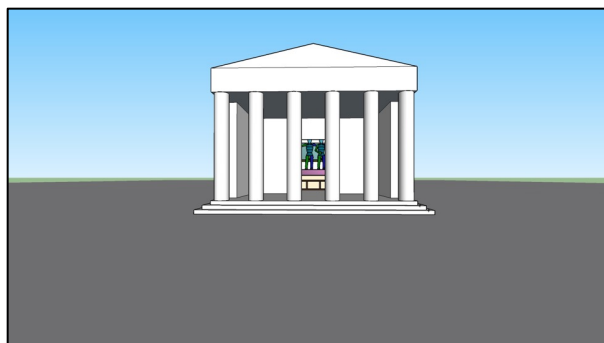
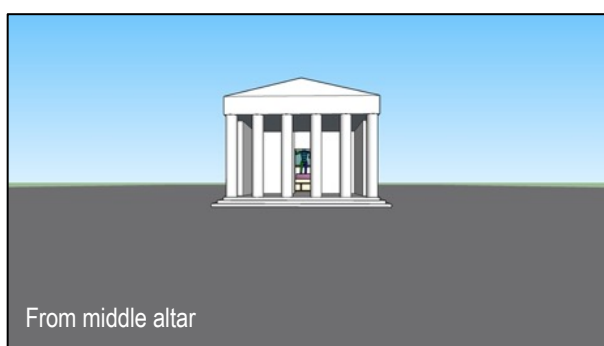
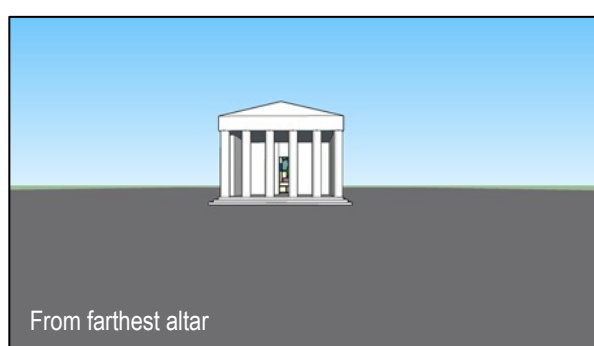


Fig. 4.21: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, view from the altar nearest the temple (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

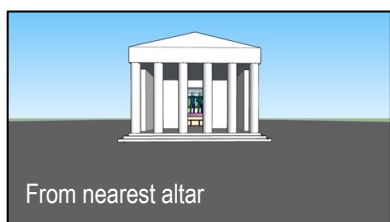


From middle altar

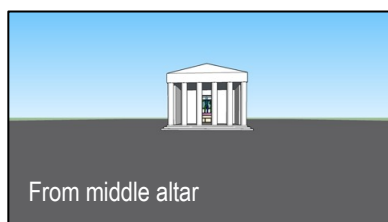


From farthest altar

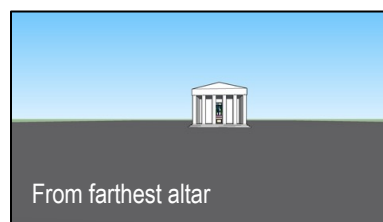
Fig. 4.22: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the two altars farthest from the temple (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



From nearest altar



From middle altar



From farthest altar

Fig. 4.23: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from all three altars with a temple door 5.00 m high (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

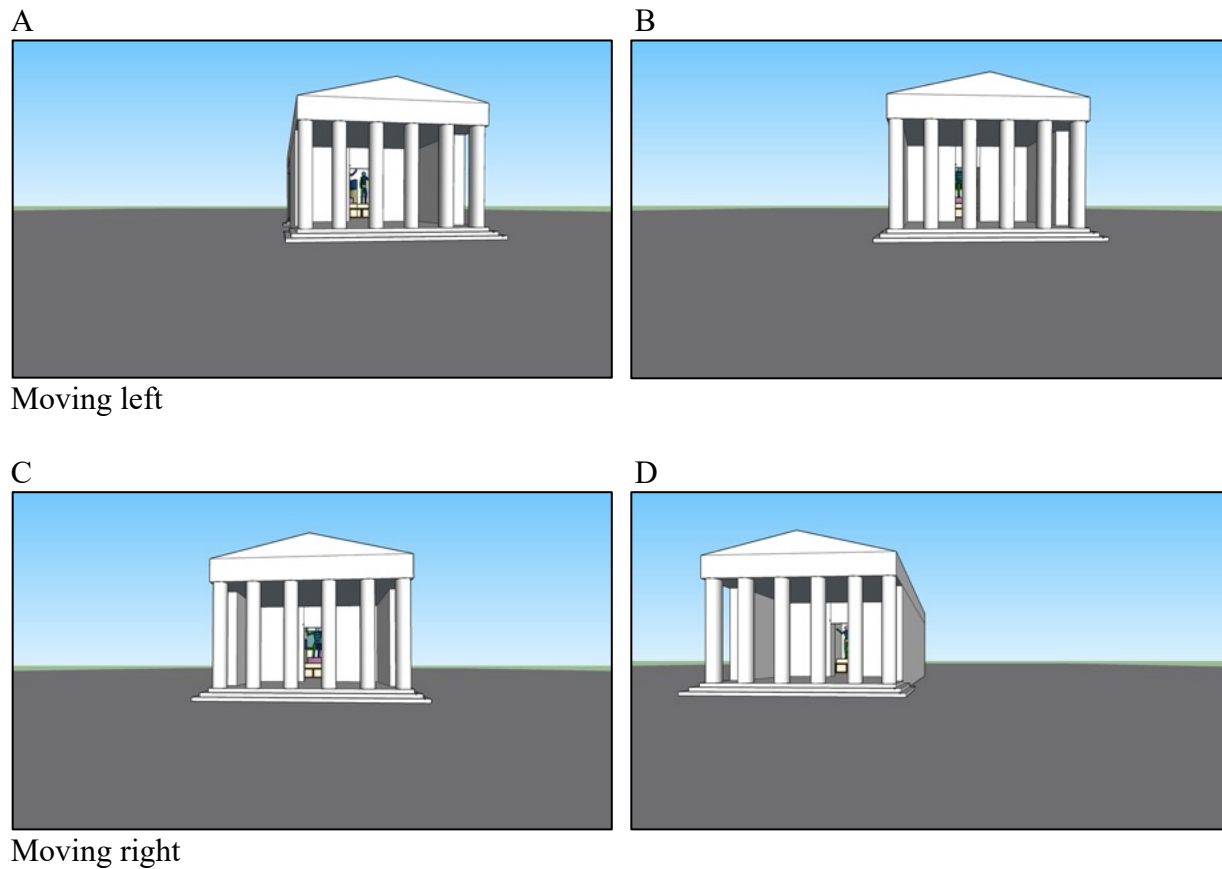


Fig. 4.24: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the altar nearest the temple (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

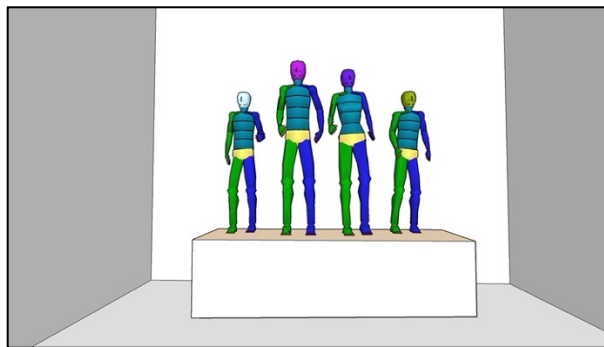


Fig. 4.25: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue group of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, view from within the cella (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

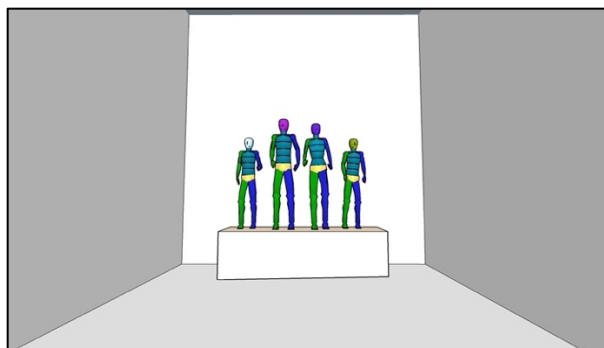


Fig. 4.26: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue group of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

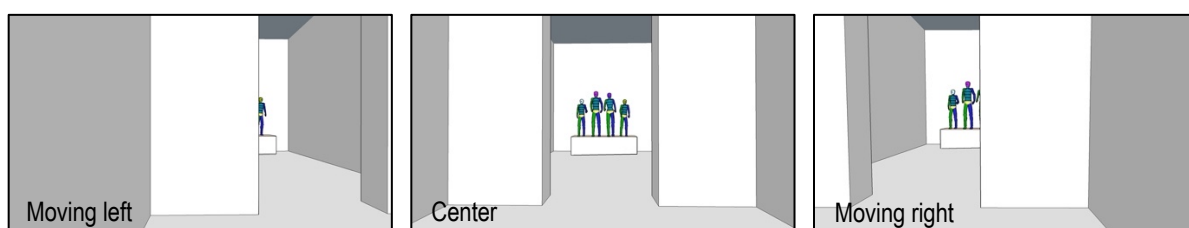


Fig. 4.27: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, views from the pronaos (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

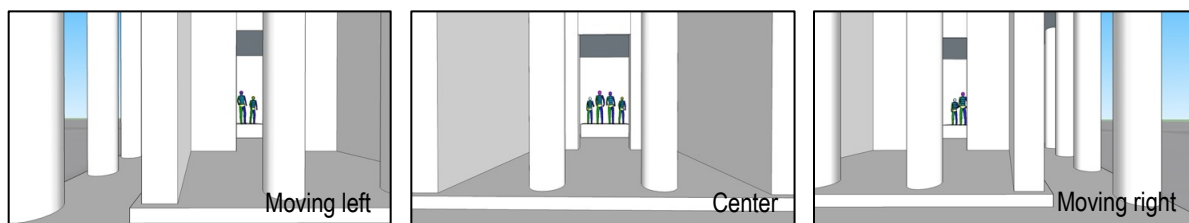


Fig. 4.28: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, views from the pteron (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

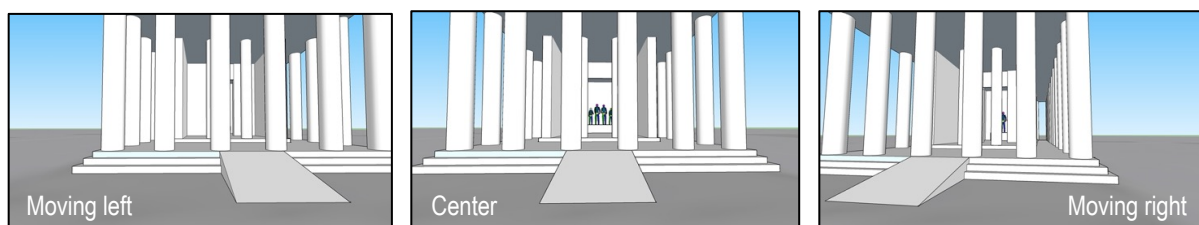


Fig. 4.29: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue group of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

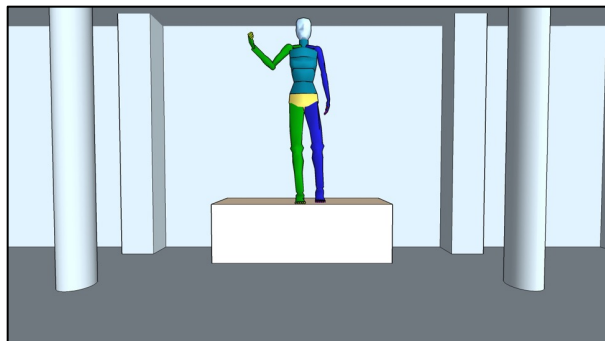


Fig. 4.30: Reconstruction of the interior space and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

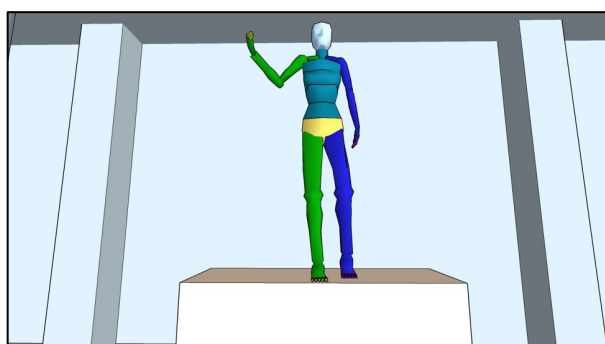
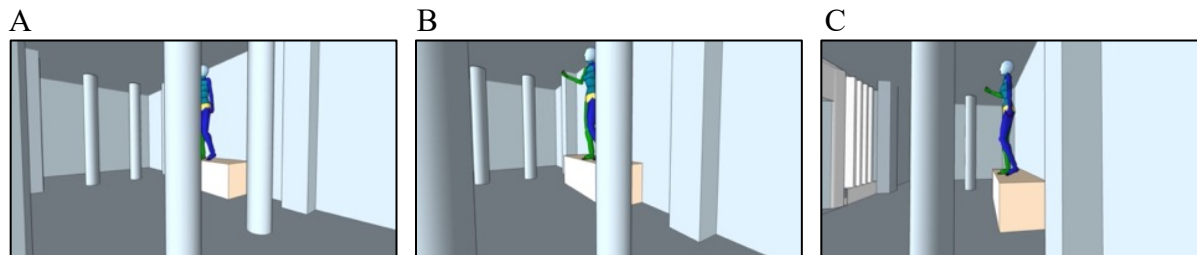


Fig. 4.31: Reconstruction of the interior space and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, view from within the central nave (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



From north benches, moving east to west



From south benches, moving east to west

Fig. 4.32: Reconstruction of the interior space and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, views from the sanctuary's side benches. Model: A. Eckhardt

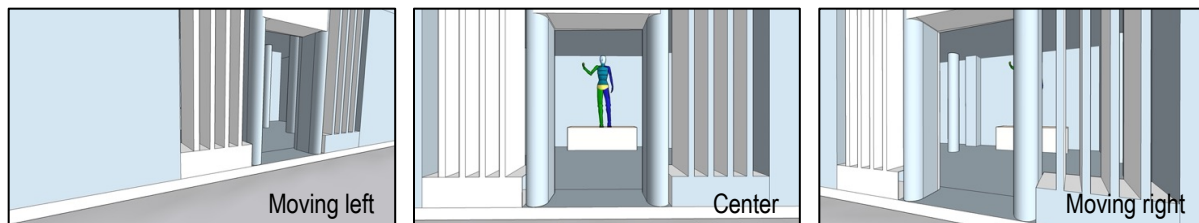


Fig. 4.33: Reconstruction of the architecture and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, views from within the stoa (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

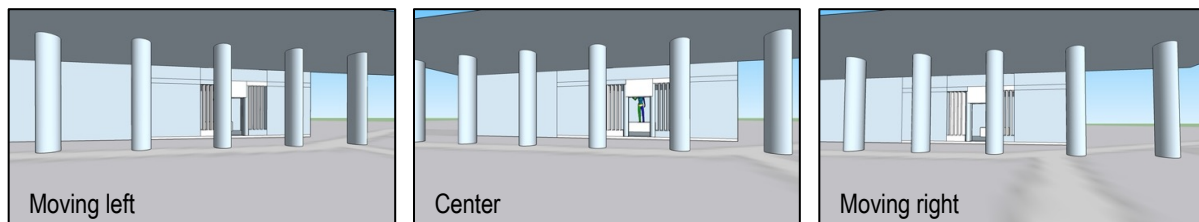


Fig. 4.34: Reconstruction of the architecture and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

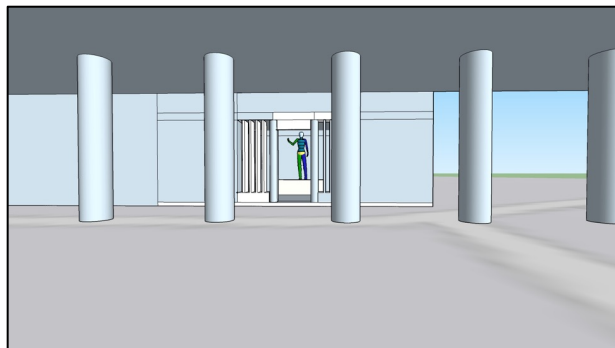


Fig. 4.35: Reconstruction of the architecture and cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, view from the altar with a temple door 3.70 m high (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

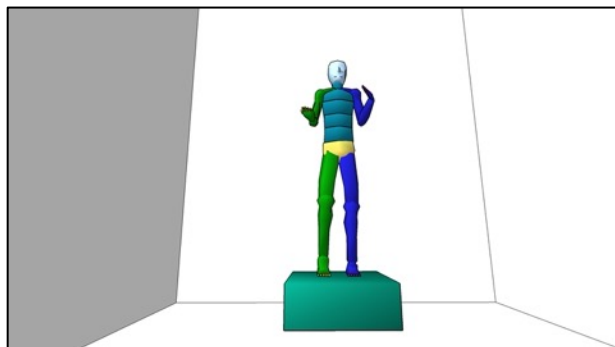


Fig. 4.36: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse, view from within the cella (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

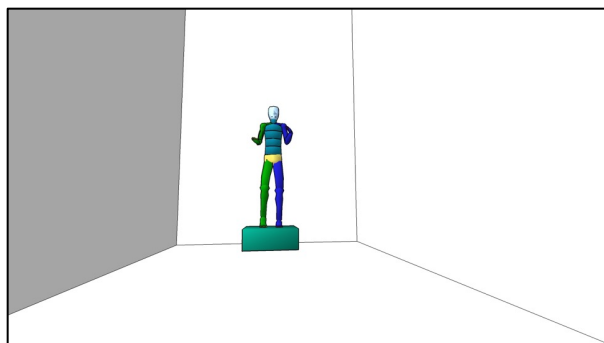


Fig. 4.37: Reconstruction of the cella and cult statue of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

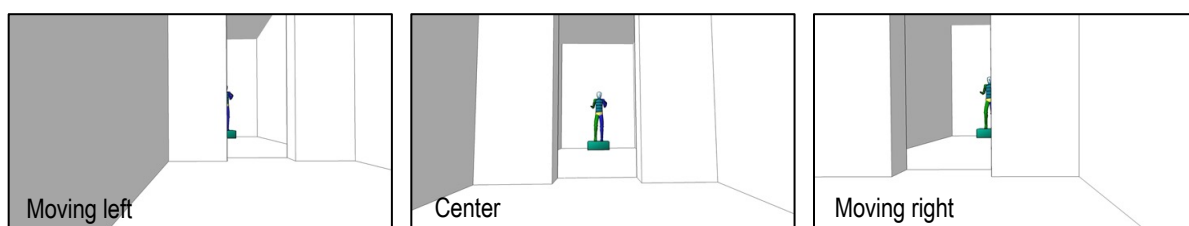


Fig. 4.38: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse, views from the pronaos (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

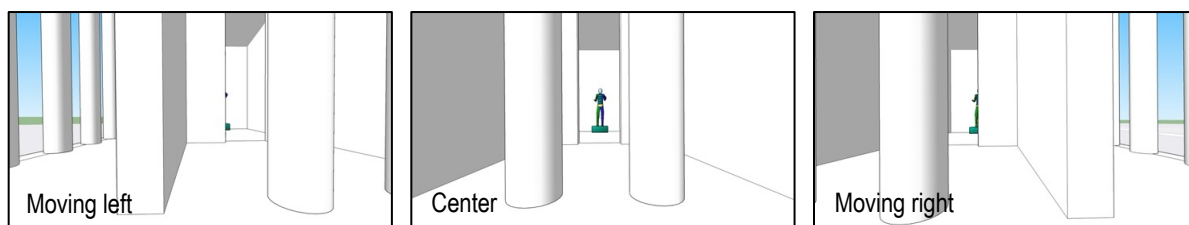


Fig. 4.39: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse, views from the pteron (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

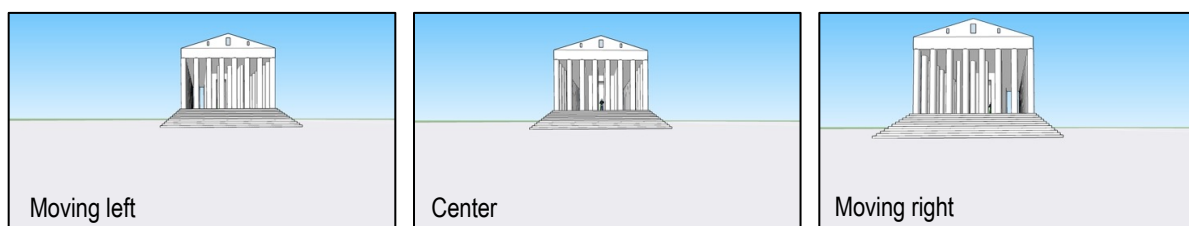


Fig. 4.40: Reconstruction of the temple and cult statue of the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse, views at 40 m from the temple (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

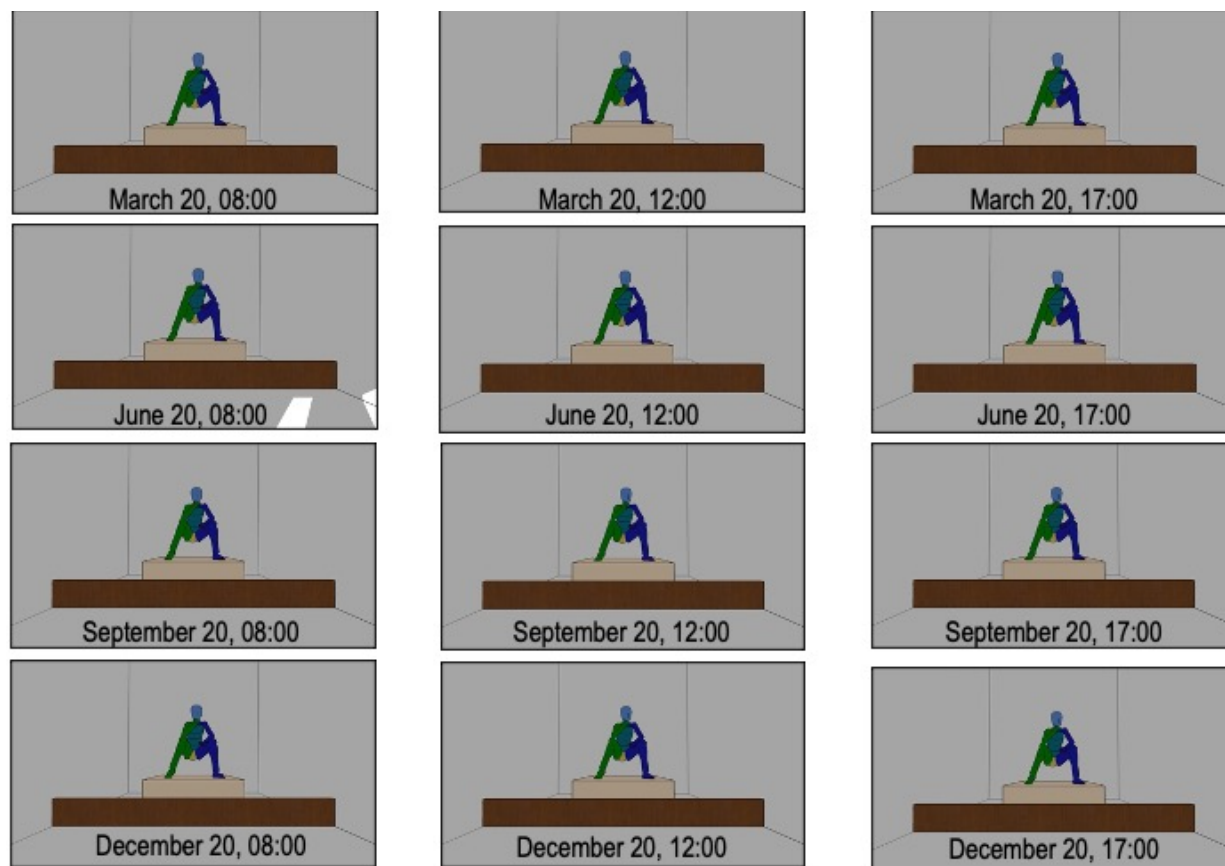


Fig. 5.1: Sunlight study of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

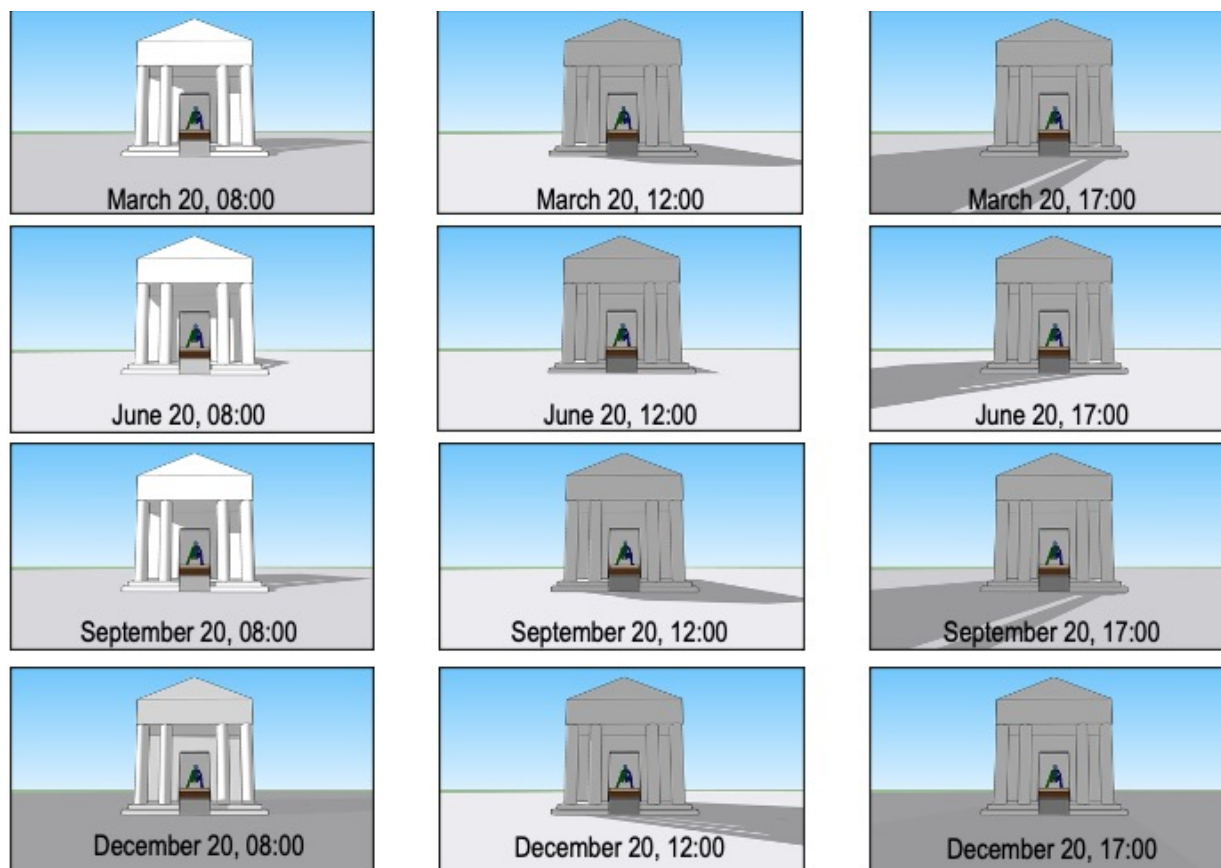


Fig. 5.2: Sunlight study of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

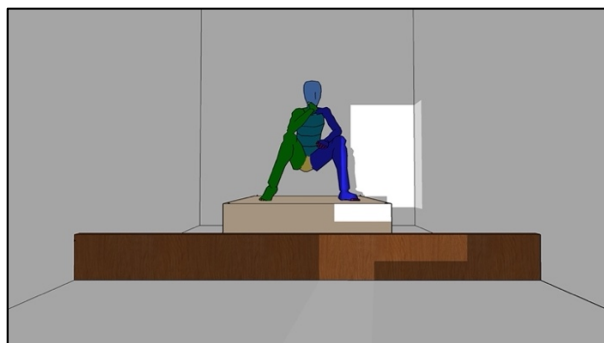


Fig. 5.3: Sunlight striking the edge of the cult statue of the Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, on June 20, 05:12, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

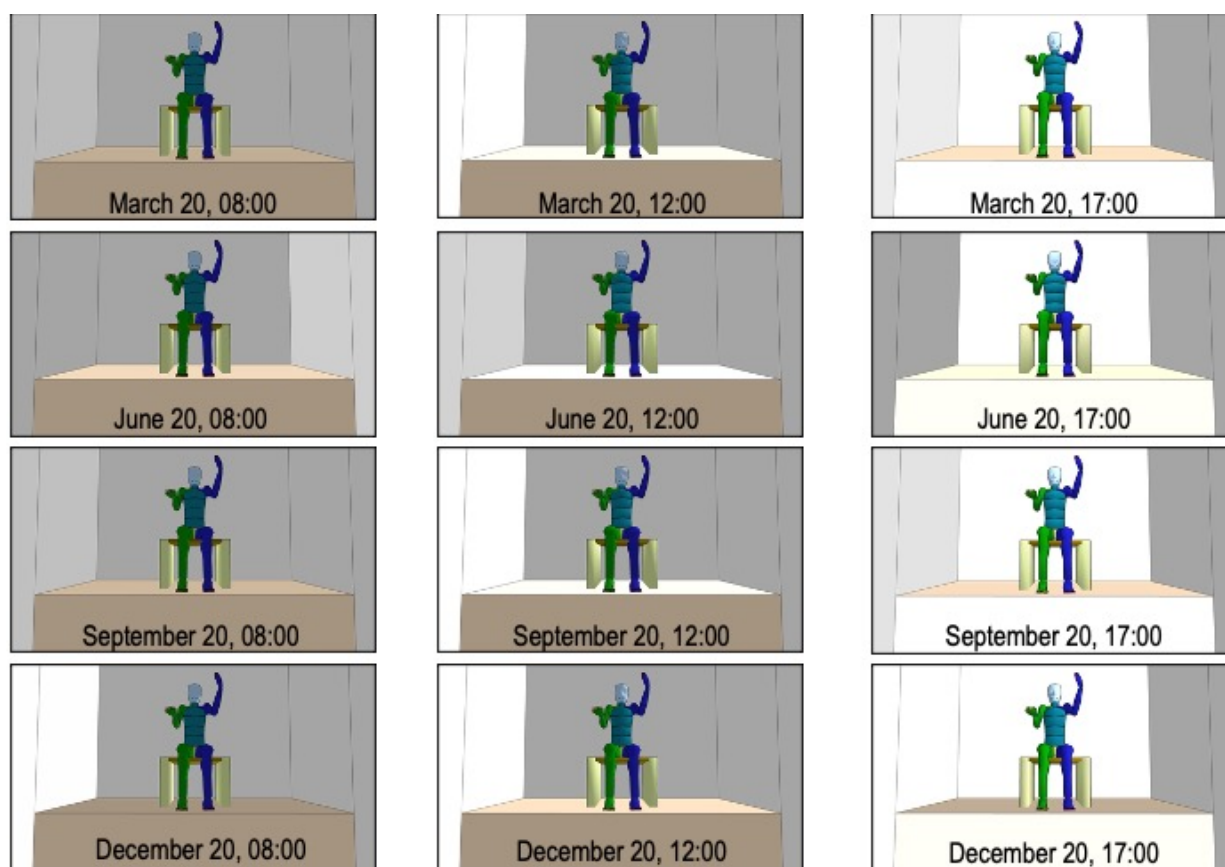


Fig. 5.4: Sunlight study of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

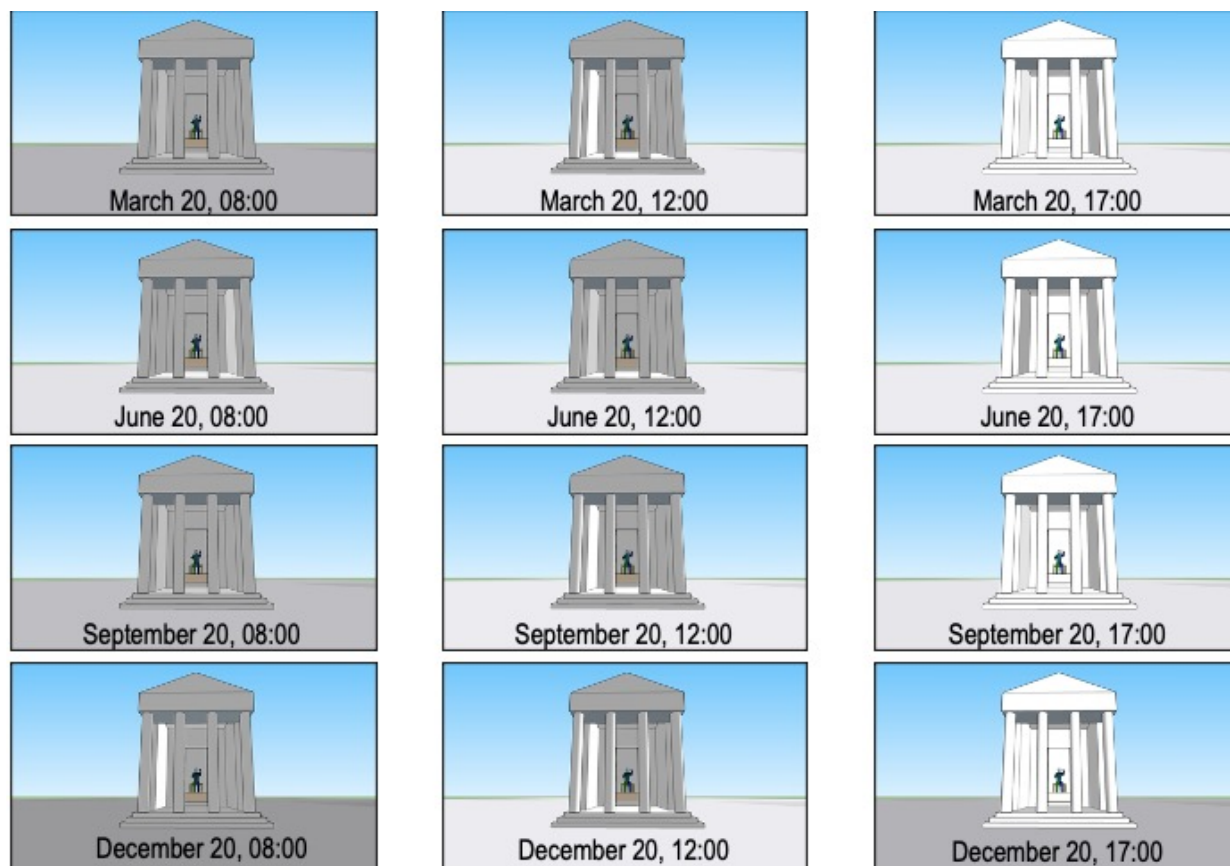


Fig. 5.5: Sunlight study of the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

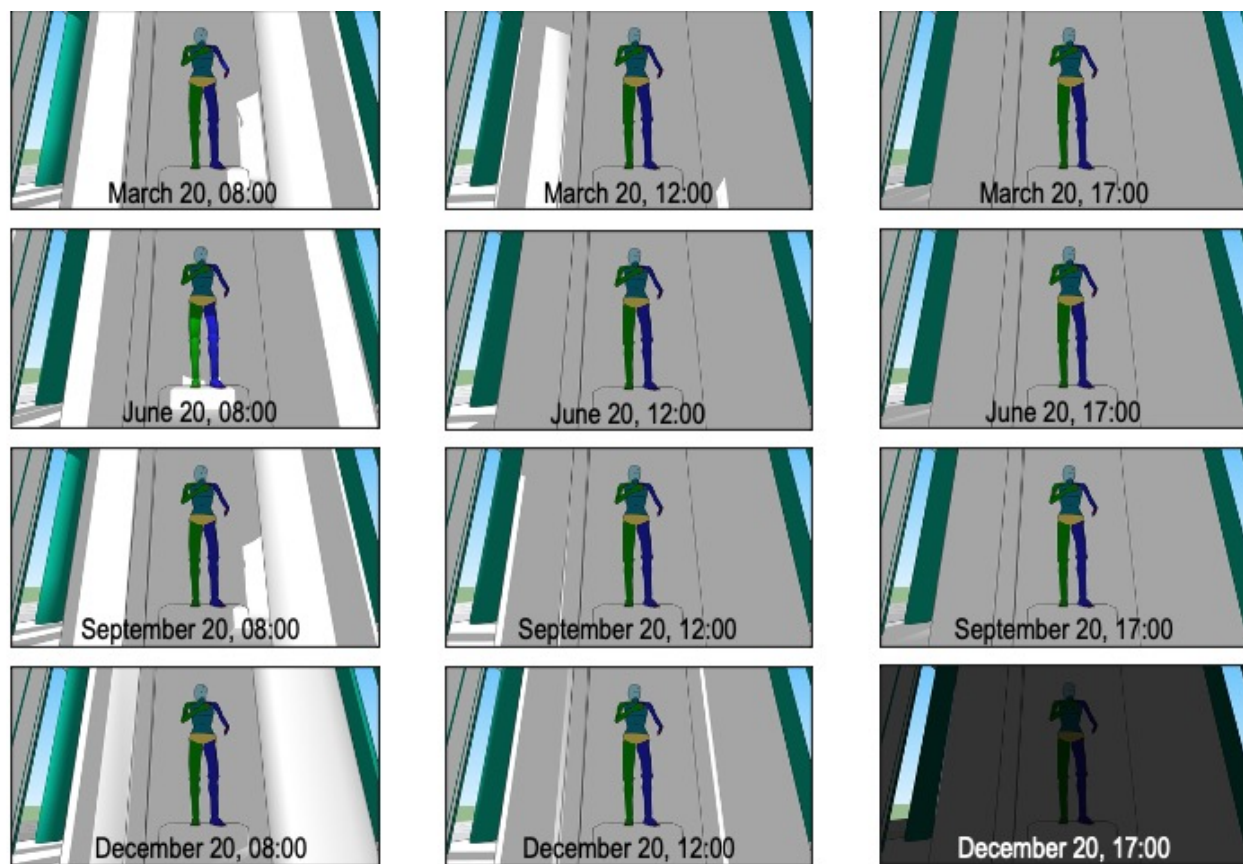


Fig. 5.6: Sunlight study of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, views of the cella from the top of the staircase (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

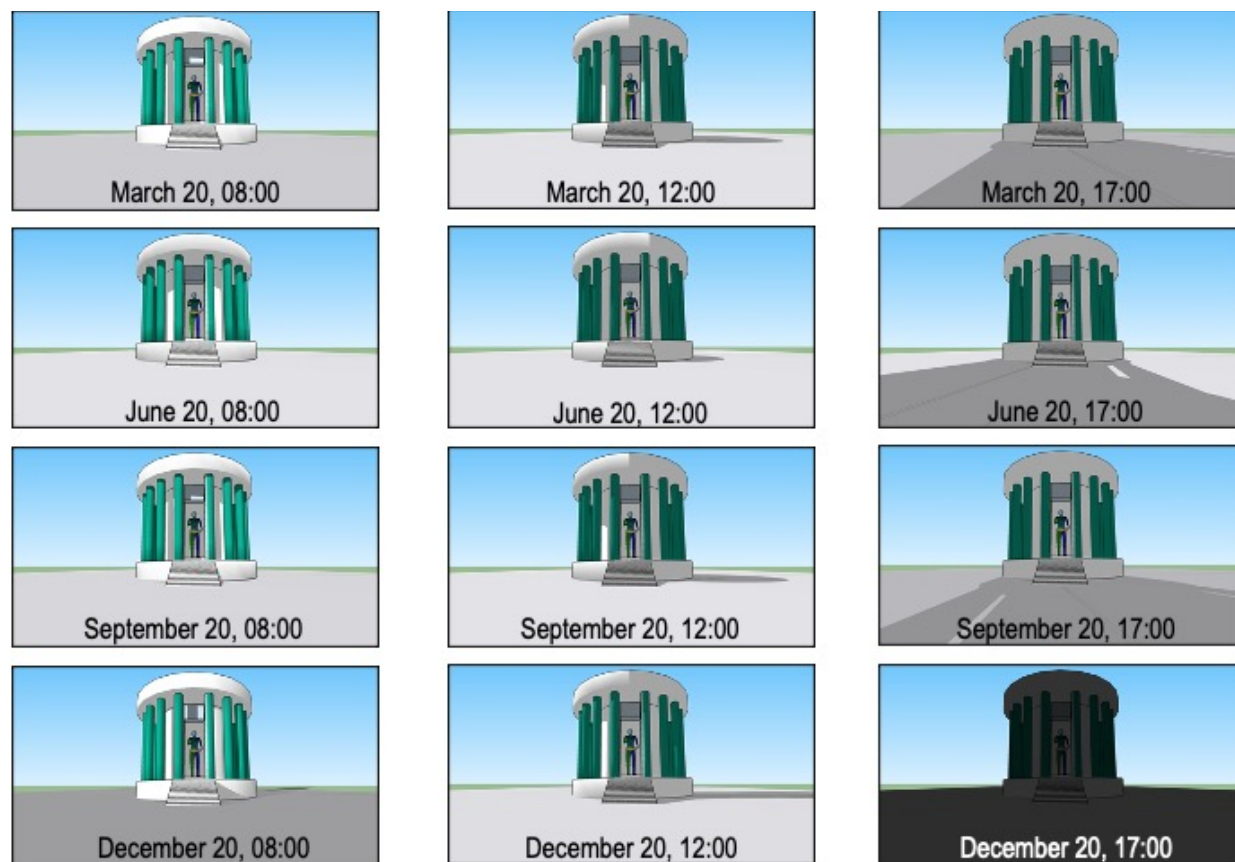


Fig. 5.7: Sunlight study of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

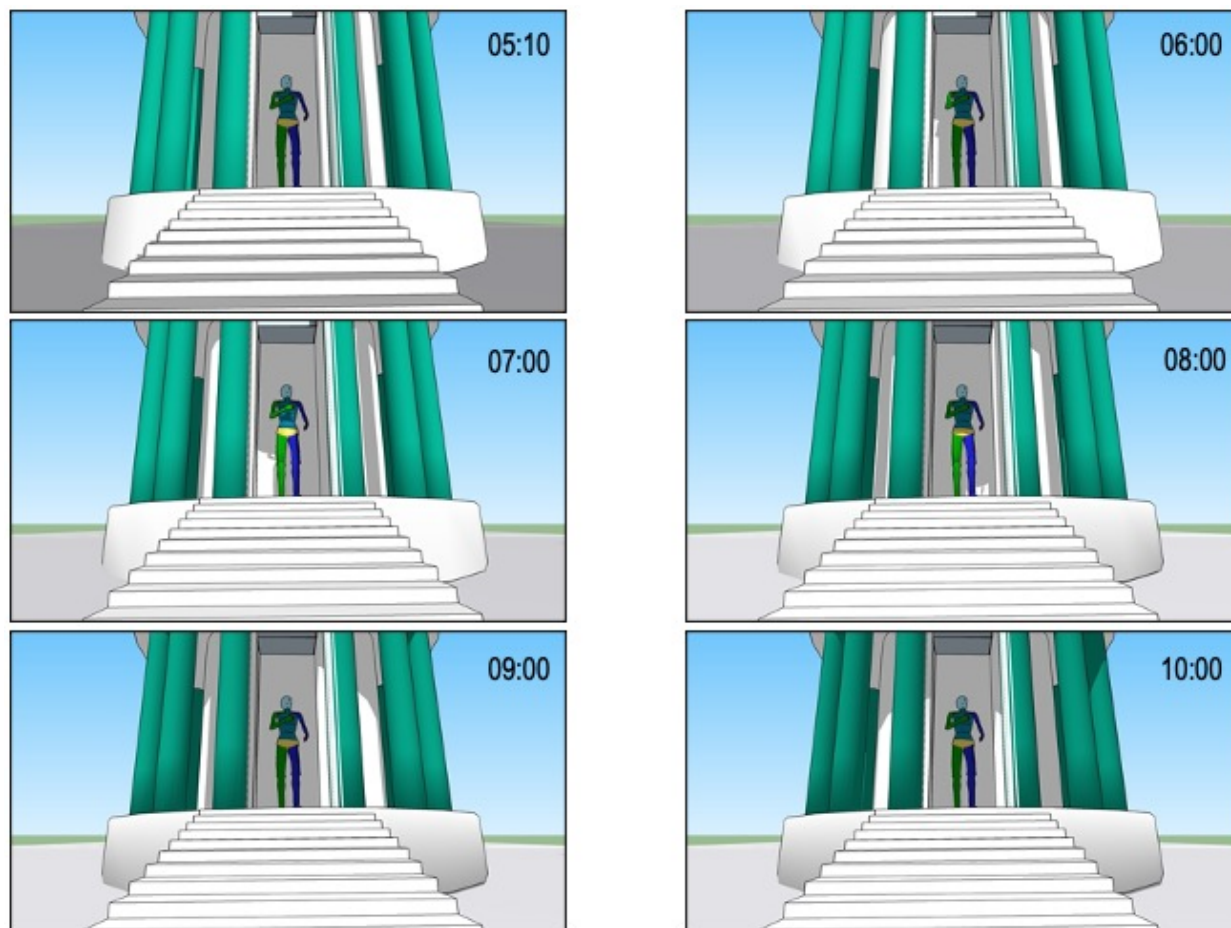


Fig. 5.8: Sunlight study of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, on July 30, views from the altar (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 5.9: Sunlight striking the cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 5.10: Sunlight study of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

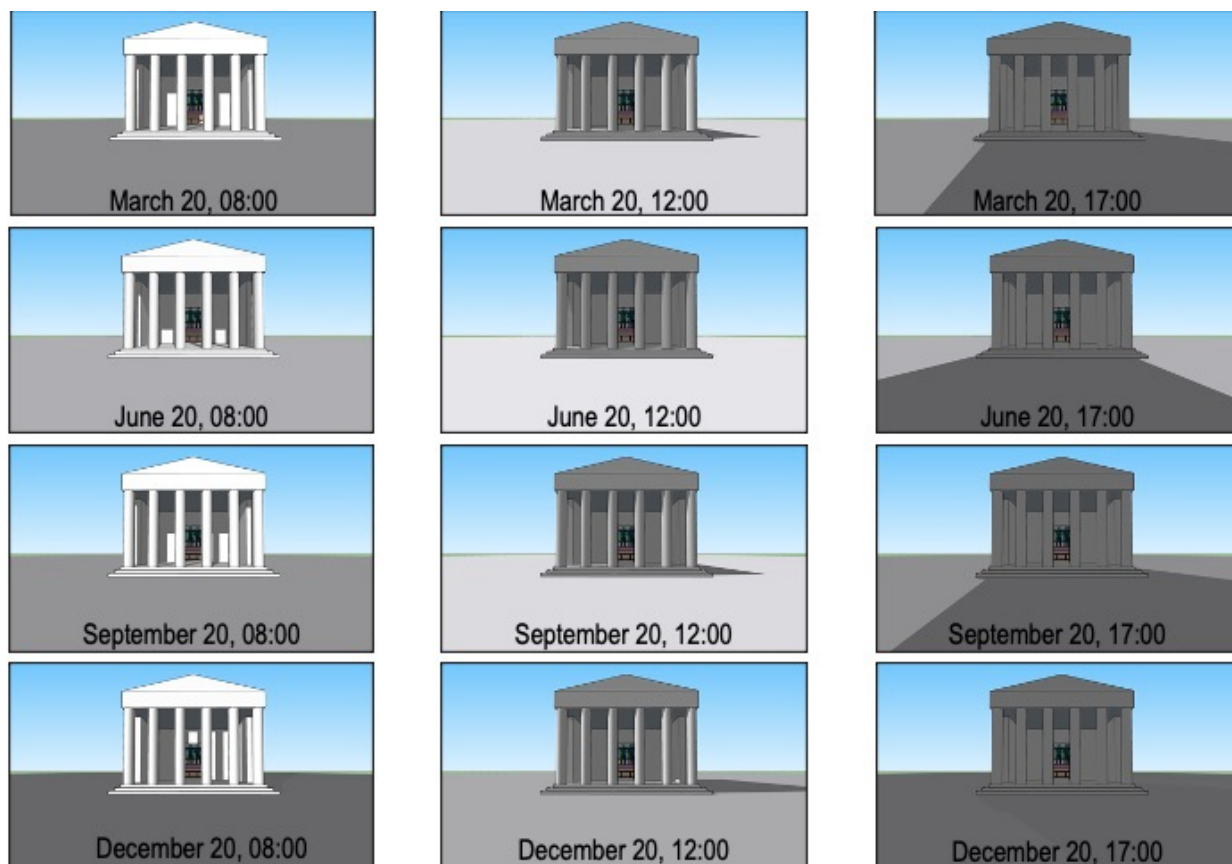


Fig. 5.11: Sunlight study of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 5.12: Sunlight striking the cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 5.13: Sunlight striking the cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura, views from the cella threshold with a temple door 5.30 m high (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

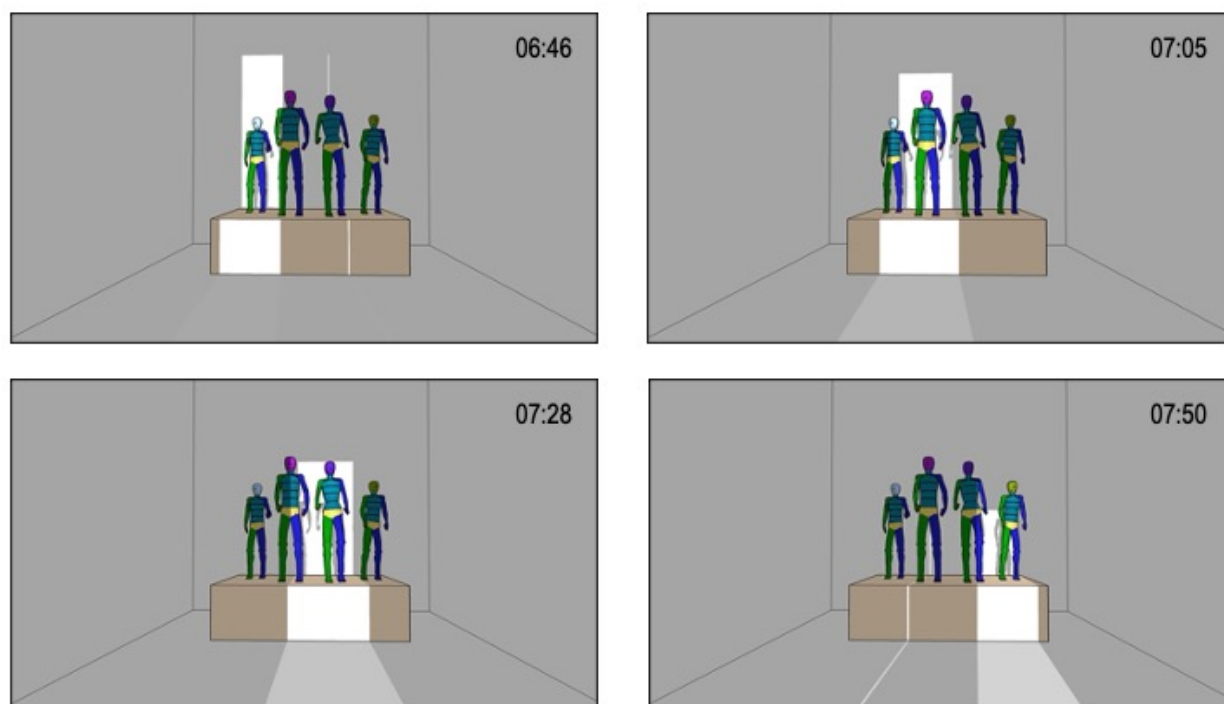


Fig. 5.14: Sunlight study of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, on October 13, views from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

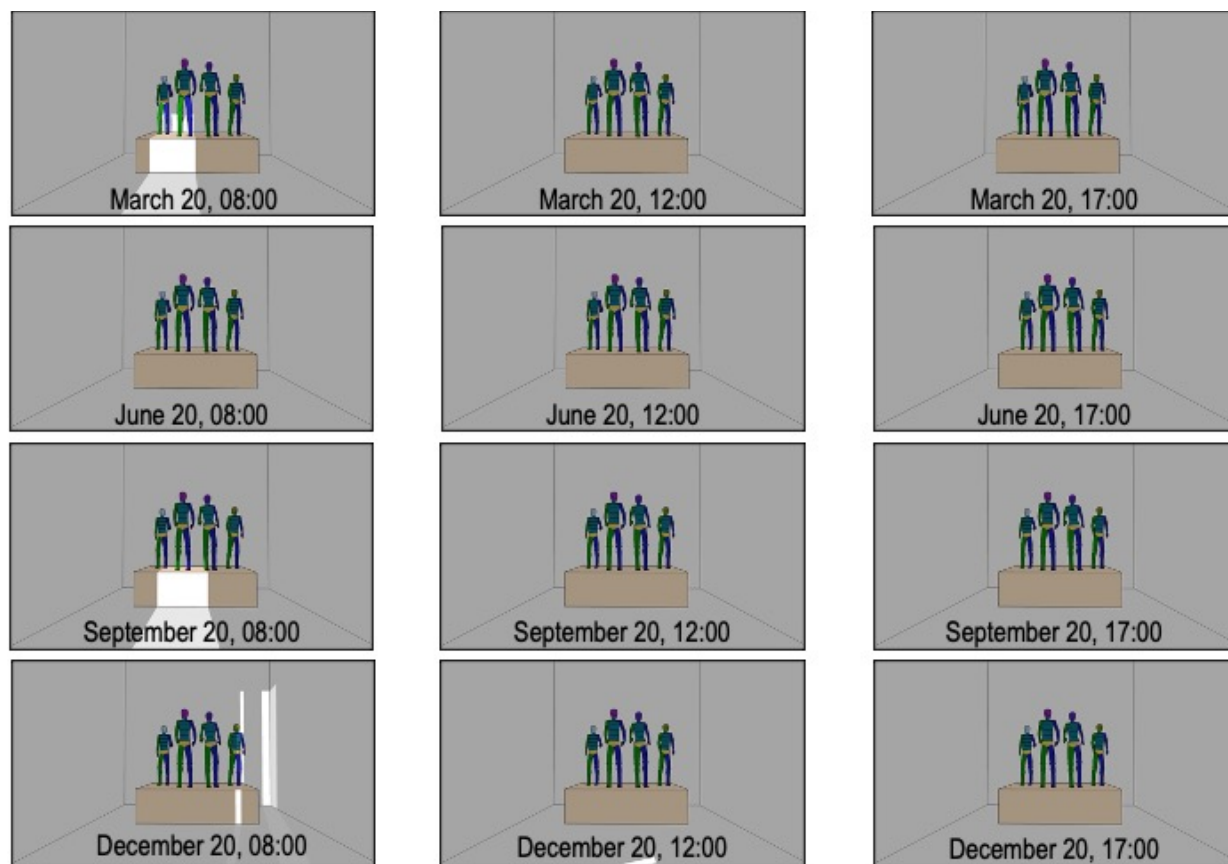


Fig. 5.15: Sunlight study of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

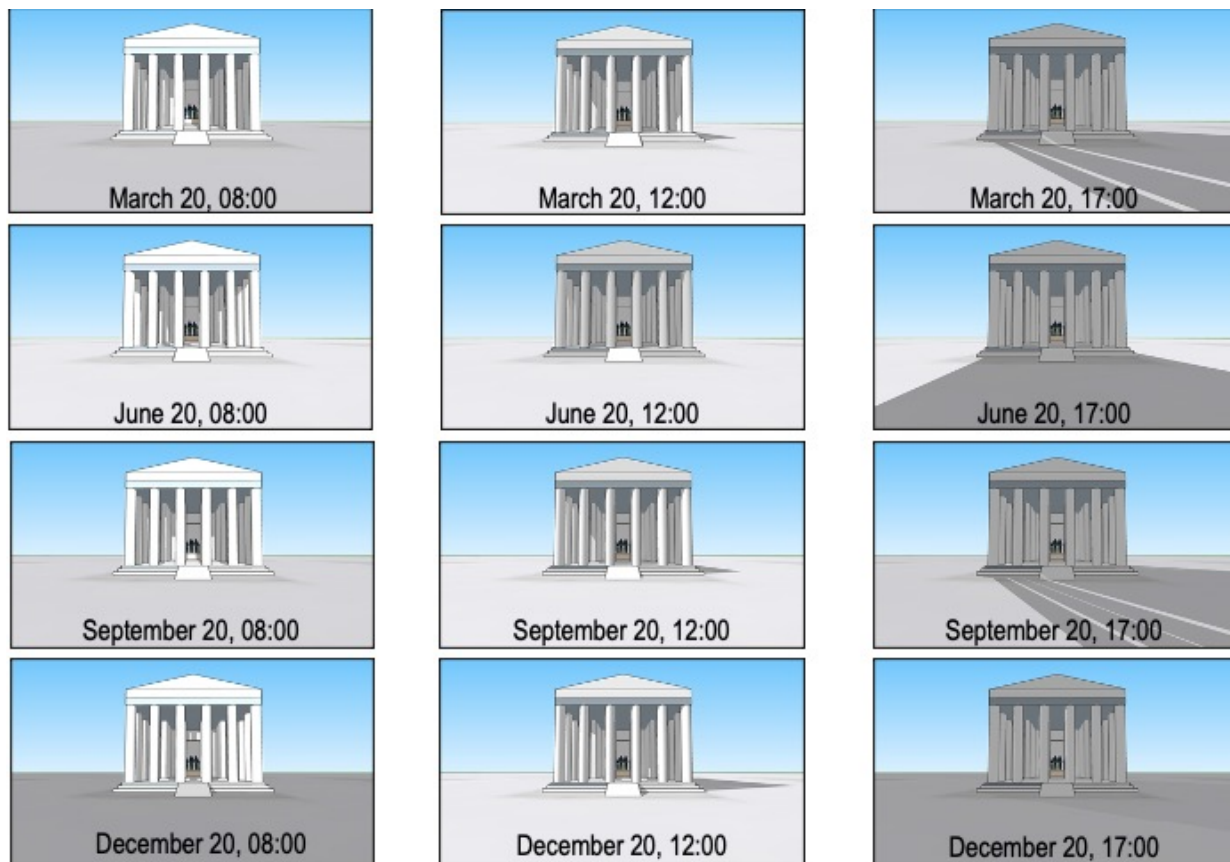


Fig. 5.16: Sunlight study of the Temple of Asklepios, Messene, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

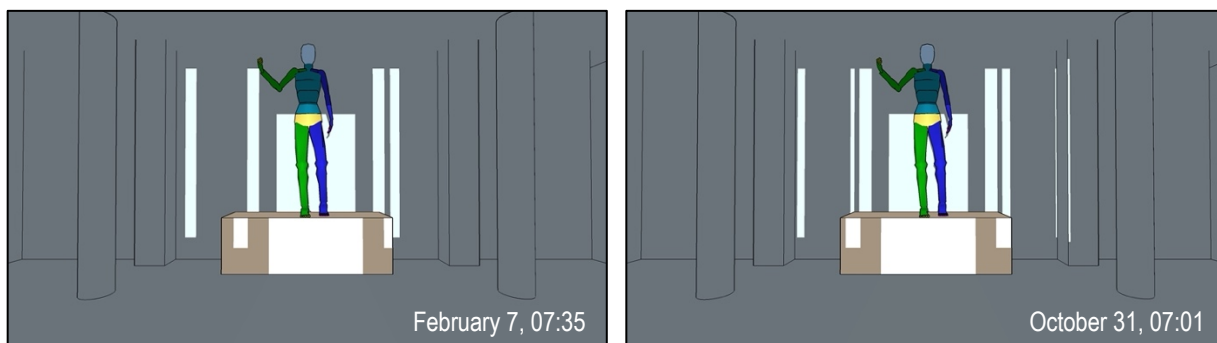


Fig. 5.17: Sunlight striking the cult statue of the Artemision, Messene, views from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt



Fig. 5.18: Sunlight study of the Artemision, Messene, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

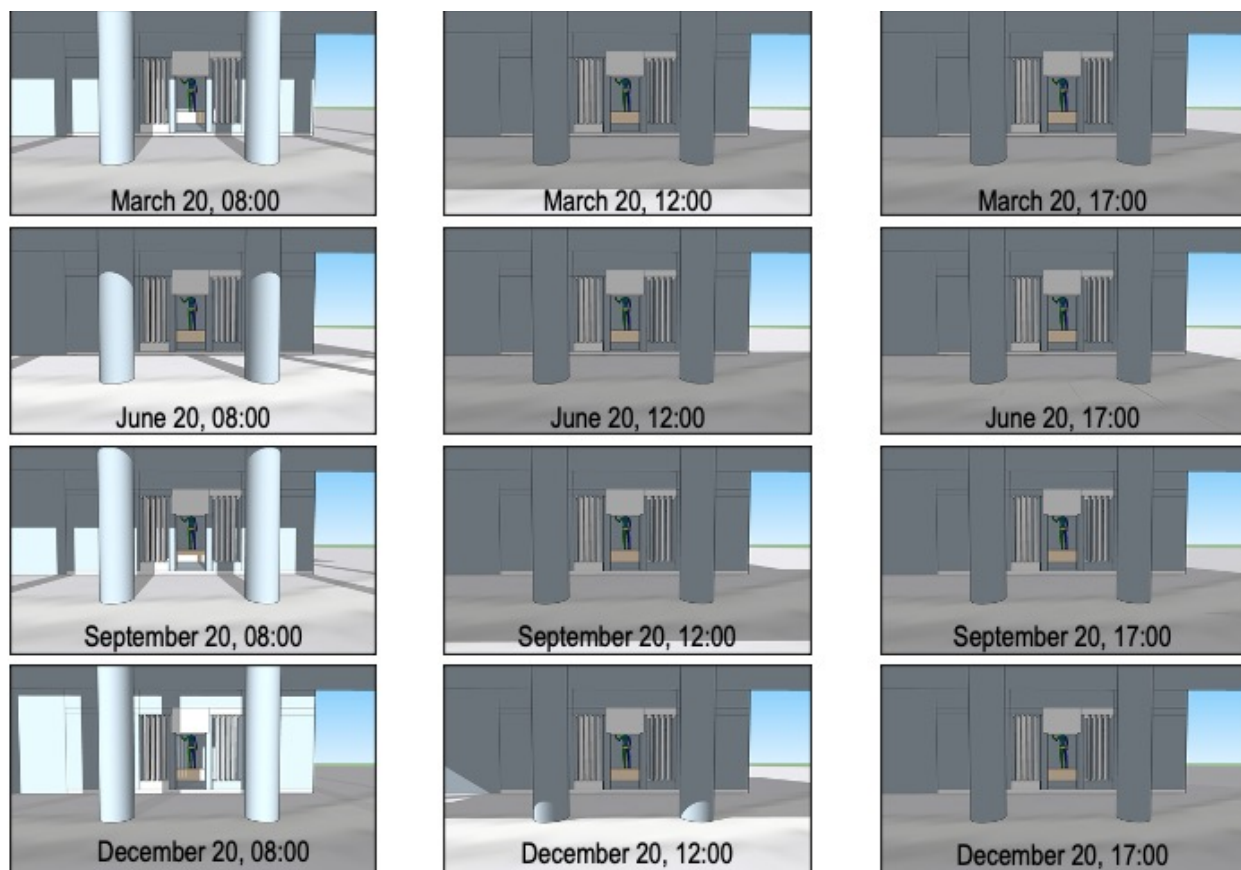


Fig. 5.19: Sunlight study of the Artemision, Messene, views of the sanctuary exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

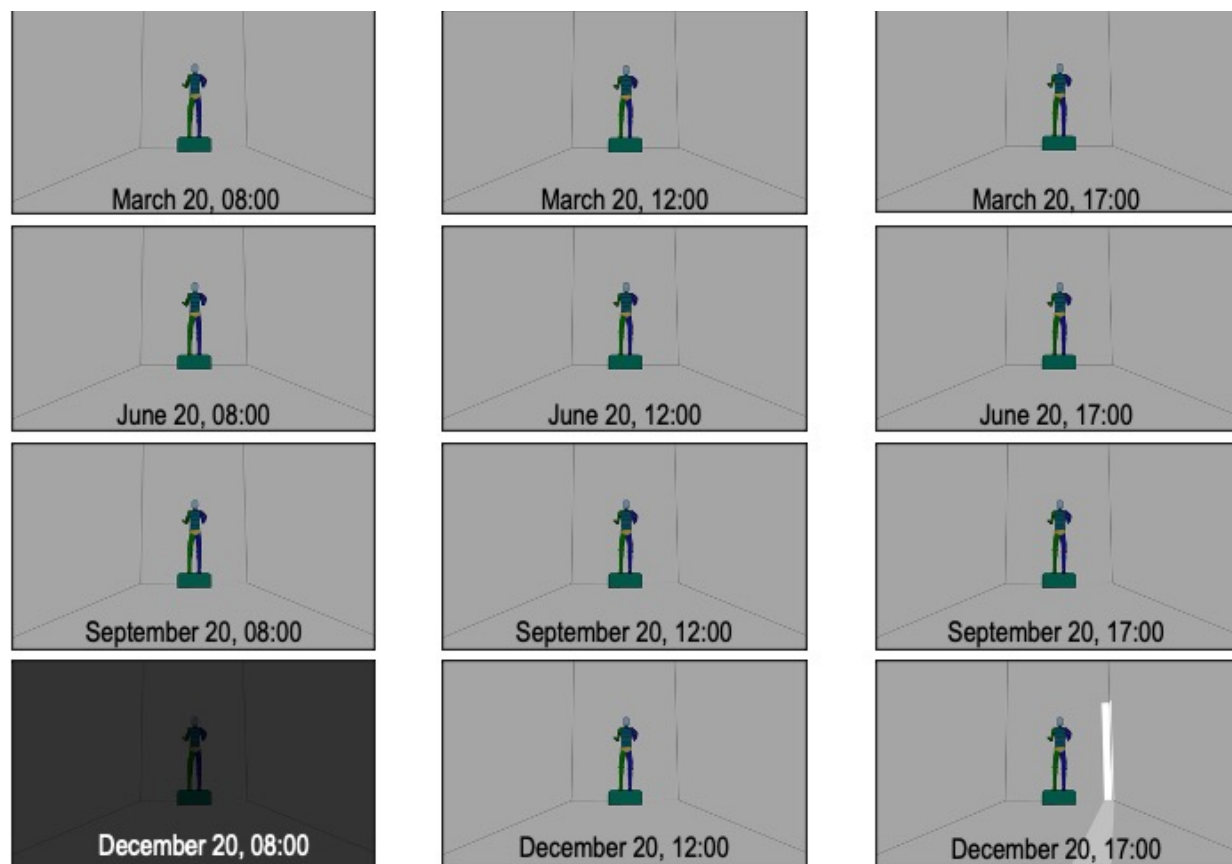


Fig. 5.20: Sunlight study of the Smintheion, Chryse, views of the cella from the threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

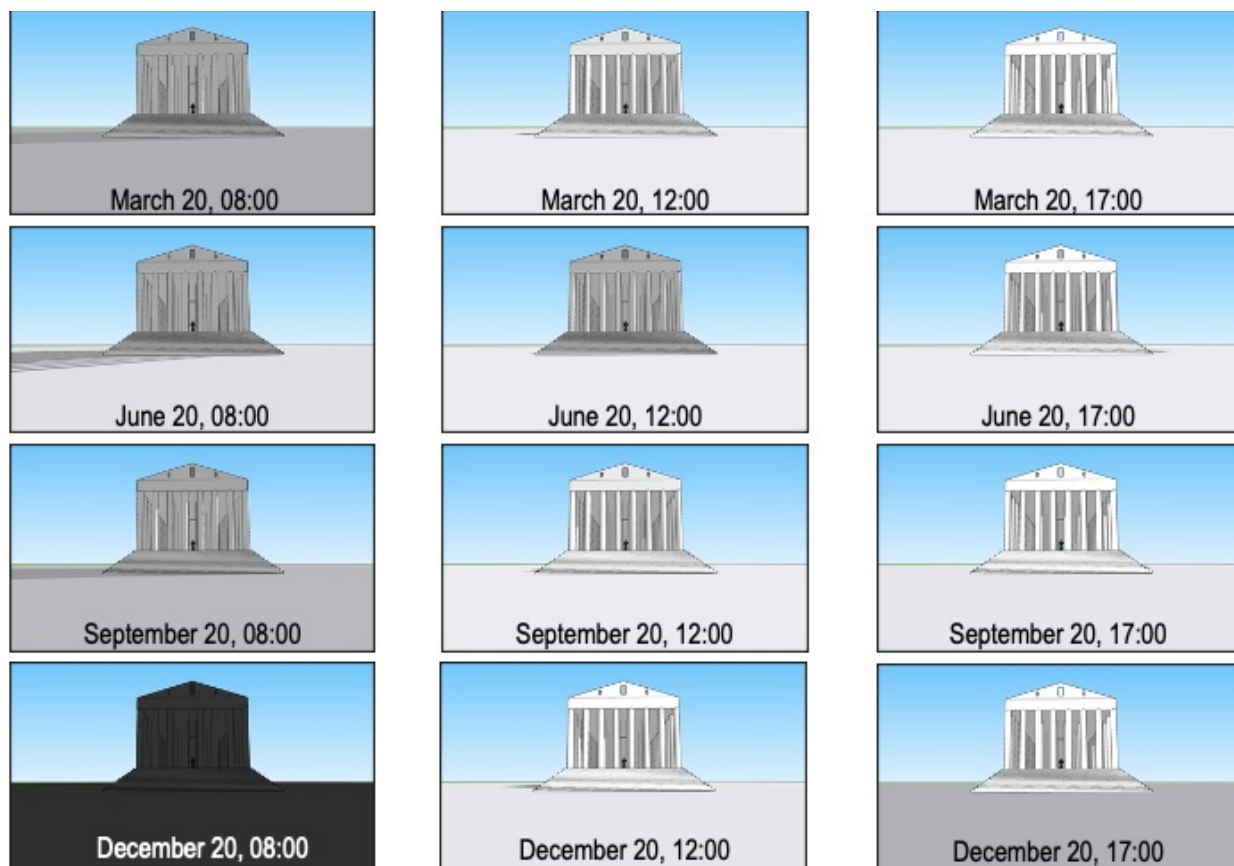


Fig. 5.21: Sunlight study of the Smintheion, Chryse, views of the temple exterior (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

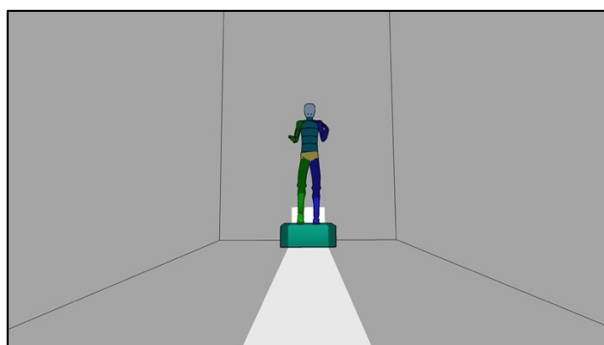


Fig. 5.22: Sunlight striking the edge of the cult statue of the Smintheion, Chryse, on December 20, 15:30, view from the cella threshold (60° field of view). Model: A. Eckhardt

Catalog

The following catalog documents the cult statues and temples constructed or renovated in the second century BCE. The second century as defined from 200–100 BCE is not a strict delimitation for this study. Monuments dating within a few years of either end of this range are also included as they belong to the same period of sociopolitical change outlined in this dissertation. The catalog consists of two sections, the first for cult statues, identified with catalog numbers that begin with **S**. The second section lists temples, identified with catalog numbers that begin with **T**. Each section is organized alphabetically by site name.

The cult statues section includes all cult statues known to have been produced in the second century based on archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence. Each entry includes the statue's current location, associated temple, date, sculptor, material, physical dimensions, dimensions of its base, description, and bibliography, to the extent that these details are known. If the associated temple is listed elsewhere in the catalog, a reference to the corresponding entry is indicated. If the associated temple predates the cult statue and therefore is not included in the catalog, details regarding the building's date, type, overall dimensions, and cella dimensions are included, when known. The statues section culminates in a subsection that includes sculptural fragments that lack a clear provenience linking them to a specific temple. These fragments nonetheless share formal features with the other physical fragments in this catalog. They have been included here as probable second-century cult statues and identified as such.

The temples section includes all temples known to have been constructed or renovated in the second century based on archaeological, literary, and epigraphic evidence. Each entry includes the temple's date, deity to whom it was consecrated, architect, patron, material, building type, overall dimensions, cella dimensions, description, and bibliography, to the extent that these details are known. If a cult statue is associated with the temple, that information is also noted and keyed to the respective entry in the cult statues section.

All dimensions represent the largest preserved dimension, unless otherwise noted. The following abbreviations have been used throughout the catalog:

D = depth
Diam. = diameter
H = height
L = length
m = meter
W = width

Cult Statues

S1 Aigeira, Female Deity

Current Location: Lost (stolen)

Associated Temple: Perhaps Aigeira, Naiskos D

Temple Date: Mid-3rd century BCE

Temple Type: Ionic tetrastyle prostyle

Temple Dimensions: 9.70 x 17.70 m

Cella Dimensions: 8.29 x 11.96 m

Date: 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown, perhaps Eukleides of Athens

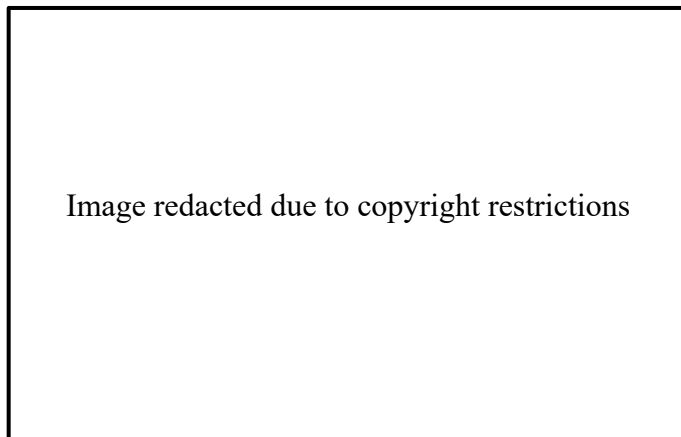
Material: Acrolith: white medium-grained marble

Dimensions: 0.28 W (face), 0.47 m H

Base Dimensions: 6.65 m L x 3.80 m D x 0.80 m H

Description: In 1987, two non-joining fragments of a female head were discovered in the northwest corner of the podium of Naiskos D at Aigeira. Constructed of white, medium-grained marble, the head is about twice lifesize and represents a young woman. The back of the head is hollowed out and the upper part of the hair, now missing, was attached separately. A pinhole in the center of the top of the head indicates where the missing piece was attached, but it is unclear if the additions were in stucco or marble. The face sustained damage to the chin area, mouth, nose, and forehead. The oval face features a triangular forehead formed by the parted hair. The figure's almond-shaped eyes are framed by sharp-edged lids. The small, full mouth is slightly open. The earlobes are pierced. Long, doughy strands of hair form even waves pulled back from the face; a ribbon encircles the middle of the hair. The hair's central part is slightly offset to the right, emphasizing the asymmetry of the facial features, in which the features of the left side of the face generally are lower than those of the right. The flesh has been finely smoothed. It is not certain if this female figure was constructed simultaneously with the male deity of Aigeira (**Cat. S2**) and thus the two stood together within this temple, or if it belonged to another temple. The two fragments were stolen shortly after excavation and have yet to be recovered.

Select Bibliography: Trummer 1993, 148–152, pl. 69; Ridgway 2000, 240; Giustozzi 2001, 29–30, figs. 38–39.



Female deity, Aigeira, two non-joining fragments of the head. Photos: R. Goth, in Trummer 1993, pl. 69

S2 Aigeira, Male Deity

Current Location: Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 3377 (head), 3481 (left arm), 3481α (finger)

Associated Temple: Aigeira, Naiskos D

Temple Date: Mid-3rd century BCE

Temple Type: Ionic tetrastyle prostyle

Temple Dimensions: 9.70 x 17.70 m

Cella Dimensions: 8.29 x 11.96 m

Date: c. 150–100 BCE

Sculptor: Eukleides of Athens

Material: Acrolith: Pentelic marble

Dimensions: Head: 0.48 m W x 0.46 m D x 0.87 m H

Arm: 1.26 m L x 0.25 m W (at break at top of bicep)

Finger: 0.12 m L x 0.06 m W x 0.04 m D

Base Dimensions: 6.65 m L x 3.80 m D x 0.80 m H

Description: A colossal head, left arm, and finger of a male figure were discovered near the southern interior wall of Naiskos D. The head is missing its nose, hair on the left side of the beard, and the back of the head. Thick, wavy strands of hair spring up from the scalp. Holes within the hair indicate that additional locks, some in stucco, and perhaps a metal wreath were attached separately. The back of the head is hollowed out. The face features a furrowed brow and cavities for inlaid eyes. The full mouth is partly open to reveal a row of teeth. A thick mustache joins a full beard of curled locks, parted in the center. Deep drilling separates the locks of the beard. The flesh is finely smoothed. The left arm of the figure is preserved from the middle of the upper arm and bent at the elbow. The upper end of the arm has a rectangular hollow with a roughened edge for the insertion of a stone dowel, which was reinforced by an iron clamp. The bicep bulges, with veins visible on the muscle and forearm. Parts of the fingers are broken, but the hand grasps a cylinder, likely the remains of a shaft. An index or middle finger matches the scale, material, and design of the other two fragments and thus probably belongs to the right hand. The figure likely represents Zeus, but Dionysos has also been suggested as a possibility. Coins from Aigeira depict Zeus seated on a throne, a himation wrapped around his lower body and draped over his left shoulder, with his left arm raised holding a scepter and his right extended holding a figure of Nike in his palm.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.26.4; Walter 1919a, 27, fig. 17; 1919b, figs. 1–6, pls. 1–2; 1932a, figs. 94–97; Hekler 1922–1924; Stewart 1979, 51–53, pls. 13–14a, 15b, d, f; 1990, 221, fig. 793; Alzinger, Gogos, and Thrummer 1986, 50–52; Madigan 1991, pls. 127–128; Smith 1991, 240, fig. 299; Trummer 1993, 141–148, pls. 64–68; Faulstich 1997, 94–100, 187–189, no. 3, figs. 8–10; Andreae 1998, 89, fig. p. 90; Damaskos 1999, 33–38; Ridgway 2000, 239–240; Kaltsas 2002, 282, no. 592.

A



Male deity, Aigeira, head. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 3377. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Male deity, Aigeira, left arm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 3481. Photo: A. Eckhardt

C



Male deity, Aigeira, finger. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 3481α. Photo: A. Eckhardt

S3 Aigeira, Tyche**Current Location:** Unknown**Associated Temple:** Aigeira, Tycheion (Cat. T3)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 0.80 m H

Description: Pausanias records that the Tycheion at Aigeira contained a statue of Tyche holding the horn of Amaltheia with a winged Eros at her side. Excavations in the Tycheion in 1987 brought to light fragments of this composition. Two fragments from the lower body of a draped female figure likely belonged to the figure of Tyche. The figure was slightly over-lifesize and wore a chiton and himation. A dowel hole above the left hip indicates that an additional element was pieced in here, perhaps a cornucopia, as reconstructed by the excavators. A fragment of a left leg, about lifesize, bearing the remains of a chlamys and traces of a boot may have belonged to the figure of Eros. Tyche and Eros appear together on the city's coinage, in which the goddess is depicted wearing a mural crown, holding a scepter in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. The figures stood on a pi-shaped cult statue base discovered against the back wall of the cella. The base spanned the entire width of the cella and stood 0.80 m high. Cuttings for the insertion of five statues still survive on the base, with three positioned on the base's long side and one on each of the short sides.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.26.8–9; Alzinger 1989, 144, figs. 5–6, pl. 54; 1990, 551, pl. 86.2; Damaskos 1999, 40–42.




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copyright restrictions

Tyche, Aigeira, front and back sides, with cornucopia added. Photo: R. Goth, in Alzinger 1990, pl. 86.2

S4 Aigion, Asklepios and Hygieia**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Aigion, Asklepieion*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Coins from Aigion minted in the late second century CE depict Asklepios and Hygieia together, perhaps representing the cult statue group of the Asklepieion. In these compositions, Asklepios wears a himation around his lower body and draped over his left shoulder and sits upon a throne facing left toward Hygieia. In his raised right hand, the god grasps a scepter. Hygieia wears a chiton and himation and stands facing Asklepios holding a phiale in her right hand and possibly a torch in her left. Pausanias records that an inscription on the statue base identified Damophon as the sculptor of the cult group.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.23.7; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, 400; Kroll 1996, 59–60, 71, no. 35, pl. 17; Damaskos 1999, 56; Donderer 2007, 32–33; Melfi 2016, 88.

Image redacted due
to copyright
restrictions

Reverse of a bronze assarion from Aigion depicting Asklepios and Hygieia, 177–180 CE. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Source: Kroll 1996, pl. 17.35

S5 Aigion, Eileithyia**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Aigion, Temple of Eileithyia*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Perhaps distyle in antis*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Acrolith: Pentelic marble, wood, textile**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: According to Pausanias, the cult statue of Eileithyia was acrolithic, with face, hands, and feet of Pentelic marble and finely woven drapery covering the entire statue. The goddess stood with one hand stretched out straight and the other raising a torch. Pausanias names Damophon as the statue's sculptor. Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial coins from Aigion depict the goddess, perhaps in the form of her cult statue. On the late Hellenistic coins, she stands looking left and wears a bearskin over a long chiton. Her hair is gathered into a knot at the top of her head. She holds a torch in her right hand.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.23.5–6; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, 400–401; Kroll 1996, 65, no. 4, pl. 15; Damaskos 1999, 55–56.




Image redacted
due to copyright
restrictions

Reverse of a bronze trichalkon from Aigion depicting Eileithyia, c. 31 BCE. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Source: Kroll 1996, pl.15.4.1

S6 Argos, Apollo Lykeios**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Argos, Temple of Apollo*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Attalos, son of Lachares, of Athens**Material:** Unknown, perhaps marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Pausanias lauds the Sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios as the most famous building in Argos. According to the periegete, the original temple and its wooden cult statue were offerings of Danaos, but the modern cult image was by the Athenian sculptor Attalos. Presumably the statue by Attalos was either marble or acrolithic, like his cult statues of Asklepios and Hygieia at Pheneos.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 2.19.3; Ridgway 2000, 235.

S7 Argos, Asklepios and Hygieia

Current Location: Lost

Associated Temple: Argos, Asklepieion

Temple Date: Unknown

Temple Type: Unknown

Temple Dimensions: Unknown

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Date: Late 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Xenophilos Stratonos and Straton Xenophilou of Argos

Material: White marble

Dimensions: Unknown

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Pausanias records that the Asklepieion at Argos contained a figure of Asklepios seated in a throne with Hygieia standing beside him. The statues were of white marble. Seated images of Xenophilos and Straton, the sculptors responsible for the cult group, were also found inside the sanctuary. The sculptors were a father-son team from Argos itself who worked in the late second century BCE, as attested by extant statue bases bearing their signatures.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 2.23.4; Damaskos 1999, 23–24.

S8 Bassai, Apollo

Current Location: London, British Museum Inv. 1815,1020.43, 1815,1020.45, 1815,1020.46, 1815,1020.47, 1815,1020.48, 1815,1020.49, 1815,1020.50, 1815,1020.133 (left hand); BM 1815,1020.44 (right hand); 1815,1020.51 (left foot); 1815,1020.42 (right foot)

Associated Temple: Bassai, Temple of Apollo

Temple Date: c. 429–400 BCE

Temple Type: Doric peripteral

Temple Dimensions: 14.55 x 38.33 m (stylobate)

Cella Dimensions: 6.81 m W

Date: Perhaps 150–100 BCE or Augustan period

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: Acrolith: Parian marble

Dimensions: Left hand: 0.135 m W x 0.163 m L

Right hand: 0.074 m W x 0.087 m L

Left foot: 0.069 m W x 0.104 m L

Right foot: 0.140 m W x 0.178 m L

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Numerous fragments of Parian marble found within the cella of the Temple of Apollo at Bassai belong to an over-lifesize male figure. The fragments join to form the figure's hands and feet. Best preserved is the left hand, which is intact from the wrist to the knuckles. An unknown object was loosely held in the palm on this raised hand. The right hand is less well preserved with several fingers broken into smaller fragments and the hand itself split in two. This hand also appears to have tightly held an object, but one smaller than in the left hand. One fragment survives from each of the feet. The right foot is nearly intact from the toes to about halfway up the instep. The right side and part of the instep of the left foot survive from the large toe to the ankle. The sandals had two-layered soles, a sharp indentation inside the large toe, a strap just behind the toes, and a twisted thong inside the large toe that joined two straps encircling the ankle. The fragments reveal that the statue was a seated male figure in a sleeved, long garment, approximately 1.5 times lifesize. The feet, shod in sandals, were slightly askew. The figure likely represented Apollo Kitharoidos in a peplos and sleeved jacket, holding a kithara or lyre in his left hand and perhaps a plectrum in his right. This statue, dated to either the second century BCE or the Augustan period, may have replaced an earlier Archaic cult statue.

Select Bibliography: von Stackelberg 1826, 98, pl. 31; Morrow 1985, 96–97, fig. 78; Madigan 1992, 121, nos. 318–325, 327, pls. 66–67; 1993; Faulstich 1997, 128–135, 191–193, no. 6; Ridgway 2000, 240.

A



Apollo, Bassai, left hand. London, British Museum Inv. 1815,1020.45.
Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

B



Apollo, Bassai, right hand. London, British Museum Inv. 1815,1020.44.
Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

C



Apollo, Bassai, left foot. London, British Museum Inv. 1815,1020.51.
Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

D



Apollo, Bassai, right foot. London, British Museum Inv.
1815,1020.42. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

S9 Chryse, Apollo Smintheus**Current Location:** Gülpınar, Smintheion Archaeological Museum**Associated Temple:** Chryse, Temple of Apollo Smintheus (**Cat. T8**)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Perhaps Skopas**Material:** Marble, likely Prokonnesian**Dimensions:** 0.43 m W (at top), 1.10 m H

Entire figure: c. 5.13 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Strabo records that the Smintheion at Chryse contained a statue of Apollo with a mouse beneath its foot, attributed to Skopas. The only fragment of the statue to survive is the lower thigh and upper calf of a male figure, discovered in 1980. The fragment is of white marble, perhaps Prokonnesian. No evidence of drapery appears on the extant piece, but the front is heavily damaged, and the entire knee is missing. The back of the thigh is worked flat forming a ledge. A large, rectangular, roughly worked cutting is found on the back of the calf; it contains two large dowel holes. Another cutting is located at the bottom of the calf, on the proper left side. On coins from nearby Hamaxitos and Alexandria Troas, Apollo is depicted standing alone, draped in a himation, holding out a phiale in his right hand and clutching a bow in his left, likely representing the Smintheion cult statue. Only one coin, an issue from Alexandria Troas from c. 300 BCE, includes a mouse scampering in front of the god. In the numismatic depictions, the god's right leg is bent as he strides forward; the extant fragment seems to correspond with this bent leg and thus likely represents the figure's right leg. The fragment plausibly dates to the second century BCE, coinciding with the temple's construction, but may have been modeled on an earlier statue, as depicted on the coins.

Select Bibliography: Strabo 13.1.4; de Witte 1858, 27–28; Grace 1932; Wroth 1964, xvi–xviii; Bellinger 1979, 81; Özgünel 2001, 26; 2015b, 61–62; Meadows 2004, 57; Kiernan 2014, 604; Çizmeli Öğün 2015, 95–97.

A



Reverse of a bronze coin of Alexandria Troas depicting Apollo Smintheus, 118–65 BCE. London, British Museum Inv. RPK p107A.1. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

B



Reverse of a bronze coin of Alexandria Troas depicting the Temple of Apollo Smintheus, 189–192 CE. American Numismatic Society Inv. ANS 1944.100.43693. Photo: American Numismatic Society, accessed June 26, 2021, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.43693>

C



Front

D



Back

E



Proper right

Apollo Smintheus Chryse, leg fragment. Gülpınar, Smintheion Archaeological Museum. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S10 Delos, Agathe Tyche**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Delos, Temple of Agathe Tyche (**Cat. T17**)**Date:** Before 166 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Marble, gilded wood, gilded bronze**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** No physical remains of the cult statue of Agathe Tyche have been found, but the Delian temple inventories record its appearance. The statue was made of marble and held a gilded cornucopia in its left hand and a scepter of wood in its right. A gilded bronze wreath encircled its head.**Select Bibliography:** *ID* 1403, face Bb, column II, lines 10–12; 1442, face B, lines 35–36; Plassart 1928, 226–228; Damaskos 1999, 85–87; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 283.

S11 Delos, Aphrodite**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Delos, Temple of Aphrodite (Cat. T18)**Date:** c. 304 BCE (original construction); 110–109 BCE (restoration)**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Stesileos (original construction); Dionysios Nikonos Palleneus (restoration)**Material:** Marble, gilded wood**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 0.84 m W x 0.84 m D x 0.20 m H

Description: Stesileos funded the erection of a temple and cult statue to Aphrodite near the southeastern corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo on Delos around 304 BCE. In 110/09 BCE, Dionysios Nikonos Palleneus restored both the temple and cult image. According to the temple inventories, the cult statue was constructed of marble, wore gold earrings, and held a phiale of gilded wood in her right hand. Two marble slabs that formed the cult statue base survive in situ within the temple's cella. The fragments are 0.20 m high and form a square base 0.84 x 0.84 m. The base was positioned directly in front of the cella's rear wall, about 1.00 m from each of the side walls. Based on the size of the statue base, the cult image was not more than lifesize.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 290, line 151; 1417, face A, column II; 1810; 1811; *IG* XI.2 144, face B, line 5; Vallois 1944, 100–101; Damaskos 1999, 84–85; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 261.

S12 Delos, Apollo**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Delos, Temple of Apollo (**Cat. T19**)**Date:** c. 110–109 BCE**Sculptor:** Menandros, son of Melas, of Athens**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 4.90 W x 1.10 m D x 0.55 m H

Description: Nothing of the cult statue survives in the small Temple of Apollo near the theater on Delos, but its base remains in situ within the cella. The cult statue base was constructed of two materials, with gray marble in the front and gneiss in the back. The base occupied the entire width of the cella. A dedicatory inscription survives on the base, which names Menandros as the sculptor. Menandros also made the Poseidon (**Cat. S17**) and the Roma (**Cat. S18**) cult statues in the House of the Poseidoniasts (**Cat. T13**) on Delos. A simple pebble mosaic decorated the floor before the cult statue base.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2342; Vallois 1944, 101; Bruneau 1970, 164–165; Damaskos 1999, 88–89; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299; Donderer 2007, 33.

S13 Delos, Atargatis**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods (**Cat. T15**)**Date:** c. 118–117 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The cult image of Atargatis may have stood within the great naos on the south side of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods. Neither the base nor any fragments of the statue survive. An inscription from the year 118/7 BCE, however, documents the foundation of a naos and cult image to the goddess. Another inscription from the end of the second century BCE identifies Demetrios of Antiocheia as the patron of cult images and a naos to both Atargatis and Hadad.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2227, 2256; Will and Schmid 1985, 147–148; Damaskos 1999, 102.

S14 Delos, Female Deity**Current Location:** Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 6577**Associated Temple:** Delos, Bastion Sanctuary (**Cat. T12**)**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** c. 0.58 m W x 0.35 m D x 0.56 m H**Base Dimensions:** 4.45 m W x 1.30 m D x 0.56 m H; 2.05 m reconstructed H

Description: During excavations of the Bastion Sanctuary, part of a female draped statue was found. Excavators fit the fragment to the plinth cutting (1.17 m L x 0.40 m W x 0.069 m D) in the blue marble cult statue base and thus identified it as belonging to the temple's cult statue. The extant statue has been restored from multiple fragments. The figure wears a himation and chiton, belted beneath the breasts. The drapery around the breasts is marked by light folds, with deeper folds visible below the belt. A strap for a quiver runs across the figure's chest, between the breasts. A large dowel hole and join are located next to the left breast. The head was set into a large, shallow, recessed bowl at the neck, picked at the bottom. The stone is heavily weathered throughout. Interpretations of the figure's identity include Artemis Soteira, Aphrodite, and Hygieia. Jockey reconstructs the figure as Hygieia, holding a phiale in her left hand and a snake winding around her right arm and shoulder. He proposes that the female figure formed part of a cult statue pair with Asklepios; however, the statue base does not provide enough space for two over-lifesize statues. A group of Aphrodite and Eros has also been proposed.

Select Bibliography: *BCH* 1925, 466–468; Jockey 1993, 435–451, no. 1, figs. 1–7; Damaskos 1999, 105–106; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 245.

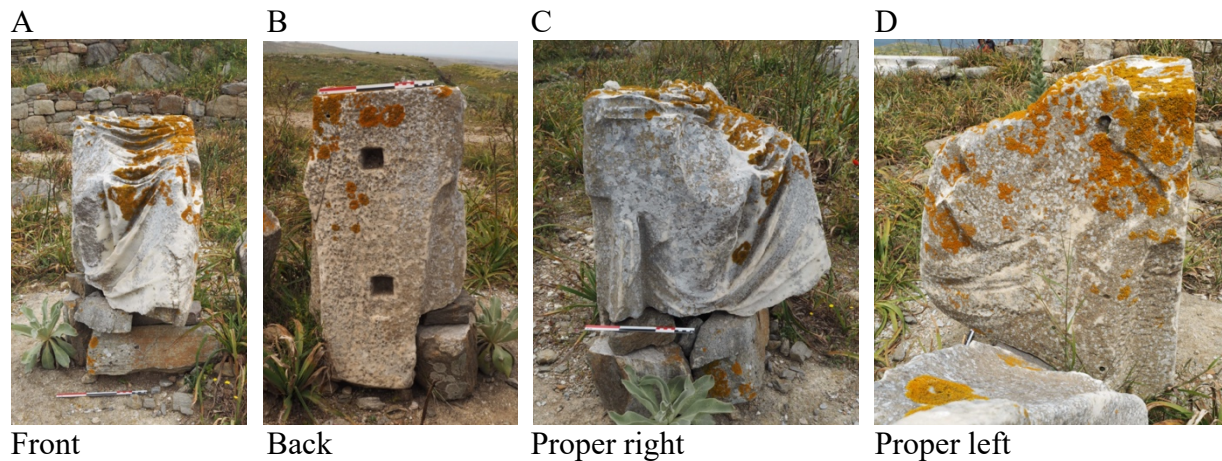


Female Deity, Bastion Sanctuary, Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 6577. Photo: A. Eckhardt

S15 Delos, Hadad**Current Location:** In situ, Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods Inv. A 1916**Associated Temple:** Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods (**Cat. T15**)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Gray marble**Dimensions:** 0.40 m W x 0.68 m D x 0.80 m H**Base Dimensions:** 2.57 m W x 1.05 m D x 1.16 m H

Description: The naos of Hadad within the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods on Delos is identified by an inscription within the mosaic decorating the room's floor. The cult statue base still stands against its rear wall. A gray marble fragment of the lower body of a seated male figure found in the sanctuary's courtyard has been identified as belonging to the cult statue of Hadad. The preserved fragment is nearly complete but for breaks in the right knee and along the lower edge. A long garment covers the figure's legs, falling in concentric catenary folds between the two legs. The left leg extends forward and slightly to the right; the right leg is set slightly back. Both feet, now missing, were attached separately. The figure has a thin waist and slim legs. The entire statue was pieced together from several parts. A worked bedding surface is visible on the top of the fragment. The back of the figure is cut straight with two large, square dowel holes for the attachment of the throne back. Remains of the throne are also visible on the figure's proper right side. The complete statue represented the god seated on a throne, perhaps similar in composition to images of enthroned Zeus. The extant fragment today sits within the sanctuary's courtyard.

Select Bibliography: Marcadé 1969, 382–383, pl. 70; Will and Schmid 1985, 148–149, pl. 36; Damaskos 1999, 102–104, figs. 5–6; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 274.



Hadad, Delos. Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods Inv. A 1916. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S16 Delos, Isis**Current Location:** In situ, Delos, Temple of Isis**Associated Temple:** Delos, Temple of Isis (Cat. T22)**Date:** Before 135 BCE**Sculptor:** Menandros, son of Melas, of Athens**Patron:** Athenian demos**Material:** White, medium-grained marble**Dimensions:** 0.68 m W x 0.39 m D x 2.01 m H

Entire figure: c. 2.50 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 4.00 m W x 2.20 m D x 0.50 m H

Description: The cult statue base of the Temple of Isis is positioned against the rear cella wall and fills its entire width. A large fragment of the temple's cult statue was discovered in front of the base; it was immediately returned to its base where it still stands today. Much of the statue is preserved, missing only the upper part of the chest, head, arms, and feet. Dowel holes indicate that the upper body, arms, and left foot were pieced onto the surviving fragment; the right foot has broken off. The figure is heavily draped in a chiton and himation with a beaded hem. The narrow upper body turns to the left, with the folds of the himation running in the same direction. The lower body turns sharply to the right, creating an S-curve. The figure's right leg is relaxed; the left leg is raised, with the knee and calf visible through the drapery. The drapery is rendered with deep, rigid folds. The back of the statue is only roughly worked. Severe weathering mars the statue's surface throughout. Delian statuettes of Isis often depict the goddess holding a cornucopia in her left hand; the position of the figure's left arm allows for this motif as a possible reconstruction. The statue base preserves its dedicatory inscription, which names Menandros as sculptor and the Athenian demos as patron.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2044; Marcadé 1969, 280–286, 429–430, pl. 57; 1996, 80–81, no. 30; Damaskos 1999, 99–101; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 278.

A



Front

B



Proper left

C



Proper right

Delos, Isis. Delos, Temple of Isis. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S17 Delos, Poseidon

Current Location: Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 4248 (male torso), A 6091 α (horse leg), A 6091 β (horse leg), A 6214 (fishtail), A 6215 (fishtail)

Associated Temple: Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts (**Cat. T13**)

Date: Late 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Menandros, son of Melas, of Athens

Patron: Poseidoniasts of Berytos

Material: White marble

Dimensions: Male torso: 0.46 m W (at waist) x 0.37 m D (at waist) x 0.63 m H

Horse leg (A 6091 α): 0.09 m W x 0.40 m L

Horse leg (A 6091 β): 0.11 m W x 0.34 m L

Fishtail (A 6215): 0.23 m W x 0.13 m L x 0.10 m D

Base Dimensions: 3.70 m W

Description: Room V2 of the House of the Poseidoniasts contained a cult statue of Poseidon, the base for which still stands at the rear of the room and spanned its entire width. The base's inscription names Menandros as the sculptor. Several marble fragments have been associated with this cult statue. A nude, muscular male torso of white marble may belong to the figure of Poseidon. The fragment is broken at the neck, waist, and both shoulders. It shows no signs of piecing or joins. Additional pieces include two horse legs and two fishtails. One fishtail (A 6215) is of white marble and shows extensive weathering. The fins are asymmetrical, such that the left is shorter and wider than the right. The other fishtail (A 6214) could not be located within the museum storerooms. Both horse legs are of gray marble and show evidence of rasping throughout. The fragments include the horse's hooves and cannons. Fragment A 6091 β is at a larger scale than A 6091 α . Marcadé proposes a reconstruction of the statue as Poseidon within a chariot pulled by hippocampi, a depiction of the god also found on Berytian coins of the second century BCE. The differences in scale, marble, and style of the horse legs, however, makes their association with the male torso suspect; they may represent a later addition or belong to a different statue.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2325; Marcadé 1969, 387; Kreeb 1988, 106; Stewart 1990, 58; Damaskos 1999, 93–94; Donderer 2007, 33–34.

A



Male torso, perhaps Poseidon, Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 4248. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Horse leg, Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 6091α. Photo: A. Eckhardt

C



Horse leg, Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 6091β. Photo: A. Eckhardt

D



Fishtail, Delos. Delos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 6215. Photo: A. Eckhardt

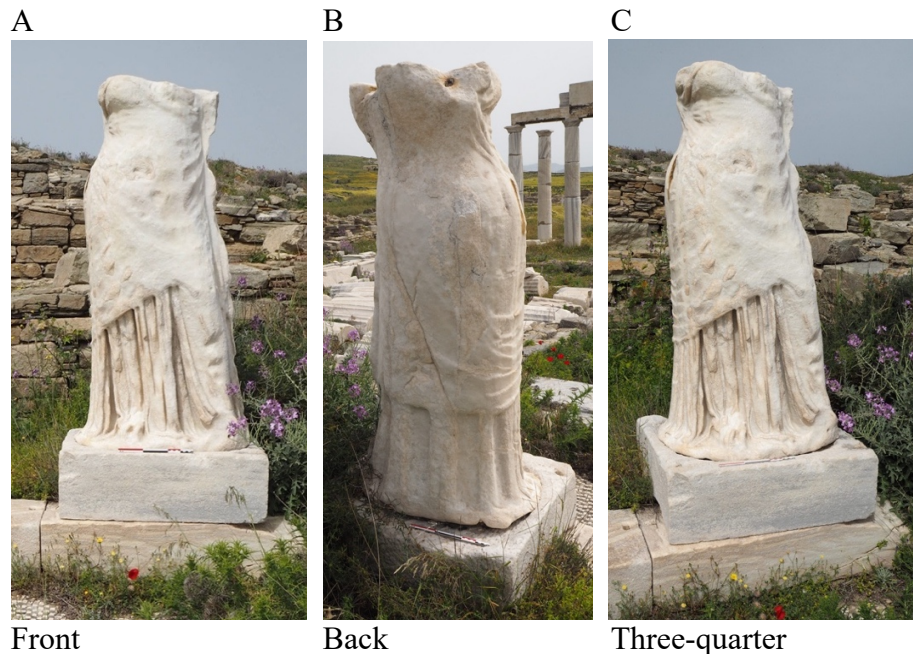
S18 Delos, Roma**Current Location:** In situ, Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts**Associated Temple:** Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts (**Cat. T13**)**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Menandros, son of Melas, of Athens**Patron:** Poseidoniasts of Berytos**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** 0.70 m W (at bottom) x 0.46 m D (at bottom) x 1.54 m H

Entire figure: c. 2.00 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 2.10 m W x 0.73 m D x 0.54 m H

Description: Room V1 of the House of the Poseidoniasts contained a cult statue of Roma, which still stands upon its marble base. The base is positioned against the rear wall of the room and spans its entire width. A checkerboard mosaic decorated the floor before the base. Menandros is identified as the sculptor by the preserved inscription on the statue base. Much of the white marble statue survives except the arms, left foot, and everything above the breast. The female figure wears a chiton and himation. The thin, almost transparent, himation wraps tightly around the body, contrasting with the heavy, vertical folds of the chiton. The narrow upper body leans to the left. The left leg steps forward, and the right hip is thrust out. Dowel holes reveal where the left foot and right arm were attached. The back of the statue is roughly worked. The surface throughout shows evidence of heavy weathering. The figure may have held a cornucopia in her left hand.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 1778; Picard 1921, 56–62, figs. 52–53; Marcadé 1969, 128–134, 280–289, 489–490, pl. 65; 1996, 78–79, no. 29; Kreeb 1988, 105; Stewart 1990, 58, 226; Damaskos 1999, 89–97, fig. 4; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 228; Donderer 2007, 33.



Roma, Delos. Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S19 Delos, Serapis, Isis, and Anubis (Temple F)**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Temple of Serapis (Cat. T23)**Date:** c. 180 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Bronze**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Nothing survives of the cult statue or its base in the Temple of Serapis (Temple F) within Serapieion C. The temple inventories, however, record that bronze statues of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis stood here. Based on the temple's size, they could not have been more than lifesize.**Select Bibliography:** *ID* 1417, face A, column II, lines 157–158; Bruneau 1980, 173–174; Damaskos 1999, 98–99.

S20 Delos, Serapis, Isis, and Anubis (Temple H)**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Delos, Temple H (Cat. T16)**Date:** c. 135–134 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Athenian demos**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 3.70 m W x 1.50 m D x 0.50 m H**Description:** Temple H in Serapieion C was consecrated to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis by the Athenian demos. Nothing of the cult statue group survives, but the base remains in position against the rear wall of the cella. The base occupied the entire width of the cella. Based on the size of the base, the three statues could not have been more than slightly larger than lifesize.**Select Bibliography:** Damaskos 1999, 99.

S21 Elateia, Asklepios**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Elateia, Temple of Asklepios*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** c. 150–125 BCE**Sculptor:** Timokles and Timarchides (II), sons of Polykles (II)**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Pausanias records that the cult statue of the Temple of Asklepios at Elateia was a bearded image of Asklepios by the Athenian sculptors Timokles and Timarchides. Neither the temple nor any physical remains of its cult statue have been found.**Select Bibliography:** Paus. 10.34.6; Queyrel 1991, 455, 457, nos. 23, 32; Despinis 1995, 349, 360, no. 6; Damaskos 1999, 12; Ridgway 2000, 242; Stewart 2012, 685–686.

S22 Elateia, Athena Kranaia

Current Location: Chaironeia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 151 (left arm), 152 (right arm), 155 (hair), 158 (drapery)

Lamia, Archaeological Museum (three drapery fragments)

Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 4817 (female head)

Associated Temple: Temple of Athena Kranaia

Temple Date: c. 500–475 BCE

Temple Type: Doric peripteral

Temple Dimensions: 11.05 x 26.80 m

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Date: c. 150–125 BCE

Sculptor: Timokles and Timarchides (II), sons of Polykles (II)

Material: Parian marble

Dimensions: Left arm: 0.257 m L (upper arm) x 0.183 m Diam. (upper arm); 0.262 m L (forearm) x 0.178 m Diam. (forearm)

Right arm: 0.145 m W x 0.230 m H

Hair: 0.196 m W x 0.100 m D x 0.230 m H

Drapery (Chaironeia): 0.200 m H

Drapery (Lamia): 0.225 m W x 0.130 m D x 0.405 m H

Drapery (Lamia): 0.130 m H

Drapery (Lamia): 0.175 m H

Female head: 0.120 m H; 0.200 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Pausanias reports that Timokles and Timarchides created the cult statue of Athena Kranaia at Elateia, which depicted the goddess armed and carrying a shield that replicated that of the Parthenos in Athens. During the nineteenth-century excavations of the sanctuary, numerous Parian marble fragments of a colossal, draped female figure were discovered and attributed to the cult statue. These fragments were eventually considered lost, but Despinis discovered some in the storerooms of the Chaironeia Archaeological Museum and found additional fragments at the site himself, which he gave to the Lamia Archaeological Museum. The fragments include the left and right arm, pieces of drapery, and a small female head, perhaps from the shield. The left arm is bent at the elbow, with a dowel hole in the middle of the forearm. Another upper arm fragment corresponds in marble, patination, and dimensions to the left arm and thus can likely be attributed to the statue's right arm. A deep dowel hole is visible at the break, with three additional dowel holes on the fragment's exterior surface. A fragment of drapery in the Chaironeia Museum preserves part of the apodygma of the peplos. The piece contains two dowel holes for iron dowels. The three fragments discovered by Despinis and now in the Lamia Museum preserve folds of the drapery, with the largest fragment attributable to the left side of the figure. A small, fragmentary female head of Parian marble in the National Museum in Athens may have come from the Gorgoneion on the shield. The head turns to the right and was worked in high relief. The reconstructed cult statue was probably twice lifesize. Athena wore a belted peplos with a long overhang that reached to her thighs. The upper and lower parts of the statue were made separately. Figures of Athena on Elateian coins of the second century BCE depict the goddess striding to the right, her left foot stretched forward, the right set back, holding a shield in her left hand and a lance in her right. This figure may have been based on the cult statue. The inscribed statue base was also found and is now in the Chaironeia Museum.

Select Bibliography: *IG* IX.1 141; *SEG* 45; Paus. 10.34.7–8; Paris 1892, 119–137; Queyrel 1991, 454, 457, nos. 19, 29; Despinis 1995, 339–349, pls. 70–72.1, 73–75.2, 76, 80, 81.1; Damaskos 1999, 12–14; Ridgway 2000, 242; Giustozzi 2001, 10; Donderer 2007, 34; Stewart 2012, 664–667, figs. 12, 17.

A



Athena Kraniaia, Elateia, left arm. Chaironeia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 151. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 73.2

B



Athena Kraniaia, Elateia, right arm. Chaironeia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 152. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 80.1–2

C



Athena Kraniaia, Elateia, hair. Chaironeia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 155. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 80.4

D

Image
redacted
due to
copyright
restrictions

Athena Kranaia, Elateia, drapery. Chaironeia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 158. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 81.1

E

Image redacted due to
copyright restrictions

Athena Kranaia, Elateia, drapery. Lamia, Archaeological Museum. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 70.1–2

F

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to copyright
restrictions

Athena Kranaia, Elateia, drapery. Lamia, Archaeological Museum. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 71.1

G

Image
redacted due
to copyright
restrictions

Athena Kranaia, Elateia, drapery. Lamia, Archaeological Museum. Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 71.2

H



Athena Kraniaia, Elateia, female head. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 4817.
Source: Despinis 1995, pl. 75.2

S23 Gortyn, Apollo Pythios**Current Location:** Heraklion, Archaeological Museum Inv. 35 (head), 326 (torso)**Associated Temple:** Gortyn, Temple of Apollo Pythios (**Cat. T24**)**Date:** c. 200–183 BCE (head), 2nd century CE (torso)**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble**Dimensions:** Head: 0.395 m H

Entire statue: c. 2.60 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: A marble head and torso were discovered in the pronaos of the Temple of Apollo Pythios at Gortyn and attributed to its cult statue. Flashar, however, has demonstrated that the two pieces were not originally intended for one another. The large, rounded tenon at the base of the neck of the head indicates that it belonged to an acrolithic statue; thus, it would have fit into a wooden support, not a marble body. A rectangular recess on the top of the head further indicates where a wooden mortise connected the head to a support. The round, over-lifesize head is missing its eyes, eyelashes, and nose. The eyes and eyelashes were inserted separately in another material. The small mouth is slightly open. The long, wavy hair is centrally parted and rolled around a fillet, with additional long strands hanging below the fillet down the neck. The back of the hair is only roughly worked, suggesting that the statue stood before the rear cella wall. The facial features on the left side of the face are wider than those on the right; the head thus titled forward and to the left. This left turn suggests that the figure held a kithara in its left hand. The male torso wears a long chiton secured with a wide belt. The left leg bends forward, the right leg is relaxed. The crisp drapery folds suggest a date in the mid-second century CE. As the two fragments were discovered near one another, the torso may have been a later replacement for the wooden body of the Hellenistic acrolith.

Select Bibliography: Halbherr 1889, 73; Savignoni, De Sanctis, and Paribeni 1907, 181–182; Flashar 1992a, 94–102, 208, figs. 61–65, 179; 1992b; Damaskos 1999, 121–124.

A



Apollo Pythios, Gortyn, head and torso.
Heraklion, Archaeological Museum Inv.
35 + 326. Source: Flashar 1992a, fig. 179

B



Apollo Pythios, Gortyn, head.
Heraklion, Archaeological Museum Inv. 35.
Photo: W. Klein, in Flashar 1992a, fig. 61

S24 Hestiaia, Artemis**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Hestiaia, Temple of Artemis Proseioa*Temple Date:* Late 2nd century BCE (rebuilding)*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* 10.80 x 21.00 m*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Hestiaia citizens**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: An inscription documents the rebuilding of the Temple of Artemis Proseioa at Hestiaia in the late second century BCE. A cult statue was constructed at the same time. Both projects were funded by some of the city's citizens at a cost of nearly 9,000 drachmas. The inscription contains no information about the cult statue nor have any remains been found.

Select Bibliography: *IG XII.9 1189*; Damaskos 1999, 73.

S25 Kalymnos, Asklepios

Current Location: Kalymnos, Archaeological Museum Inv. 3161 (snake), 3174 (left drapery), 3174θ (right foot), 3174κ (left leg), 3174λ (right leg), 3202 (upper left drapery)

Associated Temple: Kalymnos, Temple of Asklepios

Temple Date: Unknown

Temple Type: Unknown

Temple Dimensions: Unknown

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Date: 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: White marble

Dimensions: Unknown

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Fragments of a colossal marble statue of Asklepios were discovered in the Sanctuary of Apollo Dalios on Kalymnos. The torso was found in 1970 built into the early Christian basilica of Aghia Sophia near the sanctuary. The fragments include the head, torso, right arm, and part of the drapery of a standing male figure. Damage to the head is prominent on the upper right side, such that the right eye and nose are missing. The hair springs up from the forehead in thick, corkscrew curls separated by drilling. Small holes in the hair indicate that the figure once wore a metal wreath. The heavy beard is also formed of corkscrew curls but with less volume than the hair. The mouth is closed. The head is tilted to the left and slightly down. The nude torso dramatically curves with the right hip thrust out. The right arm is bent at the elbow, and the hand sits upon the right hip. The figure wears a himation wrapped around its waist and upper left arm, which leans upon a staff entwined with a snake. Drapery hanging from the left arm along the staff is extant. The snake coils at the figure's feet beneath the hanging drapery. Based on its size, material, and iconography, the figure likely represents the cult statue of Asklepios, whose temple has not been found.

Select Bibliography: Unpublished.

S26 Kalymnos, Dioskouroi**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Temple of the Dioskouroi (Cat. T26)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Nikodamos, son of Aratogenos**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** An inscription records the dedication of a temple and cult statue to the Dioskouroi by Nikodamos son of Aratogenos in the second century BCE. No physical remains of the temple or cult statue have been identified.**Select Bibliography:** Segre 1944–1945, 153, no. 117; Damaskos 1999, 106–107.

S27 Kameiros, Deity of the Western Agora Temple**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Kameiros, Western Agora Temple (Cat. T29)**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 1.01 m W x 1.41 m L x 0.30 m H**Description:** The marble cult statue base survives in the middle of the cella of the Western Agora Temple at Kameiros. The base is positioned 5.02 m from the cella's entrance, 2.60 m from the cella's rear wall, 2.80 m from its west wall, and 3.00 m from its east wall. The plinth cutting in the top of the base indicates that the cult image was marble and likely just slightly over-lifesize.**Select Bibliography:** Konstantinopoulos 1986, 174–176; Damaskos 1999, 120.

Cult statue base, Western Agora Temple, Kameiros, view from the southeast. Photo: courtesy P. Katz

S28 Klaros, Apollo Cult Group

Current Location: Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 2, S 6, S 9, S 25 (Apollo); S 7, S 8, S 28 (Artemis); S 1, S 3, S 10, S 27 (Leto)

Associated Temple: Klaros, Temple of Apollo (Cat. T31)

Date: End of the 3rd–beginning of the 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: White marble

Dimensions: Apollo left foot (S 2): 1.11 m D x 1.40 m H

Apollo right leg (S 6): 0.58 m W (at knee) x 1.02 m D x 1.24 m H

Apollo left leg (S 9): 1.00 m W x 1.39 m H

Apollo neck (S 25): 0.51 m W (at Adam's apple) x 0.85 m H

Artemis torso (S 7): 2.12 m H

Artemis left leg (S 8): 2.19 m H

Artemis right foot (S 28): 0.63 m W x 1.18 m H

Leto torso (S 1): 1.35 m W x 2.17 m H

Leto right leg (S 3): 1.99 m L (front), 1.96 m L (back), 0.76 m Diam. (front), 0.84 m Diam. (back)

Leto drapery fragment from torso (S 27): 1.87 m H

Entire group: 5.92 m H; c. 7.50–8.00 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: The Temple of Apollo at Klaros housed a marble cult statue group of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto that stood 7.50–8.00 m high. Fragments of all three figures survive on site. The neck, both legs, left foot, and pieces of the throne of the figure of Apollo are extant. Of Artemis, the torso, left leg, and right foot survive. The torso and right leg of the figure of Leto remain. The surviving fragments indicate that the statues were pieced together from multiple parts using dowels. Within the cella, the cult group stood against the rear wall, as revealed by a large, rectangular dowel hole on the back of Artemis's torso used to secure the statue. Casts of the surviving fragments have been erected on site to reconstruct the cult group at a 1:1 scale. The reconstruction is based off the fragments and coins minted in the Roman Imperial period that depict the group. On these coins, Apollo sits on a throne in the middle of the composition, wearing a himation and holding a kithara in his left hand and a laurel branch in his right. His right leg is thrust forward, his left leg drawn back. Artemis stands to the right of Apollo wearing a peplos and quiver, holding a torch in her right hand. She turns toward Apollo. Leto stands to Apollo's left, wearing a chiton and himation, her head covered in a veil. She also turns toward Apollo. Despite the figures' monumental size, the statues were well executed, perhaps best exemplified by the strong contrast in the rendering of Leto's two garments. Due to the expense incurred by such a commission, it is possible that funding assistance came from the Seleukids.

Select Bibliography: Holtzmann 1993, 801–804, fig. 2; Marcadé 1994, 1998; Bourbon and Marcadé 1995; Faulstich 1997, 137–162, 195–201, nos. 9–11; Damaskos 1999, 175–179; Flashar 1999; Ridgway 2000, 240–241; Hölscher 2004, 64–65.

A



Apollo cult group, Klaros, cast reconstruction. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Apollo, Klaros, left foot. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 2. Photo: A. Eckhardt

C



Apollo, Klaros, right leg. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 6. Photo: A. Eckhardt

D



Apollo, Klaros, left leg. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 9. Photo: A. Eckhardt

E



Apollo, Klaros, neck. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 25. Source: Faulstich 1997, fig. 12

F



Artemis, Klaros, torso. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 7. Photo: A. Eckhardt

G



Artemis, Klaros, left leg. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 8. Photo: A. Eckhardt

H



Artemis, Klaros, right foot. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 28. Photo: A. Eckhardt

I



Leto, Klaros, torso. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 1. Photo: A. Eckhardt

J



Leto, Klaros, right leg. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 3. Photo: A. Eckhardt

K



Leto, Klaros, drapery from right leg. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 10. Photo: A. Eckhardt

L



Leto, Klaros, drapery fragment from torso. Klaros, Sanctuary of Apollo Inv. S 27. Photo: A. Eckhardt

S29 Kleonai, Herakles**Current Location:** Kleonai, Sanctuary of Herakles, Inv. S 47 (torso)

Nemea, Archaeological Museum Inv. Kl 2000.001/1 (toe)

Associated Temple: Kleonai, Temple of Herakles (**Cat. T32**)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** Torso: 0.80 m W x 0.55 m D x 0.85 m H

Toe: 0.072 m W x 0.053 m D x 0.047 m H

Entire figure: c. 3.30 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 3.74 m W x 3.92 m D x 1.07–1.11 m H

Description: An over-lifesize nude male torso was discovered in the cella of the Temple of Herakles. This marble fragment likely came from the temple's cult statue. The muscular torso is damaged more on the left side than the right; the left breast is largely lost. The right pectoral muscle is well defined, U-shaped, and slanted toward the middle of the body. The torso leans forward and to the left. The back side is not worked. Although the arms are lost, neither shoulder is raised suggesting that neither arm was raised. The base of the neck indicates that both head and upper body leaned forward. Mattern found that the inclination of the torso best conformed to the "Sensitive Herakles" type, which was derived from a colossal statue created by Lysippos for Tarentum, known today through statuettes. In these figures, Herakles sits on a rock with his legs spread apart, holding his head with his right hand while his left hand loosely clutches his club as it dangles between his legs. A fragment of a toe from an over-lifesize temple found east of the temple may belong to the statue based on its size. The fragment preserves the top part of the toe, including part of the nail. The cult statue stood against the center of the cella's rear wall, on axis with the doorway. The statue base was constructed simultaneously with the temple, indicating that they both date to the second century BCE. Even for a seated figure, the statue base is large, prompting Mattern to propose that the statue stood beneath a baldachin.

Select Bibliography: Diod. Sic. 4.33.3; Gell 1817, 157–158; Frickenhaus 1913, 114; Danner 1993; Salowey 1995, 47–52, pl. 5; Damaskos 1999, 19–22, fig. 2; Mattern 2015, 61–66.

A



Herakles, Kleonai, torso. Kleonai, Sanctuary of Herakles, Inv. S 47. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Herakles, Kleonai, toe. Nemea, Archaeological Museum Inv. K1 2000.001/1. Photo: A. Eckhardt

S30 Kos, Asklepios and Hygieia**Current Location:** Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1554, M 819**Associated Temple:** Kos, Temple A (Cat. T35)**Date:** c. 170 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** 0.25 m W (face) x 0.38 m D x 0.50 m H**Base Dimensions:** 2.50 m W x 1.30 m D x 1.20 m H

Description: During initial excavations of Temple A in the Koan Asklepieion, a cult statue base was found within the cella; today only a few blocks remain. A colossal female head allegedly discovered within the Asklepieion has been tentatively identified as Hygieia and may have come from a cult statue group in Temple A. Smith, however, identifies the figure as Helios. The white marble head is broken below the base of the neck, and its nose and chin have chipped off. The back of the head, now missing, was worked separately and attached with a large, rectangular tenon. The full, round face has large, deep-set eyes and an open mouth with the upper row of teeth visible. The forehead, cheeks, and neck were finely polished. The centrally-parted hair is pulled back from the face in waves. On the crown of the head sits a diadem preceded by a flat, folded band. The diadem has holes for the insertion of metal attachments. Near each temple, a section of hair is pulled up and over the two bands, presumably forming a chignon on the back of the head. The head turns to the left and slightly up. If this statue belonged to a cult group within Temple A, it would have included Hygieia and Asklepios; however, its identification as a cult image is speculative.

Select Bibliography: Bieber 1961, 130, fig. 505; Carter 1983, 218; Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, 63–65, 296–298, no. 92, pl. 76.1–2; Damaskos 1999, 116–118; Smith 2001, 133, pl. 40.



Female head, perhaps Hygieia, Kos. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1554, M 819.

Source: Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, pl. 76.1–2

S31 Kourno, Kionia 1 Deity**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Kourno, Kionia 1 (**Cat. T37**)**Date:** c. 125–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Likely wood**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 1.10 m W x 1.10 m D x 0.35 m H

Description: The remains of two temples located near the monastery of Kourno in Lakonia are found within an archaeological site whose ancient identification is uncertain. A block located in the southwest corner of the cella of the temple dubbed Kionia 1 may have formed the base for the cult statue. The base features a carved circular cavity at its center (0.46 m Diam., 0.12 m D). This circular cavity was surrounded by four cuttings that form a cross. The central cutting suggests the cult statue was likely constructed of wood as this rounded socket seems unsuitable for a stone statue. If the statue was erected simultaneously with the temple it dates to the late second century BCE. However, the cult image may have predated the temple and was reinstalled here upon the temple's completion.

Select Bibliography: Moschou and Moschos 1978–1979, 100–101, pl. H.2; Winter and Winter 1983, 5.



Kionia 1 cult statue base, Kourno. Source: Moschou and Moschos 1979, pl. H.2

S32 Kythnos, Aphrodite**Current Location:** In situ, Kythnos, Middle Terrace**Associated Temple:** Kythnos, Building 2 (Middle Terrace)*Temple Date:* Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* 8.50 x 20.20 m*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Patron:** Kythnos**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** 0.16 m Diam., 1.50 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The honorific stele to Damophon at Messene records an inscription from Kythnos praising the sculptor for the statue of Aphrodite he constructed for the city. Themelis attributes a colossal marble fragment discovered west of two buildings on the site's Middle Terrace to this statue. The fragment is of a fine-grained white marble and represents the right leg of a standing female figure, from just below the knee to just above the foot. The right side of the fragment is broken and corroded. The back is coarsely worked and has the remains of a marble support. The figure wore a himation wrapped tightly around the legs. The vertical folds indicate that the garment was tied in the front at about waist height. Based on the size of the fragment, the reconstructed statue would have been about 2.5 times lifesize. Themelis attributes the technical details of the statue to the work of Damophon; however, the damage to the fragment precludes any definitive assessment and thus this attribution should be approached with caution.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 49.423; Ross 1840, 116; Themelis 1996, 176–178, fig. 131; 1998, fig. 5; Damaskos 1999, 70–71; Ridgway 2000, 238; Melfi 2016, 83, 98.




Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

Female right leg, Kythnos. Kythnos, Middle Terrace. Source: Themelis 1998, fig. 5α

S33 Leukas, Aphrodite Limenarchis**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Leukas, Sanctuary of Aphrodite*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** Perhaps c. 167 BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Patron:** Leukas**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The honorific stele to Damophon at Messene records the honors bestowed upon the sculptor by the city of Leukas for repairing their cult statue of Aphrodite Limenarchis. Neither the sanctuary nor the cult statue have been found. Melfi, however, suggests that Aphrodite Limenarchis and Aphrodite Aineias were the same deity. A new coin series was issued by Leukas after 167 BCE with a representation of Aphrodite Aineias, perhaps in the guise of her cult statue. The goddess is shown in a long chiton standing on a low base and holding an aplustre. A fawn stands to her left and a dove is behind the goddess, perched upon a thin column or scepter. If the two deities were indeed the same, Melfi posits a link between Damophon's restoration of the cult statue and the declaration of Leukas's autonomy from the Akarnanian *koinon*, which was achieved through Roman intervention.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 51.466; Themelis 1996, 174–176; Damaskos 1999, 70; Ridgway 2000, 238; Melfi 2016, 90–98.

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restrictions

Silver coin of Leukas showing Aphrodite Aineias, 167-100 BCE. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.
Source: Melfi 2016, fig. 6.3

S34 Luni, Female Deity**Current Location:** Luni, Antiquarium Inv. KA 470 (left hand), KA 522 (right shoulder)**Associated Temple:** Luni, Great Temple (**Cat. T43**)**Date:** Perhaps c. 177 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Luna marble**Dimensions:** Left hand: 0.135 m W x 0.195 m L

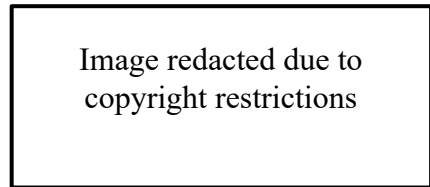
Right shoulder: 0.23 m W x 0.10 m D x 0.22 m H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: The left hand of a colossal statue was discovered at Luni in 1952. The fragment, broken in two, was constructed of Luna marble. The hand is closed in a circle to hold a cylindrical object. The middle finger is connected by a support. The remainder of a dowel hole is visible in the broken surface. From the base of the hand to the upper arm, the underside has been left rough, perhaps because it was covered by drapery. A fragment of an over-lifesize statue found near the Great Temple consists of the upper arm and right shoulder of a figure in a sleeveless chiton. Based on their size, the hand and arm fragment could be from the same statue. This statue may have been the cult statue of the Great Temple, perhaps depicting the local goddess Luna.

Select Bibliography: Chiesa 1973, pl. 204.3; Bonghi Jovino 1977b, 579, no. KA 522, pl. 303.18; H. Martin 1987, 208, no. 2.

A



Female deity, Luni, left hand. Luni, Antiquarium Inv. KA 470. Source: Chiesa 1973, pl. 204.3

B



Female deity, Luni, right shoulder. Luni, Antiquarium KA 522. Source: Bonghi Jovino 1977b, pl. 303.18

S35 Lykosoura, Artemis Hegemone**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Lykosoura, Temple of Artemis Hegemone*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** c. 190–180 BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Bronze**Dimensions:** c. 1.85–3.70 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: During his visit to Lykosoura, Pausanias mentions seeing the bronze cult statue of Artemis Hegemone in her temple. The goddess held torches in both hands, and Pausanias estimates the figure stood about 6 feet (1.85 m) high. The honorific stele for Damophon at Messene includes a decree from Lykosoura praising the sculptor for his work on the statue of Artemis Hegemone. In the inscription, the statue is described as 8 cubits (3.70 m) high.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 41.332; Paus. 8.37.1; Jost 1985, 173; Themelis 1993a, 102–107; 1993b, 35, 38–39; 1994b, 31–32; 1996, 173–174; Damaskos 1999, 58.

S36 Lykosoura, Despoina Cult Group

Current Location: Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1734 (Demeter head), 1735 (Artemis head), 1736 (Anytos head), 1737 (Despoina drapery), 2171 (tritoness), 2172 (triton), 2174 (tritoness), 2175 (tritoness)

Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 31 (throne back), 39 (throne leg), 42 (throne back), 44 (Despoina drapery), 52 (throne back), 58 (footstool), 70 (Artemis right arm), 71 (Demeter right arm), 72 (Artemis left knee), 73 (Despoina right arm), 78 (Artemis right leg), 81 (Artemis torso), 82 (Anytos leg), 89 (Demeter torso), 224 (Artemis right hand)

Associated Temple: Lykosoura, Temple of Despoina (**Cat. T44**)

Date: c. 190–180 BCE

Sculptor: Damophon of Messene

Patron: Lykosoura, perhaps with Megalopolitan influence

Material: Peloponnesian marble, perhaps Doliana

Dimensions: Anytos head (NM 1736): 0.28 m W (face) x 0.37 m D x 0.80 m H

Anytos right arm: 0.24 m W, 0.46 m L

Anytos lower leg (LAM 82): 0.23 m W, 0.36 m L

Anytos right foot: 0.23 m W

Anytos himation: 0.66 m W, 1.65 m H

Artemis head (NM 1735): 0.36 m W (face) x 0.37 m D x 0.44 m H

Artemis torso (LAM 81): 0.64 m W (at waist), 1.34 m H

Artemis left hand: 0.20 m L

Artemis right hand (LAM 224): 0.14 m W, 0.46 m H

Artemis right arm (LAM 70): 0.49 m L (wrist–elbow), 0.62 m L (shoulder–elbow), 0.12 m Diam. (wrist), 1.03 m H

Artemis left knee (LAM 72): 0.24 m L, 0.22 m Diam.

Artemis right leg (LAM 78): 0.29 m W x 0.38 m L x 0.13 m H

Artemis left foot: 0.21 m W x 0.50 m L x 0.15 m H

Artemis right foot: 0.17 m L, 0.12 m H

Demeter head (NM 1734): 0.32 m W (face) x 0.47 m D x 0.72 m H

Demeter torso (LAM 89): 1.10 m W (at shoulder), 1.62 m H

Demeter left hand: 0.28 m W (palm) x 0.44 m L x 0.09 m D (at wrist)

Demeter right arm (LAM 71): 0.28 m W (at elbow), 0.63 m L (lower arm), 0.60 m L (upper arm)

Demeter left leg: 0.55 m H

Demeter right leg: 0.40 m W, 1.02 m H

Demeter left foot: 0.34 m L

Despoina left hand: 0.43 m H

Despoina right arm (LAM 73): 0.26 m W (upper arm), 1.28 m L

Despoina thighs: 1.10 m W x 0.37 m D x 0.44 m H

Despoina left foot: 0.24 m H

Despoina right foot: 0.29 m H

Despoina drapery (NM 1737): 0.33 m W, 1.13 m H

Despoina drapery (LAM 44): 0.28 m W x 0.07 m D x 1.17 m H

Footstool (LAM 58): 1.06 m W (front) x 0.91 m L x 0.34 m H

Throne back (LAM 31): 0.56 m W x 0.20 m D x 1.93 m H

Throne back (LAM 52): 1.28 m W (at bottom) x 0.14 m D x 0.96 m H

Throne leg (LAM 39): 0.35 m W (at base) x 0.12 m D (at base) x 0.86 m H

Tritoness (NM 2171): 0.35 m W, 0.51 m H

Triton (NM 2172): 0.22 m W x 0.15 m D x 0.28 m H

Tritoness (NM 2174): 0.34 m W x 0.22 m D x 0.43 m H

Tritoness (NM 2175): 0.38 m W x 0.14 m D x 0.51 m H

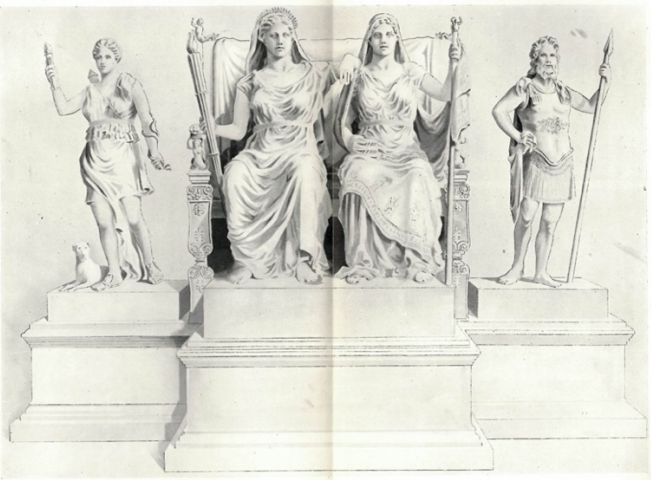
Entire cult group: c. 5.86 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 8.40 m W x 3.66 m D x 1.50 m H

Description: Pausanias describes in detail the cult statue group of the Temple of Despoina at Lykosoura, which he attributes to Damophon. Significant fragments of the group excavated from within the temple's cella and a bronze Megalopolitan coin confirm Pausanias's description and provide additional evidence for the appearance of the cult group. The extant fragments are housed variously in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens and the Archaeological Museums of Lykosoura and Megalopolis and include the heads of Anytos, Artemis, and Demeter; the torsos of Artemis and Demeter; a large fragment of Despoina's drapery; various appendages belonging to each figure; and several pieces of the throne. The fragments were constructed of Peloponnesian marble and contain numerous dowel holes and joining surfaces that indicate the statues were extensively pieced together, despite Pausanias's claim that the entire group was formed from a single block of marble. The cult group included Artemis, Demeter, Despoina, and the Titan Anytos. The central focus of the group was Demeter and Despoina seated on an elaborate throne with arm supports in the shape of tritons and tritonesses. The goddesses' feet rested upon a footstool decorated with a tympanon flanked by a lion on either side. Demeter wore a veil and held a torch in her right hand. Despoina held a scepter with her left hand and a cist in her right. Despoina was draped in a himation elaborately decorated with bands of dancing theriomorphic figures, Nikai with incense burners, and vegetal motifs. Artemis, in her hunting chiton and bow, stood next to Demeter raising a torch in her right hand. Anytos, wearing a cuirass, stood next to Despoina. Additional details were added in other materials and are now lost, including the eyes of Artemis and Anytos and Demeter's crown. The seated goddesses were about 1.5 times larger than the standing figures. The figures stood upon a large statue base positioned against the rear wall of the cella that occupied its entire width. Demeter and Despoina were seated on a projecting central platform. A cult barrier separated the cult group from the rest of the cella.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 8.37.1–6; Kavvadias 1893; Normand 1897, 22–31, pls. 10–13; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, figs. 7–11, 15, 18, 20–22; Dickins 1910–1911; 1911, 310–313, figs. 2–4; 1920, 59–62, figs. 46–48; Kourouniotis 1911; Staïs 1912; Despinis 1966, 380–381, figs. 3–6; Lévy 1967; Jost 1970, 143–147; 1985, 175–176; 2005, 99–100; 2007, 268; Marcadé and Lévy 1972; Stewart 1979, 40, 50, pl. 9c; 1990, 94–96, figs. 788–792; 2014, 163–166, figs. 94–95; Harrison 1990, 170–172; Smith 1991, 240–241, fig. 301.2–3; Themelis 1993b, 38–39, pl. 3; 1994b, 23–24, pls. 9b, 13, 17, 18a; 1996, 167–172, 178–180, figs. 104–105, 107, 114–115, 125–126, 130; Moreno 1994, 510–513, figs. 630, 632–633, 636–639; Faulstich 1997, 163–168, 207–209, no. 12; Andreae 1998, 87–93; Damaskos 1999, 62–66; Ridgway 2000, 235–238; Kaltsas 2002, 279–280, nos. 584–587; Hölscher 2004, 64; Kansteiner et al. 2007, 129–132, no. 19.2; Marcadé 2008; Morizot 2008.

A



Cult statue group, Lykosoura, reconstruction. Drawing: G. Dickins, in Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, pl. 12

B



Cult statue group, Lykosoura, reconstruction. Drawing: C. Smith and A. Stewart, in Stewart 2014, fig. 95

C



Bronze coin of Megalopolis, 195–210 CE. Athens, Numismatic Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 41

D1



Front

D2



Back

D3



Proper left

D4



Proper right

Anytos, Lykosoura, head. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1736. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

E



Anytos, Lykosoura, right arm. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photo: A. Eckhardt

F1



Front

F2



Back

Anytos, Lykosoura, lower leg. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 82. Photos: A. Eckhardt

G



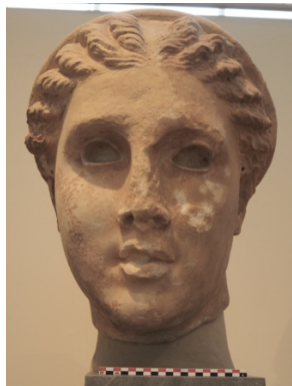
Anytos, Lykosoura, right foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photo: A. Eckhardt

H



Anytos, Lykosoura, himation. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photo: A. Eckhardt

I1



Front

I2



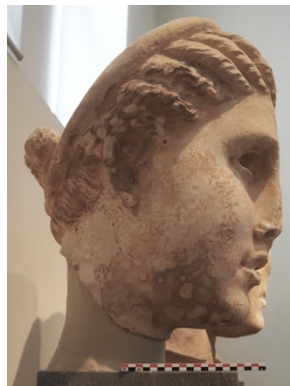
Back

I3



Proper left

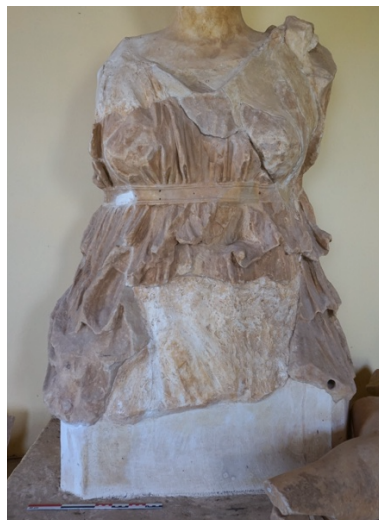
I4



Proper right

Artemis, Lykosoura, head. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1735. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

J1



Front

J2



Proper left

J3



Proper right

Artemis, Lykosoura, torso (head and neck are plaster casts). Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum
Inv. 81. Photos: A. Eckhardt

K

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copyright restrictions

Artemis, Lykosoura, left hand. Lykosoura, Archaeological
Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 33

L1



Top

L2



Left

Artemis, Lykosoura, right hand. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 221. Photos: A. Eckhardt

M



Artemis, Lykosoura, right arm. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 70. Photo: A. Eckhardt

N1



Proper left

N2



Proper right

Artemis, Lykosoura, left knee. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 72. Photos: A. Eckhardt

O



Artemis, Lykosoura, right leg. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 31a

P1



Top



P2

Proper left



P3

Proper right

Artemis, Lykosoura, left foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photos: A. Eckhardt

Q1



Proper left

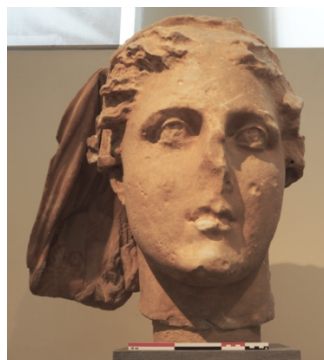
Q2



Proper right

Artemis, Lykosoura, right foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photos: A. Eckhardt

R1



Front

R2



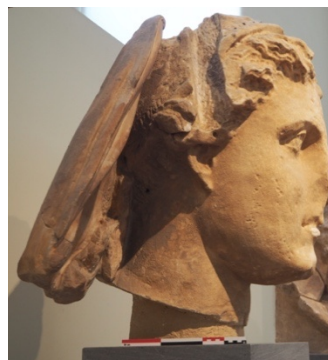
Back

R3



Proper left

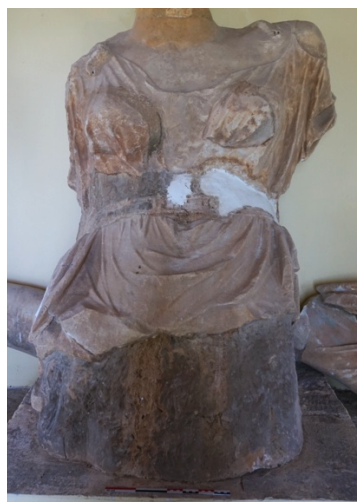
R4



Proper right

Demeter, Lykosoura, head. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1734. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S1



Front

S2



Proper left

S3



Proper right

Demeter, Lykosoura, torso (head and neck are plaster casts). Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 89. Photos: A. Eckhardt

T1



Back

T2



Palm

Demeter, Lykosoura, left hand. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photos: A. Eckhardt

U

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Demeter, Lykosoura, right hand. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 15

V



Demeter, Lykosoura, right arm. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 71. Photo: A. Eckhardt

W

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Demeter, Lykosoura, knees. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 2a

X



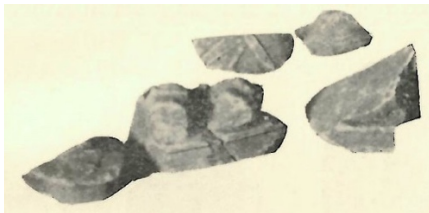
Demeter, Lykosoura, left leg. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 5

Y



Demeter, Lykosoura, right leg. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 8

Z



Demeter, Lykosoura, left foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, fig. 10b

AA



Despoina, Lykosoura, neck. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 27a

AB



Despoina, Lykosoura, left hand. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photo: A. Eckhardt

AC1



Front

AC2



Top

Despoina, Lykosoura, right arm. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 73. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AD1



Top

AD2



Back

AD3



Proper left

AD4



Proper right

Despoina, Lykosoura, thighs. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AE



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Despoina, Lykosoura, left foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum.
Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 25b

AF



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Despoina, Lykosoura, right foot. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum.
Source: Marcadé and Lévy 1972, fig. 25a

AG1



Front

AG2



Left

AG3



Right

Despoina, Lykosoura, drapery. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1735. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

AG4



AG5



Despoina, Lykosoura, drapery, details of theriomorphic figures. Athens, National Archaeological
Museum Inv. 1735. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AG6



Despoina, Lykosoura, drapery. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 1735. Drawing: G. Dickins, in Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, pl. 14.

AH1



Front

AH2



Left

AH3



Right

Despoina, Lykosoura, drapery. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 44. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AI1



Front

AI2



Left

AI3



Right

Despoina, Lykosoura, drapery. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 46. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AJ1



Front

AJ2



Top

AJ3



Left

AJ4



Right

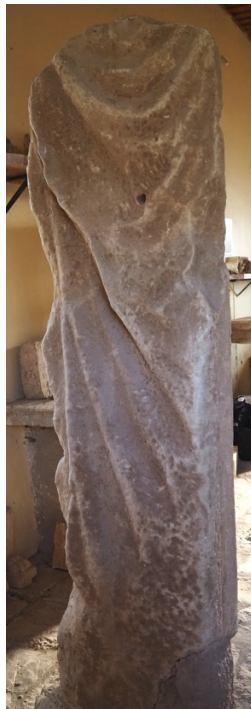
Footstool, Lykosoura (the inscription below is a separate object). Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 58. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AK1



Front

AK2



Back

Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 31. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AL



Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 38. Photo: A. Eckhardt

AM



Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 42. Photo: A. Eckhardt

AN



Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 43. Photo: A. Eckhardt

AO



Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 45. Photo: A. Eckhardt

AP1



Front

AP2



Back

Throne back, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 52. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AQ1



Front

AQ2



Back

Throne leg, Lykosoura. Lykosoura, Archaeological Museum Inv. 39. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AR1



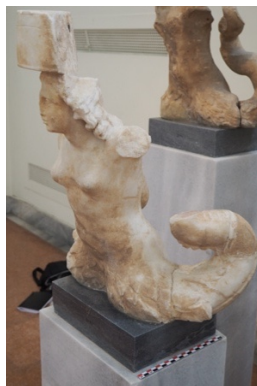
Front

AR2



Back

AR3



Proper left

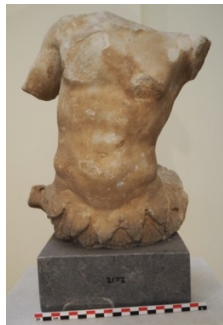
AR4



Proper right

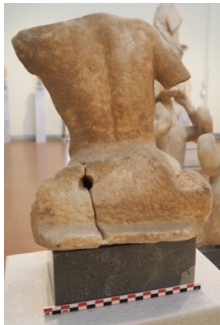
Tritoness, Lykosoura. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 2171. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AS1



Front

AS2



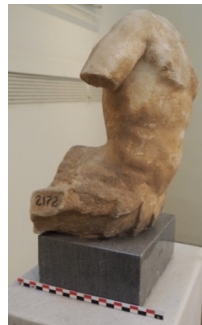
Back

AS3



Proper left

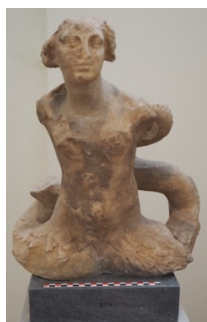
AS4



Proper right

Triton, Lykosoura. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 2172. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AT1



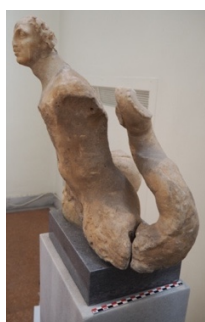
Front

AT2



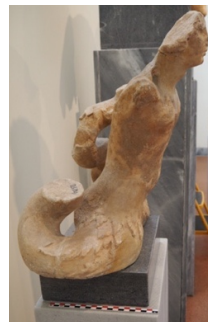
Back

AT3



Proper left

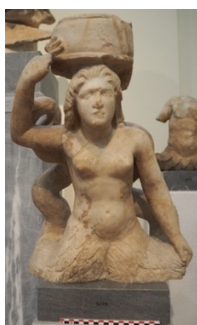
AT4



Proper right

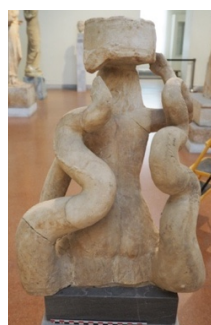
Tritoness, Lykosoura. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 2174. Photos: A. Eckhardt

AU1



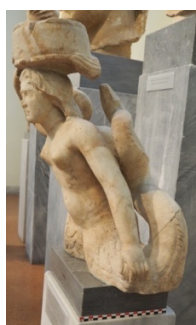
Front

AU2



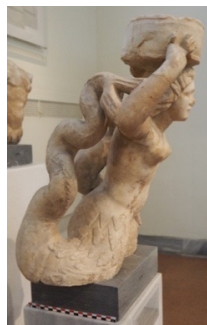
Back

AU3



Proper left

AU4



Proper right

Tritoness, Lykosoura. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 2175. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S37 Magnesia on the Maeander, Artemis Leukophryene

Current Location: Lost

Associated Temple: Magnesia on the Maeander, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene (**Cat. T45**)

Date: Perhaps early second century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: Perhaps wood

Dimensions: Unknown

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Nothing but the base of the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene survives today. The statue was likely under-lifesize and wooden. Traces of gold leaf discovered in the cracks of the cult statue base during the excavations of the early twentieth century indicate that the wooden statue was gilded. Literary and numismatic evidence suggest the statue depicted Artemis standing and wearing a tall polos and cylindrical dress, thereby similar to her cult statue at Ephesos. The dress was decorated with bands of spherical ornaments. The date of this statue is uncertain. In the first half of the second century BCE, the Eisisteria was established, which was a festival to commemorate the installation of Artemis's cult image. It is unclear if this ceremony celebrated a new statue or the reinstallation of an earlier figure.

Select Bibliography: *IMagn.* 100; Kern 1901, 507–508; Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 89–90; Bingöl 1999; Herring 2011, 253–258; 2016, 137–139.



Reverse of a bronze coin of Magnesia on the Maeander depicting the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene, 161–180 CE. American Numismatic Society Inv. ANS 1944.100.46477. Photo: American Numismatic Society, accessed June 26, 2021, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.46477>

S38 Magnesia on the Maeander, Zeus Sosipolis**Current Location:** Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Inv. Sk 1927**Associated Temple:** Magnesia on the Maeander, Temple of Zeus Sosipolis (**Cat. T46**)**Date:** c. 200 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White, medium-grained Cycladic marble (flesh), Anatolian blue-gray marble (drapery)**Dimensions:** Torso: 0.865 m W x 0.665 m D x 1.230 m H

Legs: 1.11 m W x 1.12 m D x 1.10 m H

Entire statue: c. 3.00 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 5.65 W x 2.00 m D x 1.00 m H (mid-1st century CE)**Description:** Two large marble fragments of the cult statue of Zeus Sosipolis were discovered during excavation of the temple in the early twentieth century. The fragments include a nude male torso and part of a draped lower body. Smaller fragments of the hair, beard, and left part of the face also survive. The torso is heavily muscled with damage to the left pectoral. A fragment of drapery is pieced into the lower abdomen. The bottom of the torso is roughly worked as a joining surface between the upper and lower body. The arms, now missing, were also doveled into the torso. The leg fragment includes the thighs and upper part of the calves of both legs, draped heavily in a himation. A Cycladic white marble was used for the figure's bare flesh and an Anatolian blue-gray marble for the drapery. Based on the size of the fragments, the seated statue would have been c. 3.00 m high. These fragments and numismatic evidence suggest that the statue depicted Zeus enthroned leaning on a scepter with his left hand while holding out a statue of Artemis Leukophryene in his right. The god wore a himation that fell from his left shoulder and covered his legs. Excavators found little physical evidence of the throne. The massive statue base stood against the rear cella wall and spanned its entire width but dates to the mid-first century CE. Excavators were unable to determine the appearance of the base in the second century BCE when the cult statue was initially installed.**Select Bibliography:** Rayet and Thomas 1877, 132, n. 2; Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 155–157, 182–184, figs. 167, 185–186; Faulstich 1997, 85–94, 185–187, no. 2, figs. 1–7; Bingöl 2007, 110–115; Schwarzmaier and Scholl 2019, 246–249, no. 134.

A



Front

B



Back

C



Proper left

D



Proper right

Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, torso and legs. Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 1927.
Photos: A. Eckhardt

E



Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, hair, face, and beard. Berlin, Antikensammlung.
Source: Schwarzmaier and Scholl 2019, 249, no. 134

S39 Megalopolis, Aphrodite and Hermes**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Megalopolis, Temple of Aphrodite Machanitis*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Aphrodite: acrolith: marble, wood

Hermes: wood

Dimensions: Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Pausanias reports that statues of both Aphrodite and Hermes by Damophon stood within the Temple of Aphrodite Machanitis at Megalopolis. The statue of Aphrodite was acrolithic, with head, hands, and feet of marble, while the statue of Hermes was wooden. Bronze coins minted in Megalopolis in the Roman Imperial period may depict the two gods in the form of their cult statues. On these coins, Aphrodite is represented nude, looking to the left, with her right hand covering her breasts and her left hand concealing her pubic area. A dolphin is located to her left. Themelis has associated a winged torso of Eros in the storerooms of the Megalopolis Archaeological Museum with the cult image of Aphrodite, even though Eros is not mentioned by Pausanias as a part of the composition. On the Roman Imperial coins, two different representations of Hermes are evident, but both depict the god in the form of a herm.

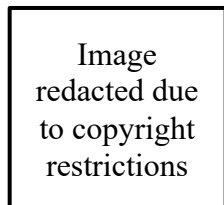
Select Bibliography: Paus. 8.31.5–6; Papachatzis 1980, 292, fig. 279; Jost 1985, 229, 510–511; Themelis 1994b, 23; 1996, 166–167; Damaskos 1999, 57–58; Stewart 2010, 23–24; Tsiolis 2018, 177.

A



Bronze coin of Megalopolis showing Aphrodite with a dolphin, c. 200 CE. Source: Papachatzis 1980, fig. 279

B



C



Bronze coins of Megalopolis showing Hermes in herm-like form, c. 200 CE. Source: Papachatzis 1980, fig. 279

S40 Megalopolis, Demeter and Kore Cult Group**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Megalopolis, Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Demeter: marble

Kore: acrolith: marble, wood

Dimensions: c. 4.63 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: In the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Megalopolis, Pausanias reports seeing colossal statues of the two goddesses, which he attributes to Damophon. The statue of Demeter was entirely of marble, while that of Kore was acrolithic with wooden drapery. Pausanias estimates their height at 15 feet (4.63 m). He also observes a statue of Herakles standing beside Demeter, about 1 cubit (0.46 m) tall. Herakles was represented as an Idaian Daktyl. A coin from Megalopolis includes a representation of Herakles as a herm. He wears a lionskin and holds the lion's head in his left hand at his left hip with his right hand wrapped under the lionskin across his breast. Dickins suggests that this image was based on the Herakles statue in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Two young girls stood before the figures of Demeter and Kore at a smaller scale than the goddesses. They wore long chitons that reached to their ankles and each carried a basket of flowers upon her head. Pausanias's local source contends the girls are Damophon's daughters but the periegete suggests that they may instead represent Athena and Aphrodite picking flowers with Kore. Themelis believes he has identified the head of Athena in the storerooms of the Megalopolis Archaeological Museum.

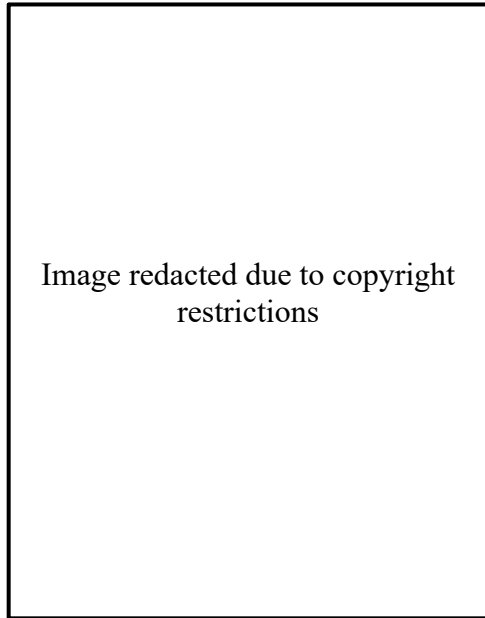
Select Bibliography: Paus. 8.31.1–4; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906–1907, 402–403; Jost 1985, 227–228, 341–342; Themelis 1994b, 23; 1996, 166–167; Damaskos 1999, 57; Tsiolis 2018, 177.

S41 Messene, Artemis Limnatis**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Temple of Artemis Limnatis*Temple Date:* 3rd century BCE*Temple Type:* Corinthian distyle in antis*Temple Dimensions:* 10.60 x 16.70 m*Cella Dimensions:* 8.00 x 9.00 m**Date:** Late 3rd–2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Damophon of Messene**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** 1.30 m W x 1.13 m D x 0.85–0.90 m H

Description: In 1844, Philippe Le Bas found fragments of the marble cult statue of Artemis Limnatis at Messene. The fragments included the upper part of a leg laced with straps, a half-closed wrist that held a rope or arrow in its palm, and a foot wearing a boot. The foot fragment was attached to a plinth that fit the statue base inside the temple's cella. Based on these fragments, the figure of Artemis was roughly lifesize and wore a short chiton and hunting boots. Bronze coins from Messene depict the goddess standing in her hunting costume, holding a spear in her right hand, accompanied by a dog. This numismatic representation of the goddess may reflect her cult statue. The statue fragments were lost following Le Bas's excavations, but the cult statue base of local limestone still stands in the center of the temple's cella. According to Pausanias, Damophon created the cult statue of Artemis Laphria at Messene; Le Bas and Themelis suggest that the Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis is likely the same as that of Artemis Laphria mentioned by the periegete.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 4.31.7; Le Bas 1844, 427; Reinach 1888, 138, pl. Peloponnese 7; Damaskos 1999, 43–44; Ridgway 2000, 238; Themelis 2006, 58–60, fig. 4; 2015, 122.

A



Artemis Limnatis, Messene, fragments. Drawings: P. Le Bas, in Themelis 2006, fig. 4

B



Reconstruction of the cult statue within the Temple of Artemis Limnatis, Messene. Drawing: P. Le Bas, in Themelis 2015, fig. 131

S42 Messene, Artemis Orthia

Current Location: Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 255 (head), 317 (right hand), 451 + 921 (right arm), 1188 (cheek), 2635 (right knee), 3308 (cheek)

Associated Temple: Messene, Artemision (**Cat. T47**)

Date: c. 200–150 BCE

Sculptor: Damophon of Messene

Material: Peloponnesian marble

Dimensions: Head: 0.26 m W x 0.07 m D x 0.27 m H

Right hand: 0.12 m W x 0.07 m D x 0.15 m H

Right arm: 0.48 m L

Right knee: 0.13 m H

Cheek (1188): 0.23 m W x 0.06 m D x 0.27 m H

Cheek (3309): 0.22 m W x 0.08 m D x 0.17 m H

Entire statue: c. 3.22 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 3.16 m W x 1.04 m D x 1.03 m H

Description: Excavators identified several marble fragments of an over-lifesize female figure as Damophon's cult statue of Artemis Orthia. The extant remains include the right knee, left shin, right hand, two fragments from the upper arm, and three fragments from the head. The right hand holds a cylindrical object, likely a torch. A dowel hole runs all the way through the remains of the torch. Terracotta figurines from the earlier Temple of Artemis Orthia help reconstruct the figure. Artemis wore a short, sleeveless chiton and held a torch in her right hand. Thick, wavy strands of hair were pulled back and the earlobes pierced for the attachment of metal earrings. Stylistic and technical details link the fragments of Artemis Orthia with Damophon's cult statue group at Lykosoura. The statue stood upon the high base positioned against the rear wall of Oikos K in the Asklepieion's western stoa.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 4.31.10; Orlandos 1963a, 122, pl. 94b; 1963b, 88, fig. 64; Themelis 1993b, 27–30, pl. 4.6–7; 1994a, 111; 1994b, 21–22, pls. 16a–b, d–e, 17c–f; 1996, 165–166, figs. 123, 124, 127; 2015, 142, fig. 160; Damaskos 1999, 42–43.

A



Artemis Orthia, Messene, head. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 255. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Artemis Orthia, Messene, right hand. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 317. Photo: A. Eckhardt

C



Artemis Orthia, Messene, right arm. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 451 + 921. Source: Themelis 1994b, pl. 17e

D

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Artemis Orthia, Messene, right knee. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2635. Source:
Themelis 1996, fig. 127

E



Artemis Orthia, Messene, cheek. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1188. Photo:
A. Eckhardt

F



Artemis Orthia, Messene, cheek. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 3308. Photo:
A. Eckhardt

S43 Messene, Asklepios Cult Group

Current Location: Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 274 (Asklepios head), 249 (Podaleirios torso), 773 + 1419 + 1421 (Asklepios himation and staff), 1422 (Asklepios head), 3531 (Asklepios left shoulder), 3561 + 4778 (Machaon torso), 4034 (Podaleirios head), 4035 (Machaon head)

Associated Temple: Messene, Temple of Asklepios (Cat. T49)

Date: c. 200–150 BCE

Sculptor: Damophon of Messene

Material: Peloponnesian marble

Dimensions: Asklepios head (274): 0.14 m W x 0.06 m D x 0.19 m H

Asklepios head (1422): 0.14 m H

Asklepios himation and staff: 0.19 m W x 0.13 m D x 0.26 m H

Asklepios left shoulder: 0.15 m W x 0.09 m D x 0.24 m H

Asklepios figure: c. 2.60 m reconstructed H

Machaon head: 0.14 m W x 0.24 m D x 0.22 m H

Machaon torso: 0.49 m W (at shoulders) x 0.23 m D x 1.17 m H

Podaleirios head: 0.21 m W, 0.26 m H

Podaleirios torso: 0.41 m W (at shoulders) x 0.25 m D x 1.14 m H

Machaon and Podaleirios figures: c. 2.10 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Pausanias reports that Damophon constructed statues of Asklepios and his two sons for the Asklepieion at Messene. Themelis has associated numerous marble fragments discovered in the Asklepieion with a cult statue group within the temple. To the figure of Asklepios, he attributes a fragment of a left shoulder, three fragments of a himation and staff, and two fragments of a male head. The shoulder fragment features a line of wavy drapery separated from the smooth flesh by a deeply drilled channel. A deep drill channel also separates the drapery from the knobbed staff in three joined fragments forming the himation and staff. The head fragment features thick locks of hair incised into the cranium. Themelis attributes two nude male torsos with figures of Asklepios's sons, Podaleirios and Machaon. He identifies the more mature male torso as Machaon. This torso is missing the head, right arm and leg, left lower leg, and both feet. The well-muscled figure wears a chlamys covering the left shoulder and arm; this arm holds a sheathed sword pointing upward. Themelis associates the right portion of a male head (4035) with this torso. The head has thick, wavy tresses of hair bound with a thin fillet. The second torso, which Themelis attributes to Podaleirios, is preserved from the neck to the knees, but is missing both arms. Long, corkscrew curls fall onto both shoulders. The exaggerated contrapposto pose gives the torso an S-curve, with the right hip thrust out. The remains of struts are visible on the right hip, right leg, and left back. Themelis associates a Severe style male head (4034) with this torso, but the style, marble, and hairstyle do not match the body. The oval head is missing the left side of the face. Its wavy hair falls in tight ringlets around the face. A wide fillet wraps around the head and ties in the back. The back of the head is cut obliquely and picked to form a joining surface with a dowel hole. The cult statue group may have depicted Asklepios standing, wearing a himation, and holding a staff in his left hand, accompanied by his two sons and Hygieia. No fragments of the female figure survive but dedications found within the sanctuary address themselves to both Asklepios and Hygieia.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 4.31.10; Orlandos 1959, 162, pl. 137; Themelis 1993b, 30–31, pl. 7.5–6; 1994b, 10–15, pls. 2b–e, 3–5, 6a, 7c; 1996, 157–160, figs. 92–101; 2015, 140–141, figs. 155–156; Melfi 2016, 88.

A



Asklepios, Messene, head. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 274. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Asklepios, Messene, head. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 1422. Source: Themelis 1994b, pl. 2d

C



Asklepios, Messene, himation and staff. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 773 + 1419 + 1421. Photo: A. Eckhardt

D



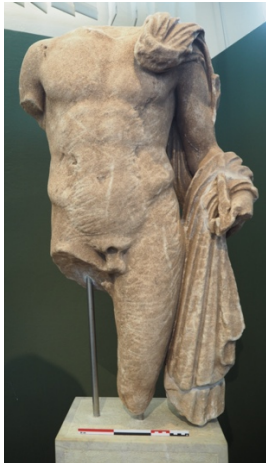
Asklepios, Messene, left shoulder. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 3531. Photo: A. Eckhardt

E



Machaon, Messene, head. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 4035. Photo: A. Eckhardt

F



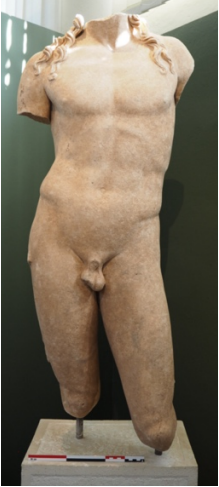
Machaon, Messene, torso. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 3561 + 4478. Photo: A. Eckhardt

G



Podaleirios, Messene, head. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 4034. Photo: A. Eckhardt

H



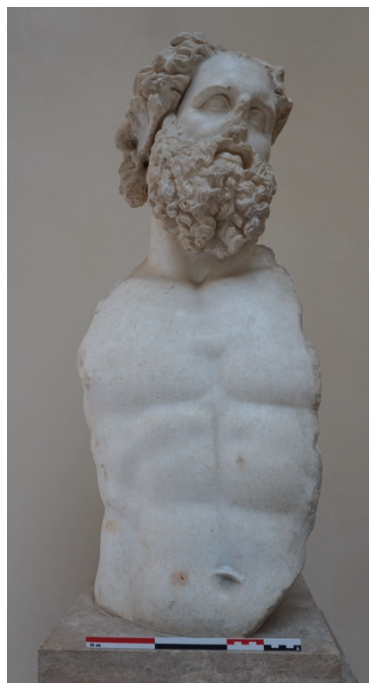
Podaleirios, Messene, torso. Messene, Archaeological Museum Inv. 249. Photo: A. Eckhardt

S44 Ostia, Asclepius**Current Location:** Ostia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 114**Associated Temple:** Ostia, Temple of Asclepius*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Tetrastyle podium*Temple Dimensions:* 8.50 x 16.00 m*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble, perhaps Parian**Dimensions:** 0.38 m W (chest), 1.03 m H**Base Dimensions:** c. 2.00 m W x 1.20 m D x 1.20 m H

Description: A marble fragment from an over-lifesize bearded male figure was discovered in the “area sacra” at Ostia in a tetrastyle temple located beside the Temple of Hercules. The fragment consists of the head and torso, which were carved from a single block of marble. The arms, legs, front part of the hair, left ear, and nose are missing. The head is turned to the left and the deep-set eyes look upward. The open mouth is framed by full lips with a thick mustache that joins the bushy beard. The beard consists of long, thick, corkscrew curls. The top of the hair radiates in waves from a center point to a fillet encircling the head. Thick, corkscrew curls frame the face from beneath the fillet, forming a wreath of springing locks around the face. Strands of hair also hang down the back of the neck. Thinly etched lines along the top of the forehead indicate small hairs. The top of the head was added separately and is now lost. The left side of the hair was added in two separate pieces. The top piece remains in place, while a bedding surface reveals where the lower piece was attached. A dowel hole in the hair on the right side indicates where additional locks were added. The polished torso has finely modeled musculature. Two large dowel holes in the right shoulder, a bedding surface, and a clamp were for the attachment of the right arm. A narrow, roughly picked area on the left edge of the body likely was for the attachment of drapery. The back is unfinished. A large dowel hole with the lead dowel still preserved sits in the center of the back for the bronze drapery, which ran diagonally over the back and down the left side of the figure. Another dowel hole in the center of the lower back contains the remains of a lead dowel. The figure likely represents Asclepius, seated on a throne, with the left hand raised holding a scepter and the empty right hand placed near a coiling snake. A statue of Lucilla in the guise of Salus discovered within the same temple further suggests the statue and temple were associated with Asclepius. The statue stood on a base positioned against the rear cella wall.

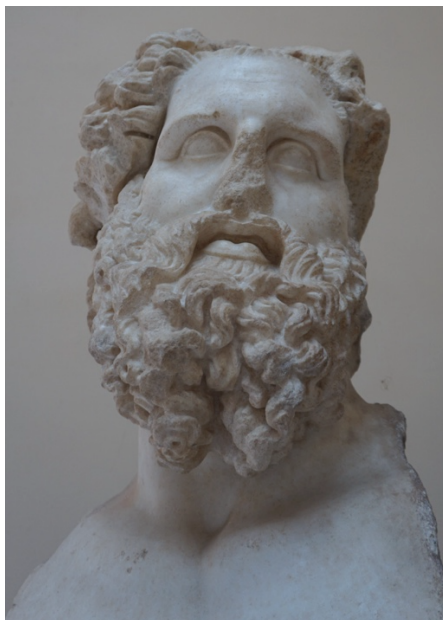
Select Bibliography: H. Martin 1987, 171–174, 228–229, no. 11, pls. 25–26; Coarelli 1996, 74–76, figs. 22–24.

A



Front

B



Face

C



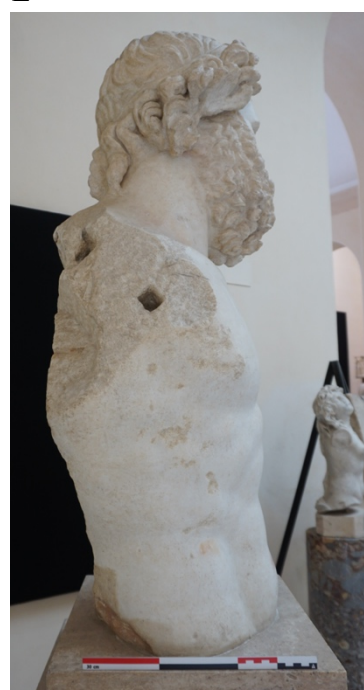
Back

D



Proper left

E



Proper right

Asclepius, Ostia. Ostia, Archaeological Museum Inv. 114. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S45 Pergamon, Asklepios of Phyromachos**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Pergamon, Asklepieion or Nikephorion (**Cat. T53**)**Date:** 168–156 BCE**Sculptor:** Phyromachos of Athens**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Nothing survives of the famed cult statue of Asklepios by the Athenian sculptor Phyromachos and much debate surrounds its appearance and even original setting. Scholars contest in which of Pergamon's extramural sanctuaries it stood, either the Asklepieion or Nikephorion. The statue was stolen by Prousius of Bithynia in 156/5 BCE, when he besieged the city and destroyed these sanctuaries. Numismatic evidence has been used to reconstruct the figure, but this evidence is tenuous as the coins date to the mid-third century BCE and portray the god alternatively as a standing and seated figure. Andreae suggests that Phyromachos's statue was a bronze seated statue of Asklepios located in the Nikephorion, Müller argues for a marble statue in the Asklepieion, and Moreno posits that the figure was chryselephantine and located in the Asklepieion. The Asklepieion seems the more likely location.

Select Bibliography: Polyb. 32.27.1–5; Diod. Sic. 31.35; Stewart 1979, 12–17; Andreae 1980; 1990, 45–100; Müller 1992; Queyrel 1992, 368–371, 374–375; Moreno 1994, 263–268; Faulstich 1997, 112–115; Damaskos 1999, 132–136; Ridgway 2000, 234.

S46 Pergamon, Hera Basileia**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Pergamon, Temple of Hera Basileia (Cat. T56)**Date:** 159–138 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Attalos II**Material:** Unknown, likely marble**Dimensions:** Hera: unknown

Attalos II: 2.31 m H, c. 2.60 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 5.80 m W x 1.50 m D x 1.05 m H; 1.60 m W x 0.35 m D (middle projection)

Description: A large andesite cult statue base still stands along the rear cella wall of the Temple of Hera Basileia at Pergamon, occupying the entire width of the wall. The base is divided into three parts, with the middle portion projecting farther into the cella space. This division has led some scholars to suggest that the base accommodated three statues: an enthroned statue of Hera in the middle and two standing figures to either side. An over-lifesize marble male figure was discovered within the temple. The figure is missing the head, right arm, and left hand. The figure wears a himation draped over the left arm and tied around the waist, covering the legs. The chest is bare. The feet are shod in sandals. The right arm was raised, while the left hand sits at the waist. A figure of Zeus would be an appropriate *synnaos* for Hera but this figure had short hair, of which a single curl survives on the back of the neck. A more likely attribution is Attalos II, the temple's patron. This marble statue stood on the western side of the cult statue base; a figure of Attalos's wife, Stratonike, may have stood on the eastern side. No remains of either this figure or that of Hera survive.

Select Bibliography: Dörpfeld 1912, 260–263, pl. 22; Ippel 1912a, 315–326, figs. 11–15, pl. 26; Schazmann 1923, 107–108, suppl. 7; Akşit 1987, 98; Smith 1991, 64; 2001, 131, 136–137, pl. 55; Danner 1993, 21; Damaskos 1999, 137–149, fig. 10; Radt 2016, 187, fig. 131.

A



Cult statue base, Temple of Hera Basileia, Pergamon, view from the southwest. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Male figure, Temple of Hera Basileia, Pergamon. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2767.
Source: Akşit 1987, 97

S47 Pergamon, Male Deity**Current Location:** Pergamon, lower agora lapidarium**Associated Temple:** Pergamon, Temple R (**Cat. T58**)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** c. 0.55 m W x 0.39 m D x 0.81 m H**Base Dimensions:** 6.75 m W x 2.00 m D; 2.10 m W x 0.80 m D (middle projection)

Description: A colossal marble male torso discovered in Room X of the west baths of the upper gymnasium may belong to the cult statue of Temple R. The torso is preserved from the collar bone to the abdomen, and is missing the head, both arms, and the entire lower body. The right pectoral is damaged. The left shoulder is higher and leans forward more than the right; the left arm was raised. A large, square dowel hole and roughly picked joining surface indicates where the right arm was attached. The abdomen twists to the right. The abdominal muscles are finely modeled as is the rib cage on both sides of the torso. Part of the drapery survives just above the navel. The top of the torso contains no evidence of a joining surface for the head, suggesting that it was originally constructed as one piece with the torso. Based on the surviving torso, the original male figure was seated and turned to the right; however, its attribution remains uncertain. De Luca posits that it represented Asklepios, but Damaskos contends the bare, muscular torso more fittingly belonged to a figure of Herakles. The figure may have resembled the Herakles Epitrapezios type by Lysippos, in which the god sat upon a rock with his body and head turned slightly to the right and both hands outstretched, with his club in his left hand and a cup in his right. The left leg was stretched out, while the right was drawn in toward the rock face. This figure likely stood upon the middle projection of the cult statue base in Temple R, but whether flanking statues were positioned on the wings is uncertain. Architectural fragments discovered during excavations suggest that the middle portion of the base may have sat beneath an aedicula.

Select Bibliography: Jacobsthal 1908, 421–422, pl. 24; Ohlemutz 1968, 128; Andrae 1990, 87–89; De Luca 1990, 30–32, pl. 47; Müller 1992, 216; Danner 1993, 21; Damaskos 1999, 149–162; Radt 2016, 131, fig. 75.

A



Front

B



Back

C



Proper left

D



Proper right

Male torso, Pergamon. Pergamon, lower agora lapidarium. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S48 Pheneos, Asklepios and Hygieia**Current Location:** Pheneos, Archaeological Museum (the right foot was stolen)**Associated Temple:** Pheneos, Asklepieion (**Cat. T59**)**Date:** c. 150–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Attalos, son of Lachares, of Athens**Patron:** Therilaos, son of Heroidas, priest of Asklepios**Material:** Asklepios: acrolith: white marble, perhaps Pentelic

Hygieia: acrolith: marble (perhaps Pentelic), agate and glass (eyes), bronze (eyelashes)

Dimensions: Asklepios feet: 0.80 m L, 0.45 m H

Hygieia head: 0.80 m H

Fingers: 0.17–0.24 m L

Base Dimensions: Northern room (A): 1.88 L x 0.90 W x 1.30 m H

Southern room (B): 4.81 L x 2.95 W x 1.00 m H

Description: Marble fragments of two over-lifesize statues discovered in the southern room (B) of the Asklepieion at Pheneos belonged to the temple's cult statues. The figures represented Asklepios and Hygieia. Fragments of Asklepios's sandaled feet survive up to the ankles. The right foot, since stolen, was discovered intact; the left was found in three fragments. Both feet included rectangular dowel holes, most likely for insertion into a wooden frame, and holes for metal attachments. The seated figure of Asklepios was about three times lifesize. An acrolithic head and feet survive for the statue of Hygieia, which was about two times lifesize. The female head is preserved to the top of the shoulder. The eyes were inlaid of agate and glass surrounded by bronze eyelashes, all of which survive intact. The head has a broad nose and full, pouty lips that are slightly parted. The ears are pierced for metal earrings. The hair is centrally parted and pulled back from the face, with a crown of braids piled in the center of the top of the head. A tainia worked in another material was added separately and now lost. The back of the head is hollowed out and includes dowel holes for the addition of a section of hair in another material. The head sits upon a thick neck and tilts slightly to the left. The figure of Hygieia was represented as standing, wearing a long garment with bare feet, and turning toward Asklepios. Large fingers belonging to the statues were also discovered inside the temple. The technique of the surviving marble fragments and the discovery of iron nails, ivory, and burnt wood residues indicates that both statues were acroliths. The cult statue base of dark stone, perhaps Eleusinian marble, stood against the rear wall of the cella, filling its entire width, with a polychrome mosaic decorating the floor before it. The inscription on the base identifies Attalos as the sculptor and Therilaos, a priest of Asklepios, as the dedicator. The letter forms of the inscription date to the middle of the second century BCE.

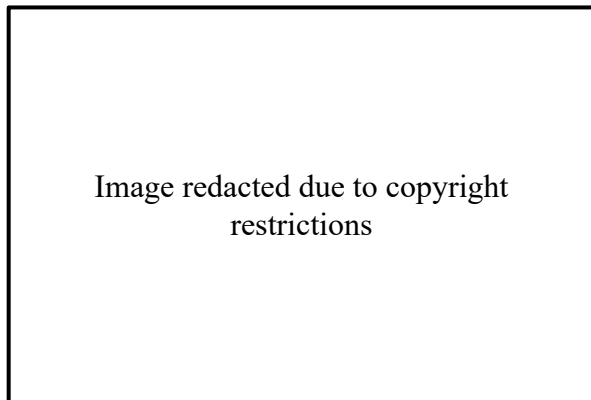
Select Bibliography: *SEG* XIX 328; Vanderpool 1959, 280–281, figs. 12–13, pl. 76; Protonotariou 1961–1962, 57–59, pls. 63, 64 α , γ ; Morrow 1985, 128, fig. 108; Smith 1991, 240, fig. 300; Faulstich 1997, 125–128, 193–194, nos. 7–8; Andreae 1998, 90; Damaskos 1999, 24–30; Ridgway 2000, 234–235; Giustozzi 2001, 27–29, figs. 36–37; Riethmüller 2005, 221–222; Donderer 2007, 33; Kansteiner et al. 2014, no. 3718, Kissas and Mattern 2016, 58–59, fig. 7; Kissas, Mattern, and Spyralanti 2017, 118–121, pls. 44.2., 45.1.

A



Hygieia, Pheneos, head. Pheneos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Kissas and Mattern 2016, fig. 7

B



Asklepios and Hygieia, Pheneos, feet and fingers. Pheneos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Kissas, Mattern, and Spyralanti 2017, pl. 44.2

S49 Pheneos, Hermes**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Pheneos, Temple of Hermes*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Eucheir (II), son of Euboulides, of Athens**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

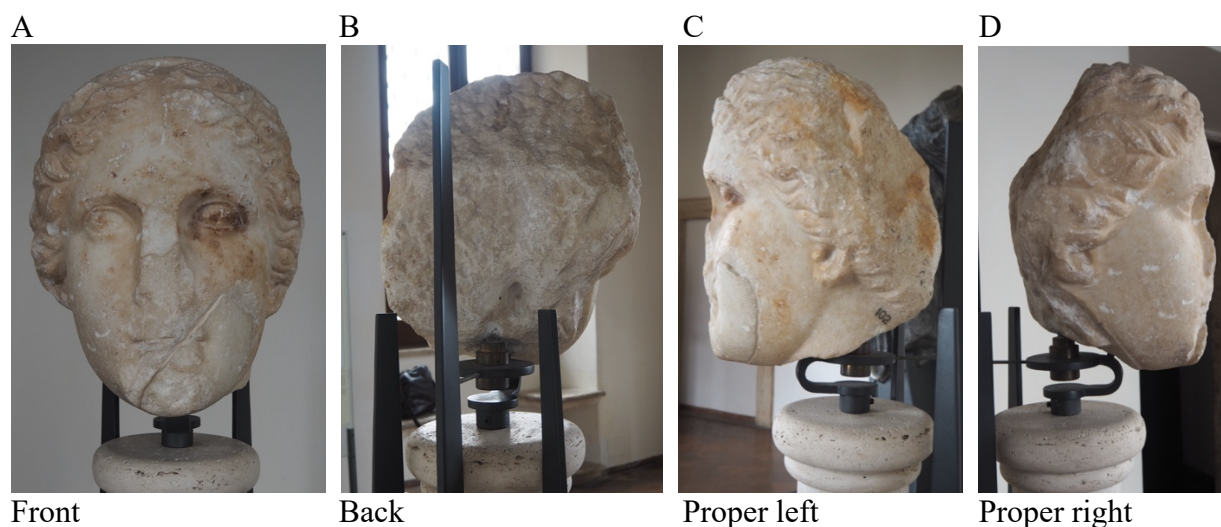
Description: Pausanias records that a temple to Hermes was located at Pheneos, which worshipped Hermes above all other gods and celebrated games in his honor. Inside the temple stood a marble cult statue of Hermes by Eucheir, son of Euboulides. Roman Imperial coins of Pheneos depict Hermes standing, holding a kerykeion and chlamys in his left hand, with his weight on his right leg, the left leg set back. The right hip juts out, resulting in a corresponding S-curve of the torso. This figure may represent Eucheir's cult statue. Archaeological remains of neither the temple nor the statue have been found.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 8.14.10; Despini 1995, 338; Damaskos 1999, 30–31; Ridgway 2000, 235.

S50 Praeneste, Fortuna Primigenia**Current Location:** Palestrina, Archaeological Museum Inv. 563**Associated Temple:** Praeneste, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia (Cat. T62)**Date:** c. 125–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white, fine-grained marble**Dimensions:** 0.28 m W x 0.26 m D x 0.38 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A marble female head found in the well before the eastern exedra of the fourth terrace of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste may belong to a cult statue that stood within the round aedicula at the sanctuary's highest point. The head is preserved to the base of the neck, and is missing the nose, lips, and hairstyle. The lower left jaw and chin were damaged and reattached. The round face has shallow, round eyes that are wide open and look straight ahead. The wavy hair is parted slightly left of center and pulled back over the ears. A round fillet is visible only at the crown of the head. The right side of the hair has a braided band within it. The back of the head is broken and roughly picked. The top of the head has been cut to reduce its weight but has not been hollowed out; it was likely covered by a veil. No tilt or turn to the head is evident in the surviving fragment. The head belonged to an acrolithic statue. According to Cicero, the cult statue of Fortuna represented the goddess breastfeeding Jupiter and Juno as infants.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Div.* 2.85; Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 261, fig. 347; Quattrocchi 1956, 24, no. 29; Kähler 1958, 202, fig. 4; Jacopi 1959, 16, no. 29; Romanelli 1967, 91, fig. 127; Coarelli 1976, 27, figs. 21, 23–24; H. Martin 1987, 180–181, 234–235, no. 15, pl. 31; Trummer 1993, 152, fig. 10; Giustozzi 2001, 35, figs. 64–65.



Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste. Palestrina, Archaeological Museum Inv. 563. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

S51 Priene, Athena Polias

Current Location: London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.1 (Nike right wing); 1870,0320.2 (Nike left wing); 1870,0320.136 (left foot); 1870,0320.137 (left hand); 1870,0320.208 (neck); 1870,0320.210 (right shoulder, upper arm, and elbow); 1870,0320.305 (right foot); 1870,0320.319/208 (left lower arm); 1870,0320.328 (left upper arm); 1972,0425.4 (lips)

Associated Temple: Priene, Temple of Athena Polias (**Cat. T63**)

Date: c. 158–156 BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Patron: Likely Orophernes

Material: Acrolith: white marble (probably Parian), gilded bronze

Dimensions: Upper lip: 0.132 m W x 0.031 m D x 0.077 m H

Lower lip: 0.252 m W x 0.200 m D x 0.072 m H

Neck: 0.573 m W x 0.440 m D x 0.513 m H

Left upper arm: 0.500 m W x 0.420 m D x 1.190 m L

Left lower arm: 0.426 m W x 0.348 m D x 0.760 m L

Right shoulder and upper arm: 0.242 m W x 0.289 m D x 0.650 m L

Right elbow: 0.360 m W x 0.250 m D x 0.600 m L

Left hand: 0.470 m W x 0.301 m D x 0.530 m L

Left foot: 0.374 m W x 0.183 m D x 0.331 m L

Right foot: 0.287 m W x 0.129 m D x 0.248 m L

Bronze wing (left): 0.221 m W x 0.004 m D x 0.591 m L

Bronze wing (right): 0.251 m W x 0.003 m D x 0.736 m L

Entire figure: c. 6.790 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 5.05 m W x 3.50 m D x 0.88 m H

Description: The Temple of Athena Polias at Priene contained an acrolithic cult statue modeled on the Athena Parthenos in Athens. Fragments of the statue were discovered in the cella near the cult statue base amidst fragments of charred wood. The extant pieces include the lips, neck, arms, left hand, and both feet in white marble and two wings in gilded bronze. Technical details on the surviving marble fragments indicate the statue was acrolithic. Based on the fragments, the left arm was held close to the figure's side, perhaps holding a shield or spear, while the right extended straight out at about hip level, likely holding a figure of Nike in its palm. The thick neck twists slightly to the right. The surviving left foot is more finely modeled than the arms and neck, perhaps because it would have stood at about eye level. The two wings have different feather patterns and vary slightly in size and weight but likely belong to the same figure of Nike, which stood c. 1.18 m H. Roman coins from Priene include an image of Athena, likely in the form of her cult statue, that confirms its resemblance to the Athena Parthenos. The cult statue was installed in the second century BCE, perhaps funded by Orophernes, a Cappadocian ruler, whose coins were discovered within the base. Evidence of burning on the marble fragments indicates that the statue was destroyed in a fire.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.5.5; Pullan 1881, 31; Smith 1900, 152–153, no. 1150; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 110–111; Thompson 1982, 180; Carter 1983, 210–249, nos. 72–83, figs. 18–25, pls. 33–37; Faulstich 1997, 55–61, 183–185, no. 1; Damaskos 1999, 185–194.

A



Athena Polias, Priene, reconstruction. Source: Carter 1983, fig. 21

B



Athena Polias, Priene, upper lip. London, British Museum Inv. 1972,0425.4. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

C



Athena Polias, Priene, lower lip and jaw. London, British Museum Inv. 1972,0425.4. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

D



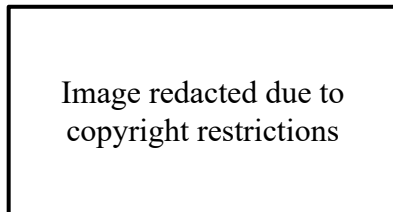
Athena Polias, Priene, neck. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.208. Source: Carter 1983, pl. 33d

E



Athena Polias, Priene, left upper arm. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.328. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

F



Athena Polias, Priene, left lower arm. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.319/208. Source: Carter 1983, pl. 35c

G



Athena Polias, Priene, left hand. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.137. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

H



Athena Polias, Priene, right shoulder, upper arm. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.210.
Source: Carter 1983, pl. 36d

I



Athena Polias, Priene, right elbow. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.210. Source: Carter
1983, pl. 35d

J



Athena Polias, Priene, left foot. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.136. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

K



Athena Polias, Priene, right foot. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.305. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

L



Athena Polias, Priene, left wing of Nike. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.2. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

M

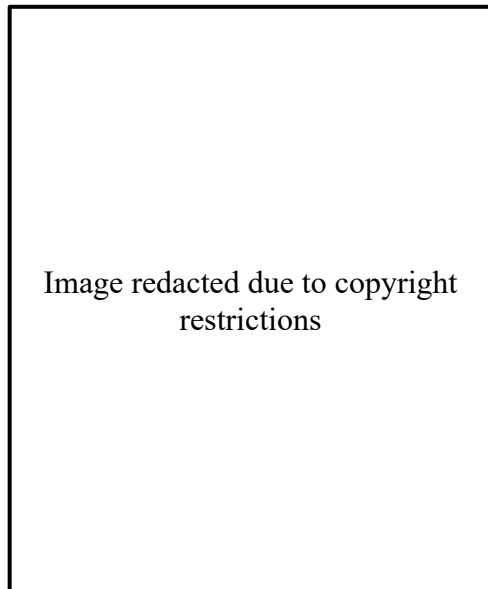


Athena Polias, Priene, right wing of Nike. London, British Museum Inv. 1870,0320.1. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum

S52 Rome, Apollo of Timarchides**Current Location:** Rome, Theater of Marcellus storeroom**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Apollo Medicus (Cat. T65)**Date:** c. 179 BCE**Sculptor:** Timarchides (I), son of Polykles (I)**Material:** White, fine-grained marble, perhaps Pentelic**Dimensions:** 0.40 m L**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Pliny lists several works of art within the Temple of Apollo Medicus at Rome, including a statue of Apollo by Timarchides that may have been the temple's cult statue. A marble fragment of a right hand from a colossal statue discovered in the temple may belong to Timarchides' statue. Only the palm is preserved; all fingers have broken off. The Apollo of Cyrene in the British Museum may represent a later copy of Timarchides' statue, which likely depicted Apollo standing, wearing a himation wrapped around his thighs, with his right hand upon his head, and his left hand holding a lyre.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 10.2.13; Plin. *HN* 36.35; Becatti 1935; Hill 1962, 126–129; La Rocca 1977; H. Martin 1987, 207, no. 1; Despinis 1995, 366–369; Ridgway 2000, 244; Ghisellini 2003–2004, 510; Stewart 2012, 685.



Apollo of Timarchides, Rome, right hand. Rome, Theater of Marcellus storeroom. Source: H. Martin 1987, pl. 1

S53 Rome, Fortuna Huiusce Diei

Current Location: Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2779 (right arm), 2780 (head), 2781 (right foot), 2782 (left foot)

Associated Temple: Rome, Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (**Cat. T73**)

Date: c. 101 BCE

Sculptor: Skopas Minor

Patron: Quintus Lutatius Catulus

Material: Acrolith: large-grained, perhaps Pentelic, marble

Dimensions: Head: 0.77 m W x 0.56 m Diam. (neck) x 1.46 m H

Arm: 0.54 m W x 0.54 m D x 2.65 m L

Left foot: 0.44 m W x 0.92 m L x 0.44 m H

Right foot: 0.55 m W x 0.21 m D x 0.47 m L

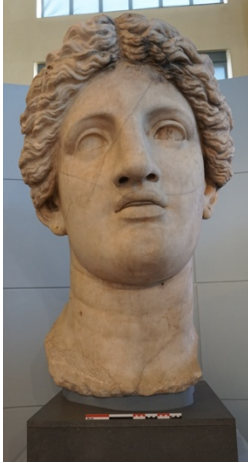
Entire figure: c. 8.00 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: 3.87 m W x 2.20 m D

Description: Marble fragments from a colossal female figure were discovered in the Largo Argentina and have been identified as the cult statue of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The fragments include the head, right arm, and both feet; technical details on the fragments indicate that they belonged to an acrolithic statue. The head has breaks visible in the hair and cracks in the neck; the back of the head was added separately, perhaps in another material, and is now missing. The wide, oval face has large, round eyes that are shallowly set, a broad nose with deeply drilled nostrils, thick lips, and an open mouth revealing the upper row of teeth. The ears contain holes for the attachment of metal earrings. The head sits upon a thick neck with Venus rings that tilts to the right. The wavy hair is centrally parted and pulled back from the face in thick sections and textured with the use of a claw chisel. The back of the head is roughly worked with a large dowel hole in its center. The collar of the neck is also roughly worked for its insertion into a wooden support. The right arm is preserved from the fingers to the bicep. The fragment was broken at the wrist but reattached. A small metal dowel is visible in the palm of the hand and the fingers curl as if they once held an object. Large dowel holes are visible in the center of the wrist and in the crook of the arm. A metal dowel is located near the elbow. A deep, rectangular dowel hole is visible at the break where the arm was socketed into the shoulder; a thick metal pin runs the entire depth of the hole. The exterior and underside of the arm are roughly picked for the attachment of an attribute, likely a cornucopia. The left foot is preserved from the toes to the heel. The foot wore a thong sandal with a Gorgon medallion; only the straps survive as the sandal bed was carved separately and is lost. The big toe is raised. A large square dowel hole at the back of the foot indicates where it was joined to the wooden support. A tenon extends out from under the heel. A pinhole is located on the inside of the foot near the ankle and a clamp and dowel hole are found on the top of the foot near the ankle. The right foot is preserved just past the toes. This foot also wore a thong sandal, the bed of which survives and contains an inset band around its exterior. The pinkie toe curls inward. The back of the foot is broken with no evidence of joins. Based on the size of the surviving fragments and the cult statue base, the figure was standing. The pose and cuttings on the right arm suggest the figure held a cornucopia or other attribute in this arm; the left arm may have been entirely concealed within the drapery.

Select Bibliography: Marchetti-Longhi 1933; 1959, 65–66; 1960, 62–65; H. Martin 1987, 103–111, 213–215, no. 5, pls. 13–14; Coarelli 1996, 71–73, fig. 20; 1997, 275–293; Ridgway 2000, 244; Bertoletti, Cima, and Talamo 2006, 68–69, fig. 65; Leach 2010.

A



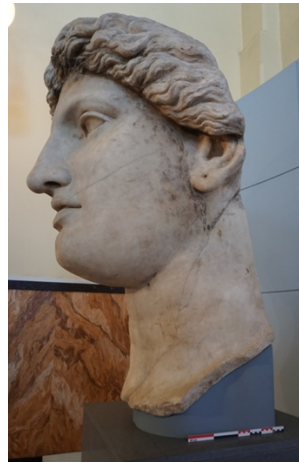
Front

B



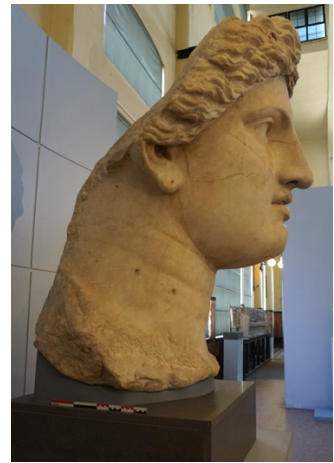
Back

C



Proper left

D



Proper right

Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, head. Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2780. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

E



Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, right arm. Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2779. Photo:
A. Eckhardt

F



Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, left foot. Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2782. Photo:
A. Eckhardt

G



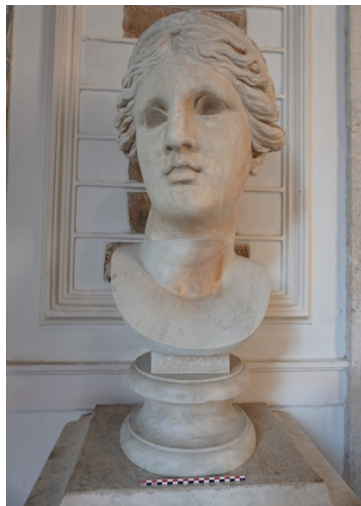
Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, right foot. Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2781. Photo:
A. Eckhardt

S54 Rome, Juno Regina**Current Location:** Rome, Capitoline Museum Inv. 253**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Juno Regina (**Cat. T80**)**Date:** c. 140 BCE**Sculptor:** Dionysios (I) and Polykles (III), sons of Timarchides (I)**Patron:** Quintus Caecilius Metellus**Material:** Acrolith: Pentelic marble**Dimensions:** 0.23 m W (face) x 0.31 m D x 0.44 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: According to Pliny, Dionysios and his brother Polykles created a marble statue of Juno Regina for her temple in Rome. An over-lifesize female head of Pentelic marble with an unknown provenance may have belonged to this statue. The head is broken along the neckline; the bust is modern. Small sections on the face, hair, and left earlobe are also modern additions. The eyes were deeply set and inlaid in another material, now lost. The mouth is open, revealing the upper and lower teeth. The centrally-parted hair is pulled back from the face in wavy sections and pinned beneath a thick diadem. The back of the head is hollowed out, suggesting that the fragment belonged to an acrolithic statue. Metal clamps in the hair behind the diadem and metal supports inside the hollow at the back of the head indicate that the head was likely veiled, perhaps in bronze, which was attached just behind the diadem. The head tilts slightly and turns to the right. The sharp turn of the head and gaze that looks straight ahead seems more appropriate for a seated than a standing figure.

Select Bibliography: Plin. *HN* 36.35; Dickins 1911, 314; Stuart Jones 1926, 122, no. 49, pl. 31; H. Martin 1987, 88–90, 209–210, no. 3, pls. 6–7; Reusser 1993, 105–106, figs. 43–45; Despinis 1995, 365–366, pl. 78; Coarelli 1996, 103–111, no. 5, pls. 13–14; Ridgway 2000, 244; Giustozzi 2001, 32, figs. 43–46; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, 257–258, nos. I.16–17; Stewart 2012, 668 (n. 19), 682–683.

A



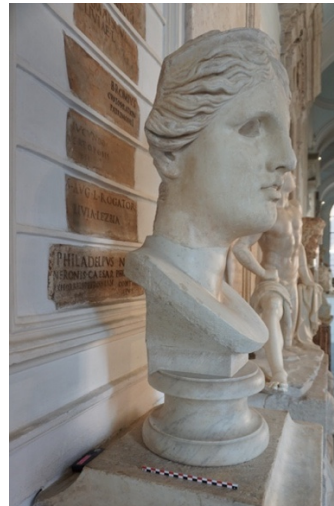
Front

B



Proper left

C



Proper right

Juno Regina, Rome. Rome, Capitoline Museum Inv. 253. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S55 Rome, Jupiter Stator**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Jupiter Stator (**Cat. T82**)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Dionysios (I) and Polykles (III), sons of Timarchides (I)**Patron:** Quintus Caecilius Metellus**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Pliny records that Dionysios and Polykles created a marble cult statue for the Temple of Jupiter Stator in Rome. Nothing of the statue survives today.**Select Bibliography:** Plin. *HN* 36.35; Ridgway 2000, 244; Stewart 2012, 682–683.

S56 Rome, Mars and Venus**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Mars in Circo (**Cat. T86**)**Date:** c. 133 BCE**Sculptor:** Skopas Minor**Patron:** Decius Iunius Brutus Callaicus**Material:** Marble**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

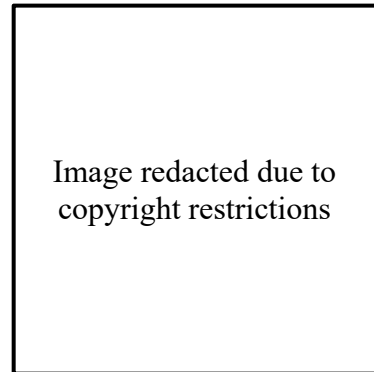
Description: Pliny reports that the Temple of Mars in Circo contained a colossal, seated statue of Mars by Skopas and a nude figure of Venus. Three marble fragments of an over-lifesize female figure were found in Via degli Specchi adjacent to the temple remains in 1873. These fragments may have belonged to the cult image of Venus and consisted of a bent arm with drapery present at the elbow, part of the shoulder, and a piece of drapery. These fragments, as well as architectural elements from the temple, were taken to the storerooms of the Commissione Archeologica Comunale following their discovery. Their present location is unknown and preliminary searches in the storerooms of the Capitoline Museum have yielded no results.

Select Bibliography: Plin. *HN* 36.26; Tortorici 1988, 74–75; Bernard 2010, 37–38.

S57 Rome, Vediovis**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Vediovis (Capitoline) (**Cat. T91**)**Date:** 196–192 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Furius Purpurio**Material:** Cypress wood**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: According to Pliny, the statue of Vediovis in the god's Capitoline temple was made of cypress wood. Ovid describes the statue as depicting a young, beardless Jupiter missing his characteristic attribute of thunderbolts. Beside the god stood the goat from which he breastfed as an infant. The wooden statue may have perished in the fire of 80 CE and been replaced by the marble statue discovered in the temple, now in the Capitoline Museum (Inv. S 2446), that dates to the Flavian period.

Select Bibliography: Ov. *Fast.* 3.437–3.448; Plin. *HN* 16.216; Gell. *NA* 5.12.2; Colini 1942; H. Martin 1987, 24–25; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 80; Brucia 1990, 50–52.

S58 Rome, Victoria Virgo**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Rome, Temple of Victoria Virgo (**Cat. T96**)**Date:** 193–191 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Porcius Cato**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Cato's aedicula to Victoria Virgo contained a cult statue that depicted the goddess seated and holding a patera in her right hand and a palm leaf in her left. The figure is known only through coins minted by Cato.**Select Bibliography:** Hölscher 1967, 137–138, pl. 16.1; Grueber 1970, vol. 2, 303–305; vol. 3, pls. 95.15–18, 96.1–2; H. Martin 1987, 146–147; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 85; Davies 2017, 115.

Reverse of a silver denarius from Rome depicting Victoria Virgo, c. 90 BCE. London, British Museum. Source: H. Martin 1987, fig. 38

S59 Soluntum, Zeus**Current Location:** Palermo, Antonio Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum Inv. 5574**Associated Temple:** Soluntum, “Sacred Building”*Temple Date:* Mid-4th century BCE*Temple Type:* Double-roomed oikos*Temple Dimensions:* 9.80 x 15.10 m*Cella Dimensions:* 4.50 x 3.10 m**Date:** c. 150–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone, white marble**Dimensions:** 1.65 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A colossal statue of an enthroned male figure was discovered in the “Sacred Building” at Soluntum. The cult statue is twice lifesize and polyolithic with a body of limestone and face and neck of white marble. The statue depicts a bearded, enthroned male deity with both arms raised up. The left hand, raised above the head, likely held a scepter, while the right hand, at the level of the face, perhaps held a thunderbolt. This unusual posture for a cult statue is the result of an arbitrary restoration by Valerio Villareale in 1826. The figure has thick, curly hair, a low forehead, large nose, high cheekbones, full lips, and big eyes. The hair falls to the shoulders in long, twisting curls. The thin mustache contrasts with the full beard, also composed of long curls. The figure wears a chiton almost entirely hidden by a himation, which drapes from the left shoulder and forearm onto the lower body. The right leg is placed forward; the right foot is shod in a sandal decorated with an oak leaf on its clasp. The left foot is set back and unfinished. Both feet rest upon a stool, richly decorated on the front with vegetal motifs and sphinx-shaped legs. Only two legs of the throne are intact, but they are decorated in high relief. The right leg features, on the left, Ares crowned by a winged Nike, and on the right, Aphrodite, wearing a chiton and himation, with Eros on her left shoulder. The Three Graces, each wearing a chiton and himation, decorate the left leg. The statue was originally painted, remains of which have been found during conservation analysis. The polychromy included red paint in the irises and eyebrows and black paint in the locks of the beard and himation. The black paint enhanced the chiaroscuro of the sculpture. The presence of gold next to a hole on the left arm suggests it once held a metal attachment, such as a brooch or fibula. The figure has been identified alternately as Zeus, Zeus-Hades, and Zeus-Baal-Hammon. It likely stood within the left cella of a vaulted, double-roomed sacred building.

Select Bibliography: Pietrasanta 1831, 8–11, pl. 3; Salinas 1884, 26–27, 29; Ferri 1942, 254–258, figs. 8, 9, 11, 13–14; Vlizos 1999, 32–34; Tusa 2001, pls. 66–68; Marconi 2012, 392; Di Paola, Milazzo, and Spatafora 2017; Milazzo et al. 2018.

A



Front

B



Proper left

C



Proper right

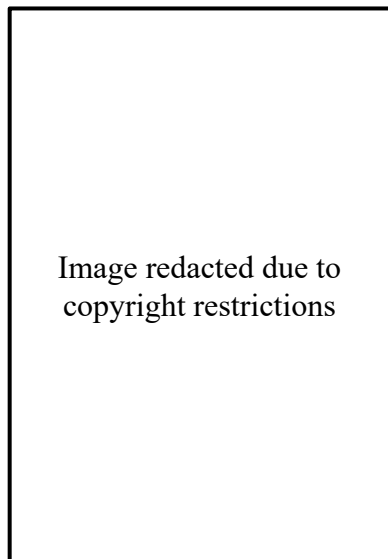
Zeus, Soluntum. Palermo, Antonio Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum Inv. 5574. Photos:
A. Eckhardt

S60 Tarracina, Feronia**Current Location:** Tarracina, Museo Civico Inv. 16**Associated Temple:** Tarracina, Sanctuary of Feronia (Cat. T100)**Date:** c. 125–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble**Dimensions:** 0.51 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A slightly over-lifesize female head of white, fine-grained marble was discovered along the Via Appia in the area of the Sanctuary of Feronia near Tarracina. The chin, lips, and nose have broken off. The bottom of the neck is cut flat, indicating that it belonged to an acrolithic statue. The wide, square face sits upon a long, thick neck marked by Venus rings. The large, deep-set eyes look straight ahead, perhaps indicating that the statue was seated. The figure has a small, fleshy mouth and a broad chin. The head turns and tilts slightly to the right. The earlobes are pierced for the attachment of metal earrings. The centrally-parted hair is pulled back from the face in thick waves into a bun at the back of the head. The left side of the hair is cut flat and features two dowel holes, indicating that the rest of the hairstyle was added separately in stucco. Only the left side of the bun remains intact; the right side is smoothed for additions in stucco or marble. A cutting running along the crown of the head with a dowel hole at center indicates that an attribute was added in another material. The top of the head is missing; the inside of the head has been hollowed out to about eye level. The completion of the bun indicates that the head was not veiled. The lack of a veil and youthful appearance of the face indicates that a young goddess was represented. The statue has been dated to the late second century BCE based on its style and technique. The iconography of the head conforms to numismatic representations of Feronia, which depict the goddess with a similar hairstyle, dangling earrings, and a necklace.

Select Bibliography: De Rossi 1981, 82, fig. A 129; Manderscheid 1981, 80, no. 108, pl. 21; Coarelli 1987, 311; H. Martin 1987, 175–177, 232–233, no. 13, pls. 29–30; Coppola 1989, 43–44; Giustozzi 1995–1996, 264–268, pls. 306–308; 2001, 32–33, figs. 50–52; Rosso 2010, 147–149, fig. 8.

A



Front

B



Proper right

Feronia, Tarracina. Terracina, Museo Civico Inv. 16. Photos: F. Coarelli, in H. Martin 1987, pls. 29–30

C



Back

Feronia, Tarracina. Terracina, Museo Civico Inv. 16. Photo: N. Giustozzi, in Giustozzi 2001, fig. 51

S61 Tenos, Poseidon Cult Group

Current Location: Tenos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 281 α (Amphitrite toe), A 281 β (Amphitrite thumb), A 291 (Amphitrite finger)

Associated Temple: Tenos, Temple of Poseidon (**Cat. T101**)

Date: Early 3rd century BCE or early 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Perhaps Telesinos of Athens

Patron: Perhaps Rhodes

Material: Acrolith: white marble

Dimensions: Right toes: 0.14 m L x 0.12 m W x 0.08 m D

Amphitrite finger (A 291): 0.07 m L x 0.04 m W x 0.04 m D

Amphitrite left little finger: 0.11 m L x 0.06 m W x 0.06 m D

Amphitrite right thumb (A 281 β): 0.86 m L x 0.06 m W x 0.05 m D

Amphitrite left big toe (A 281 α): 0.12 m L x 0.08 m W x 0.05 m D

Amphitrite left foot: 0.33 m L x 0.18 m W x 0.17 m D

Amphitrite: c. 3.60 m reconstructed H

Poseidon face: 0.19 m W x 0.08 m D x 0.15 m H

Poseidon fingers: 0.14 m L x 0.10 m W x 0.06 m D

Poseidon right hand: 0.15 m L x 0.11 m W x 0.05 m D

Poseidon right big toe: 0.11 m L x 0.08 m W x 0.05 m D

Poseidon: c. 4.00 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: A fragment from Philochoros of Athens, cited by Clement of Alexandria, notes that two colossal statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite stood at Tenos. He attributes the statues to Telesinos of Athens, who worked in the early third century BCE. Ten marble fragments from a colossal cult statue group were discovered during excavations in the Temple of Poseidon. Four fragments seem to belong to a male statue, approximately three times lifesize, and five fragments seem to belong to a slightly smaller female statue, approximately 2.5 times lifesize. The fragments are all of a white, fine-grained marble. The fragments attributed to the figure of Poseidon include a portion of the face, fingers, right hand, and right big toe. The face fragment includes the lower eyelid of the left eye, the left cheekbone, and a portion of the nasolabial fold. Another fragment includes two curled fingers, possibly the thumb and right index finger, which may have held a trident. The two remaining fragments of this figure include the right hand and the right big toe. The figure of Amphitrite survives in five fragments, with three comprising the right thumb, left little finger, and an unidentifiable finger. In addition, the left foot and left big toe survive. The foot wears a sandal with a thick sole. A small pin hole is visible on the left side and remains of a large mortise are present on the break on the right side. The mortise indicates that the statue was likely acrolithic; drapery presumably concealed this join. A final fragment consisted of three toes from the right foot, but it is unclear to which figure this piece belonged. Roman coins from Tenos depict a cult statue group of Poseidon and Amphitrite in which both figures are standing, with Poseidon on the left and Amphitrite on the right. Poseidon, dressed in a himation, holds a trident in his right hand and rests his left on his hip. A dolphin sits beneath the trident. Amphitrite, in a high-girt chiton, turns toward Poseidon, holding a scepter in her left hand and raising her right arm. Queyrel reconstructs four sea creatures as part of the cult statue group based on 28 marble fragments discovered in the sanctuary. None of the coins, however, include a hippocamp quadriga nor does the cult statue base survive to attest to the size of the composition. Philochoros describes the two statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite as approximately

9 cubits (c. 4.17 m) tall, which matches the surviving fragments. If Philochoros was correct in attributing the statues to Telesinos, the cult group dates to the early third century BCE. It is currently unclear, however, if the statue group was erected at the time of the temple's initial construction or during its second-century renovation.

Select Bibliography: Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.47.5; Queyrel 1986, 273–278, pls. 129–131.2; Faulstich 1997, 136, 209–211, no. 13; Damaskos 1999, 74–79.

A



Poseidon cult group, Tenos, right toes. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 131.1

B



Amphitrite, Tenos, finger. Tenos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 291. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.4

C



Amphitrite, Tenos, left little finger. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.2

D



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Amphitrite, Tenos, right thumb. Tenos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 281 β . Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.1

E



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Amphitrite, Tenos, left big toe. Tenos, Archaeological Museum Inv. A 281 α . Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.6

F

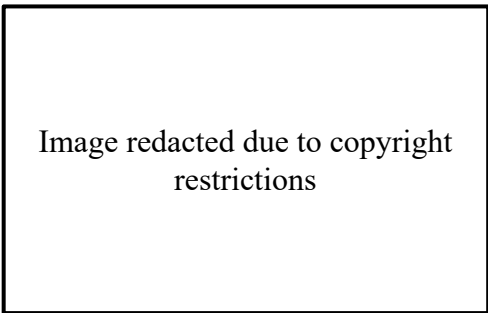
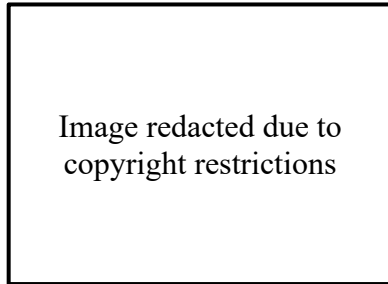


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Amphitrite, Tenos, left foot. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 131.2

G



Poseidon, Tenos, face. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 129.1

H



Poseidon, Tenos, fingers. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.3

I



Poseidon, Tenos, right hand. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.5

J



Poseidon, Tenos, right big toe. Tenos, Archaeological Museum. Source: Queyrel 1986, pl. 130.7

Probable Second-Century Cult Statues

Based on the evidence for known second-century cult statues, these sculptures shared characteristics regarding their subject, size, material, and execution. The following sculptural fragments (**Cat. S62–S75**) lack a clear provenance that ties them definitively to a specific temple but are included here as evidence of likely second-century cult statues on the basis of their shared formal features with the statues cataloged above.

S62 Atlanta, Female Deity

Current Location: Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum Inv. 2007.1.1

Associated Temple: Unknown

Date: 2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

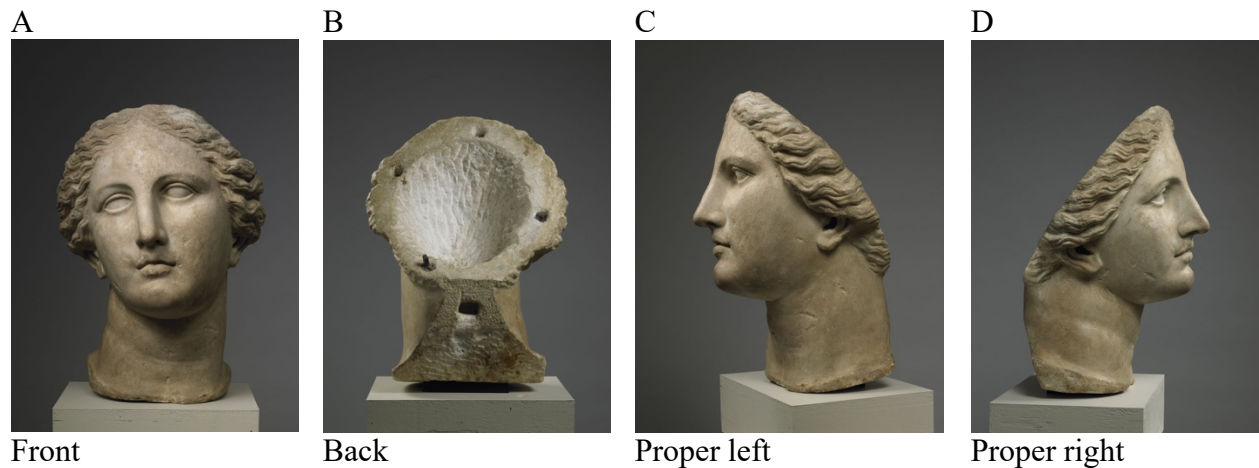
Material: Acrolith: Parian (Choridaki) marble

Dimensions: 0.36 m W x 0.28 m D x 0.47 m H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: An over-lifesize head of a mature woman in the Michael C. Carlos Museum was constructed of Parian marble from the Choridaki Valley. Tooling around the base of the neck suggests that the head was originally part of an acrolithic statue. The back of the head is hollowed out. Three separate pieces joined to complete the head. Four large, round dowel holes on the back of the head contain traces of lead and one retains the remains of an iron rod. These would have been used to secure the back of the head to the front. Another large, rectangular dowel hole on the back of the neck indicates that a third, smaller piece completed the head, perhaps as part of the hairstyle. The nose, chin, and proper right eye were restored, perhaps in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, with at least two types of marble used in the restoration. The wide face and soft features of the head resemble the figures on the Pergamon Altar. The figure's eyes look upward, and the mouth opens slightly. The centrally-parted hairstyle is pulled back from the face in thick waves. The full, curving neck features Venus rings. The head was not likely veiled, and thus may have depicted a divine personification.

Select Bibliography: Reusser 1993, 104, n. 61; Tykot et al. 2018, 506.



Female deity. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum Inv. 2007.1.1. Photos: © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, by Bruce M. White, 2009

S63 Butrint, Asklepios**Current Location:** Lost**Associated Temple:** Butrint, Asklepieion*Temple Date:* Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE*Temple Type:* Tetrastyle prostyle*Temple Dimensions:* c. 15.00 x 21.00*Cella Dimensions:* c. 11.70 x 15.00**Date:** mid-2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Perhaps Damophon of Messene**Material:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Base Dimensions:** c. 0.60 x 0.50 m

Description: A large statue base found in the Asklepieion at Butrint contains an inscription that preserves the name of the sculptor. As reconstructed on the basis of available space and known comparisons, the inscription may identify Damophon of Messene as the sculptor of the statue that once stood upon this base. The size of the base is reconstructed as c. 0.60 x 0.50 m, indicating it may have held a cult statue. The most likely recipient of a cult statue within the Asklepieion would be Asklepios himself. The inscription is recorded on an unpublished note by Luigi Morricone, housed in the Archive of the Archaeological Mission in Albania (Rome).

Select Bibliography: Melfi 2016, 85–90; Melfi and Martens 2020, 597.

S64 Butrint, Kybele Cult Group

Current Location: Butrint, Archaeological Museum Inv. 535 (Attis), 537 (Kybele), unknown (male figure)

Associated Temple: Unknown

Date: mid-2nd century BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: Pentelic marble (Attis), Parian lychnites marble (Kybele)

Dimensions: Attis: 0.77 m W x 0.45–0.55 m D x 1.22 m H; c. 2.20–2.30 m reconstructed H

Kybele: 0.69 m W x 0.48 m D x 1.02 m H; c. 1.70–1.90 m reconstructed H

Male figure: c. 0.57 m W x 0.44 m D x 0.95 m H; c. 2.30–2.60 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: A set of three colossal sculptures discovered in Butrint may depict Kybele with two standing male companions. The largest figure from the group is a seated goddess, missing its head and limbs. The figure wears a chiton belted below the breasts with a wide ribbon knotted in a bow, and a himation draped over her left shoulder. The figure was originally set into a separately carved high-backed throne, now missing. Based on the torso's numerous dowel holes, the statue consisted of 6–7 individual parts joined together. Its style and technique suggest a date in the second century BCE. Despite no attestations to a Kybele cult at Butrint, Melfi and Martens identify the figure as a cult statue of Kybele based on its iconography, size, material, and skillful execution. A torso of a standing youth missing its head, arms, and lower legs may have represented Attis or a Trojan figure like Askanios. The male figure wears a mantle over its back, fastened at the right shoulder, and a sleeved tunic secured with a wide belt. The figure stood with the left leg engaged and the right thigh thrust out. A thin object, now lost, was once held in the crook of the figure's left arm. A fragment of the legs of a male figure completes the composition. The figure wore a himation draped around its legs. Its weight was placed on its right leg; the left knee was flexed. The scale of the fragment is too large for an honorific portrait and the himation suggests a deity rather than a human subject, but further identification is impossible. Both male figures may date to either the Hellenistic or Roman period and thus may be an Augustan addition.

Select Bibliography: Bergemann 1998, 30, 32–34, 38–40, 152, nos. 1–2, figs. 19a–c, 21a, b; Mercuri 2005, 231, 235, 237, 240–241, nos. 4–5, figs. 4–5; Melfi and Martens 2020, nos. 2–4.

A



Attis, Butrint, torso. Butrint, Archaeological Museum Inv. 535. Source: Melfi and Martens 2020, fig. 14

B



Kybele, Butrint, torso. Butrint, Archaeological Museum Inv. 537. Source: Melfi and Martens 2020, fig. 8

C



Male figure, Butrint, legs. Butrint, Archaeological Museum. Source: Melfi and Martens 2020, fig. 16

S65 Holkham Hall, “Juno”**Current Location:** Norfolk, Holkham Hall**Associated Temple:** Unknown**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble**Dimensions:** Head: 0.77 m H (with bust), 0.47 m H (without bust), 0.36 m H (chin to crown of head)

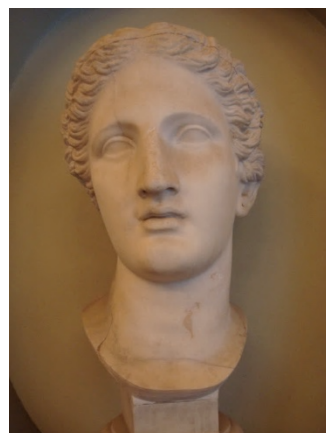
Reconstructed statue: c. 2.90 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: A colossal female head now in the collection of Holkham Hall may have originally been part of an acrolithic cult statue. The object’s findspot is unknown, but it was purchased in Rome in 1752 as a representation of Juno. The head is in a remarkable state of preservation, including its original nose, with restorations for the crown and back of the head and the back half of the neck. The round face with a large, rounded chin, has soft features and deep-set eyes. The broad, straight nose ends in a rounded tip. The small mouth, with its full lower lip, is slightly opened. The wavy hair is parted slightly right of center and pulled back away from the face, covering the upper half of the ears. The delicately rendered strands of hair twist and curl over one another. The ears retain holes for attached earrings. The facial features are asymmetrical, with the left eye slightly higher than the right, more detailed modeling of the left ear and left half of the hair, and a curl of hair on the left cheek. As a result, the head turned slightly to the right and up. The break between the ancient statue and later restoration indicates that the statue was likely acrolithic, with the back half of the head pieced onto the front half. Waldstein identified the head as that of Aphrodite from the Parthenon pediment, but this attribution was sharply rebuked by Dickins. The statue dates stylistically to the late second century BCE.

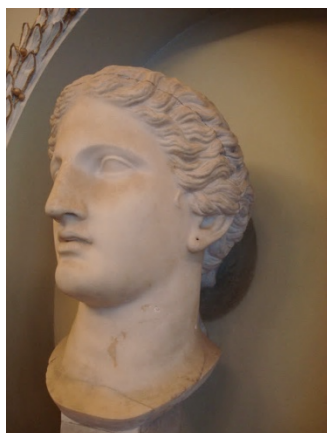
Select Bibliography: Michaelis 1882, 314, no. 37; Waldstein 1913, figs. 1–3, 15, 19, pl. 17; 1914; Dickins 1914; H. Martin 1987, 247–248, no. A4; Reusser 1993, 108 (n. 73), 171; Angelicoussis 2001, 144–145, no. 45, pls. 82, 83.1–4.

A



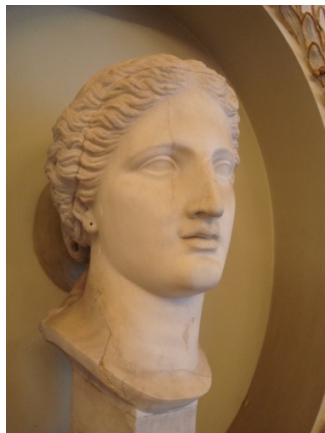
Front

B



Proper left

C



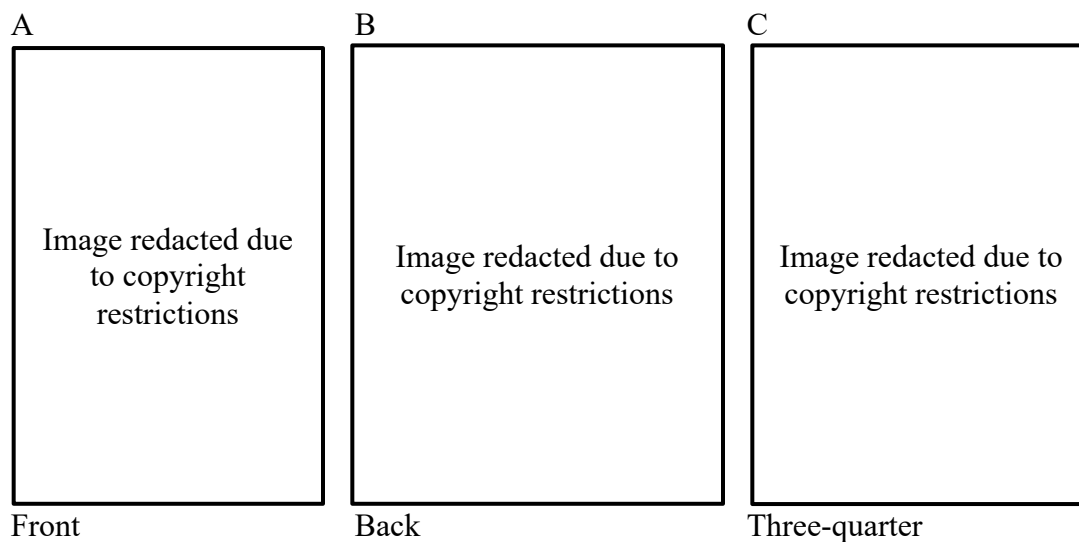
Proper right

Holkham Hall, “Juno.” Norfolk, Holkham Hall. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S66 Hope Goddess**Current Location:** Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. 30-7-1**Associated Temple:** Unknown**Date:** c. 100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble**Dimensions:** 0.350 W, 0.375 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A colossal female marble head once in the country residence of the Hope family likely came from Italy and formed part of an acrolithic cult statue. The statue is over-lifesize and features a full, oval face ending in a rounded chin with a faint dimple in its center. The tall, smooth forehead leads to a broad nose, which broke off and has been restored in marble. The eyes are outlined by thick eyelids. The mouth is partly open revealing two rows of teeth. The facial features are asymmetrical, with the right side fuller and wider. The left ear is set higher than the right and partly covered by hair, and the right eye is longer than the left. The hair is pulled back in bunches of loosely twisted strands in the *melonenfrisur* style. These twisted strands disappear beneath two braids encircling the head. The central part is slightly off-center. Two sections of hair are pulled out and over the braids near the ears to form a chignon, and long strands of hair fall down the back of the neck. The back of the head is hollowed out. The identity of the figure is uncertain but it may have represented Juno, Proserpina, or a divine personification.

Select Bibliography: Dohan 1931, 150–151, pls. 4–5; Waywell 1986, 61–62, 93, no. 49, pl. 57.2–3; Ridgway 1996; 1997; 2000, 246, pl. 70; Giustozzi 2001, 32 (n. 67), 34, figs. 53–54; Romano 2006, 37–40, no. 27.



Hope Goddess. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. 30-7-1. Photos: Penn Museum Collections Online, <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/179801>

S67 Mounychia, Asklepios**Current Location:** Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 258**Associated Temple:** Piraeus, Sanctuary of Asklepios*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** 0.58 m W (at shoulders) x 0.35 m D x 1.03 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A marble fragment consisting of the head and upper torso of an over-lifesize male figure was discovered on the Mounychia hill in the Piraeus. The eyes, arms, and lower body are missing. The head and torso are one piece; the head turns to the left and tilts upward, the torso is broken just above the hips. The deeply set eyes were inlaid in another material. The open mouth is framed by a thick mustache that covers the upper lip. The beard is rendered in wide, round curls; some beard locks were attached separately and have broken off. The thick, textured, curly hair springs off the forehead with drilling separating individual locks. The top of the head is flattened, perhaps for the attachment of the rest of the head in stucco. The left shoulder is higher than the right, corresponding with the left turn of the head. The torso has finely modeled musculature. A himation wraps diagonally around the back of the figure, with none of the drapery visible on the front of the figure except a small piece on the left shoulder. Some folds are rendered, but the drapery is relatively flat. A small rectangular dowel hole is found on the top of the right shoulder, which also features a large rectangular dowel hole for the socketing of the arm. The proper left side of the figure features a large, roughly worked joining surface with the remains of a small lead dowel.

Select Bibliography: Stewart 1979, 48–53, pls. 10–11, 15a, c, e; Smith 1991, 64, fig. 67; Ridgway 2000, 245–246; Kaltsas 2002, 260–261, no. 543.

A



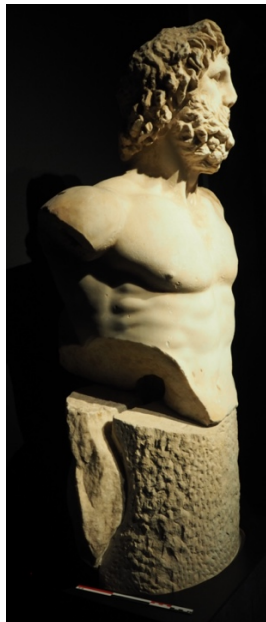
Front

B



Proper left

C



Proper right

Asklepios, Mounychia. Athens, National Archaeological Museum Inv. 258. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S68 Nemi, Diana

Current Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. 1517 (head)
 Nottingham, Castle Museum Inv. N 791 (drapery)

Associated Temple: Nemi, Sanctuary of Diana

Temple Date: Unknown

Temple Type: Unknown

Temple Dimensions: Unknown

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Date: c. 125–100 BCE

Sculptor: Unknown

Material: Acrolith: white marble, probably Parian lychnites

Dimensions: Head: 0.15 m W (face), 0.54 m H

Drapery: 0.31 m W x 0.08 m D x 0.31 m L

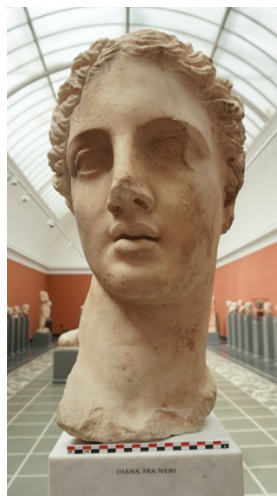
Entire statue: c. 2.90 m reconstructed H

Base Dimensions: Unknown

Description: An over-lifesize white marble head discovered in Room C of the “celle donarie” in the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi may belong to a cult statue of Diana, although in what building it originally stood is unknown. The head belonged to an acrolithic statue. A large piece of the right shoulder and the tip of the nose are missing. The oval face has a high, arched forehead, broad, straight nose, and widely spaced, large eyes. The small mouth is slightly open, revealing a row of upper teeth. The head sits upon a long, thick neck. While the face was slightly polished, the hair was left unpolished. The hair is centrally-parted and pulled back, and was probably gathered on the crown of the head with locks falling down onto both shoulders. Both ears are partly covered by hair and an S-shaped lock curls before the left ear. Small hairs are chiseled into the face along the hairline. Additional locks of hair were pinned onto the statue. A portion of hair on the right side along the hairline was added separately; the join is imperfect suggesting that it may have been filled with stucco. A rectangular piece of hair at the back of the head behind the left ear was added separately and is now missing. A large, rectangular bronze tenon on the top of the head indicates where the upper part of the hair was added. The back of the neck is completely flat and unworked. A dowel hole and joining surface on the lower right part of the neck was likely for the attachment of a quiver, probably of wood or bronze. The head is slightly turned and tilted down to the right shoulder and the eyes look down. The right shoulder was thrust forward, suggesting that the figure represented Artemis standing and drawing an arrow from a quiver behind her right shoulder. Part of the marble veneer forming the figure’s drapery is now in Nottingham. The veneer consists of two joining fragments of white, fine-grained marble with two holes for wooden dowels to attach the drapery to the acrolith’s wooden body. The drapery probably came from the left section of the waist and stomach. It clearly distinguishes between the figure’s chiton and himation. The marble type, size, technique, and iconography link the drapery fragment to the head.

Select Bibliography: Poulsen 1941, 14, fig. 13; 1951, 85, no. 87; Moltesen 1984–1986, 291–294; Coarelli 1987, 174–176, fig. 47; H. Martin 1987, 182–191, 236–237, no. 15, pls. 32–33; Guldager Bilde 1995, 195–201, figs. 3–6; Ridgway 2000, 244–245; Moltesen, Romano, and Herz 2002, fig. 3.

A



Front

B



Back

C



Proper left

D



Proper right

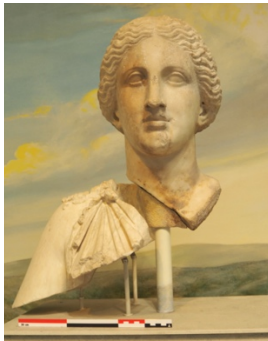
Diana, Nemi, head. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Inv. 1517. Photos: courtesy P. Katz

S69 Nemi, Female Deity**Current Location:** Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. Ms 3483**Associated Temple:** Nemi, Sanctuary of Diana*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** c. 100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble, probably from Iznik**Dimensions:** 0.285 m W x 0.210 m D x 0.447 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: An over-lifesize marble female head was discovered in Room F of the “celle donarie” at the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi. Its size, material, and style suggest it belonged to an acrolithic cult statue, perhaps of Diana. The fragment is a single piece comprising the front half of the head and neck; the back was added separately and is lost. The small, deeply set eyes are wide open, with the right eye positioned slightly higher than the left. The broad, straight nose ends in flaring nostrils. The open mouth reveals a row of upper teeth. The thin upper lip contrasts with the full lower lip. The rounded chin includes a dimple in the center. The thick neck features Venus rings. The hair is parted just left of center, with schematically rendered wavy strands of hair. The hair is pulled back from the face toward the nape of the neck, partly covering both ears. A diagonal cut through the right side of the neck and bust may have been made to accommodate drapery added in another material. A partially worked recess at the top of the head behind the hair may have been for the addition of a diadem in another material or for joining the back of the head in stucco. In the center of the top of the back of the head is a large, vertical dowel hole, perhaps for the attachment of a crown or veil. The back of the head is flat and roughly picked. The temple within the Sanctuary of Diana to which this statue belonged is uncertain, as is the deity it represents. Although Diana seems the most likely candidate, the mature appearance of the figure casts doubt upon this attribution.

Select Bibliography: Luce 1921, 181, no. 24; Guldager Bilde 1995, 202–205, figs. 12–15; 1998, 42, fig. 5; 2000, 100; Ridgway 2000, 245; Guldager Bilde and Moltesen 2002, 20–21, no. 1, figs. 6–9; Moltesen, Romano, and Herz 2002, 102, 105; Romano 2006, 84–87, no. 44.

A



Female Deity, Nemi, front (the shoulder fragment is not part of the original statue). Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. Ms 3483. Photo: A. Eckhardt

B



Female Deity, Nemi, back. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. Ms 3483.
Source: Guldager and Moltesen 2002, fig. 7

C



Female Deity, Nemi, proper left. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. Ms 3483. Source: Guldager and Moltesen 2002, fig. 8

D



Female Deity, Nemi, proper right. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum Inv. Ms 3483. Source: Guldager and Moltesen 2002, fig. 9

S70 Nemi, Male Deity**Current Location:** Nottingham, Castle Museum Inv. N 832**Associated Temple:** Nemi, Sanctuary of Diana*Temple Date:* Unknown*Temple Type:* Unknown*Temple Dimensions:* Unknown*Cella Dimensions:* Unknown**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: white marble**Dimensions:** 0.110 m W (face), 0.635 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A slightly over-lifesize male bust discovered in Room B of the “celle donarie” at Nemi may belong to an acrolithic cult statue. The lower part of the nose and right half of the mustache are broken off; additional segments of the hair and beard were added separately and are now lost. The head and chest are a single piece of medium-grained white marble. The broad, oval head sits on a short, thick neck. The head turns toward the left shoulder. The widely spaced, large eyes are deeply set at the corners and look upward. No ears are present. The narrow upper lip contrasts with the full lower lip. The mouth is open revealing a row of upper teeth. A thick mustache sits atop the upper lip and joins the full beard. The long hair springs up from the forehead, but most of the hair was added separately in three separate segments, one on the crown and at each side. The joining surface for all three segments is flat and picked, with a round dowel used for attaching the crown section. Two pin holes indicate where additional locks of hair were attached. The right side and lower part of the beard were also added separately, but likely in stucco not marble. The chest is flat with only schematic modeling; the left side from the shoulder down is roughly finished and was not meant to be visible. Traces of green staining on the left side of the chest resembles bronze staining, perhaps indicating that the figure’s drapery was added in bronze. A circular socket at the back of the right shoulder was for the attachment of the right arm, which was raised. The back of the figure is almost completely flat, and the back of the head is hollowed out. A deep, round dowel hole in the middle of the back may have been used for mounting the statue to its wooden frame. The deity whom this figure represents is uncertain; it may have been Virbius, whose cult statue stood in the sanctuary, or Asclepius, whose iconography this figure more closely matches. The acrolithic construction, modeling of the eyes, eyebrows, and locks of hair, and the attachment of additional hair locks through small pins resembles the techniques used on the head of Diana now in Copenhagen.

Select Bibliography: Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.776; Wallis 1893, 54, no. 832; Guldager Bilde 1995, 206–213, figs. 19–24; Moltesen 2000; Ridgway 2000, 245; Giustozzi 2001, 32, figs. 47–49; Moltesen, Romano, and Herz 2002.

A



Front

B



Face

C



Proper right

Male Deity, Nemi. Nottingham, Castle Museum Inv. N 832. Photos: A. Eckhardt

D



Back

E



Proper left

Male Deity, Nemi. Nottingham, Castle Museum Inv. N 832. Source: Giustozzi 2001, figs. 48–49

S71 Pergamon, Kybele**Current Location:** Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. AvP VII 45**Associated Temple:** Unknown**Date:** c. 175–150 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White, fine-grained marble with light gray streaks, perhaps Prokonnesian**Dimensions:** 0.57 m W x 0.83 m D x 1.51 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A marble statue of an enthroned female figure was discovered during excavations on Pergamon's altar terrace in 1879. The head, right foot, both arms, and attributes are lost. The surviving fragment was completely broken in half vertically and since reassembled. Slightly larger than lifesize, the figure represents Kybele seated on a decorated throne with a footstool. The figure wears a belted chiton and himation, which drapes across the lap from the back of the figure's right side and cascades over the left arm of the throne. Based on the evidence for attachment, the right arm was likely bent and laid against the body but was raised and perhaps held a phiale in the right hand, based on other representations of Kybele. The left arm was raised and extended forward, with the left hand resting on an upright tympanon or grasping it from above. A semicircular cutting on the upper body and a long, rectangular dowel hole on the figure's left side indicate that the tympanon was added in marble. The right leg extends forward, while the left is set back. The seated posture, himation, throne, tympanon, and reconstructed phiale resemble the cult statue of Kybele by Agorakritos that stood in the Athenian Metroon (**Cat. T6**). The Pergamene statue has been attributed to a Hellenistic sanctuary of Kybele, the Megalesion, but the identity and location of this sanctuary has since been called into question. The enthroned, strictly frontal pose of the Kybele statue, however, distinguishes it from the other similarly sized statues discovered on the altar terrace. It therefore may have served a different purpose, perhaps as a cult statue for an as-yet-unidentified sanctuary.

Select Bibliography: Winter 1908, 69–71, no. 45; Kruip 2011; Picón and Hemingway 2016, 156, no. 64; Schwarzmaier and Scholl 2019, 210–211, no. 109.

A



Kybele, Pergamon, reconstruction. Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. AvP VII 45. Drawing: M. Kruip, in Kruip 2011, fig. 4

B



Front

C



Proper left

D



Proper right

Kybele, Pergamon. Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. AvP VII 45. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S72 Rimini, Female Deity**Current Location:** Rimini, Museo Archeologico Comunale**Associated Temple:** Unknown**Date:** c. 125–100 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** Acrolith: Parian marble**Dimensions:** 0.275 m W (face), 0.447 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A female head, slightly over-lifesize, in the Museo Archeologico Comunale in Rimini may have belonged to a cult statue. The nose, lip, and chin are missing. Tooling on the lower edge of the neck indicates the head belonged to an acrolithic statue. The centrally-parted hair forms a thick crown of wavy curls around the face. The hair likely terminated in a bun at the neck which was added separately and is lost. The back of the head is only roughly worked; the back of the neck contains a roughly worked joining surface for the addition of part of the hairstyle. A cutting encircles the head behind the crown of hair and contains a dowel hole for the attachment of an ornament, perhaps a diadem or crown, in another material. The head turns slightly to the right while the eyes are wide open and look straight ahead, suggesting that the figure may have been seated. The mouth seems to be closed. The head sits upon a thick, fleshy neck. A separately worked veil likely covered the back of the head, which suggests that the figure represented a matronly deity, such as Juno, Ceres, or a divine personification. The statue has been dated to the last quarter of the second century BCE based on its style and technique. The findspot of the head is unknown but it may have originally stood within one of the temples at ancient Ariminum.

Select Bibliography: Aurigemma 1934, 29–68; Maj 1936, 342–343; Mansuelli 1964–1965, vol. 1, 470; H. Martin 1987, 174, 230–231, no. 12, pls. 27–28.

A



Front

B



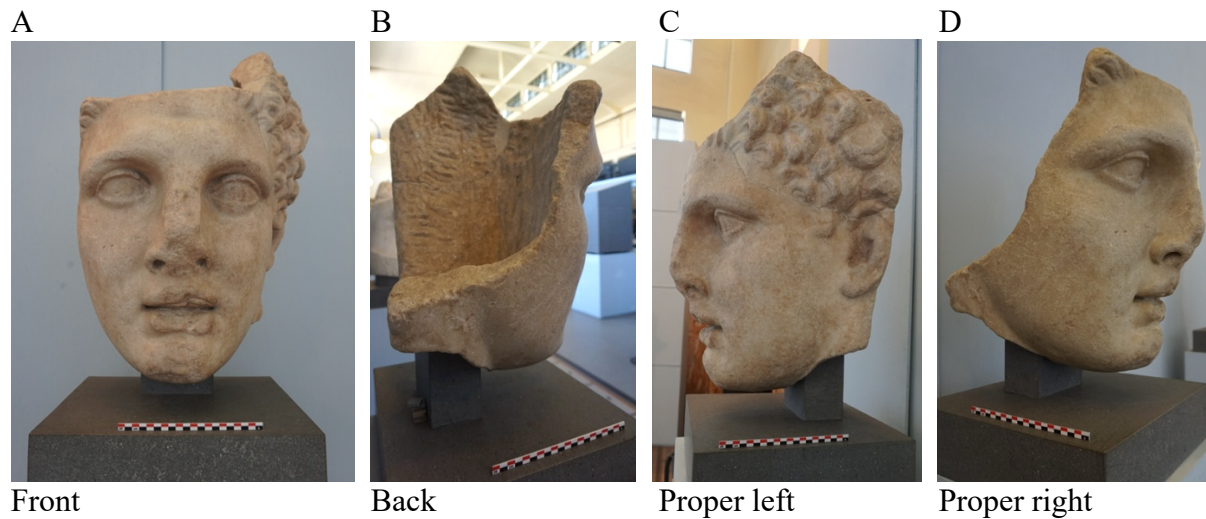
Proper right

Female acrolithic head, Rimini. Rimini, Museo Archeologico Comunale. Photos: H. Martin, in H. Martin 1987, pls. 27–28

S73 Rome, Capitoline Hercules**Current Location:** Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2381**Associated Temple:** Unknown**Date:** Mid-2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Polykles (III)**Material:** Acrolith: Pentelic marble**Dimensions:** 0.29 m W x 0.33 m D x 0.60 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A colossal male head discovered at the foot of the Capitoline in the 1930s has been attributed to the statue of Hercules created by Polykles in the mid-second century BCE, as mentioned by Cicero. The head is preserved from the forehead to the chin, missing the top and back of the head and nearly the entire hairstyle; the nose, mouth, and chin are damaged. The head is completely hollowed out and roughly worked on the inside. The hollowing suggests it may have belonged to an acrolith. The large, round eyes are wide open and slight traces of paint are visible in the irises. The broad nose has deeply drilled nostrils. The face has full lips and an open mouth, revealing the upper teeth. The hair is arranged in short, thick curls. The youthful face and cauliflower ears suggest the statue likely depicted Hercules.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17–18; Coarelli 1969–1970; 1996, 67–70, 268–269, figs. 108–110; Stewart 1990, 230, fig. 858; 1998, 88–89, 91 (n. 11), figs. 2, 5; 2012, 664–668, 683, fig. 14; Queyrel 1991, 450, no. 6; Moreno 1994, 525–526, figs. 648–649; Despini 1995, 348, 361–365, pl. 77; 2004, 269–272; Ridgway 2000, 244; Giustozzi 2001, figs. 1, 5–14, 22, 72; Ghisellini 2003–2004, 481–482; Bertolotti, Cima, and Talamo 2006, 63, fig. 63; La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco 2010, 179, 266–267, no. I.24.



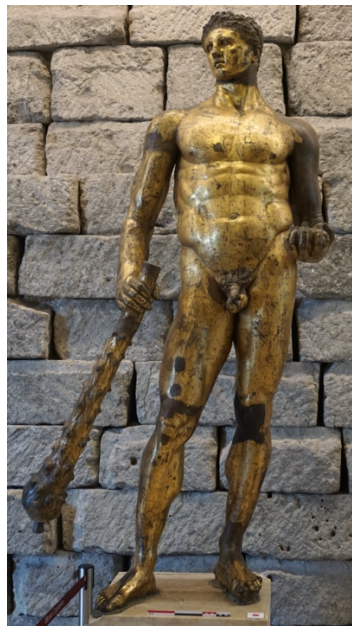
Capitoline Hercules, Rome. Rome, Centrale Montemartini Inv. 2381. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S74 Rome, Hercules Aemilianus**Current Location:** Rome, Capitoline Museum Inv. 1265**Associated Temple:** Perhaps Rome, Temple of Hercules Aemilianus (**Cat. T75**)**Date:** c. 142 BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus**Material:** Gilded bronze**Dimensions:** 2.41 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A nearly complete gilded bronze male figure may represent the cult statue from the Temple of Hercules erected by Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus in the mid-second century BCE. Many scholars accept this attribution and dating, but Palagia dates the statue to the first or second century CE. The right upper arm, left foot, and club just behind the handle were broken and reattached during a sixteenth-century restoration, at which point numerous patches were also inserted, especially around the neck and in both knees. Large holes still remain in the head and on the back of the right thigh. The figure stands with its right leg slightly forward and out, which causes the right hip to lower sharply. The left arm is close to the figure's side; the left hand holds three apples in its upturned palm. The right arm hangs slightly out from the body holding a knotted club. A conical tenon is found at the base of the club; another tenon is under the left foot. The broad, muscular body contrasts with the small head, which turns sharply to the right. The eyes were cast with the head and are wide open and look slightly up. The irises and eyebrows are incised into the bronze, and the pupils are drilled. The mouth is small and pursed. The short, curly hair springs up from the forehead. An olive wreath encircles the head. The statue represents Hercules in the guise of a boxer, with cauliflower ears and exaggerated musculature, holding out the apples of the Hesperides. A missing attribute, perhaps a bull's head or a rock, fit onto the tenon at the end of the club.

Select Bibliography: Lippold 1923, 130; Kraemer 1925, 187–201, fig. 13, pl. 9; Stuart Jones 1926, 282–284, no. 5, pl. 113; Mustilli 1939, 17–18, no. 2, pl. 15.51; Lyngby 1954, 30; Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973, 29, n. 85; H. Martin 1987, 90–98, 211–212, no. 4, pls. 8–9; Palagia 1990, figs. 2–4; Giustozzi 2001, 74–76, fig. 88.

A



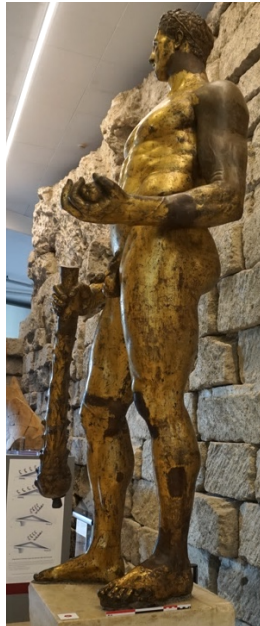
Front

B



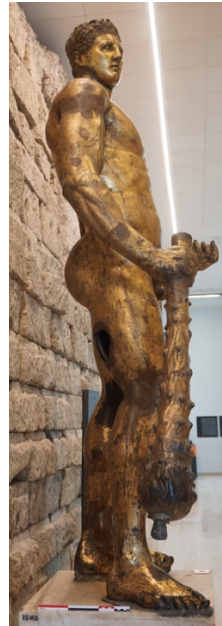
Back

C



Proper left

D

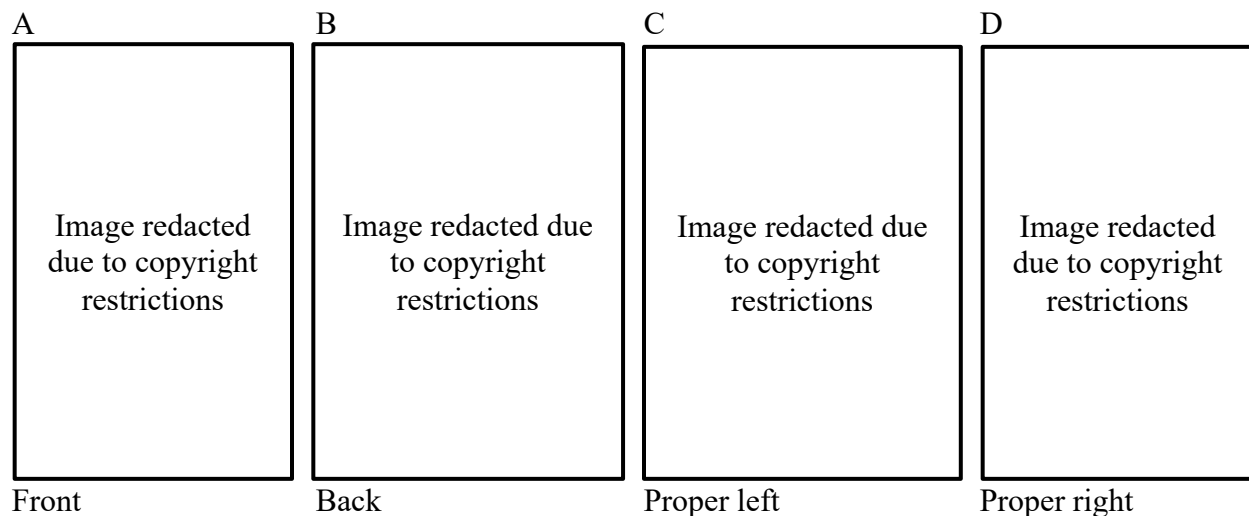


Proper right

Hercules Aemilianus, Rome. Rome, Capitoline Museum Inv. 1265. Photos: A. Eckhardt

S75 Xanthos, Female Head**Current Location:** Antalya, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2.18.77**Associated Temple:** Xanthos, Letoon**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Sculptor:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Dimensions:** 0.17 m W, 0.29 m H**Base Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: An approximately lifesize female head found at Xanthos may have belonged to a cult statue. The head was constructed of white, fine-grained marble and represents a young woman. The front of the nose is broken off and the top and back of the head were added separately and now lost. The oval face has small, shallow-set, almond-shaped eyes that gaze downward, a small, closed mouth, and a fleshy chin. The polished flesh of the face contrasts with the textured hair. The centrally-parted hair is pulled back in thick, rope-like strands that cover the tops of the ears and end in a bun at the back of the head. A diadem in another material was added separately. The head sits upon a long, thin neck, turns to the right, and tilts slightly. The top of the head is cut horizontally and roughly worked. The back of the head is cut vertically and roughly worked; the back of the neck is cut more deeply, forming a ledge between the two areas. These joining surfaces indicate that at least three additional pieces, likely in marble but possibly stucco, were added to complete the head. The tenon at the base of the neck indicates that the head belonged to a draped, stone figure and was not acrolithic. Additional details, such as the irises and eyebrows were added in paint; the hair was also likely painted. The head has been dated stylistically to the second century BCE. The youthful face and hairstyle indicate the figure most likely depicted Artemis.

Select Bibliography: Marcadé 1976; Ridgway 2000, 241.

Female head, Xanthos. Antalya, Archaeological Museum Inv. 2.18.77. Source: Marcadé 1976, figs. 1–4

Temples

T1 Aigai, Temple of Athena

Associated Cult Statue: None

Date: 2nd century BCE

Deity: Athena

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Unknown

Material: Unknown

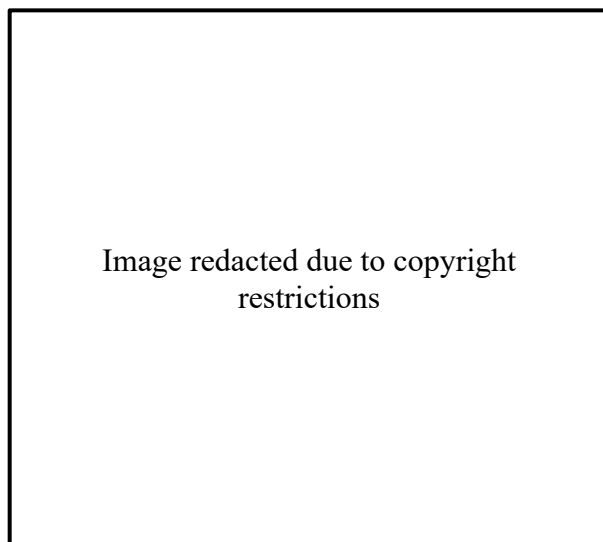
Building Type: Doric in antis

Dimensions: 11.60 x 20.20 m (podium); 7.15 x 14.45 m (temple)

Cella Dimensions: 5.46 x 8.11 m

Description: Currently under excavation by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Manisa Museum, and Manisa Celal Bayar University, the Temple at Athena suffered at the hands of twentieth-century looters such that little remains of the building beyond its foundations. Excavators compare the dominant position of Aigai's Sanctuary of Athena, on a terrace (40 x 100 m) overlooking the theater, to the similar siting of the goddess's sanctuary at Pergamon. The remains of the temple lie on the western side of the sanctuary, surrounded by walls dating to the Archaic period. A Doric order temple with an in antis plan, the building was oriented to the southeast and sat atop a high podium with its entrance likely on the eastern façade. The interior of the temple consisted of a pronaos (5.46 x 5.77 m) and cella. Pottery found within the naos and an inscription from around 280 BCE that mentions a sanctuary of Athena in Aigai suggest an earlier temple, perhaps dating to the Archaic period, preceded the Hellenistic structure. The temple may have been rebuilt following the destructive invasion of Prousius in 156–154 BCE. A cache of bronze coins had been intentionally placed within the north wall of the pronaos, all dating to the second and first centuries BCE, perhaps left during the temple's repair or renovation. Remains of an altar (8.75 x 9 m) were found east of the temple on the same axis.

Select Bibliography: Sezgin 2018; Doğer and Sezgin 2019; Sezgin, Erdoğan, and Başdemir 2019.



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Athena, Aigai.
Source: Sezgin, Erdoğan, and Başdemir 2019,
fig. 3

T2 Aigeira, Naiskos F**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local conglomerate stone**Building Type:** Tetrastyle prostyle, order unknown**Dimensions:** 8.20 x 14.50 m**Cella Dimensions:** 6.70 x 9.50 m

Description: Situated on the southeast corner of the theater at Aigeira, Naiskos F was one of six small buildings surrounding an open space in a fan-like arrangement. Naiskos F featured a deep pronaos (5.03 m L) and rear podium, much like the earlier Naiskos D located nearby. The foundations and southern rear wall of an earlier building, possibly a stoa, were reused in Naiskos F. The cella floor was decorated with a pebble mosaic featuring a rectangular patterned center in *opus tessellatum* and a white border. The mosaic has been dated to the second century BCE. The building faced north; no remains of an altar have been discovered. The interior of the building contained a base appropriate for a cult statue, but no statues have been excavated that could be attributed to this base. Although the building's function as a temple is not certain, its location near the similarly-sized Naiskoi D and E indicate that this cluster of temple-like buildings may have formed a sanctuary that facilitated cult and dining activity.

Select Bibliography: Alzinger, Gogos, and Thrummer 1986, 45–50; Alzinger 1990, 550–551; Gogos 1992, 15; Damaskos 1999, 39–40; Gauss et al. 2015, 38–42; Tanner 2020.

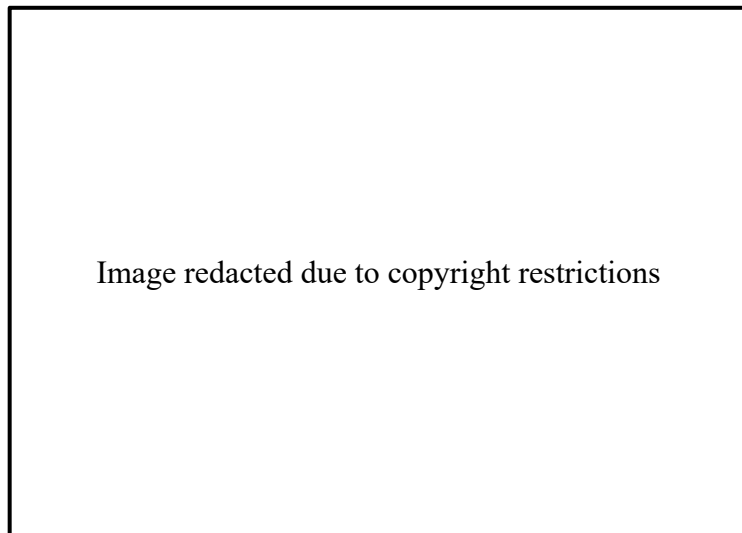


Ground plan, Naiskos F, Aigeira. Drawing: A. Tanner, after Tanner 2020, fig. 4.2

T3 Aigeira, Tycheion**Associated Cult Statue:** Aigeira, Tyche (Cat. S3)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Tyche**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local conglomerate stone**Building Type:** Naiskos**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Lying southeast of Aigeira's theater, beyond Naiskoi D–F, was a peristyle building identified as the Tycheion by the sculptural fragments found inside the structure. A pi-shaped statue base (0.80 m H) occupied the entire width of the structure's rear wall. Five rectangular cuttings for lifesize or just slightly over-lifesize statues can be seen along the top of the base, with three on the long side and one on each of the two flanking sides. Ceramic finds from the building led excavators to date its initial construction to the second century BCE. The sculptural fragments found inside the structure include two fragments from the lower body of a slightly over-lifesize female figure, identified as Tyche, and fragments of the abdomen, arms, and feet of a lifesize statue identified as Eros. Tyche and Eros appear together on the city's coinage in the Roman period, leading excavators to identify the building as the "house of Tyche" mentioned by Pausanias.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.26.8–9; Alzinger 1989, 144; 1990, 551; Gogos 1992, 15; Damaskos 1999, 40–42.



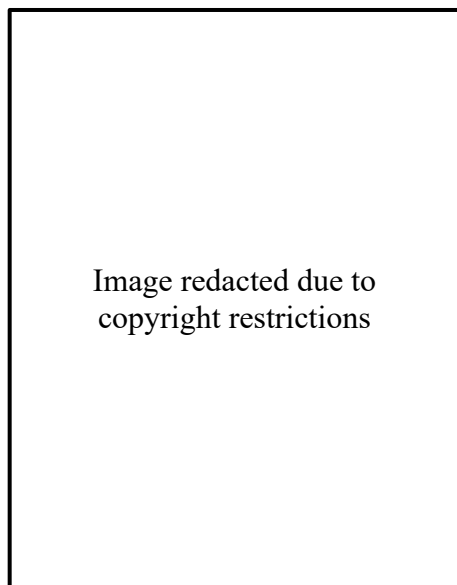
Current state, Tycheion, Aigeira, view from the west. Source: Gogos 1992, fig. 4

T4 Alabanda, Temple of Apollo Isotimos**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Mnesthes**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Building Type:** Ionic pseudodipteral**Dimensions:** 22.02 x 34.25 m**Cella Dimensions:** 8.05 m W

Description: Located south of Alabanda's agora in a rectangular temenos (82.67 x 119.81 m), the Temple of Apollo Isotimos was Ionic pseudodipteral in plan with 8 x 13 columns and oriented to the southwest. Vitruvius cites the Temple of Apollo Isotimos as an example of the pseudodipteral plan, a design allegedly originated by Hermogenes, and credits Hermogenes' pupil Mnesthes with the building's design. In plan and decoration, the Temple of Apollo Isotimos bears similarities with the Temple of Hekate at Lagina (**Cat. T40**), with a distyle in antis pronaos and a long, rectangular cella. The inclusion of an opisthodomos is uncertain given the poor state of preservation, although the enlarged intercolumniations of the central three columns of both the front and rear façades suggest that an opisthodomos was part of the original temple plan. A Roman inscription found on a column identifies the structure as the Temple of Apollo and records its rededication to the divine emperors. The temple was later converted into a Byzantine basilica. Marble frieze blocks with Ionic kymation, bead and reel molding, and figural decoration depicting an Amazonomachy in high relief were discovered during the site's initial excavations in 1904–1905. The Aydın Museum restudied the temple in the early 2000s.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 3.2.6; Bey 1906; Hoepfner 1990, 31; Webb 1996, 106–107; Yener 2002, 180–181.

A



B



Current state, view from the north. Photo: A. Eckhardt

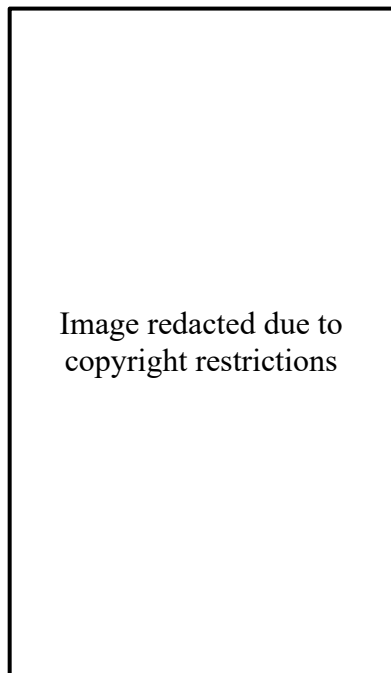
Ground plan, Temple of Apollo Isotimos, Alabanda. Source: Hoepfner 1990, fig. 12

T5 Alba Fucens, Temple of Apollo**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 3rd–2nd century BCE**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Fine-grained limestone**Building Type:** Tuscan distyle in antis**Dimensions:** c. 14.50 x 17.30 m (podium); c. 12.86 x 15.83 m (temple)**Cella Dimensions:** 9.29 x 11.40 m

Description: Located at the top of a hill to the south of the ancient city of Alba Fucens, the remains of the Temple of Apollo sit under the Romanesque Church of San Pietro. The side naves of the church preserve the cella walls of the temple, especially the south cella wall, which retains 18 of its courses. Regular perforations along the wall's surface suggest that marble originally clad the limestone blocks. Excavators identified two phases in the temple's construction. In the first phase, the distyle in antis temple consisted of a pronaos and cella and sat upon a concrete podium. This initial phase seems to date to the second century BCE based on the profile of the column bases, construction technique of the cella walls, and proportions of the cella, in which its width exceeds its depth. In either the first or second phase, the cella was divided into two equal parts of 5.36 m. In the second phase, the temple was enlarged and outfitted with a prostyle of four columns placed 5.10 m in front of the anta columns, thereby nearly doubling the area of the pronaos.

Select Bibliography: Lake 1935, 143; Mertens 1969, 13–22.

A



B



Current remains under the Church of San Pietro, view from the northwest. Photo: A. Eckhardt

Ground plan, Temple of Apollo, Alba Fucens (phase 2). Source: Mertens 1969, fig. 10

T6 Athens, Metroon**Associated Cult Statue:** Mother of the Gods by Pheidias or Agorakritos (5th century BCE)**Date:** c. 150–125 BCE**Deity:** Kybele**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Red conglomerate (foundation), gray poros (walls), Hymettian and Pentelic marble (steps, superstructure)**Building Type:** Ionic distyle in antis within a larger, four-roomed complex**Dimensions:** 29.56 x 38.83 m (entire building)**Cella Dimensions:** 6.60 x 9.87 m (second room from the south)

Description: The original Metroon in the Athenian Agora was destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 BCE. In the second century BCE, a new, larger Metroon was constructed where the earlier Metroon and the Old Bouleuterion once stood. The Hellenistic Metroon housed not only the Temple of the Mother of the Gods but also the state archives. The materials and techniques employed in the Metroon's construction resemble those of the Stoa of Attalos and its plan reflects that of the Library of Pergamon, thereby suggesting a date in the third quarter of the second century BCE. The Hellenistic Metroon contained four rooms that shared a colonnade of 14 Ionic columns facing east onto the Agora. The second room from the south had a pronaos and distyle in antis plan, reminiscent of a temple, and thus has been identified tentatively as the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. A large foundation in front of the building directly opposite this room may have held the temple's altar. The first and third rooms from the south probably contained the state archives, while the large, two-story room at the north took the form of a square, open-air, colonnaded courtyard with an altar at its center. This space stood upon the foundations of the earlier Metroon and thus may have functioned as cultic space in addition or alternatively to the room farther south. The plan of this northernmost room was similar to that of contemporary courtyard houses on Delos. Pausanias (1.3.5) attributes the Metroon's cult statue to Pheidias, while Pliny (36.17) cites Pheidias's pupil Agorakritos as the responsible sculptor. The cult statue, then, was not commissioned simultaneously with the Hellenistic Metroon's construction, but may have stood in a shrine within the Old Bouleuterion. Based on votive offerings discovered in the excavations, the statue likely depicted the goddess seated holding a tympanon and phiale with a lion at her side.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 1.3.5; Thompson 1937, 172–217; Thompson and Wycherley 1972, 36–38; Camp 2010, 60–63.

Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

Cutaway plan, Metroon, Athens. Source: Camp 2010, fig. 29

T7 Athens, Temple of Olympian Zeus**Associated Cult Statue:** Chryselephantine statues of Zeus and Hadrian (c. 2nd century CE)**Date:** c. 520 BCE (original construction); 174–164 BCE (renewed construction); 124–132 CE (completion)**Deity:** Zeus**Architect:** Cossutius (renewed construction)**Patron:** Peisistratids (original construction); Antiochos IV (renewed construction); Hadrian (completion)**Material:** Pentelic marble**Building Type:** Corinthian dipteral**Dimensions:** 41.11 x 107.89 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 16.00 x 37.00 m

Description: First begun by the tyrant Peisistratos in the sixth century BCE, the Temple of Olympian Zeus, located southeast of the Athenian Acropolis, did not reach full completion until the second century CE under the patronage and direction of the Roman emperor Hadrian. The sixth-century construction ceased with only the temple platform finished. In the second century BCE, the Seleukid king Antiochos IV commissioned the Roman architect Cossutius to complete the colossal temple. Under Cossutius, the temple's order changed from Doric to Corinthian and included 104 columns, with three rows of eight columns along the front and rear facades and two rows of twenty along the long sides. The temple's columns stood 17.25 m tall with a diameter of 1.70 m. With Antiochos's death, construction once again stalled with the temple's columns and entablature in place. Hadrian finally completed the temple in the second century CE, erecting colossal, chryselephantine statues of Zeus and the emperor himself within the temple's cella. Nothing, however, survives of these two cult statues.

Select Bibliography: Thuc. 2.15; Arist. *Pol.* 5.9.4; Vitruvius 3.2.8, 7.praef.15, 17; Strabo 9.1.17; Livy 41.20; Pliny *HN* 36.45; Plutarch *Sol.* 32; Pausanias 1.18.6–8; Cassiodorus Dio 69.16; Welter 1922, 1923; Wycherley 1964; Abramson 1974; Thompson 1982, 181–182; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994; Lawrence 1996, 159–160; Wilson Jones 2000, 152.

A



B



Current state, view from the south. Photo: A. Eckhardt

Ground plan, Temple of Olympian Zeus, Athens. Source: Wilson Jones 2000, fig. 2.1

T8 Chryse, Temple of Apollo Smintheus

Associated Cult Statue: Chryse, Apollo Smintheus (Cat. S9)

Date: Mid-2nd century BCE

Deity: Apollo

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Unknown

Material: Local tuff (foundation), local andesite (foundation), Prokonnesian marble (steps, stylobate, cella walls)

Building Type: Ionic pseudodipteral

Dimensions: 30.02 x 47.88 m (podium); 22.58 x 40.44 m (stylobate)

Cella Dimensions: 8.12 x 13.55 m

Description: Based on a stylistic comparison with architectural elements from temples designed by Hermogenes in Asia Minor, the Temple of Apollo Smintheus has been dated to the mid-second century BCE, or just after the period of Hermogenes. In plan, it was an Ionic pseudodipteral temple of 8 x 14 columns set upon a high podium of 11 steps. The temple measured 22.58 x 40.44 m at the top of the stylobate and widened to 30.02 x 47.88 m at the base of the podium. According to Vitruvius's classification of temples, it was pycnostyle, having an intercolumniation of 1.5 column diameters, the closest-set columns acceptable to the Roman author. The plan consisted of a cella flanked by a deep distyle in antis pronaos and shallow distyle in antis opisthodomos. Unfortunately, little remains of the temple's interior architecture, having been plundered or fallen victim to the lime kiln and the construction of an olive oil workshop directly atop the temple. Consequently, nothing of the superstructure or paving of the cella survives in situ and anything that might have remained of a cult statue base was likewise obliterated.

Select Bibliography: Strabo 13.1.48; Ael. *NA* 12.5; Spratt 1856; Texier and Pullan 1865; Pullan 1881, 40–48, 1915; Weber 1966; Özgünel 1982, 1984, 1986, 1990a, 1990b, 1992, 2001, 2003, 2012, 2015a, 2015b; Bingöl 1983, 1990a, 1991, 1996; Hoepfner 1990, 30; Rumscheid 1994, 124–132; 1995; Webb 1996, 52–54; Winter 2006, 12–13; Avşar et al. 2008; Ergenç 2011; Schulz 2011, 2012b; Öztepe 2012; Wesenberg 2012; Rose 2014, 193–194.

A



B



Current state with anastylosis, view from the south.

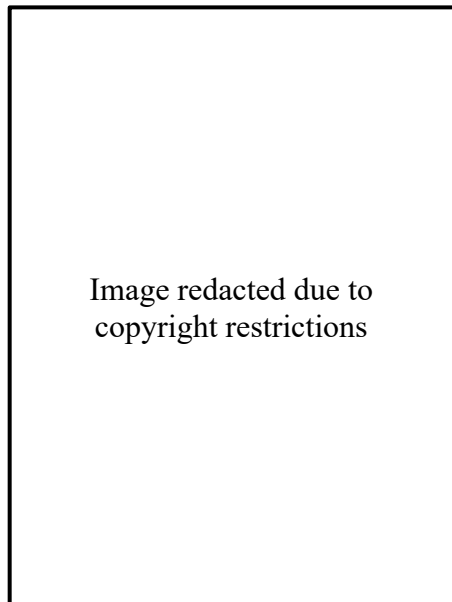
Photo: A. Eckhardt

Ground plan, Temple of Apollo Smintheus, Chryse. Source: after Özgünel 2015, fig. 12

T9 Cosa, Capitulum**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 175–150 BCE**Deity:** Jupiter, Juno, Minerva**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local sandstone (podium), local limestone (podium), *opus incertum* (walls), wood (entablature), terracotta (architectural decoration)**Building Type:** Tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 23.20 x 31.70 m, on a podium 2.88 m H**Cella Dimensions:** Central cella: c. 7.00 x 11.80 m; side cellas: c. 5.50 x 11.80 m

Description: Cosa's monumental Capitulum stood at the top of the Arx on a podium 2.88 m high, dominating the urban landscape and visible from the sea. The grand temple was oriented to the east-northeast on axis with the Via Sacra. Most likely tetrastyle prostyle in plan with two additional columns in antis behind the middle façade columns, the temple's length was divided roughly equally into a pronaos and tripartite cella. Within the cella, the middle room was wider than the two flanking rooms. The temple's wooden entablature was decorated with terracotta sculpture, with some surviving pieces attesting to the temple's renovation in the Augustan period. Before the temple stretched a large, terraced forecourt in which stood an altar, slightly off axis with the temple. The initial excavators identified the temple as a Capitulum based on its tripartite cella, which would make it the only known Capitulum constructed in a Latin colony; a secure identification, however, remains elusive.

Select Bibliography: Brown 1951, 63–66; 1980, 25–26, 51–56; Brown, Richardson, and Richardson 1960, 19–24, 49–109, 127–140, 206–284; Taylor 2002; Stamper 2005, 48; Bispham 2006, 95–105; Boos 2011, 27–28.

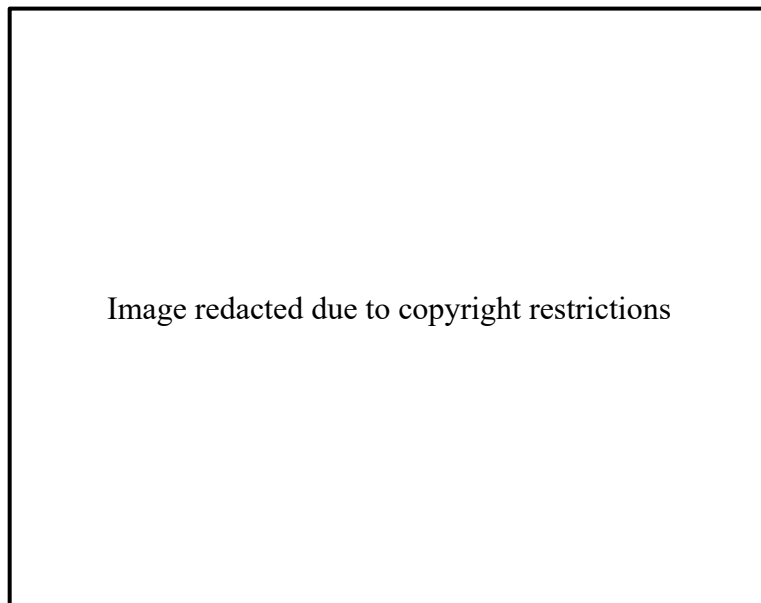


Elevation and ground plan, Capitulum, Cosa. Drawing: R. Carrasco, in Stamper 2005, fig. 33

T10 Cosa, Temple B**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 190 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Mater Matuta**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local gray limestone**Building Type:** Distyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 9.47 x 16.57 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 5.92 x 7.10 m

Description: A small temple was constructed on the north side of Cosa's forum in the early second century. It seems to have replaced a simple sacellum that stood earlier in the same location. The temple sat upon a platform and consisted of a single cella with two rows of two columns supporting the front façade. Surviving architectural remains suggest that the temple was repaired around 100 BCE. A terraced forecourt lay before the temple, approximately 4.10 m wider than the temple itself and seemingly postdating the temple's construction. The temple may have been dedicated to Mater Matuta.

Select Bibliography: Brown, Richardson, and Richardson 1960, 179–182; 1993, 141–206; Brown 1980, 38–41; Scott 1992; Taylor 2002, 67–73.



Ground plan and elevation, Temple B, Cosa. Source: Taylor 2002, fig. 13

T11 Cosa, Temple D**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 170–160 BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local gray limestone**Building Type:** Tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 11.03 x 14.51 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** 9.25 x 9.25 m

Description: Located on the northeastern slope of the Arx, Cosa's Temple D sat just east of the Capitolium. The temple was oriented just east of south and consisted of a single square cella on a low polygonal podium with a deep pronaos. The pronaos featured four columns along the front façade with an additional column on either side in line with the cella walls but lacked interior supports. The temple was slightly lengthened and renovated around 100–75 BCE. The altar stood on a paved surface between the temple and the Via Sacra.

Select Bibliography: Brown 1951, 63–69; 1980, 47–53; Brown, Richardson, and Richardson 1960, 24–47, 111–119, 182–204; Scott 1992; Taylor 2002.




Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

Ground plan, Arx, Cosa, showing the Capitolium and Temple D. Source: after Brown 1951, fig. 56

T12 Delos, Bastion Sanctuary**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Female Deity (**Cat. S14**)**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Granite (krepis), gneiss (walls), stucco (walls)**Building Type:** Doric tetrastyle prostyle or in antis**Dimensions:** 4.45 x 7.28 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The sanctuary located on the slopes of Mt. Kythnos became a bastion of the Roman Wall of Triarius. It consisted of a large trapezoidal courtyard (c. 31.00 x 39.00 m) with an altar and a small Doric temple facing east on the courtyard's west side. The temple's plan was either tetrastyle prostyle or in antis with walls of gneiss on a granite krepis. The cella walls survive over 2.00 m high in some places; their construction technique indicates a date in the late second century BCE. White stucco panels covered the cella walls. The cult statue base of blue marble still sits in front of the back wall of the cella and occupied its entire breadth. The deity to whom this sanctuary was dedicated remains unknown but some possibilities include Artemis Soteira, Aphrodite, and Asklepios and Hygieia.

Select Bibliography: *BCH* 1925, 466–470, figs. 6–7; 1926, 568; Bruneau 1970, 328–329; Damaskos 1999, 104–106; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 245; Mattern 2015, 146.




Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

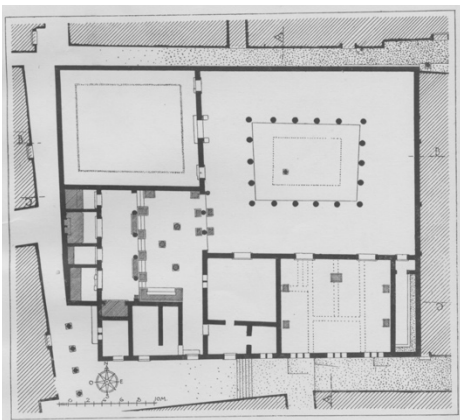
Aerial view, Bastion Sanctuary, Delos, view from the east. Source: Bruneau 1970, pl. 4.2

T13 Delos, House of the Poseidoniasts**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Poseidon (**Cat. S17**) and Roma (**Cat. S18**)**Date:** c. 166–152 BCE**Deity:** Poseidon, Roma, perhaps Astarte/Aphrodite**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Poseidoniasts of Berytos**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** In antis within a clubhouse**Dimensions:** 3.20/3.70 x 13.00 m (sacred space)**Cella Dimensions:** V1 and V3: 2.10 x 3.70 m; V2: 3.70 x 3.70 m; V4: 3.80 x 3.20 m

Description: The Poseidoniasts of Berytos, a professional association of merchants and shipowners, constructed their clubhouse just north of Delos's Sacred Lake and Sanctuary of Apollo. The clubhouse incorporated commercial, social, and religious spaces within one structure. The sanctuary space within the clubhouse included four rooms dedicated to the association's patron deity Poseidon, the goddess Roma, and likely Astarte, worshipped as Aphrodite. Excavations revealed that the building's first phase only included three cult rooms; a southern extension that added a fourth was completed at a later time. The complex in its final state consisted of four adjacent chambers of different sizes, oriented to the east, with a common hall containing four columns, such that the entire complex resembled an in antis temple. The northernmost of these four sacred rooms, dubbed V1, was dedicated to the goddess Roma. A marble statue base with a dedicatory inscription to Roma is located in the center of the room. It occupied the entire breadth of the cella and divided the room in two. Moving south, Room V2 initially had the same dimensions as V1 but was later enlarged significantly, with a final width of about 3.70 m. A fragment of an inscription, perhaps from the cult statue base, suggests that this room was dedicated to Poseidon. The cult statue base again occupied the entire width of the enlarged cella. Room V3 had exactly the same dimensions as V1, while Room V4 was comparable in size to V2, but slightly wider and shallower. No inscriptions survive that confirm the use of these southern two rooms, but they likely functioned similarly to Rooms V1 and V2.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 1520, 1778, 2325; Picard 1921; Stewart 1990, 58; Damaskos 1999, 89–97; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 227–231; Trümper 2007, 115–122; Nielsen 2015, 145–148.

A



Ground plan, House of the Poseidoniasts, Delos.
Source: Picard 1921, pl. 4

B



Current state, view from the southwest.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T14 Delos, Samothrakeion**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 4th century BCE (original construction); mid-2nd century BCE (renovation)**Deity:** Great Gods of Samothrace**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Marble, granite**Building Type:** Possible banquet room**Dimensions:** 11.70 x 8.90 m**Cella Dimensions:** 11.20 x 5.95 m

Description: A sanctuary dedicated to the Great Gods of Samothrace sat south of the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods and Serapieion C on Delos. The principal structure within the sanctuary was a rectangular building wider than it was long. The purpose of the building is unclear; it may have served as a temple or a banquet room. The exterior of the building featured a Doric portico with four columns. The southern portion of the façade wall included a rectangular niche with a bench. The north part of the building, constructed of marble, appears to have been built in the fourth century BCE and the southern part, constructed of granite, represents an expansion that took place in the mid-second century BCE. A circular marble monument erected in the late second century BCE sat on a terrace beneath that on which the principal building stood and perhaps served as the sanctuary's eschara.

Select Bibliography: Chapouthier 1935; Vallois 1944, 81–85; Bruneau 1970, 381–401; Roux 1981, 41–55; Lawrence 1996, 159; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 270–271.



Ground plan, Samothrakeion, Delos. Source: Chapouthier 1935, fig. 82

T15 Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Atargatis (Cat. S13) and Hadad (Cat. S15)**Date:** Mid-2nd century BCE**Deity:** Atargatis, Hadad**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Achaios, son of Apollonius; Seleukos, son of Zenodoros; Demetrios of Antiocheia; and other unidentified private patrons**Material:** Marble, poros, gneiss, wood**Building Type:** N/A**Dimensions:** c. 120.00 x 60.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Naos of Hadad: 2.57 x 3.50 m; great naos: 4.10 x 4.60 m

Description: Located on a terrace above the Inopus reservoir on Delos just to the west of Serapieion C, the Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods was dedicated to Atargatis and Hadad. The sanctuary complex included a square courtyard on the south side that led to a large, rectangular terrace on the north side, above which stood a pi-shaped stoa and a small theater that could hold up to 500 people. A long portico of poros columns bordered the rectangular terrace on the west and small rooms dotted its eastern flank. Some of these rooms contained benches, indicating they likely served as banqueting spaces. The cult of Hadad was probably housed in the easternmost room within the sanctuary's southern courtyard, as indicated by the dedication on the mosaic pavement found in this room. The rooms just west of Hadad's cultic space constituted the main sacred spaces of the sanctuary. The sanctuary began as a private sacred area, officially joining the public cults of Delos between 128/7 and 112/1 BCE. It seems to have been destroyed during Mithridates' sack of Delos in 88 BCE.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2226, 2227, 2247, 2256; Étienne 1981, 171–173; Will and Schmid 1985; Lawrence 1996, 165–166; Damaskos 1999, 102–104; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 274–277.



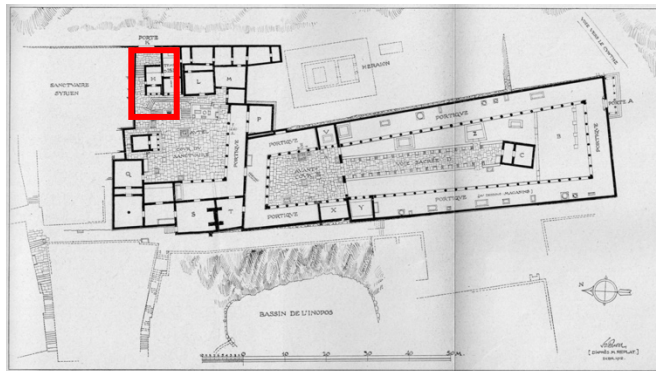
Ground plan, Sanctuary of the Syrian Gods, Delos. Source: Will and Schmid 1985, pl. B

T16 Delos, Temple H**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Serapis, Isis, and Anubis (Temple H) (Cat. S20)**Date:** 135/4 BCE**Deity:** Serapis, Isis, Anubis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Athenian demos**Material:** Gneiss, marble**Building Type:** Ionic distyle in antis**Dimensions:** 4.12 x 7.40 m**Cella Dimensions:** 3.70 m W

Description: Temple H was located on the east side of the courtyard in Serapieion C, built directly against the northern wall of the Temple of Isis (Cat. T22). The Athenian demos dedicated the temple to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis. The building was likely a distyle in antis temple with a pronaos and cella. The cella had an opening to the north leading to a narrow corridor and staircase. Fragments of an Ionic frieze probably belong to this temple. The cult image triad was set up on a pedestal in front of the back wall of the cella, which occupied the entire breadth of the cella.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2042; Roussel 1915–1916, 61–62; Vallois 1944, 93–96; Damaskos 1999, 99.

A



Ground plan, Temple H, Delos.

Source: Roussel 1915–1916, plan 3

B



Current state, view from the west.

Photo: A. Eckhardt

T17 Delos, Temple of Agathe Tyche**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Agathe Tyche (Cat. S10)**Date:** Before 166 BCE**Deity:** Tyche**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Granite**Building Type:** In antis temple, order unknown**Dimensions:** 5.20 x 6.65 m**Cella Dimensions:** 4.15 x 4.15 m

Description: The Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche was located on the slopes of Mt. Kythnos. The sanctuary included a long courtyard (6.20 x 11.00 m) preceded by a staircase and bordered by two simple porticoes with wooden posts. At the eastern end of the courtyard stood a small in antis temple consisting of a pronaos (2.50 m L) and a square cella. A nearly square (5.70 x 5.95 m) room located at the east end of the northern portico shared the northern wall of the temple's cella. The southern portico culminated in two small rooms, both of which contained a door leading onto a narrow corridor that separated the rooms from the temple. The purpose of the three rooms flanking the temple is unknown. Plassart and Vallois identified the sanctuary as the Philadelphion, the sanctuary for Arsinoe Philadelphos, basing their attribution on Arsinoe's assimilation with Agathe Tyche. This attribution, however, was refuted convincingly by Bruneau. The Delian inventories compiled when the island was under Athenian control describe in detail the sanctuary's furnishings.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 1403, face Bb, column II; 1412, face A; 1417, face A, column II; 1426, face B, column II; 1440, face A; 1442, face B; 1443, face B, column II; Plassart 1928, 222–228; Vallois 1944, 79–80; Bruneau 1970, 534–545; Damaskos 1999, 85–87; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 283.

A



B



Current state, view from the east. Photo: A. Eckhardt

Ground plan, Sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, Delos. Source: Plassart 1928, fig. 185

T18 Delos, Temple of Aphrodite**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Aphrodite (Cat. S11)**Date:** c. 305 BCE (original construction); 110–109 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Aphrodite**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Stesileos (original construction); Dionysios Nikonos Palleneus (restoration)**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** 4.13 x 7.04 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

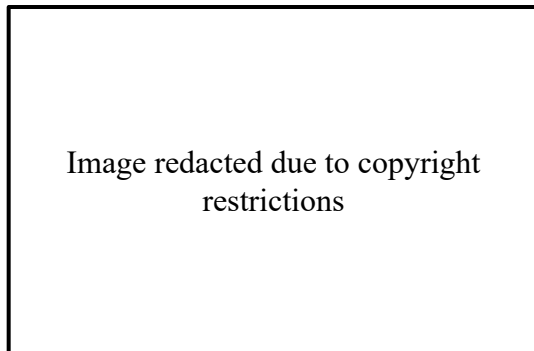
Description: Located near the southeastern corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo, the Temple of Aphrodite was a small marble temple with a cella and pronaos. The building faced southeast. Stesileos, archon in 305 BCE, funded the temple's original construction as well as a festival in honor of Aphrodite, the Stesileia. Two statue bases that once bore images of the parents of Stesileos stood directly outside the temple's entrance. Within the cella, the cult statue sat directly in front of the back wall, c. 1.00 m from the side walls. The temple and its cult image were restored in 110/09 BCE.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 1417, face A, column II; 1810; 1811; Vallois 1944, 100–101; Bruneau 1970, 334–341; Damaskos 1999, 84–85; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 261.

T19 Delos, Temple of Apollo by the Theater**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Apollo (Cat. S12)**Date:** 110–109 BCE**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Gneiss foundations**Building Type:** In antis temple, order unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** 4.90 x 4.20 m

Description: The middle of three small shrines located just southwest of the theater on Delos, the Temple of Apollo was dedicated by a private individual in 110/09 BCE. The building faced the theater's orchestra. The cult statue base occupied the entire width of the cella; a simple pebble mosaic decorated the floor in front of the base. The building was identified by the inscription on the cult statue base.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2342; Vallois 1944, 101; Bruneau 1970, 164–165; Damaskos 1999, 88–89; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299.



Current state, Temple of Apollo by the Theater, Delos, view from the south. Source: Damaskos 1999, fig. 7

T20 Delos, Temple of Artemis-Hekate**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Artemis, Hekate**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Gneiss**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** The westernmost of three small shrines located just southwest of the theater on Delos was a temple with gneiss foundations that formed a high podium. The temple may have belonged to Artemis-Hekate.**Select Bibliography:** Vallois 1944, 101–102; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299.

T21 Delos, Temple of Dionysos, Hermes, and Pan**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Dionysos, Hermes, Pan**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** The easternmost of three small shrines located just southwest of the theater on Delos was dedicated to Dionysos, Hermes, and Pan, based on inscriptions found there. The sanctuary included a small temple on the west side, preceded by a gneiss paved road and a portico to the east. The temple faced the center of the theater's orchestra.**Select Bibliography:** Vallois 1944, 102–107; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 299.

T22 Delos, Temple of Isis**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Isis (Cat. S16)**Date:** 2nd century BCE (original construction); 135 BCE (repairs)**Deity:** Isis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Athenian demos (repairs)**Material:** Marble (façade)**Building Type:** Doric distyle in antis**Dimensions:** 5.18 x 12.19 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 4.03 x 7.03 m

Description: Sometime around 135 BCE, the Athenians repaired a small Doric distyle in antis temple to Isis on the eastern side of the courtyard of Serapieion C. The temple faced west, with an altar located in front of the building. Only the temple's façade was constructed of marble, which today stands re-erected on the site. The proportional relationship between the temple's tall columns and short entablature emphasized the building's height. The cella's western wall included reused marble pieces that suggests the building was damaged and subsequently repaired. The temple included a pronaos and cella; a mosaic decorated the entire floor of the cella. The cult statue base still sits before the cella's rear wall and occupies its entire width. A door in the north wall of the cella led directly into the adjacent Temple H, which was dedicated to Anubis, Serapis, and Isis.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 2041, 2044; Roussel 1915–1916, 56–61; Vallois 1944, 93–96; Bruneau 1980, 174–175; Lawrence 1996, 162–163; Damaskos 1999, 99; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 278.



Current state, Temple of Isis, Delos, view from the east. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T23 Delos, Temple of Serapis**Associated Cult Statue:** Delos, Serapis, Isis, and Anubis (Temple F) (Cat. S19)**Date:** c. 180 BCE**Deity:** Serapis, Isis, Anubis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Marble, poros, gneiss**Building Type:** Doric tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 4.30 x 6.75 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 3.25 x 3.75 m

Description: The north side of Serapieion C consisted of a square courtyard with steps. Temple F, identified as the Temple of Serapis, stood in the middle of this courtyard. The Doric tetrastyle prostyle temple, which faced south, was constructed around 180 BCE. The construction of this temple seems to have been much more carefully completed than most of the other structures in Serapieion C. The temple underwent two renovations: the first added a pronaos to the cella, and the second transformed the front wall of the pronaos into a colonnade. The temple sat upon a three-stepped krepis of blue marble. The central intercolumniation may have been wider than that of the two sides. The cella walls, constructed of poros and plastered in stucco, sat upon gneiss foundations. The cella contained a multigure cult statue group of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis; nothing is preserved of the cult statue base.

Select Bibliography: *ID* 1417; Roussel 1915–1916, 55–56; Vallois 1944, 93–96; Bruneau 1980, 172–174; Damaskos 1999, 98–99; Blackman 1999–2000, 117–118; Bruneau and Ducat 2005, 278.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Serapis, Delos.
Source: Blackman 1999–2000, fig. 172

B



Current state, view from the south.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T24 Gortyn, Temple of Apollo Pythios**Associated Cult Statue:** Gortyn, Apollo Pythios (**Cat. S23**)**Date:** 7th century BCE (original construction); c. 200–183 BCE (renovation); 2nd century CE (renovation)**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone, marble**Building Type:** Doric hexastyle pseudo-prostyle**Dimensions:** 19.85 x 25.50 m**Cella Dimensions:** 14.45 x 16.30 m

Description: The Temple of Apollo Pythios stood in the center of Gortyn and was the city's most significant cult site beginning in the seventh century BCE. The first phase of the temple consisted of a rectangular cella which, around 200 BCE, was expanded with a pronaos that featured six Doric half-columns. Blocks of inscriptions documenting treaties made between Gortyn and other Cretan cities in the second century BCE were erected between the columns of the pronaos, turning the temple into both a sacred structure and an archive monument. In the second century CE, the temple was renovated again, likely following the earthquake of 66 CE. The building's interior was split into three aisles by two rows of four Corinthian columns, and a semicircular apse was added to the cella's back wall.

Select Bibliography: Halbherr 1889; Savignoni, De Sanctis, and Paribeni 1907, 181–234; Lauter 1986, 189; Ricciardi 1986–1987; Damaskos 1999, 121–124; Sporn 2002, 151–156; Di Vita 2010, 119–126; Bonetto, Bertelli, and Brombin 2020.

A



Actual state plan, Temple of Apollo Pythios, Gortyn. Source: Ricciardi 1986–1987, fig. 30

B



Current state, view from the northeast.
Photo: courtesy P. Katz

T25 Iasos, Agora Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd–1st century BCE**Deity:** Unknown, perhaps Artemis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Building Type:** Ionic distyle prostyle**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Within the agora of Iasos stood a small Ionic temple with a pi-shaped plan that opened to the south. It has been dated to the second–first century BCE on account of its simple and elegant architectural elements. The temple was constructed of white marble. Its location in the center of the agora suggests that the temple may have been consecrated to Artemis as the porticoes nearby also were dedicated to this goddess. The building's very small dimensions and lack of a façade wall suggests that its cult statue was visible from outside, likely serving as the dominant element of the architectural composition.

Select Bibliography: Baldoni et al. 2004, 76–77.



Ground plan, Agora Temple, Iasos. Source: Baldoni et al. 2004, p. 76

T26 Kalymnos, Temple of the Dioskouroi**Associated Cult Statue:** Kalymnos, Dioskouroi (Cat. S26)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Dioskouroi**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Nikodamos, son of Aratogenos**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** An inscription records the dedication of a temple and cult statue to the Dioskouroi by Nikodamos son of Aratogenos in the second century BCE. No physical remains of the temple or cult statue have been identified.**Select Bibliography:** Segre 1944–1945, 153, no. 117; Damaskos 1999, 106–107.

T27 Kameiros, Eastern Agora Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Doric distyle in antis**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** A small Doric distyle in antis temple sat on the eastern side of the agora at Kameiros. Like its counterpart on the western side of the agora, the temple faced south. It was likely rebuilt after the earthquake of 228/7 BCE. Today the temple remains are covered by the terrace constructed by the Italian excavators in the 1930s.**Select Bibliography:** Di Vita 1990, 483; Calì 2011, 348; 2016, 66–74.

T28 Kameiros, Temple of Athena and Zeus Polieus**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Athena, Zeus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Doric, probably peripteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A sanctuary to the city's patron gods, Athena and Zeus Polieus, stood atop the acropolis of Kameiros since at least the Archaic period. Following the earthquake of 228/7 BCE, the sanctuary's Classical temple was rebuilt in the Doric order, probably tetrastyle peripteral in plan. The temple sat on the upper terrace of the acropolis with a monumental stoa before it. The altar was located on the lower terrace at the end of the main street leading up to the acropolis.

Select Bibliography: Calìo 2001, 86–92; 2003, 54–55; 2016, 66–81.




Image redacted due to copyright restrictions

Reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Athena and Zeus Polieus, Kameiros. Source: Calìo 2016, fig. 5.2

T29 Kameiros, Western Agora Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** Kameiros, Deity of the Western Agora Temple (Cat. S27)**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Unknown, perhaps Apollo or Hestia**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Poros**Building Type:** Doric distyle in antis**Dimensions:** c. 8.00 x 19.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: On the western side of the agora at Kameiros stand the restored columns of a Doric distyle in antis temple made of poros. Like much of the city, the temple likely was rebuilt following the earthquake of 228/7 BCE. The temple faced south and contained a pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos. The extant cult statue base sits roughly in the middle of the cella. The temple was identified initially as that of Apollo Pythios but it instead may have been part of the Sanctuary of Hestia located in the city center. A small naiskos, also of poros, stood 0.70 m from the temple's northeast corner.

Select Bibliography: Konstantinopoulos 1986, 174–176; Di Vita 1990, 483; Damaskos 1999, 120; Caliò 2011, 348–349; 2016, 66–74.



Current state, Western Agora Temple, Kameiros, view from the southwest. Photo: courtesy P. Katz

T30 Kastabos, Temple of Hemithea**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 4th century BCE (original construction); early 2nd century BCE (renovation)**Deity:** Hemithea**Architect:** Letodoros and another man of Halikarnassos (original construction)**Patron:** Philion of Hygassos (original construction)**Material:** Limestone, white marble**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** 13.11 x 25.47 m (euthynteria); 11.33 x 23.70 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 5.00 x 9.80 m

Description: Originally constructed in the late fourth century BCE, this Ionic peripteral temple at Kastabos was dedicated to the local healing goddess Hemithea. The 6 x 12 temple sat on a three-stepped krepis. The krepis and cella walls were constructed of local limestone while the peristyle was of marble. The temple consisted of a deep pronaos with two columns in antis and a cella, but no opisthodomos. The cella door, flanked by engaged columns, sat upon a high threshold, necessitating a set of steps leading from the pronaos to the cella. A small naiskos (c. 1.98 x 3.35 m), which may have held the cult statue, stood at the back of the cella. Epigraphic evidence attests to considerable improvements made to the sanctuary in the first half of the second century BCE but does not specifically detail the renovations.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 14.690; Diod. Sic. 5.62–63; Plommer 1963; Cook and Plommer 1966, 80–134; Rumscheid 1994, 19.




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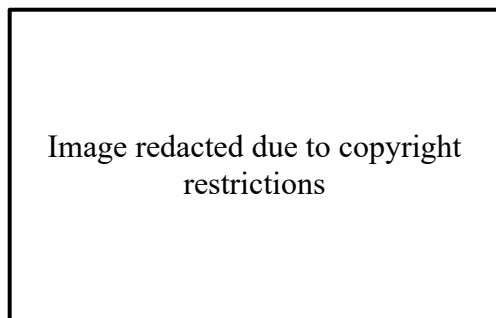
Ground plan, Temple of Hemithea, Kastabos. Source: Plommer 1963, fig. 1

T31 Klaros, Temple of Apollo**Associated Cult Statue:** Klaros, Apollo cult group (Cat. S28)**Date:** Late 4th century BCE–mid-2nd century CE**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Hadrian (2nd century CE)**Material:** Prokonnesian marble**Building Type:** Doric peripteral**Dimensions:** 25.16 x 46.29 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Construction began on the Temple of Apollo at Klaros in the late fourth century BCE and continued through 135 CE when Hadrian named himself the temple's dedicator on an inscription erected on the building's architrave. Despite the lengthy period of construction, the temple was never completed. Originally designed as a Doric peripteral temple of 6 x 11 columns, only the six columns along the front façade and four columns on each of the north and south sides were erected. The temple stood on a five-stepped krepis and included a deep pronaos and cella as well as a unique subterranean complex used for oracular consultations. The oracular complex included two narrow staircases, two rooms, and winding passageways. One of the rooms, designed like a grotto, contained a marble omphalos and a well to the sacred spring. The cult statue group of Apollo, Leto, and Artemis stood on a base at the rear of the cella. The temple faced east, and its altar, dedicated to both Apollo and Dionysos, stood 27.50 m from the temple.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 7.5.4; Iambl. *Myst.* 3.11; La Genière 1992, 203–206; Faulstich 1997, 137–162; Flashar 1999, 54–56; Laroche and Moretti 2008; Moretti and Laroche 2010; Aylward et al. 2012; Moretti 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016; Moretti et al. 2014; Şahin 2014.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Apollo, Klaros.
Source: Moretti et al. 2014, fig. 3

B



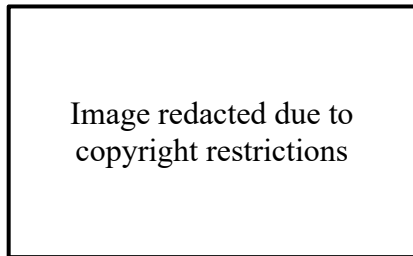
Current state, view from the southwest.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T32 Kleonai, Temple of Herakles**Associated Cult Statue:** Kleonai, Herakles (Cat. S29)**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Herakles**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local poros limestone**Building Type:** Doric tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 9.83 x 15.85 m (stereobate); 9.25 x 15.25 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** 7.66 x 10.38 m

Description: The Temple of Herakles at Kleonai, located c. 400 m south of the ancient city, was a Doric tetrastyle prostyle temple oriented to the northeast. The temple was constructed entirely of local poros limestone except the threshold, which may have been of marble or black Argive stone. The colonnade featured a significantly widened central intercolumniation. The building's plan included a shallow pronaos leading into the cella. The floor of the cella inclined toward the center and rear of the room, reaching its highest point before the cult statue base. The base survives in situ along the rear cella wall on axis with the doorway. A barrier separated the cult statue from the rest of the interior space; at a later time, a cult table was added before the cult image requiring the repositioning of this barrier. The altar seems to have been placed directly on the temple's two-step krepis on axis with the door. The "altar courtyard," a structure larger than the temple itself and whose function is currently unclear, stood 8.85 m from the front of the temple with its door directly aligned with that of the temple. Initially constructed in the second century BCE, the temple and "altar courtyard" were later renovated, although excavators have been unable to precisely date these modifications. At an unknown time, the temple suffered significant fire damage that resulted in its abandonment.

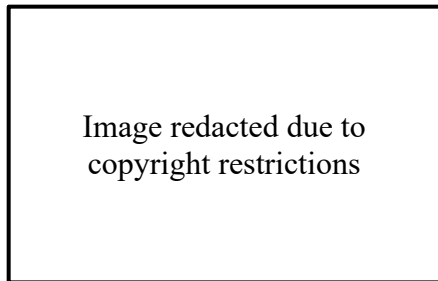
Select Bibliography: Diod. Sic. 4.33.3; Gell 1817, 157–158; Müller 1910; Frickenhaus and Müller 1911; Frickenhaus 1913; Damaskos 1999, 19–20; Franck 2014, 71–74, 215, no. 12; Mattern 2002; 2006, 171–173; 2015.

A



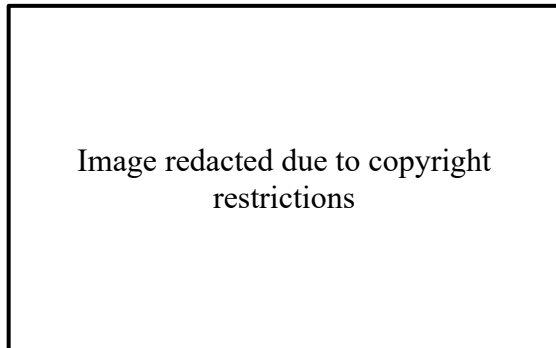
Ground plan, Temple of Herakles, Kleonai. Source: Mattern 2015, fig. 13

B



Ground plan of interior phases, Temple of Herakles, Kleonai. Source: Mattern 2015, fig. 18

C



Ground plan and elevation, Temple of Herakles and "altar courtyard," Kleonai. Source: Mattern 2015, fig. 22

D



Current state, Temple of Herakles, Kleonai, view from the north. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T33 Kos, Attalid Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 200–150 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Dionysos and/or Eumenes II**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Eumenes II of Pergamon**Material:** Tuff (foundation), gray limestone (façade)**Building Type:** Ionic distyle in antis or Doric tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: In the southern agora of Kos sat a gray limestone temple that faced north. The temple remains are fragmentary, but excavators reconstruct the structure as either Doric tetrastyle prostyle or Ionic distyle in antis in plan. It stood upon a stepped podium of tuff with a façade of gray limestone. The building included a cella and shallow pronaos with a monumental frontal staircase. The temple's identification is uncertain, but it may have been dedicated to Dionysos, whose altar stood nearby. The Attalid king Eumenes II may have been worshipped here as *synnaos* with Dionysos, whom the Attalids claimed as their ancestor. A colossal, cuirassed statue of Eumenes II was found nearby and epigraphic evidence attests to a cult of Eumenes in Kos, who was honored by the Koans in 183 BCE for defeating the Gauls.

Select Bibliography: Laurenzi 1936, 137–138.

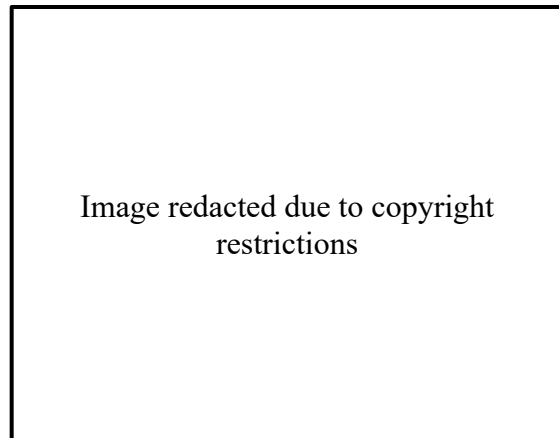
Current state, Attalid Temple, Kos, view from the north. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T34 Kos, Sanctuary of Aphrodite**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 135–100 BCE**Deity:** Aphrodite**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Tetrastyle prostyle, perhaps Doric**Dimensions:** c. 9.50 x 14.50 m (each temple)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 7.75 x 7.15 m (each temple)

Description: A large (c. 45.00 x 62.50 m) sanctuary located in the Harbor Quarter of Kos was likely dedicated to Aphrodite. The sanctuary included four Doric stoas, two Corinthian propylaia, and two identical tetrastyle prostyle temples on high podiums. Much of the material from these temples was reused in the fifth–sixth-century CE basilica erected in this area; thus, the western temple remains are more complete than those of its eastern counterpart, for which only the foundations survive. Based on the surviving remains of the western temple, the twin buildings faced north and featured a frontal staircase. An altar constructed in gray tuff (c. 3.00 x 3.00 m) stood in front of the western temple; excavators propose a similar altar for the eastern temple. The temples appear to have been consecrated to Aphrodite Pandemos and Aphrodite Potnia.

Select Bibliography: Laurenzi 1936, 136–137; Morricone 1950, 66–69; Mattern 2015, 147.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Kos.
Source: Morricone 1950, fig. 13

B



Current state, west temple, view from the southwest. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T35 Kos, Temple A**Associated Cult Statue:** Kos, Asklepios and Hygieia (Cat. S30)**Date:** c. 170–160 BCE**Deity:** Asklepios**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Eumenes II**Material:** Poros limestone (foundation, interior cella wall coursing), marble (superstructure)**Building Type:** Doric peripteral**Dimensions:** 18.08 x 33.28 m**Cella Dimensions:** 7.23 x 13.54 m

Description: Temple A was constructed in the center of the upper terrace of the Sanctuary of Asklepios in the early second century BCE. It faced the sanctuary's monumental staircase and the altar located on the sanctuary's middle terrace. In this position, Temple A served as the capstone of the Asklepieion complex. The Doric peripteral temple was oriented north. The 6 x 11 temple contained a pronaos with two columns in antis and a deep cella. The upper terrace contains no remains of an altar associated with this temple. The purpose behind the construction of this temple is unclear as the sanctuary's primary temple stood already on the middle terrace. Scholars have suggested that it may have been intended to house the sanctuary's cult statue or serve the cult of Eumenes II as *synnaos* of Asklepios.

Select Bibliography: Strabo 14.2.19; Schazmann 1932, 3–13; Petit and De Waele 1998; Damaskos 1999, 108–118; Gruben 2001, 440–449; Senseney 2007; 2011, 45–59, 162–164; Interdonato 2013, 51–57, 94–95, 273–277; 2016, 176–179.

A



Ground plan, Temple A, Kos.
Source: Senseney 2007, fig. 10

B



Current state, view from the southeast. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T36 Kos, Temple of Herakles**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Herakles**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Travertine (euthynteria), marble**Building Type:** Oikos**Dimensions:** 7.50 x 12.60 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The Sanctuary of Herakles occupied the southeastern corner of the Harbor Quarter of ancient Kos. The sanctuary may have been founded in the late fourth–early third century BCE, but no remains of an earlier temple were found. The second-century temple consisted of only a cella with a simple rectangular plan. The temple faced north and sat upon a podium accessed via a flight of ten steps. A fragmentary inscription found in the temple remains suggests it was dedicated to Herakles, an identification further strengthened by the discovery of a statue of Herakles nearby.

Select Bibliography: Laurenzi 1936, 136–137; Morricone 1950, 62–64.



Current state, Temple of Herakles, Kos, view from the northeast. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T37 Kourno, Kionia 1**Associated Cult Statue:** Kourno, Kionia 1 Deity (Cat. S31)**Date:** c. 125–100 BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local gray marble (Mt. Taygetos)**Building Type:** Doric in antis**Dimensions:** 5.09 x 7.26 m**Cella Dimensions:** 4.05 x 4.05 m

Description: The site containing the remains of two temples near the monastery of Kourno in Lakonia has been dubbed Kionia; its ancient name is unknown. The smaller of the two temples, Kionia 1, was constructed of local gray marble and faced east. The temple was likely in antis in plan, with a shallow pronaos and square cella. The base for the cult statue was found inside the cella at its southwest corner. Most scholars date the temple to the late second century BCE, although Moschos proposes an Augustan–Tiberian date.

Select Bibliography: Le Bas 1888, 138–139; Forster and Woodward 1906–1907, 253–256; Moschou and Moschos 1978–1979; Winter and Winter 1983, 1984; Cooper 1988, 71; Moschos 1988, 142–143; Mattern 2015, 147.



Ground plan, Kionia 1, Kourno. Source: Moschou and Moschos 1978–1979, pl. Ιζ

T38 Kourno, Kionia 2**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 150–100 BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local gray marble (Mt. Taygetos)**Building Type:** Doric peripteral**Dimensions:** 8.40 x 9.96 m (euthynteria), 8.05 x 9.60 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** 4.46 x 4.87 m

Description: Kionia 2, the second temple located near the monastery of Kourno in Lakonia, was constructed of local gray marble and faced southeast. The Doric peripteral temple lacked a pronaos and opisthodomos, containing only a nearly square cella. The building likely had a 6 x 7 colonnade; some of the columns were monolithic.

Select Bibliography: Le Bas 1888, 138–139; Forster and Woodward 1906–1907, 253–256; Winter and Winter 1983, 1984; Lauter 1986, 195; Cooper 1988, 71; Moschos 1988.

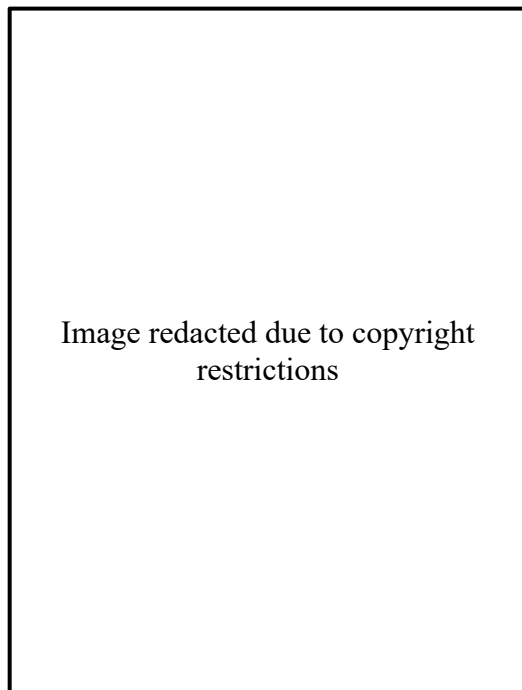


Ground plan, Kionia 2, Kourno. Source: Moschos 1988, pl. 51.1

T39 Kyme, Temple of Isis**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 3rd–2nd century BCE**Deity:** Isis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local stone, perhaps Phokaian limestone**Building Type:** Ionic distyle in antis**Dimensions:** 7.80 x 14.60 m**Cella Dimensions:** 4.30 x c. 5.00 m

Description: A tripartite temple located on the Kyme acropolis was presumably dedicated to Isis based on finds and inscriptions discovered during excavation. The Ionic temple was oriented to the northeast due to the sloping terrain to the east. The building stood on a three-stepped krepis and was distyle in antis in plan. It consisted of three rooms: a pronaos, cella, and adyton. The temple's width reduced considerably toward the rear of the building where the adyton's back wall measured only 6.60 m wide. A rectangular annex of uncertain function was attached to the temple's southeastern wall. Stylistic analysis of an acroterion and capital associated with the temple dates it to the late third–second century BCE.

Select Bibliography: Bouzek, Kostomitsopoulos, and Ondřejová 1980.



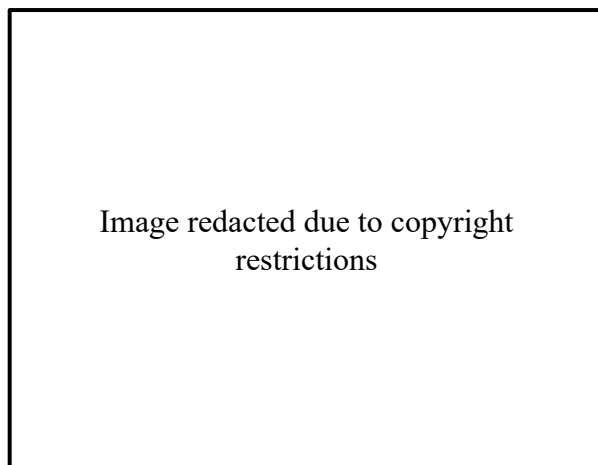
Ground plan, Sanctuary of Isis, Kyme. Source: Bouzek, Kostomitsopoulos, and Ondřejová 1980, fig. 1

T40 Lagina, Temple of Hekate**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 110–90 BCE**Deity:** Hekate**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** White marble**Building Type:** Corinthian pseudodipteral**Dimensions:** 21.10 x 27.90 m (euthynteria); 17.75 x 24.50 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The pseudodipteral Temple of Hekate at Lagina was oriented to the southeast and, uncommonly for the period and region, of the Corinthian order. The 8 x 11 temple stood on a five-stepped krepis. The front façade featured a widened central intercolumniation framing the temple's only entrance. The temple contained a very deep pronaos and a cella but lacked an opisthodomos. Within the pronaos, the two columns in antis bore Ionic capitals. Excavations in the cella's interior uncovered a pit underneath the floor in the center of the cella. Soil analysis revealed a considerable amount of grape pollen, perhaps suggesting that the pit received libations. The temple's exterior façade featured an elaborate continuous frieze and a window-like opening in both pediments. The altar, located 25.00 m southeast of the temple across a paved courtyard, featured a more westerly orientation than its temple.

Select Bibliography: Mendel 1912, 428–542; Schober 1933; Junghölter 1989; Hoepfner 1990, 31–32; Webb 1996, 108–120; Schenk 1997, 28–36; Baumeister 2007; Herring 2011; Tirpan, Gider, and Büyüközer 2012.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Hekate, Lagina.

Source: Tirpan, Gider, and Büyüközer 2012, fig. 3

B



Current state, view from the south.

Photo: A. Eckhardt

T41 Lebadeia, Temple of Zeus Basileus**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 230–170 BCE**Deity:** Zeus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Antiochos IV**Material:** Poros (foundation), local limestone (superstructure)**Building Type:** Doric peripteral**Dimensions:** c. 22.60 x 46.02 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 14.20 x 33.90 m

Description: A set of building inscriptions documents part of the construction of the Temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadia. The site has not been properly excavated, however, leaving many of the building's details to conjecture. Based on the letter forms of the inscriptions, the building has been dated between the late third and early second century BCE and was perhaps sponsored in part by Antiochos IV. The large Doric peripteral temple faced east and had either a 6 x 12 or 6 x 13 colonnade. The plan included a pronaos and cella; the cella contained an internal apse. The pronaos seems to have included two entrances into the cella.

Select Bibliography: *IG* VII 3073; Paus. 9.39.4; Bundgaard 1946; Dinsmoor 1950, 268; Roux 1960; Lauter 1986, 180; Turner 1994, 376–421; Bringmann and von Steuben 1995, 462–463, no. 396; Lawrence 1996, 159.

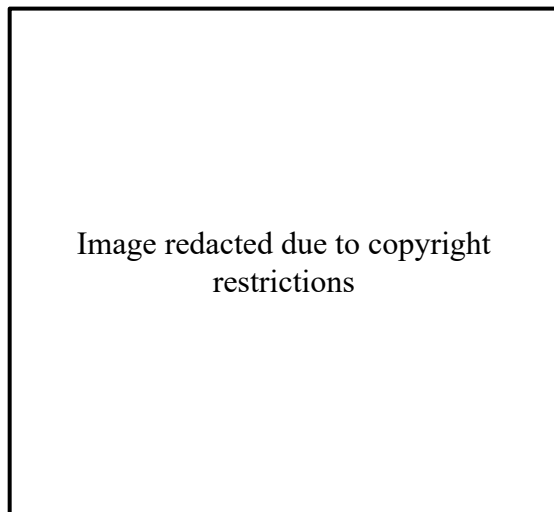


Proposed ground plan, Temple of Zeus Basileus, Lebadia. Source: Turner 1994, fig. 10

T42 Luni, Capitolium**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 175 BCE (original construction); late 2nd–early 1st century BCE (renovation)**Deity:** Jupiter, Juno, Minerva**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local stone, *opus caementicum***Building Type:** Tetrastyle**Dimensions:** 20.00 x 30.60 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** Central cella: c. 5.00 m W; side cellas: c. 3.50 m W

Description: The so-called Capitolium and the Great Temple were built shortly after Luni was founded as a Roman colony in 177 BCE. The Capitolium was located within a U-shaped colonnade on one of the short sides of the city's forum and faced southwest, on axis with the *cardo*. The presumed reconstruction of the temple includes a pronaos with two rows of four columns and a tripartite cella. Following a lightning strike, the building was renovated in the late second or early first century BCE. The temple's excavators identified the temple as a capitolium based on the tripartite cella, but Quinn and Wilson question that attribution.

Select Bibliography: D'Andria 1973; Frova 1976, 24–41; 1985, 55–57, 65; Quinn and Wilson 2013, 140–141.

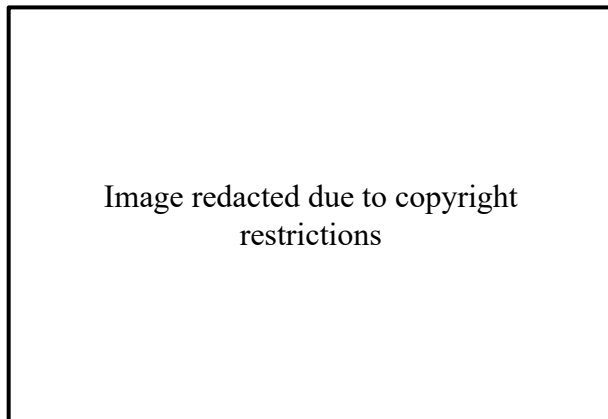


Actual state plan, Capitolium, Luni. Drawing: S. Kasprzysiak, in Frova 1977, folio 2

T43 Luni, Great Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** Luni, Female Deity (Cat. S34)**Date:** c. 175 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Luna**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local stone (superstructure), terracotta (architectural decoration)**Building Type:** Tetrastyle**Dimensions:** c. 16.00 x 20.50 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** Central cella: c. 5.20 x 7.50 m; side cellas: c. 2.80 x 7.50 m

Description: The Great Temple and the so-called Capitolium were built shortly after Luni was founded as a Roman colony in 177 BCE. The Great Temple was located at the end of a street that ran from the southwestern city gate. The slope of the ground elevated the temple slightly above the surrounding structures. The Great Temple sat upon a high podium and featured four columns along its front façade. Like the so-called Capitolium, the Great Temple had a tripartite cella. No inscriptions or votive offerings identify to whom the temple was dedicated, but significant remains of the terracotta pedimental decoration survive, suggesting that the temple belonged to Luna, a local deity.

Select Bibliography: Bonghi Jovino 1973, 1977a; Boos 2011, 22–23; De Tommaso, Paribeni, and Sorge 2011; La Rocca 2019, 585–586.



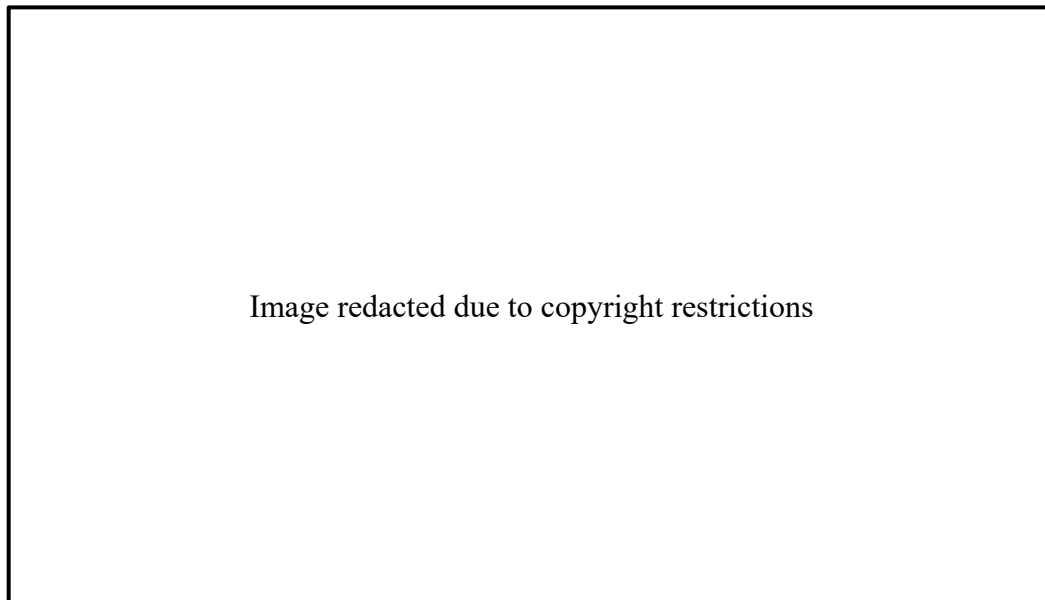
Actual state plan, Great Temple, Luni. Drawing: S. Kasprzysiak, in Frova 1977, folio 5

T44 Lykosoura, Temple of Despoina**Associated Cult Statue:** Lyksoura, Despoina cult group (**Cat. S36**)**Date:** Likely 3rd or 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Despoina**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone (walls), marble (columns, architrave)**Building Type:** Doric hexastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 11.15 x 21.34 m**Cella Dimensions:** 9.49 x 11.75 m

Description: Located on a small plateau within Lykosoura's Sanctuary of Despoina, the goddess's temple was Doric hexastyle prostyle in plan. The building faced east toward three altars dedicated to Demeter, Despoina, and the Great Mother. A pronaos led to the temple's cella, which was divided in half by a large pebble mosaic decorating the floor of the eastern side. The cult statue base stood against the rear cella wall in the western half of the space, nearly equaling the room's width. A low barrier ran across the entire width of the cella approximately 1.00 m from the cult statue base. In addition to the cella's primary eastern entrance, a secondary door opened through the cella's southern wall toward a flight of theatral seats. The dating of the temple remains uncertain, with most scholars placing it in the third or second century BCE, but a more precise attribution requires a comprehensive study of the architectural remains.

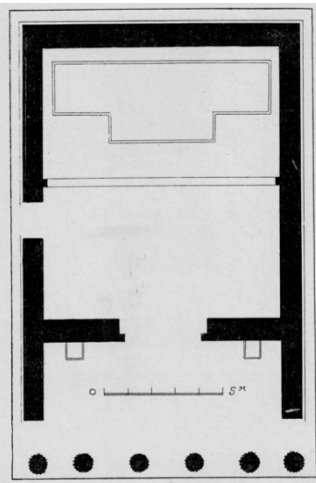
Select Bibliography: Gell 1817, 157–158; Kavvadias 1893, 7–8; Leonardos 1896; Normand 1897, 16–20; Dickins 1905–1906; Kourouniotis 1911, 10–18; Lévy 1967; Marcadé and Lévy 1972, 1003–1004; Jost 1985, 174–176; Billot 2008; Kantirea 2016, 28–30; Palamidis 2018, 128–131.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Despoina, Lykosoura. Source: Kantirea 2016, fig. 3.2

B



Ground plan, Temple of Despoina, Lykosoura. Source: Normand 1897, pl. 8

C



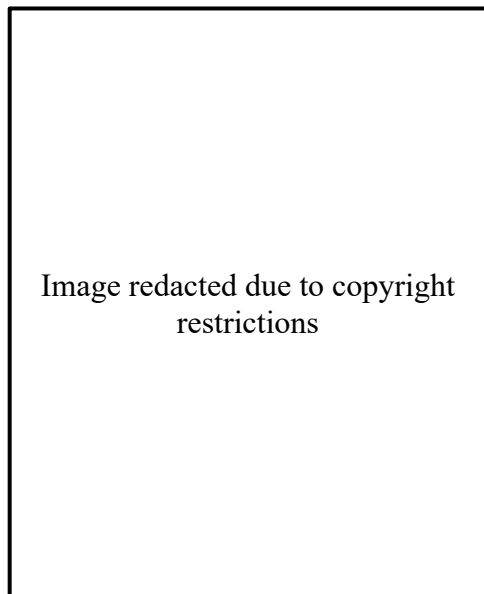
Current state, Temple of Despoina, view from the east. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T45 Magnesia on the Maeander, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene**Associated Cult Statue:** Magnesia on the Maeander, Artemis Leukophryene (**Cat. S37**)**Date:** c. 205–190 BCE**Deity:** Artemis**Architect:** Hermogenes of Alabanda**Patron:** Magnesia**Material:** Limestone (foundation), white marble (superstructure)**Building Type:** Ionic pseudodipteral**Dimensions:** 41.10 x 67.50 m (lowest step); 31.60 x 57.90 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 11.90 x 14.90 m

Description: The Temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander is considered a masterpiece of the architect Hermogenes and especially noted for its pseudodipteral plan. The Ionic 8 x 15 temple stood upon a seven-stepped krepis. The central intercolumniation of the front façade was wider than the others. A sculptured continuous frieze depicting an Amazonomachy ran around the exterior of the building. The front pediment included three windows or doors; the rear pediment may have as well. Hermogenes designed the entire building using a proportional system with the columns' diameter as the base unit. The temple's plan included a pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos; the pronaos and cella were equal in size and twice as long as the opisthodomos. The front façades of both the pronaos and opisthodomos were distyle in antis; the pronaos included another set of two columns behind the front colonnade. Little remains of the entrance from the pronaos to the cella to accurately reconstruct the doorway. The cella included three rows of two Ionic columns with the cult statue base nestled between the four columns closest to the rear of the room. Marble tiles formed the cella floor, which stood c. 0.80 m higher than that of the pronaos and opisthodomos. The interior of the cella was left unfinished. The temple faced southwest toward its monumental altar and the city's agora.

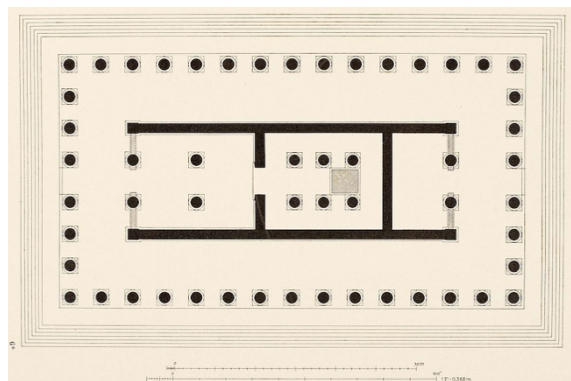
Select Bibliography: Vitr. 3.2.6, 7.praef.12; Strabo 14.1.40; Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 39–90; Lauter 1986, 185–188; Pollitt 1986, 245–247; Bingöl 1990b, 64–67; 1996; 1999; 2004; 2007, 52–95; 2012; Hoepfner 1990, 8–11; Rumscheid 1994, 28; Webb 1996, 89–90; Gruben 2001, 426–431; Platt 2011, 151–160; Haselberger 2012; Stewart 2014, 158–161; Haselberger and Holzman 2015; Herring 2016; Jürgens 2017; Hammerschmied 2018; Zink et al. 2019.

A



Ground plan, agora and Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia on the Maeander.
Source: Jürgens 2017, fig. 6.1

B



Ground plan, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia on the Maeander. Source: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, fig. 30

C



Current state, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, view from the southeast.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

D



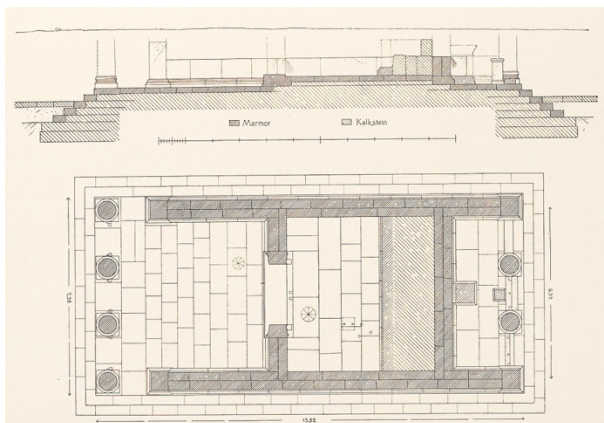
Current state, pediment, Temple of Artemis Leukophryene. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T46 Magnesia on the Maeander, Temple of Zeus Sosipolis**Associated Cult Statue:** Magnesia on the Maeander, Zeus Sosipolis (Cat. S38)**Date:** c. 200 BCE**Deity:** Zeus**Architect:** Perhaps Hermogenes of Alabanda**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Ionic tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 7.38 x 15.82 m**Cella Dimensions:** 5.15 x 5.65 m

Description: The Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, excavated by Carl Humann from 1890 to 1893 but since backfilled, was located in the southern half of Magnesia's agora. Its identity is confirmed by an inscription discovered on the south side of the northwestern anta. Constructed in the late third or early second century BCE, the building combined features of two temple types: tetrastyle prostyle and distyle in antis. Four Ionic columns lined the front, western façade while two columns in antis stood along the rear, eastern façade. The temple faced west. It originally sat upon a five-stepped krepis, but when the pavement of the agora was raised following the construction of the Artemision, the krepis was reduced to two steps. The temple's columns rose to a height of 6.30 m. An undecorated frieze course formed part of the architrave. The interior space was divided into three rooms: a deep pronaos, nearly square cella, and shallow opisthodomos. Within the cella, the cult statue base stood against the back wall and spanned its entire width. The temple's altar stood within the agora just west of the building. Although Vitruvius does not mention the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, the building featured a eustyle design, leading scholars to posit Hermogenes as its architect. This attribution also coincides with the dating of the temple, which was constructed around the same time as Magnesia's Artemision (Cat. T45), one of Hermogenes' masterpieces.

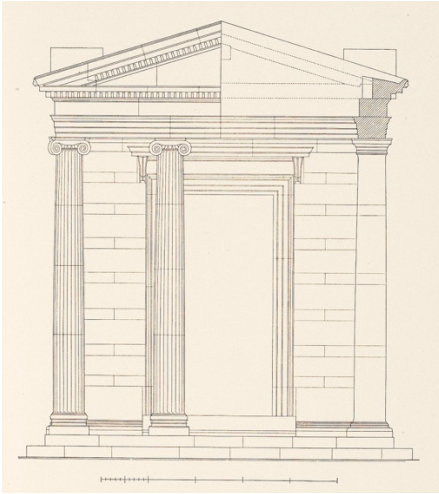
Select Bibliography: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, 141–161; Hoepfner 1990, 20–23; Stampolidis 1990, 118–120; Rumscheid 1994, 28; Faulstich 1997, 85–94, no. 2; Gruben 2001, 424–426; Bingöl 2004, 487–488; 2007, 110–115.

A



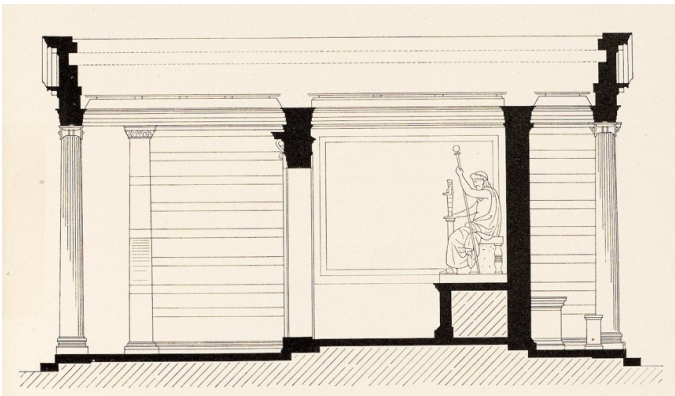
Ground plan, Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander. Source: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, figs. 151–152

B



Elevation, Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander. Source: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, fig. 154

C



Reconstruction of the cult statue within the Temple of Zeus Sosipolis, Magnesia on the Maeander. Source: Humann, Kohte, and Watzinger 1904, fig. 165

T47 Messene, Artemision**Associated Cult Statue:** Messene, Artemis Orthia (**Cat. S42**)**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Artemis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local limestone and poros**Building Type:** Ionic tripartite oikos**Dimensions:** 14.00 x 7.15 m**Cella Dimensions:** 5.75 x 5.62 m

Description: The sanctuary to Artemis Orthia was located in the northernmost and largest of the rooms (Oikos K) within the western stoa of Messene's monumental Asklepieion complex. The rectangular room was divided into three aisles by two colonnades. The central aisle was the largest; in this space the large cult statue base still stands. Additional remains in this room suggest that it contained a cult table and a treasury box. In addition, a series of statue bases that once held portraits of priestesses and initiates, dating to the first century BCE–third century CE, form a semicircle before the cult statue base. Stone benches lined the two side aisles and may have played a role in the sanctuary's ritual activities. The sanctuary was oriented to the east, mirroring the orientation of the complex's central temple to Asklepios (**Cat. T49**). The remains of an altar are located in the courtyard c. 14.00 m from the room's threshold, slightly off axis of its doorway.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 23.208, 23.215–217, 23.220–223; Paus. 4.31.10; Orlandos 1962a, 1962b, 1963a, 1963b; Themelis 1993b; 1994a; 2015, 77–94; Damaskos 1999, 42–43; Chlepa 2001; Loube 2013, 99–117; Yoshitake 2013; Franck 2014, 94–97, 221, no. 18; Melfi 2016, 88.

A



Ground plan, Artemision, Messene.
Source: Chlepa 2001, fig. 48

B



Current state, view from the south. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T48 Messene, Sanctuary of Serapis and Isis**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Serapis, Isis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Pi-shaped reservoir**Dimensions:** 3.25 m W, 3.50 m D, 46.50 m L (north side), 35.50 m L (west side)**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Recent excavations at Messene have uncovered a vaulted, pi-shaped subterranean structure, identified by Themelis as a water reservoir serving the Sanctuary of Serapis and Isis. The structure is located directly south of the theater. The wings of the structure are 3.25 m wide and 3.50 m deep. The western wing contains an arched niche approximately at its midpoint, with a similar niche discovered on the east wing. The north wing, the best preserved of the three, contains several narrow openings. Terracotta pipes on the upper part of the walls led to the structure's identification as a water reservoir, which would have been filled with rainwater. Themelis dates the structure to the second century BCE based on stylistic analysis of sculptural remains associated with the site. Excavations are still ongoing.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 4.32.6; Themelis 2011; 2015, 63.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Serapis and Isis, Messene. Source: Themelis 2011, fig. 14

B



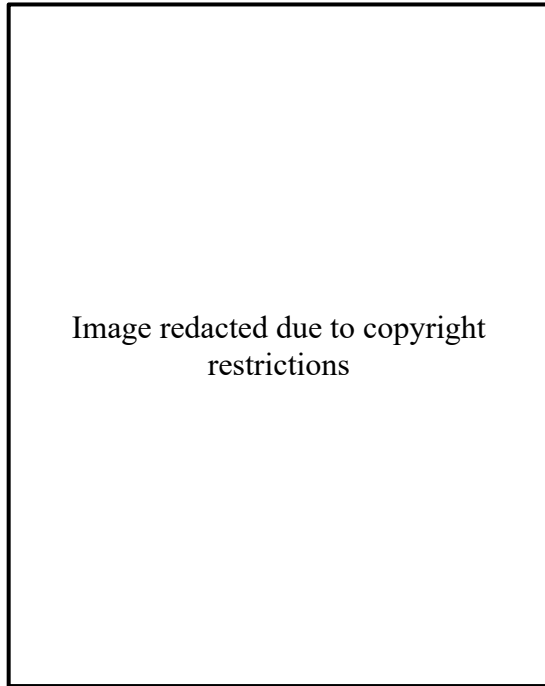
Current state, view from the northeast.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T49 Messene, Temple of Asklepios**Associated Cult Statue:** Messene, Asklepios cult group (Cat. S43)**Date:** c. 223–191 BCE**Deity:** Asklepios**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local sandstone (foundation), local gray limestone (superstructure)**Building Type:** Doric peripteral**Dimensions:** 13.66 x 27.97 m**Cella Dimensions:** 6.36 x 7.30 m

Description: The Temple of Asklepios stood in the center of a large courtyard (66.67 x 71.91 m) formed by four stoas. The Doric peripteral temple was constructed of local gray limestone and sat upon a three-stepped krepis. The temple faced east with a ramp (3.34 m L) leading to the front façade. The temple's eastern door was wider than the central intercolumniation. In plan, the 6 x 12 temple consisted of a cella flanked by a pronaos and opisthodomos, both of which were distyle in antis. Few remains survive to reconstruct fully the interior of the cella, but its floor was 0.24 m higher than the level of the stylobate. A second door led into the cella through its south wall. The temple's altar, built of the same local gray limestone as the temple, stood c. 7.00 m to the east of the temple on axis with its main entrance.

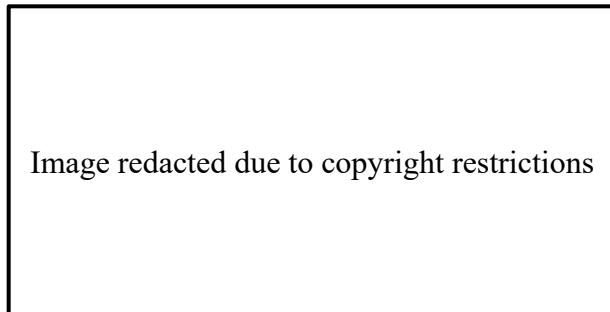
Select Bibliography: Paus. 4.31.10–12; Orlandos 1962a, 1962b, 1963a, 1963b; Lauter 1986, 180; Themelis 1989; 1993b; 1994b, 4–9; 2015, 77–94; Damaskos 1999, 48–50; Riethmüller 2005, vol. 2, no. 69; Sioumpara 2011; Melfi 2016, 88.

A



Ground plan, Asklepieion, Messene. Source: Sioumpara 2011, pl. 4

B



Ground plan, Temple of Asklepios, Messene.
Source: Sioumpara 2011, pl. 15

C



Current state, Temple of Asklepios, view
from the southeast. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T50 Nemi, Temple K

Associated Cult Statue: Perhaps Nemi, Diana (**Cat. S68**), Female Deity (**Cat. S69**), and/or Male Deity (**Cat. S70**)

Date: End of the 4th century BCE (original construction); c. 100 BCE (renovation); mid-1st century CE (renovation)

Deity: Perhaps Diana

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Unknown

Material: Peperino tuff

Building Type: Rectangular, order unknown

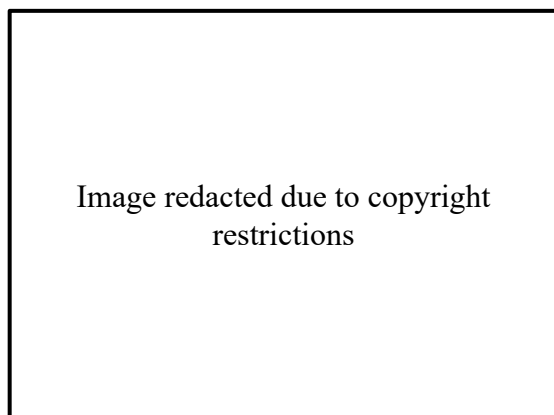
Dimensions: 28.30 x 35.00 m

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Description: The terraced Sanctuary of Diana located on the northern shores of Lake Nemi contained a rectangular temple on its lowest terrace. This building was constructed at the end of the fourth century BCE in peperino tuff blocks on a tall podium. The temple had a simple rectangular plan with a cella and pronaos. In the second century BCE, the temple's sides were widened, and a large circular base was erected off its eastern corner. Sometime in the second half of the first century BCE, the temple was enlarged again, making its form and proportions more regular. At this time, the temple's walls were rebuilt in *opus reticulatum*. A modern farmhouse built atop the remains preserves portions of these walls. The temple was identified initially as the main temple of the sanctuary, but reservations as to its dedication to Diana have been raised. Excavators now believe the remains of the Temple of Diana may be found on the sanctuary's upper terrace.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 4.8.4; Coarelli 1987, 165–185; Ghini 1993, 1995, 2000, 2006; Känel 2000; Rous 2007, 338; Braconi et al. 2013; Filser, Papakosta, and Peters 2013.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Diana, Nemi.
Source: Coarelli 1987, fig. 45

B



Current state, Temple K, view from the east.
Photo: courtesy P. Katz

T51 Olous, Temple of Aphrodite and Ares**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 150–100 BCE**Deity:** Aphrodite, Ares**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Synaneis tribe**Material:** Local hard, dark blue limestone**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** c. 12.00 x 12.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: A roughly square building in Olous (Crete) housed cults to both Aphrodite and Ares. The temple was constructed of a local hard, dark blue limestone covered in white plaster. Wooden columns may have supported the roof. The interior of the temple was divided into two rooms of equal size. No door connected the two rooms with one another, but they both opened onto a shared vestibule. Each room contained a bench that ran along two-thirds of the rear wall and a floor paved in limestone slabs. A lintel block in the shape of a pediment belonged to the door of the room identified as that of Ares; this room also had a small side door that led outside. The temple represented a major rebuilding of an earlier Geometric structure from the ninth century BCE. The renovated building has been dated to the late second century BCE based on an inscription discovered during excavation that details the efforts of the Synaneis tribe to completely redesign the building in elevation and wall coursing, including the addition of the vestibule, doorframes, and tiling. The major overhaul also reversed the orientation of the previous structure such that the temple now faced east.

Select Bibliography: Bousquet 1938; Lawrence 1996, 163.

T52 Pergamon, Middle Gymnasium Temple

Associated Cult Statue: None

Date: c. 200–150 BCE (original construction); late Hellenistic period (renovation)

Deity: Perhaps Herakles or Hermes

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Eumenes II (original construction)

Material: Trachyte (foundation), marble (superstructure)

Building Type: Ionic in antis (original construction); Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle (renovation)

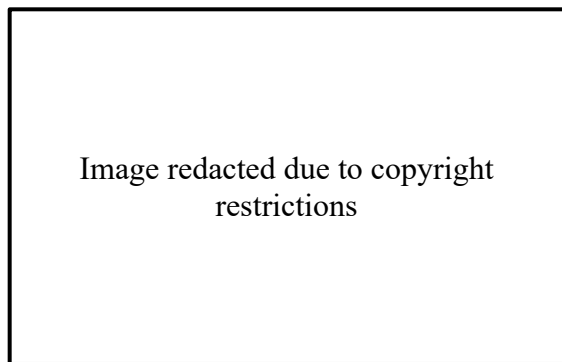
Dimensions: 6.60 m W

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Description: A small temple oriented to the southwest was located near the east end of the middle gymnasium terrace at Pergamon. The temple's original construction dates to the early second century BCE as part of the building projects sponsored by Eumenes II in this part of the gymnasium complex. In its original phase, the temple was an Ionic in antis temple. Much of the marble superstructure was lost to the lime kiln, leaving few remains to reconstruct the architecture in detail. The wall blocks that survive, however, contain lists of ephebes and individuals granted Pergamene citizenship following the dissolution of the Attalid dynasty. In the late Hellenistic period, the building was converted into a Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle temple; the motivation for the conversion is unclear. The remains of the altar stand near the front of the temple. The deity to whom the temple was consecrated is unknown, but it may have been Herakles or Hermes, the gods associated with the gymnasium.

Select Bibliography: Schazmann 1923, 40–43; Schenk 1997, 39–41; Mattern 2015, 149; Radt 2016, 123.

A



Ground plan, Middle Gymnasium Temple, Pergamon. Source: Schazmann 1932, pl. 15

B

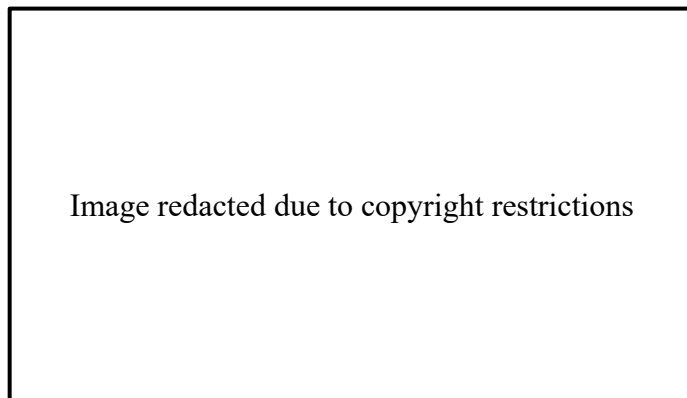


Current state, view from the south.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T53 Pergamon, Temple of Asklepios Soter**Associated Cult Statue:** Pergamon, Asklepios of Phyromachos (**Cat. S45**)**Date:** c. 270–260 BCE (original construction); c. 201 BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Asklepios**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Philetairos (original construction); Attalos I or Eumenes II (rebuilding)**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Doric (original construction); Ionic tetrastyle prostyle (rebuilding)**Dimensions:** 6.54 x 13.08 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** 4.80 x 5.70 m

Description: The extramural Asklepieion witnessed considerable change between the third century BCE and the Roman period, in part owing to its destruction twice, first by Philip V in 201 BCE and then again by Prousius in 156/5 BCE. The main temple of the sanctuary, that of Asklepios Soter, was first constructed as a Doric temple in the third century BCE. A marble frieze fragment that survives from this phase of the building bears similarities with the architectural decoration found within the city's Sanctuary of Demeter. Following the devastation wrought by Philip V, the temple was rebuilt in the Ionic order with a tetrastyle prostyle plan. The building in this phase faced east and had a deep porch but no opisthodomos. A wide staircase led up to the temple platform. Nothing remains of the cult statue base. Ancient literary accounts of Prousius's theft of a cult statue of Asklepios by the sculptor Phyromachos alternatively identify the original location of the statue as either this temple of Asklepios Soter or the Nikephorion.

Select Bibliography: Polyb. 16.1.6, 18.2.2, 18.6.3–4; Diod. Sic. 31.35; Ziegenaus and de Luca 1975, 8–16; Andreae 1990, 86–89; Rumscheid 1994, 41; Rheidt 1996, 177; Damaskos 1999, 132–136; Mattern 2015, 149; Radt 2016, 220–222.



Ground plan, Temple of Asklepios Soter, Pergamon. Source: Andreae 1990, fig. 3

T54 Pergamon, Temple of Athena Nikephoros**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 220 BCE (original construction); c. 197 BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Athena**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Attalos I (original construction); Eumenes II (rebuilding)**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The most lavish extramural sanctuary of Pergamon was dedicated to Athena Nikephoros, but unfortunately no remains have been found that could be associated with this sanctuary. Presumably founded by Attalos I around 220 BCE following his victories in Gaul, the sanctuary, like the Asklepieion, was destroyed twice in the Hellenistic period, first by Philip V in 201 BCE and then by Prousius in 156/5 BCE. Literary sources indicate that the sanctuary included several temples and altars, a temenos wall, and a sacred grove.

Select Bibliography: Polyb. 16.1.6, 18.2.1, 18.6.3, 32.15.3; Diod. Sic. 28.5, 31.35; Strabo 13.4.2; Damaskos 1999, 130–132; Kohl 2002; Radt 2016, 242–243.

T55 Pergamon, Temple of Dionysos

Associated Cult Statue: None

Date: Early 2nd century BCE (original construction), early 3rd century CE (rebuilding)

Deity: Dionysos

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Eumenes II (original construction); Caracalla (rebuilding)

Material: Andesite (podium), marble (superstructure)

Building Type: Ionic tetrastyle prostyle

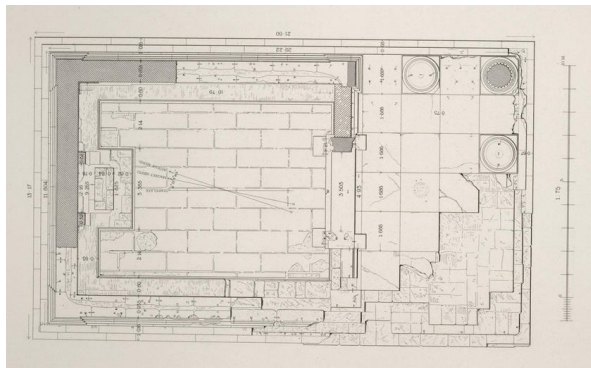
Dimensions: 11.80 x 20.22 m

Cella Dimensions: 9.26 x 10.79 m

Description: An Ionic marble temple with a marble roof stood on the north end of Pergamon's theater terrace directly before the steep cliff face. A monumental 25-stepped staircase led up to the temple. The temple was tetrastyle prostyle in plan with a deep pronaos and cella. The Hellenistic temple was destroyed by fire and reconstructed in the Roman Imperial period under Caracalla, following the same plan and order of the earlier building. Some of the original building material was reused in the new construction, especially the cella walls, which contain architectural drawings for the Roman renovations. The temple faced east toward its altar on the theater terrace. The altar included a step on the western side such that officials faced east with the temple behind them during sacrifices.

Select Bibliography: Bohn 1896, 41–68; Schwandner 1990a, 93–102; Hoepfner 1996, 51–52; Rheidt 1996, 177; Mattern 2015, 149; Radt 2016, 189–193.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Dionysos, Pergamon.
Source: Bohn 1896, pl. 28

B



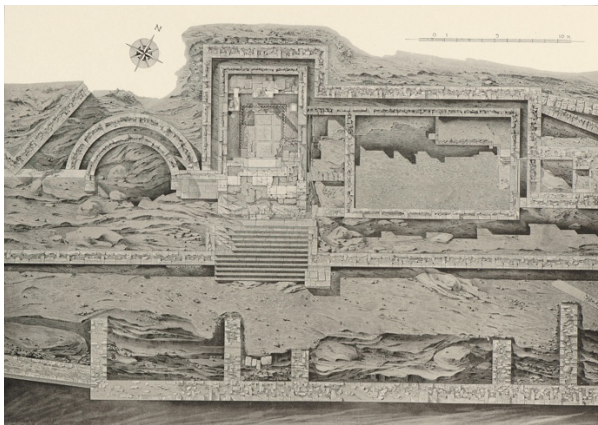
Current state, view from the east.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T56 Pergamon, Temple of Hera Basileia**Associated Cult Statue:** Pergamon, Hera Basileia (Cat. S46)**Date:** 159–138 BCE**Deity:** Hera**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Attalos II**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Doric tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 7.00 x 11.75 m**Cella Dimensions:** 5.80 x 6.80 m

Description: A fragment of the dedicatory inscription from the architrave identifies Attalos II as the patron of the Temple of Hera at Pergamon. Attalos placed the temple in a prominent location within particularly steep terrain on the terrace above the upper gymnasium. The sanctuary was divided into two parallel narrow terraces; the upper terrace contained the temple and other structures, while the altar and forecourt occupied the lower terrace, about 3.00 m below. The altar was oriented along the middle axis of the temple, at the very southern edge of the lower terrace. The entrance to the sanctuary was from the west; the temple faced south. The Temple of Hera was Doric tetrastyle prostyle in plan but had the appearance of a podium temple through the exploitation of the steeply sloping terrain and the 12-step staircase connecting upper and lower terraces. At the time of excavation, the interior of the temple was still relatively well preserved, including fragments of a floor mosaic that once filled the entire cella. In antiquity, the inner decoration of the mosaic had been replaced by a marble pavement. The cult statue base still stands in front of the back wall of the cella and contains a middle projection, indicating that the statue represented a seated figure. Additional statue bases line the side walls of the temple with one in front of the west wall that directly joins the cult statue platform. The inscription on the base indicates that it once held a statue of the Gaulish princess Adobogiona, who was honored by the Pergamene demos for her benefactions on behalf of the city.

Select Bibliography: Dörpfeld 1912, 256–269; Schazmann 1923, 104–110; Rumscheid 1994, 36; Lawrence 1996, 162; Rheidt 1996, 179; Damaskos 1999, 137–149; Radt 2016, 186–188.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Hera Basileia, Pergamon. Source: Schazmann 1923, pl. 32

B

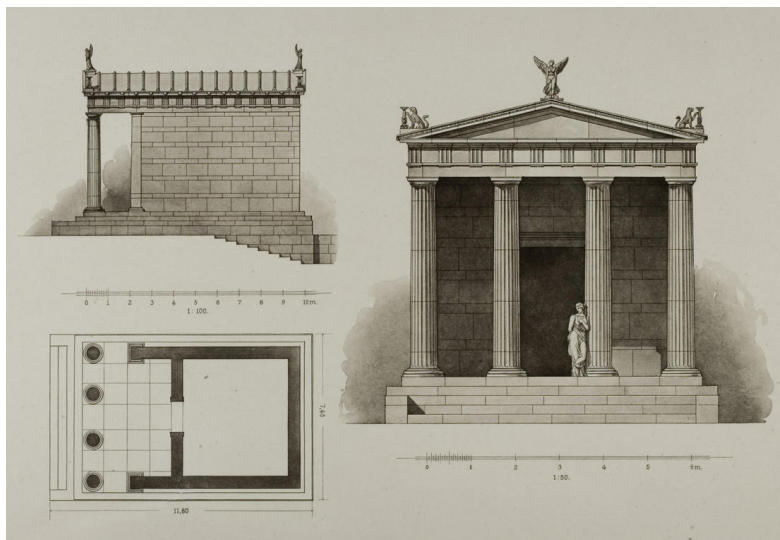


Current state, Temple of Hera Basileia, view from the south. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T57 Pergamon, Temple of Zeus**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 230–196 BCE**Deity:** Zeus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Attalos I**Material:** Tuff (foundation), marble (superstructure)**Building Type:** Doric tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 7.45 x 11.08 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 5.40 x 4.60 m

Description: A Doric tetrastyle prostyle temple dedicated to Zeus was located in the western part of Pergamon's upper agora, near the Great Altar. Sometimes called the Market Temple, excavators initially attributed the temple to Dionysos but have since identified it as that of Zeus. This temple was one of the first Pergamene temples to be constructed entirely of marble. It included a deep pronaos and square cella. The columns are slender for a Doric building and sit upon a base. The stairs on the northwestern side of the temple represent a Roman addition.

Select Bibliography: Bohn 1885; Schrammen 1906, 108–118; Rheidt 1992, 247–259; 1996; Rumscheid 1994, 118–121.



Ground plan and elevation, Temple of Zeus, Pergamon. Source: Schrammen 1906, pl. 34

T58 Pergamon, Temple R**Associated Cult Statue:** Pergamon, Male Deity (Cat. S47)**Date:** c. 200–150 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Dionysos or Herakles**Architect:** Perhaps Hermogenes of Alabanda**Patron:** Perhaps Eumenes II**Material:** Marble**Building Type:** Ionic tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 11.15 x 17.15 m**Cella Dimensions:** 6.75 x 6.75 m

Description: A small Ionic prostyle marble temple stood on a rocky outcrop behind the west wing of the upper gymnasium at Pergamon. The temple seems to have been planned and constructed at the same time as the gymnasium, in the beginning or middle of the second century. The space of its temenos was cut in the west and south by the later erection of the western Roman baths, but its altar remained in front of the temple, which faced south. Long lists of epebes were carved into the temple's walls. The temple was constructed of reused marble blocks from an earlier Doric structure. It is unclear if the Doric elements came from an earlier temple at the same site, but such reuse is unlikely given the relative size of the site and the architectural components. According to Vitruvius, Hermogenes convinced his patrons to change a temple of Dionysos at Pergamon from the Doric to the Ionic order; it is possible that Temple R represents this temple. The temple included an Ionic frieze and pediment decoration, but for unknown reasons construction on the temple ceased before the exterior decoration was finished. Remains of the cult statue base were still present at the time of excavation. Two pedestals stood on both sides of the cult statue base; whether these contained additional cult images, portrait statues, or votive offerings is uncertain.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 4.3.1; Schazmann 1923, 69–79; Andrae 1990, 87–88; Schwandner 1990a, 85–93; 1990b; Herrmann and Barbin 1993, 93–94; Hoepfner 1996, 46–52; Lawrence 1996, 159; Damaskos 1999, 149–162; Bingöl 2004; Mattern 2015, 149; Radt 2016, 130–131.

A



Ground plan, Temple R, Pergamon.
Source: Andrae 1990, fig. 4

B



Current state, view from the north.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T59 Pheneos, Asklepieion**Associated Cult Statue:** Pheneos, Asklepios and Hygieia (Cat. S48)**Date:** Mid-2nd century BCE**Deity:** Asklepios**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local limestone and schist (lower walls), probably mud brick (upper walls)**Building Type:** Double-roomed oikos**Dimensions:** 11.50 x 14.40 m**Cella Dimensions:** 4.50 x 10.65 m (northern room), 6.10 x 10.00 m (southern room)

Description: The Asklepieion at Pheneos consisted of two nearly identical rectangular rooms with a single wall separating them. The rooms faced east and opened onto a peristyle courtyard. The western end of the northern room (A) included a poros statue base (0.90 m W x 1.88 m L x 1.30 m H) covered in marble. The base originally held two bronze statues, which were later replaced by a stone statue. A barrier-like step (0.45 m W) ran before the base. A marble cult table (0.89 m W x 1.70 m L x 0.72 m H) stood directly on axis with the cult statue base in front of this step. The western end of the southern room contained a large cult statue base (2.95 m W x 4.81 m L x 1.00 m H) of limestone and blue-gray, probably Eleusinian, marble. The base stood on a slightly projecting step and was positioned approximately 0.95 m in front of the rear wall and 0.70 m from the two side walls. A mosaic covered the floor in the eastern part of the room. To date, no remains of an altar have been found.

Select Bibliography: *SEG* 19.328; Vanderpool 1959, 280–281; Protonotariou 1961–1962, 58–59, 1965; Jost 1985, 27–37; Damaskos 1999, 24–30; Mitropoulou 2001, 18–20; Franck 2014, 51–54, 209, no. 6; Kissas 2011, 158–160; Kissas and Mattern 2016; Kissas, Mattern, and Spyraanti 2017.



Ground plan, Asklepieion, Pheneos. Source: Kissas, Mattern, and Spyraanti 2017, pl. 53.1

T60 Pietrabbondante, Temple A**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Early 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Gnaius Staiis Stafidins**Material:** Limestone**Building Type:** Ionic tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** c. 12.20 m W x 17.70 m L x 1.65 m H (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 9.00 x 11.50 m

Description: The cult center of the Pentri Samnites at Pietrabbondante was expanded with the construction of a temple early in the second century BCE following Hannibal's destruction of 217 BCE. The temple faced east-southeast and sat upon a high podium. Much of the building material was looted in antiquity and the elevation is completely missing, making it difficult to reconstruct the plan. The temple contained a single rectangular cella.

Select Bibliography: La Regina 1966, no. 15; Capini and De Benedittis 2000, 37–45; Clark 2007, 197.

T61 Pietrabbondante, Temple B**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 120–90 BCE**Deity:** Unknown**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** G. Staatis L. Klar**Material:** Local hard limestone (podium), non-local soft limestone (columns, walls)**Building Type:** Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** c. 22.00 m W x 35.00 m L x 3.55 m H (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** Central cella: 7.20 x 11.00 m; side cellas: 4.80 x 7.50 m

Description: Approximately 9.00 m from Pietrabbondante's theater stood a Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle temple on a monumental podium. A 13-stepped staircase (4.60 m W) led up the center of the podium to the pronaos. The temple's front façade featured a colonnade of four Corinthian columns. A second row of two columns stood behind each of the corner columns, and a third row of two columns stood in the center of the pronaos between the doors. The large pronaos (21.50 x 22.00 m) led to a tripartite cella. The central cella was the largest of the three and extended to the rear wall of the temple. The two side cellas were more narrow and ended before the temple's rear wall, forming two small, rectangular rooms (3.00 x 4.50 m) behind the cellas. Two altars were discovered about 1.80 m from the front of the temple. The western side of the temple's podium featured a long inscription in Oscan identifying the building's patron.

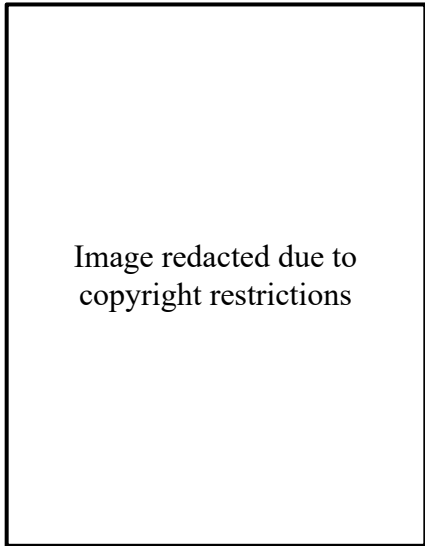
Select Bibliography: Strazzulla 1971, 23–29; Capini and De Benedittis 2000, 61–74; Clark 2007, 197; Quinn and Wilson 2013, 130–131.

T62 Praeneste, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia**Associated Cult Statue:** Praeneste, Fortuna Primigenia (Cat. S50)**Date:** c. 120 BCE**Deity:** Fortuna**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Senate and city magistrates**Material:** Limestone-faced *opus incertum***Building Type:** Corinthian tholos**Dimensions:** 13.95 m Diam.**Cella Dimensions:** 7.42 m Diam.

Description: The Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste consisted of a massive complex of exedras and porticoes built into the hillside in a series of seven terraces. The upper and lower portions of the sanctuary were clearly delineated. The lower complex contained a temple with a tripartite cella erected before the sanctuary's monumentalization in the late second century, a basilica, and two caves cut into the hillside. The upper complex began with a row of tabernae punctuated by two hemicycles. A staircase led to the terrace above, which contained a large, rectangular square surrounded on the east and west by double Corinthian colonnades and to the north by a row of arched openings and engaged columns. Above this terrace stood a theatral space capped by an exedra. A small round aedicula sat behind this exedra on the central axis of the entire complex. Little remains of this structure because it was incorporated into the Palazzo Colonna-Barberini in the Renaissance, thus whether this temple was a two-storied structure or a single-storied building on a high podium is unclear. It may have been domed with an oculus in the center. The sanctuary's cult statue likely stood within this aedicula. The concrete used throughout the complex was faced with white stucco to give the appearance of marble veneer.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* I² 1472, 2532, 3044, 3083 a–c, 3084, 3087; Cic. *Div.* 2.41.8–56; Delbrück 1907, 47–90; 1912, 1–4; Fasolo and Gullini 1953; Kähler 1958; Coarelli 1978; 1987, 35–84; 1989; Ley and Struss 1982; Champeaux 1982–1987, vol. 1, 3–24; Rakob 1989, 1990, 1992; Merz 1993; Rous 2010, 97–108; Gatti 2013; Hollinshead 2015, 93–95; Miano 2018, 32–36.

A



Reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste. Drawing: H. Kähler, in Coarelli 1987, fig. 10

B



Reconstruction of crowning aedicula, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste. Drawing: F. Fasolo and G. Gullini, in Coarelli 1987, fig. 15

T63 Priene, Temple of Athena Polias**Associated Cult Statue:** Priene, Athena Polias (Cat. S51)**Date:** c. 340 BCE (original construction); mid-2nd century BCE (completion)**Deity:** Athena**Architect:** Pytheos (original construction)**Patron:** Alexander the Great (original construction)**Material:** Mykale marble**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** 19.53 x 37.17 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** 8.84 x 14.70 m

Description: Priene's Temple of Athena Polias was begun around 340 BCE and completed in the mid-second century BCE. The temple underwent several phases of construction. The first phase occurred in the fourth century BCE. The temple was dedicated by Alexander around 334 BCE, at which point the east end of the temple was completed at least up to the anta. Alexander's dedication is recorded by an inscription on the northeast anta of the pronaos. A second building phase occurred in the second century BCE during which the cult statue was installed and the building completed. After 27 BCE, the temple was rededicated to Athena and Augustus, perhaps coinciding with another phase of construction. The Ionic peripteral temple was designed by the architect Pytheos who wrote a treatise about the building. Featuring a 6 x 11 colonnade, the temple was proportionally designed using the Ionic foot (0.295 m) as the base measurement. The plan included a pronaos, cella, and opisthodomos. Both the pronaos and opisthodomos were distyle in antis. The total height of the columns and entablature were equal to 50 Ionic feet, which represented half the length of the cella. Perhaps in the Roman period, the opisthodomos was converted into a closed space. The temple faced east toward its altar (13.20 m L x 7.12 m W x 1.75 m H), which was located 12.35 m to the east of the temple. The temple was innovative in its use of carved coffers featuring a Gigantomachy and Amazonomachy in the ceiling of the peristyle.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 1.1.12, 7.praef.12; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 81–136; Hiller von Gaertringen et al. 1906, 129, no. 156; Schede 1934; Thompson 1982, 180; Carter 1983, 24–38; Koenigs 1983, 2012, 2016; Gruben 2001, 416–423.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Athena Polias, Priene.
Drawing: I. Ring, in Koenigs 2012, fig. 4

B



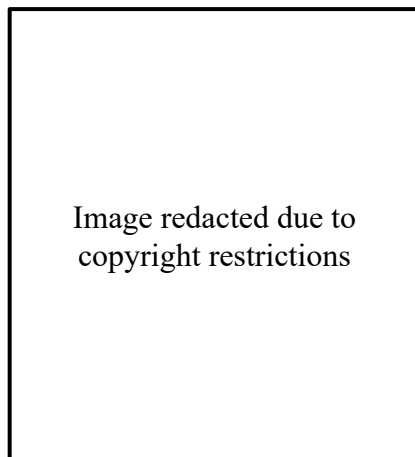
Current state, view from the southeast.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T64 Rome, Round Temple by the Tiber**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 143–90 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Hercules**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Mummius Archaicus (Hercules Victor) or Marcus Octavius Herrenus (Hercules Olivarius)**Material:** Tuff (krepis), travertine (cella), Pentelic marble, with replacements in Luna marble (cella and colonnade)**Building Type:** Corinthian tholos**Dimensions:** 16.50 m Diam. (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** 8.53 m Diam.

Description: A peripteral tholos temple still stands in the Forum Boarium of Rome. The temple faces east and sits upon a four-stepped krepis of tuff. In its original phase, the temple was surrounded by 20 fluted Corinthian columns of Pentelic marble in a pycnostyle arrangement. The columns surround a circular cella built of travertine faced with marble. A single door opens into the east side of the cella, flanked on each side by a window. The cella contains no interior columns or pilasters. The exterior columns are 10.60 m high, therefore taller than Vitruvius's convention for round temples. Following a fire in the Imperial period, 11 columns on the north and west sides of the building were replaced in Luna marble; these columns differ stylistically from the originals. The identity of the deity to whom this temple was consecrated and the patron behind its construction are unclear. Coarelli identifies this building as the Temple of Hercules Olivarius, built by Herrenus, while Ziolkowski and Popkin argue it is the Temple of Hercules Victor, built by Mummius.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* I² 626; Livy 10.23.3; Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.362–363, 9.409; Macrobian *Sat.* 3.6.10, 3.12.7; Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 139–144; Coarelli 1988, 180–204; Ziolkowski 1988; Stamper 2005, 68–79; Popkin 2015a, 295–296; 2015b, 351–356.

A



Ground plan, Round Temple by the Tiber, Rome.
Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 49

B



Current state, view from the southeast.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T65 Rome, Temple of Apollo Medicus**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Apollo of Timarchides (**Cat. S52**)**Date:** 433–431 BCE (original construction); 353 BCE (restoration); 179 BCE (rebuilding); 32 BCE (renovation)**Deity:** Apollo**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Gnaeus Julius (original construction); aedilician fines (179 BCE rebuilding); Gaius Sosius (32 BCE renovation)**Material:** Tuff**Building Type:** Corinthian tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 21.45 x 25.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Located near the Circus Flaminius, the site of the Temple of Apollo Medicus had been associated with the cult of Apollo since the sixth century BCE. The first temple, following an Etrusco-Italic plan, was built there between 433 and 431 BCE by Gnaeus Julius. It was one of the first temples to be located outside the walls of Rome. The temple was restored in 353 BCE and rebuilt entirely in 179 BCE in concert with the theater located in front of the temple. Another restoration occurred around 32 BCE under Gaius Sosius, such that the temple is frequently identified as that of Apollo Sosianus. In the second century BCE, the temple faced south and was likely tetrastyle prostyle in plan, with two rows of columns along its front façade. It contained a tripartite cella. Some scholars have attributed the temple's second-century renovation to Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who constructed the theater nearby. The mosaic decorating the cella floor, however, included an inscription documenting the aedilician fines that funded its second-century restoration. The inscription ran through the middle of the cella from the door to the cult statue base.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* I² 2675; Vitruvius 3.3.4; Livy 4.25.3, 4.29.7, 7.20.9, 40.51.3–6; Pliny *HN* 13.53, 36.28; Platner and Ashby 1929, 15–16; Hill 1962, 125–129; Viscogliosi 1996; Ciancio Rossetto 1997–1998; Stamper 2005, 54–56.

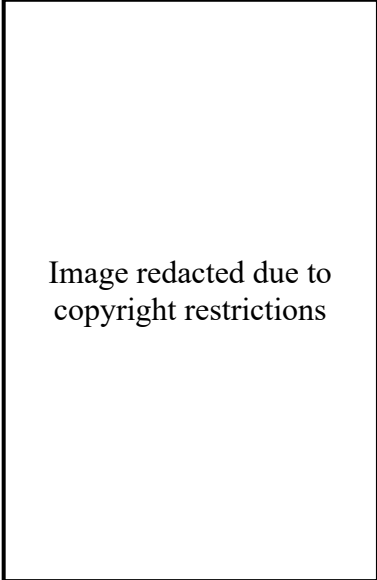


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Ground plan, Temple of Apollo Medicus, Rome. Source: Ciancio Rossetto 1997–1998, fig. 17

T66 Rome, Temple of Castor and Pollux**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 496–484 BCE (original construction); 117 BCE (rebuilding); 14 BCE–6 CE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Dioscuri**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus (117 BCE rebuilding); Tiberius (6 CE rebuilding)**Material:** Tuff**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral or pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** 27.50 m W x 40.00–44.00 m L x 6.00 m H (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 14.00 x 15.00 m

Description: A monumental temple to the Dioscuri stood within the Forum Romanum. The original temple was constructed in the early fifth century BCE in a tetrastyle prostyle plan. This iteration of the temple measured 27.50 x 37.00 m and featured a deep pronaos and tripartite cella. The temple was rebuilt in 117 BCE by Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus. The temple was enlarged and the podium raised such that it was about twice the height of the earlier building. The colonnade, likely Ionic, was increased to eight columns along the front façade and nine along the sides in a pycnostyle arrangement, but it is unclear whether the temple's plan at this point was peripteral or pseudoperipteral. The tripartite cella was transformed into a single cella. The area in front of the temple was terraced to provide a large speaker's platform; access was provided via a staircase on either side of the platform. Another staircase led from the platform to the temple's pronaos, likely leading through the front row of columns. By the second century BCE, presiding consuls used the temple as an office and the Senate met inside. The speaker's platform served as a voting site for the comitia and the place upon which magistrates took their oaths. Another round of rebuilding occurred between 7 BCE and 6 CE, when the temple was certainly peripteral in plan and the order changed to Corinthian.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Scaur.* 46; *Verr.* 1.154; Plut. *Pomp.* 2.4; Platner and Ashby 1929, 102–105; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992; Orlin 1997, 134; Stamper 2005, 37–38, 56–59.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Castor and Pollux, Rome.
Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 37

B



Current state, view from the northeast. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T67 Rome, Temple of Concordia**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 121 BCE (original construction); 7 CE (renovation)**Deity:** Concordia**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Opimius (original construction); Tiberius (renovation)**Material:** Tuff, stuccoed travertine**Building Type:** Ionic pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The Temple of Concordia was erected on the west side of the Forum Romanum at the foot of the Capitoline in 121 BCE by Lucius Opimius. The senator ordered the construction of the temple following the death of Gaius Gracchus to symbolize the Senate's victory over the Gracchan social reforms. Little remains of the original temple, but it likely followed the traditional Etrusco-Italic plan as a rectangular pseudoperipteral structure on a high podium. It was possibly in the Ionic order. The octastyle temple faced east toward the Forum and included a pronaos half the size of its cella. The columns were made of stuccoed travertine. The temple was renovated and rededicated by Tiberius in 7 CE. The later version of the temple featured a shortened pronaos, hexastyle façade, and transverse cella.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* VI 89; Cic. *Sest.* 140; Livy 39.56.6, 40.19.2; Ov. *Fast.* 1.640, 1.643–648; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6–9; Suet. *Tib.* 20; App. *B Civ.* 1.3.26; Cass. Dio 55.8.2, 56.25; Rebert and Marceau 1925; Platner and Ashby 1929, 138–140; Coarelli 1985, 67–88; Stamper 2005, 56–59; Clark 2007, 121–123.

T68 Rome, Temple of Diana**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 187–179 BCE**Deity:** Diana**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Aemilius Lepidus**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus vowed a temple to Diana in 187 BCE during a battle against the Ligurians. He dedicated the temple in 179 BCE in conjunction with the Temple of Juno Regina (**Cat. T80**), which he also sponsored. The Temple of Diana was located in the Circus Flaminius, but no remains of the structure have been found to identify its form or precise location.

Select Bibliography: Livy 39.2.8–9, 40.52.1–2; Platner and Ashby 1929, 150–151; Coarelli 1968; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 103–107; Orlin 1997, 72; Stamper 2005, 54, n. 25.

T69 Rome, Temple of Faunus**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 196–194 BCE**Deity:** Faunus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gaius Scribonius Curio**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Prostyle**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: In 196 BCE, the plebeian aediles Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Gaius Scribonius Curio vowed a temple to Faunus. The temple was constructed on the north end of Tiber Island and funded from fines collected by the aediles. It was dedicated in 194 BCE by Ahenobarbus. Vitruvius cites the temple as an example of the prostyle plan, but no traces of the structure have been found to further define its form. This building was the only temple of Faunus in Rome.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 3.2.3; Livy 33.42.10, 34.53.3–4; Ov. *Fast.* 2.193–194; Platner and Ashby 1929, 205; Orlin 1997, 144.

T70 Rome, Temple of Felicitas**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 151–142 BCE**Deity:** Felicitas**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Licinius Lucullus**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: In the mid-second century BCE, Lucius Licinius Lucullus constructed a temple to Felicitas out of *manubiae* from the Iberian War. Mummius presented Lucullus with spoliated Greek statues, including a group of the Muses by Praxiteles, which were displayed within the temple. Julius Caesar broke the axle of his chariot in front of this temple during his triumph of 46 BCE, indicating that the building stood along the triumphal route. The temple burned, perhaps in the reign of Claudius, and apparently was not rebuilt. No remains of the building have been found.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Verr.* 4.4; Strabo 8.23; Plin. *HN* 34.69, 36.39; Suet. *Iul.* 37; Cass. Dio 43.21.1, fr. 75.2; Platner and Ashby 1929, 207; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 124–128; Orlin 1997, 131; Clark 2007, 239.

T71 Rome, Temple of Fides**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Mid-3rd century BCE (original construction); 120–100 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Fides**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Aulus Atilius Calatinus (original construction); Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (restoration)**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Perhaps pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** c. 20.00 x 30.00–35.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: In the mid-third century BCE, Aulus Atilius Calatinus dedicated a temple to Fides populi Romani on the southwest side of the Capitoline Hill near the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Marcus Aemilius Scaurus restored and rededicated the temple in 115 BCE. The Senate occasionally met within this temple and its walls contained tablets inscribed with international agreements. Pliny records that a painting by Apelles hung within the temple. Architectural fragments found at the foot of the Capitoline and attributed to this temple suggest that it was a large, possibly pseudoperipteral, temple on a high podium that faced north into the Area Capitolina. Reusser reconstructs the temple as hexastyle, based on the architectural fragments and the Severan Marble Plan. However, no other remains of the temple or its foundation have been found.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61; Livy 1.21.4; Plin. *HN* 35.100; Val. Max. 3.17; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5.10; App. *B Civ.* 1.16; Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.292; Platner and Ashby 1929, 209; Reusser 1993; Clark 2007, 117.

T72 Rome, Temple of Fortuna Equestris**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 180–173 BCE**Deity:** Fortuna**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Quintus Fulvius Flaccus**Material:** Unknown, likely local stone**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris in 180 BCE when he successfully led his calvary against the Celtiberians. He brought back much of the marble roof from the Temple of Hera Lacinia in Kroton for use in his own temple, but the outraged Senate forced him to return the spolia to Kroton. Flaccus dedicated his temple in 173 BCE. The temple was located in the Campus Martius near the Theater of Pompey and featured a systyle colonnade. No archaeological remains of the structure have been found. The building may have been destroyed in 21 CE by the same fire that damaged the Theater of Pompey.

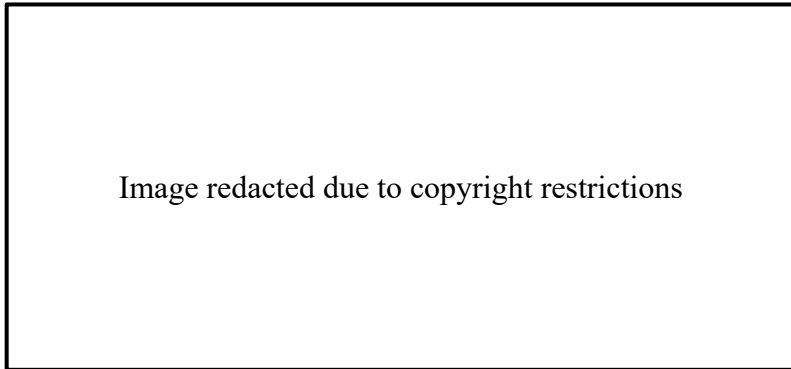
Select Bibliography: Vitr. 3.3.2; Livy 40.40.10, 40.44.9–10, 42.3.1–11, 42.10.5; Val. Max. 1.1.20; Platner and Ashby 1929, 214–215; Coarelli et al. 1981, 31; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 111–116; Popkin 2015a, 290–291.

T73 Rome, Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Fortuna Huiusce Diei (Cat. S53)**Date:** c. 101 BCE**Deity:** Fortuna**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Quintus Lutatius Catulus**Material:** Anio tuff, travertine, Pentelic marble frieze**Building Type:** Corinthian tholos**Dimensions:** 19.20 m Diam. x 2.40 m H (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** 9.54 m Diam.

Description: This peripteral tholos was erected in the Campus Martius at the end of the second century BCE, completing the row of temples today known as the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina. This temple, dubbed Temple B, is plausibly the sacred building dedicated to Fortuna Huiusce Diei by Quintus Lutatius Catulus in gratitude for his victory at the Battle of Vercellae. Melding Greek and Etrusco-Italic details, the circular building sat atop a high podium with a frontal staircase and utilized local Anio tuff and travertine in its construction. The temple's 18 Corinthian columns had tuff shafts covered in stucco and travertine bases and capitals. These columns stood about 11.00 m tall, thereby larger than the cella's internal diameter of 9.54 m. Little is known about the form of the entablature, although it was probably of travertine with a carved frieze of Pentelic marble; the cornice may have been decorated with carved lions' heads. In its original phase, the cella was recessed three-fifths of the building's overall diameter, according to Vitruvius's conventions, with the cult statue likely centered within the cella. In a major renovation of the later first century BCE, the cella was expanded by removing the original walls and blocking up the intercolumniations of the colonnade. At this point, the cult statue was moved to the rear of the cella.

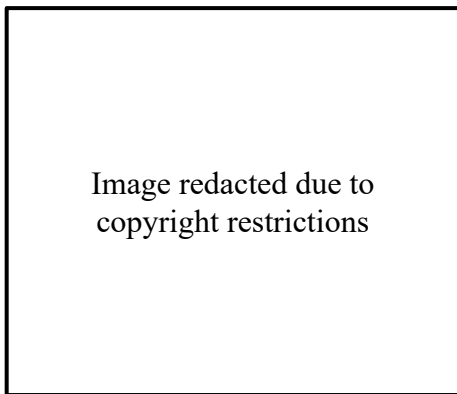
Select Bibliography: Plin. *HN* 34.54, 34.60; Plut. *Mar.* 26; Platner and Ashby 1929, 216; Marchetti-Longhi 1959, 45–66; Coarelli et al. 1981; H. Martin 1987, 103–108; Stamper 2005, 53–54, 75–79; Leach 2010; Popkin 2015a, 296–297.

A



Ground plan, Largo Argentina, Rome, first century BCE. Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 62

B



Ground plan, Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome. Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 59

C



Current state, Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Rome, view from the east. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T74 Rome, Temple of Fortuna Primigenia**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 204–191 BCE**Deity:** Fortuna**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Publius Sempronius Tuditanus**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Publius Sempronius Tuditanus vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia prior to his successful battle against Hannibal near Kroton in 204 BCE. The temple was built near the Colline Gate on the Quirinal in an area with two other temples consecrated to Fortuna: Fortuna Publica and Fortuna Publica Citerior. Tuditanus's temple was dedicated in 191 BCE by Quintus Marcius Ralla. Livy claims, however, that Publius Sempronius Sophus vowed and let the contract for this temple while serving as censor. No individual named Sophus is known to be active at this time; consequently, the identification of Tuditanus as dedicator seems more likely. No remains of this temple have been found.

Select Bibliography: Livy 29.36.8, 34.53.5–6, 36.36.5; Platner and Ashby 1929, 216–217; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 63–68; Orlin 1997, 64–65, 142.

T75 Rome, Temple of Hercules Aemilianus**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Hercules Aemilianus (**Cat. S74**)**Date:** 142 BCE**Deity:** Hercules**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Tholos**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus dedicated a round temple to Hercules in the Forum Boarium in 142 BCE. Ziolkowski identifies the Round Temple by the Tiber as this building, but few other scholars agree with this attribution. Three temples to Hercules clustered within this area of Rome, all dedicated by victorious generals. If not the Round Temple by the Tiber, no archaeological remains of this temple have been found and literary sources offer no additional details regarding its form.

Select Bibliography: Livy 10.23.3; Plin. *HN* 35.19; Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 816C; Festus 282L; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 134–138; Coarelli 1988, 84–92; Ziolkowski 1988, 314.

T76 Rome, Temple of Hercules Musarum**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 187–179 BCE (original construction); late 1st century BCE (renovation)**Deity:** Muses, Hercules**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (original construction); Lucius Marcius Philippus (renovation)**Material:** Tuff *opus quadratum*, Greek white marble facing**Building Type:** Tholos**Dimensions:** 21.00 x 48.00 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** 11.00 m Diam.

Description: In 187 BCE, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior vowed a temple to Hercules Musarum during his campaigns in Ambracia. According to Cicero, Nobilior did not finance his temple with his *manubiae* but instead consecrated his *manubiae* to the Muses, which were displayed within the sanctuary. The temple was erected and dedicated in the Circus Flaminius around 179 BCE. Situated upon a tall, large, rectangular podium, the round temple had a rectangular porch and faced southwest toward a sunken courtyard formed by two arms of the temple's podium. A flight of five steps led down to this courtyard, which contained the temple's circular altar. Four niches punctuated the platform's interior sides, with six niches along its exterior flanks. Remains of the temple were found under the church of Sant' Ambrogio della Massima, confirming the round shape of the Republican temple. It was constructed of tuff *opus quadratum* and seems to have been faced with Greek white marble. In the late first century BCE, the temple was enclosed within the Porticus Philippi and may have been renovated at this time by Lucius Marcius Philippus. The literary sources suggest that Nobilior's temple may have only been consecrated to the Muses, with Hercules added at a later date.

Select Bibliography: Varro, *Ling.* 6.33; Cic. *Arch.* 27; Livy 39.5.13; Ov. *Fast.* 6.797–812; Plin. *HN* 35.66; Eumenius, *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis* 7.2–3; Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.8; Macrobian. *Sat.* 1.12.16; Platner and Ashby 1929, 255; Richardson 1977; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 95–103; Coarelli 1997, 474–483; Orlin 1997, 65–66, 132; Popkin 2015b, 358–362.




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Reconstruction, Temple of Hercules Musarum, Rome. Source: Coarelli 1997, fig. 113

T77 Rome, Temple of Honos and Virtus (Caelian)**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 234 BCE (original construction, Honos temple); 205 BCE (restoration of Honos temple, addition of Virtus); 1st century CE (restoration)**Deity:** Honos, Virtus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (original construction); Marcus Claudius Marcellus (restoration and addition); Vespasian (restoration)**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Double temple**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus erected a temple to Honos in 234 BCE following his participation in the Ligurian war. The temple was located outside the Porta Capena at the foot of the Caelian. After the Battle of Clastidium in 222 BCE, Marcus Claudius Marcellus vowed a temple to Honos and Virtus, which he renewed after the capture of Syracuse. He attempted to fulfill this vow by rededicating Verrucosus's Temple of Honos to both gods but was prevented from doing so. Instead, he restored the Temple of Honos and added a cella for Virtus, resulting in a double temple. Marcellus's son dedicated the temple in 205 BCE. It was renowned for its collection of artworks dedicated by Marcellus from his Syracusan spoils. The temple was restored again by Vespasian, who commissioned two Roman artists, Cornelius Pinus and Attius Priscus, for its decoration. No archaeological remains have been identified to ascertain its form.**Select Bibliography:** Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61; Livy 25.40.1–3, 26.32.4, 27.25.7–9, 29.11.13; Plin. *HN* 35.120; Val. Max. 1.1.8; Plut. *Marc.* 28.1; Platner and Ashby 1929, 258–259; Richardson 1978; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 55–58; Ziolkowski 1992, 58–60; Orlin 1997, 131, 170; Clark 2007, 177–181.

T78 Rome, Temple of Honos and Virtus (Velia)**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 101 BCE**Deity:** Honos, Virtus**Architect:** Gaius Mucius**Patron:** Gaius Marius**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Gaius Marius dedicated a temple to Honos and Virtus following his victories over the Cimbri and Teutones, using his *manubiae* to finance the temple's construction and displaying spoils he took from the Cimbri, Teutones, and Jugurtha in the temple's precinct. No archaeological remains of the temple have been identified but Vitruvius describes the temple as peripteral with no rear portico. Vitruvius praises the architect, Gaius Mucius, for designing a properly proportioned ambulatio around the cella; however, he laments that the building was not constructed of marble, which would have accorded the structure the highest of praise. Festus records that the temple's design was purposefully squat to avoid blocking an augural sightline and thus the temple may have sat upon the Velia in line with the Via Sacra. The temple was large enough to accommodate the Senate, who met there to vote on recalling Cicero from exile.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* I² 18; *ILS* 59; Vitr. 3.2.5, 7.praef.17; Festus 466–468; Platner and Ashby 1929, 259–260; Richardson 1978, 242; 1992, 190; Coarelli 1985, 101–103.

T79 Rome, Temple of Juno Moneta**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 172–168 BCE**Deity:** Juno**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Gaius Cicereius**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

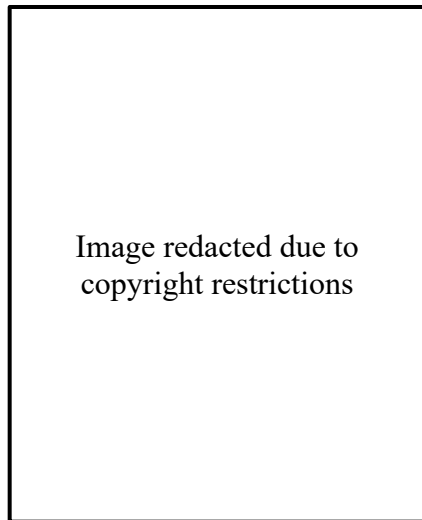
Description: Gaius Cicereius vowed a temple to Juno Moneta during a battle against the Corsicans in 172 BCE. The temple was constructed on the Mons Albanus. Cicereius dedicated the building in 168 BCE. No archaeological remains or literary references attest to the temple's form and appearance.

Select Bibliography: Livy 42.7.1, 45.15.10; Cass. Dio 39.20.1; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 116–118.

T80 Rome, Temple of Juno Regina**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Juno Regina (**Cat. S54**)**Date:** 187–179 BCE (original construction); 143–140 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Juno**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (original construction); Quintus Caecilius Metellus (restoration)**Material:** Peperino tuff, stucco facing**Building Type:** Ionic hexastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 18.50 x 42.50 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 15.30 x 25.30 m

Description: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus vowed a temple to Juno Regina in 187 BCE during a battle against the Ligurians. The temple, constructed of peperino tuff faced in white stucco, was located near the Circus Flaminius. The temple was hexastyle prostyle in plan with a pronaos three bays deep. The cella walls extended forward to form the third bay as antae. The original columns were probably Ionic with tall, fluted shafts on Attic bases. Quintus Caecilius Metellus later incorporated the temple into the Porticus Metelli when he constructed the Temple of Jupiter Stator (**Cat. T82**); he likely also renovated the temple at this time. Later renovations were done in the Augustan period and during the reign of Septimius Severus.

Select Bibliography: Livy 39.2.11, 40.52.1–2; Obsequens 16; Platner and Ashby 1929, 290; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 103–107, 131–132; Orlin 1997, 72; Stamper 2005, 53–55; Popkin 2015a, 291–295.

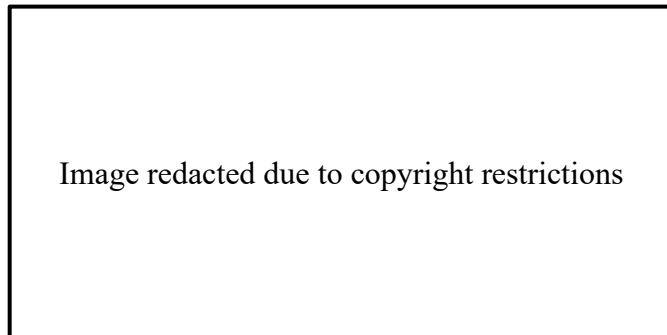


Ground plan, Porticus Metelli, Rome. Source: Stamper 2005, fig. 36

T81 Rome, Temple of Juno Sospita**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 197–194 BCE (original construction); 90 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Juno**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Gaius Cornelius Cethegus (original construction); Lucius Julius (restoration)**Material:** Peperino tuff, travertine**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** 14.99 x 26.70 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 7.50 x 13.00 m

Description: In 197 BCE, the consul Gaius Cornelius Cethegus vowed a temple to Juno Sospita during a battle near the Po River against the Insubrians. He dedicated the temple in the Forum Holitorium in 194 BCE, where it stood as one of three temples placed side by side, all oriented to the east. The building was a 6 x 11 Ionic amphiprostyle peripteral temple. The columns and cella walls were of peperino tuff and the entablature was of travertine. The temple had a deep pronaos with two inner rows of two columns, each aligned with the cella walls. Lucius Julius restored the temple in 90 BCE. The temple remains today are embedded in San Nicola in Carcere.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Div.* 1.4, 1.99; Livy 32.30.10, 34.53.3; Delbrück 1903b; Platner and Ashby 1929, 291; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 68–70; Orlin 1997, 63; Stamper 2005, 60–61.



Ground plan, Temple of Juno Sospita, Rome. Source: after Stamper 2005, fig. 40

T82 Rome, Temple of Jupiter Stator**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Jupiter Stator (**Cat. S55**)**Date:** 143–131 BCE (original construction); 1st century BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Jupiter**Architect:** Hermodoros of Salamis**Patron:** Quintus Caecilius Metellus (original construction); Augustus (restoration)**Material:** Pentelic marble**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** 19.70 x 41.50 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 8.80 x 20.50 m

Description: Vitruvius described the Temple of Jupiter Stator as the first temple in Rome built of marble, including both its columns and cella walls. It was commissioned by Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus to commemorate his victory over the Achaians. The architect was Hermodoros of Salamis. According to Vitruvius, the building was a 6 x 11 peripteral temple with a long, narrow cella, an influence of Hellenistic Greek architecture. The cella walls project as antae within the deep pronaos. An interior column was aligned with the antae walls on each side. The temple was located within the Porticus Metelli beside the earlier Temple of Juno Regina (**Cat. T80**). The Temple of Jupiter Stator appears in the Marble Plan as pseudoperipteral but this design reflects a later renovation, perhaps in the Augustan period. The temple remains today are located under the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* VI 8708; *Vitr.* 3.2.5; *Vell. Pat. Res. Ges.* 1.11.5, 1.11.305; *Plin. HN* 34.64, 36.35, 36.40; *Macrob. Sat.* 3.4.2; Platner and Ashby 1929, 304–305; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 128–134; Stamper 2005, 53–55; Popkin 2015a, 291–295.



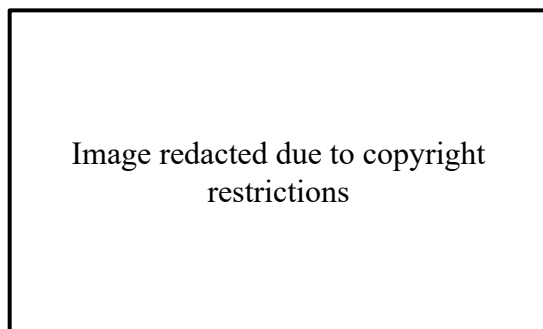
Ground plan, Porticus Metelli, Rome. Source: Stamper 2005, fig. 36

T83 Rome, Temple of Juventas**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 204–193 BCE (original construction); 16 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Juventas**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Livius Salinator (original construction); Augustus (restoration)**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** In 207 BCE at the Battle of Metaurus, Marcus Livius Salinator vowed a temple to Juventas. He let the contract for this temple while serving as censor three years later, but the building was first dedicated in 193 BCE by Gaius Licinius Lucullus. The temple was located near the Circus Maximus. It burned in 16 BCE and was restored by Augustus.**Select Bibliography:** Livy 10.1.9, 36.36.5–6; Plin. *HN* 29.57; Cass. Dio 54.19.7; Platner and Ashby 1929, 308–309; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 59–63; Orlin 1997, 142.

T84 Rome, Temple of Lares Permarini**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 190–179 BCE (original construction); c. 110 BCE (renovation); late 1st century CE (restoration)**Deity:** Lares Permarini**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Aemilius Regillus (original construction); Marcus Minucius Rufus (renovation)**Material:** *Opus caementicium*, travertine, stucco facing**Building Type:** Corinthian peripteral**Dimensions:** c. 24.62 x 40.38 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 12.20 x 16.40 m

Description: Lucius Aemilius Regillus vowed a temple to the Lares Permarini during the naval battle of Myonnesos in 190 BCE. The temple was located in the Campus Martius and dedicated in 179 BCE by Lucius Aemilius Lepidus, in conjunction with his own temples nearby. Coarelli associates this temple with Temple D in the Largo Argentina, however, most scholars, including Rickman, Zevi, and Popkin, identify the architectural remains found in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure as belonging to this temple. Based on these remains, the structure was a Corinthian 8 x 12 peripteral temple, and thus perhaps one of the first Corinthian temples in Rome. The temple was constructed of travertine faced in stucco to imitate white marble. A low frontal staircase led to its deep pronaos, in which the flanking colonnades were doubled. A set of columns also lined the interior flanks of the cella. Livy records part of the dedicatory inscription located above the temple doors, which documented Regillus's naval victory. The archaeological remains indicate that the building was renovated around 110 BCE, likely following a fire in 111 BCE and perhaps coinciding with the erection of the Porticus Minucius around the temple by Marcus Minucius Rufus. A second restoration occurred in the Domitianic period in which damaged architectural elements were reused and repaired rather than replaced.

Select Bibliography: Livy 37.58.4, 40.52.4–7; *fasti Praenestini* (*Inscr. Ital.* XIII.2 543); Macrob. *Sat.* 1.10.10; Platner and Ashby 1929, 316; Coarelli et al. 1981, 34–46; Rickman 1983; Ziolkowski 1986, 623; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 91–94; Zevi 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997; Popkin 2015b, 346–351.

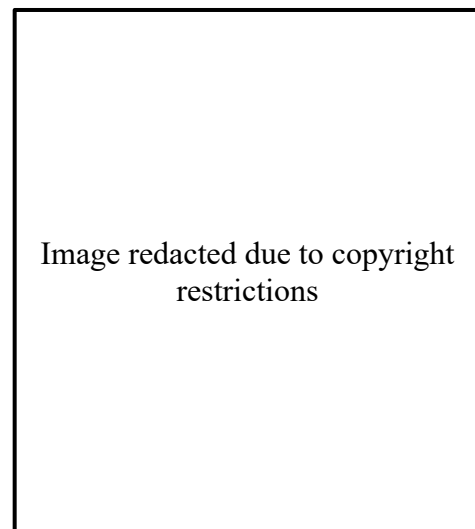


Ground plan, Temple of the Lares Permarini, Rome. Source: Popkin 2015b, fig. 5

T85 Rome, Temple of Magna Mater**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 204–191 BCE (original construction); 110 BCE (rebuilding); 3 CE (restoration)**Deity:** Magna Mater**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Sybilline Books (original construction); Metellus (rebuilding); Augustus (restoration)**Material:** *Opus incertum*, tuff, peperino (original construction); *opus quasi reticulatum*, tuff (rebuilding)**Building Type:** Corinthian hexastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 17.10 x 33.18 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 7.48 x 14.96 m

Description: The cult statue of Magna Mater was brought to Rome from either Pessinous or Mt. Ida in 205 BCE to help ensure victory against Hannibal. It was housed in the Temple of Victoria while the goddess's own temple was constructed on the Palatine, which was finally completed and dedicated in 191 BCE. The temple, likely Corinthian, was hexastyle prostyle with a single cella and pronaos, built on a high podium. A broad staircase led down from the temple podium to a large, paved piazza; at the edge of the piazza was a basin, perhaps used in cult rituals, including the washing of the cult image. The steps created a theatral-like space from which people could watch the *ludi Megalenses*. The temple's archaeological remains reveal three clearly distinct phases: the earliest used *opus incertum* of Grotta Oscura tuff and peperino; the second used *opus quasi reticulatum* of Anio tuff; and the third is represented largely by the remains that survive today. These three phases nicely align with the literary evidence, according to which the original temple was twice rebuilt after fires, the first time after 111 BCE by a Metellus (perhaps Gaius Metellus Caprarius), the second time by Augustus after the fire of 3 CE.

Select Bibliography: Livy 29.37.2, 36.36.3–5; Ov. *Fast.* 4.347–348; Val. Max. 1.8.11; Obsequens 39; Platner and Ashby 1929, 323–325; Romanelli 1963; Coarelli 1977, 10–14; Pensabene 1988; Orlin 1997, 97, 109–111; Roller 1999, 271–277; Clark 2007, 107.



Reconstruction, Temple of Magna Mater, Rome. Source: Pensabene 1988, fig. 5

T86 Rome, Temple of Mars in Circo**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Mars and Venus (Cat. S56)**Date:** 138–133 BCE**Deity:** Mars**Architect:** Hermodoros of Salamis**Patron:** Decius Iunius Brutus Callaicus**Material:** Pentelic marble**Building Type:** Peripteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Decius Iunius Brutus Callaicus erected a temple to Mars *ex manubiis* following his Spanish triumph. The temple was located in the Campus Martius. Physical remains of this temple survive under the Church of San Salvatore in Campo, consisting of a fragmentary stylobate, four-step krepis, and the bases and lower drums of several columns, all of marble. Based on these remains and the Severan Marble Plan, the temple was hexastyle peripteral in plan with a long, narrow cella.

Select Bibliography: Cic. *Arch.* 11.27; Plin. *HN* 36.26; Val. Max. 8.14.2; Prisc. *Inst.* 8.17.4; Gros 1973, 148–155; Zevi 1976; Coarelli 1997, 492–497; Orlin 1997, 131; Stamper 2005, 54, n. 28; Bernard 2010; Kosmopoulos 2012.



Hypothetical plan, Temple of Mars, Rome, based on the remains under the Church of San Salvatore in Campo. Source: Bernard 2010, fig. 1

T87 Rome, Temple of Mens**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 217–215 BCE (original construction); 115–107 BCE (restoration)**Deity:** Mens**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Sibylline Books and Titus Otacilius Crassus (original construction); Marcus Aemilius Scaurus (restoration)**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** Following the Roman defeat at Trasimene in 217 BCE, Titus Otacilius Crassus vowed a temple to Mens according to the instructions of the Sibylline Books. He dedicated the temple in 215 BCE. Located on the Capitoline, probably in the Area Capitolina, the temple was separated from the neighboring Temple of Venus Erycina (**Cat. T93**) by an open drain. Marcus Aemilius Scaurus restored the temple either when he served as consul in 115 BCE or after his campaigns against the Cimbri in 107 BCE.**Select Bibliography:** Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.61; Livy 22.9.10–10.10, 23.31.9, 23.32.20; Ov. *Fast.* 6.241–248; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 5.10; Platner and Ashby 1929, 339; Orlin 1997, 97; Clark 2007, 117.

T88 Rome, Temple of Neptune**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Perhaps 3rd century BCE (original construction); late 2nd century BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Neptune**Architect:** Hermodoros of Salamis (rebuilding)**Patron:** Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus (rebuilding)**Material:** Travertine and tuff *opus quadratum* (podium); Pentelic marble (superstructure)**Building Type:** Corinthian pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Five marble column drums and a Corinthian capital as well as a travertine podium were discovered in the basement of a private residence, the Casa di Lorenzo Manlio, and identified as the Temple of Neptune. The temple originally stood in the northwestern corner of the Circus Flaminius. Its southern orientation distinguishes it from the other buildings in the Circus Flaminius, suggesting that a cult structure predating the Circus likely stood there. The original building may have been erected in the third century BCE, such that the marble remains represent a later second-century rebuilding by Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, who served as consul in 121 BCE and censor in 115 BCE. Ahenobarbus may have rebuilt the temple as Corinthian pseudoperipteral tetrastyle in plan following his naval victory over Aristonicus in 128 BCE. Unpublished excavations in the late 1990s by Coarelli and Tucci in the courtyard at the end of Vicolo Costaguti revealed the east side of the travertine podium, a marble roof tile, and fragments of marble sculpture.

Select Bibliography: *CIL* VI 8423; Plin. *HN* 36.26; Platner and Ashby 1929, 360–361; Ziolkowski 1992, 117; Coarelli 1997, 407–414; Tucci 1997; Bernard 2010.

T89 Rome, Temple of Pietas**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 191–181 BCE**Deity:** Pietas**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Acilius Glabrio**Material:** Grotta Oscura tuff, Grotta Oscura *opus quadratum***Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The Temple to Pietas, located within the Forum Holitorium, was vowed in 191 BCE by Marcus Acilius Glabrio, following his defeat of Antiochos III at Thermopylae. Glabrio's son of the same name dedicated the temple in 181 BCE. Remains of a temple recovered during survey work in the area between San Nicola in Carcere and the Theater of Marcellus probably belong to this temple. The podium lay below the eastern portion of the theater on a foundation platform of Grotta Oscura tuff blocks. The temple appears to have resembled other temples now in San Nicola in orientation, podium height, and building materials and techniques. The temple served as a visual link between the Glabrio family and the concept of *pietas*, which was reinforced further when Glabrio's son placed a gilded bronze statue of his father in the temple. Julius Caesar destroyed the temple in 44 BCE in order to construct the Theater of Marcellus.

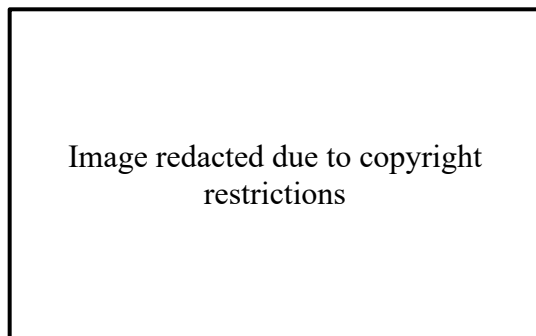
Select Bibliography: Cic. *Leg.* 2.28; Livy 40.34.4–6; Plin. *HN* 7.121; Val. Max. 2.5.1; Cass. Dio. 43.49.2–3; Platner and Ashby 1929, 389–390; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 85–90; Orlin 1997, 48, 146; Clark 2007, 30, 69–71.

T90 Rome, Temple of Portunus**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE (original construction); 120–80 BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Portunus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Grotta Oscura tuff (podium), Anio tuff and travertine (superstructure)**Building Type:** Ionic pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** 10.53 x 19.20 m (stylobate)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 6.66 x 10.25 m

Description: Located in the Forum Boarium, this Ionic pseudoperipteral temple was dedicated to Portunus. Two building phases have been documented for the building. In the first phase, dated to the late fourth–early third century BCE, the temple faced north upon a 6.00 m tall podium of Grotta Oscura blocks with a 6.00 m tall arched passageway of Grotta Oscura tuff before its front façade. In the second phase, dated to the late second century BCE and represented by the standing remains, the temple stood upon the same podium with a similar northern orientation, but at a slightly different angle. The temple was built of Anio tuff with details articulated in travertine. The plan features a deep pronaos with a row of four columns along the front and a second set of two columns behind, with each aligned with the cella walls. Five engaged half-columns line the side walls of the cella with four engaged half-columns along the rear wall. The building's eventual conversion into the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca accounts for its current, well-preserved state.

Select Bibliography: Platner and Ashby 1929, 430–431; Colini and Buzzetti 1986; Coarelli 1988, 115–147; Ruggiero 1991–1992; Ziolkowski 1992, 138–139; Adam 1994; Stamper 2005, 62–67.

A



Ground plan, Temple of Portunus, Rome.
Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 44

B



Current state, view from the north.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T91 Rome, Temple of Vediovis (Capitoline)**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Vediovis (**Cat. S57**)**Date:** 196–192 BCE (original construction); early 1st century BCE (rebuilding); late first century CE (restoration)**Deity:** Vediovis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Furius Purpurio (original construction); Sulla (rebuilding); Domitian (restoration)**Material:** Tuff, travertine**Building Type:** Perhaps pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The remains of this temple are located on the Capitoline in the southwestern corner of the Tabularium in subterranean constructions of the Palazzo Senatorio. The temple was vowed by Lucius Furius Purpurio while serving as consul in 196 BCE and dedicated by Quintus Marcius Ralla in 192 BCE. The temple contained a long transverse cella, tetrastyle pronaos, and a short, frontal staircase, and may have been pseudoperipteral. The archaeological remains indicate three phases of the building. In the earliest phase, the temple was constructed of tuff ashlar which are still visible in parts of the eastern side of the podium and at the southwestern corner of the front stairs. In the early first century BCE, the temple was restructured, with cella walls of Grotta Oscura tuff and a podium of travertine. It is unclear whether the transverse cella was part of the temple's original construction or the modifications performed in the first century BCE. Domitian restored the temple in the late first century CE, replacing the wooden roof with one of concrete and decorating the interior of the cella with colored marbles.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 4.8.4; Livy 32.7.7, 33.25.4–10, 35.41.8; Ov. *Fast.* 3.430; Plin. *HN* 16.216; Gell. *NA* 5.12.2; Colini 1942; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 74–81; Brucia 1990, 51–52; Orlin 1997, 184; Bernard 2012, 398–400, no. 85.

A



B



Current state, remains of the Temple of Vediovis (Capitoline) within the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photos: A. Eckhardt

T92 Rome, Temple of Vediovis (Tiber Island)**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 200–194 BCE**Deity:** Vediovis or Jupiter**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Furius Purpurio**Material:** Tuff**Building Type:** Perhaps prostyle**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** In 200 BCE, Lucius Furius Purpurio, serving as praetor in Gaul, vowed a temple to Vediovis in the heat of battle. This temple was dedicated by Gaius Servilius in 194 BCE.Vitruvius links the temple's architecture to that of the Temple of Faunus (**Cat. T69**), suggesting that it may have been prostyle in plan. Remains of buildings constructed with large ashlar blocks of tuff were discovered under the Hospital of the Fatebenfratelli during excavations from 1989–1994. A medieval church appears to have been built directly on top of an ancient structure, which may have been the Temple of Vediovis.**Select Bibliography:** *CIL* VI 379; Vitr. 3.2.3; Livy 31.21.12, 33.42.10, 34.53.4–7; Ov. *Fast.* 1.293–294; *fasti Praenestini (Inscr. Ital. XIII.2 388)*; Platner and Ashby 1929, 548; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 74–81; Brucia 1990, 48–55; Orlin 1997, 146; Bernard 2012, 391–394, no. 80.

T93 Rome, Temple of Venus Erycina (Capitoline)

Associated Cult Statue: None

Date: 217–215 BCE

Deity: Venus

Architect: Unknown

Patron: Sibylline Books and Quintus Fabius Maximus

Material: Unknown

Building Type: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Cella Dimensions: Unknown

Description: Quintus Fabius Maximus vowed a temple to Venus Erycina in accordance with the Sibylline Books following the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene in 217 BCE. This temple was located on the Capitoline, perhaps within the Area Capitolina, and dedicated in 215 BCE. An open drain separated the Temple of Venus Erycina from the nearby Temple of Mens (**Cat. T87**).

Select Bibliography: Livy 22.9.10–10.10; Platner and Ashby 1929, 551; Orlin 1997, 97.

T94 Rome, Temple of Venus Erycina (Porta Collina)**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 184–181 BCE**Deity:** Venus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Porcius Licinus**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Lucius Porcius Licinus vowed a temple to Venus Erycina in 184 BCE during a battle against the Ligurians. The extra-urban temple, located near the Porta Collina, was dedicated in 181 BCE. According to Strabo, this temple was a copy of the Sicilian Temple of Venus on Mt. Eryx, including its encompassing portico. No architectural remains survive, but it may have had a tetrastyle façade with a triangular pediment. It is possible that this temple was called the Temple of Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum in the Imperial period.

Select Bibliography: Vitruvius 1.7.1; Strabo 6.2.6; Livy 40.34.4; Appian *B Civ.* 1.93; Platner and Ashby 1929, 551–552; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 107–111; Castelli 1988.

T95 Rome, Temple of Venus Verticordia**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 114 BCE**Deity:** Venus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Sibylline Books**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** In 114 BCE, a temple was vowed to Venus Verticordia, Venus who turns hearts from lust to chastity, to atone for the unchastity of three Vestal Virgins. This temple was the last built on order of the Sibylline Books. No archaeological remains of the temple have been found.**Select Bibliography:** *Ov. Fast.* 4.133–157; *Obseq.* 37; *Macrob.* 1.12.15; *Lydus, Mens.* 4.15; Platner and Ashby 1929, 554–555; Orlin 1997, 21, 97, 102–103.

T96 Rome, Temple of Victoria Virgo**Associated Cult Statue:** Rome, Victoria Virgo (**Cat. S58**)**Date:** 195–193 BCE (original construction), early 2nd century CE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Victoria**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Marcus Porcius Cato**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Rectangular aedicula**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown**Description:** In 193 BCE, Cato the Elder dedicated a shrine of Victoria Virgo on the Palatine that he had vowed two years earlier. The extant brick remains date to the Hadrianic period, but below are Republican foundations for a rectangular structure identified as the aedicula of Victoria Virgo.**Select Bibliography:** Livy 35.9.6; Platner and Ashby 1929, 61; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 81–85; Pensabene 1988, 57; Orlin 1997, 170.

T97 Signia, Temple of Juno Moneta**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Juno**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone (podium), tuff (walls)**Building Type:** Tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 23.91 x 40.27 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** Central cella: 7.46 x 19.45 m; side cellas: 6.00 x 19.45 m

Description: Located on the arx (modern Pianillo Hill), the remains of the Temple of Juno Moneta are found within the Church of San Pietro. This temple faced southeast and sat upon a high, polygonal podium with a frontal staircase. The temple's pronaos featured three rows of four columns each, aligned with the side walls and those dividing the cella. The tripartite cella had tuff walls in *opus quadratum*. The temple was initially identified as a capitolium based on the design of its cella, but two inscriptions with dedications to Juno and Juno Moneta suggest instead an identification with Juno Moneta.

Select Bibliography: Delbrück 1903a; Cancellieri 1992, 78–82; Cifarelli 2003; Boos 2011, 27.



Ground plan, Temple of Juno Moneta, Signia. Drawing: A. Kirsopp Lake, in Cifarelli 2003, fig. 4

T98 Smyrna, Temple of Roma**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 195 BCE**Deity:** Roma**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Unknown**Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: Tacitus records that Smyrna was the first city to build a temple to Roma, which did so in 195 BCE, but he relates nothing about the form of the building. No archaeological remains have been identified as belonging to this temple.

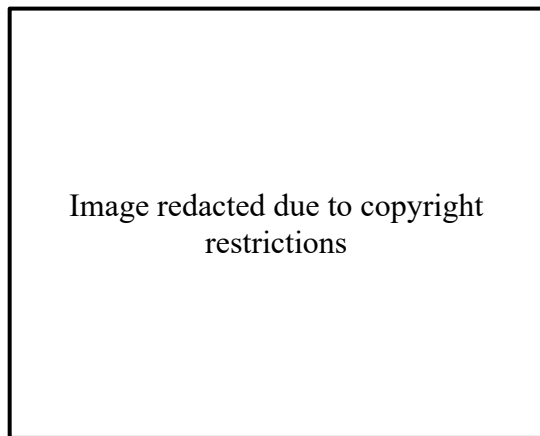
Select Bibliography: Tac. *Ann.* 4.56; Mellor 1975, 15–16, 135; Damaskos 1999, 164.

T99 Sparta, Temple of Artemis Orthia**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 700 BCE (original construction); c. 570 BCE (rebuilding); 2nd century BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Artemis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone**Building Type:** Doric distyle in antis**Dimensions:** 7.50 x 16.75 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 4.20 x 9.65 m

Description: The first temple at Sparta dedicated to Artemis Orthia was constructed around 700 BCE with an eastern orientation. In the sixth century BCE, this temple was enlarged and rebuilt to the north of the original structure, and its orientation shifted to the southeast. The temple was entirely rebuilt again in the second century BCE. In this iteration, it was likely Doric distyle in antis in plan. Stamped roof tiles dating to the second century BCE attest to its rebuilding in this period. A Roman theater built in the third century CE encircled the temple and its altar.

Select Bibliography: Paus. 3.16.7–11; Dawkins 1929, 1–51; Falb 2009, 129–134; Boutsikas and Ruggles 2011, 60–65; Franck 2014, 217, no. 14.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, Sparta.
Source: Dawkins 1929, pl. 3

B

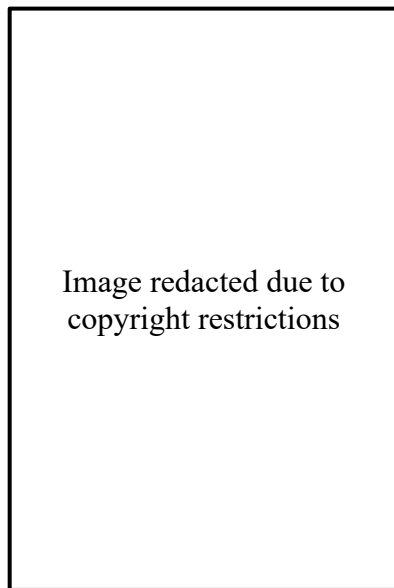


Current state, Temple of Artemis Orthia,
view from the east. Photo: A. Eckhardt

T100 Tarracina, Temple of Feronia**Associated Cult Statue:** Tarracina, Feronia (**Cat. S60**)**Date:** c. 150–125 BCE**Deity:** Feronia**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** *Opus incertum***Building Type:** Unknown**Dimensions:** Unknown**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The westernmost building in the ancient sanctuary located on Monte Sant'Angelo near Terracina has been identified by Coarelli as the Temple of Feronia. Most of the remains were used as cisterns for the convent and church of San Michele Arcangelo, leaving little with which to reconstruct the temple's form. The temple, oriented to the south, sat upon a terrace supported on the south by a series of vaulted, concrete rooms. The temple façade was constructed of *opus incertum*.

Select Bibliography: Verg. 7.799; Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.24; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.49; Plin. *HN* 2.146; Tac. *Hist.* 3.76; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.799; Lugli 1926, 163–166; Fasolo and Gullini 1953, 329–331; De Rossi 1981, 82; Coarelli 1987, 114–116; Rosso 2010; Ceccarelli and Marroni 2011, 473–504.



Ground plan, Temple of Feronia, Tarracina. Source: after Coarelli 1987, fig. 33

T101 Tenos, Temple of Poseidon**Associated Cult Statue:** Tenos, Poseidon cult group (Cat. S61)**Date:** Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE (original construction); early 2nd century BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Poseidon**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Demetrios Poliorketes (original construction); perhaps Rhodes (rebuilding)**Material:** Gray marble**Building Type:** Doric amphiprostyle or tetrastyle prostyle**Dimensions:** 8.05 x 15.88 m**Cella Dimensions:** 6.00 x 6.20 m

Description: Excavators identified two phases of construction for the Temple of Poseidon on Tenos. The first phase dates to the turn of the third century BCE, when the cella measured 4.65 x 5.15 m. The temple's plan in this phase is unclear, but it may have been either prostyle or in antis. The cella was enlarged in the second phase, of the early second century BCE, to 6.00 x 6.20 m. At this time, the temple was oriented to the east and sat upon a base 1.70 m high, with stairs on the east and south sides. The temple's form in this period is again unclear, and may have been peripteral, prostyle, or amphiprostyle. The impetus for the second-century rebuilding is not known. Also unknown are the patrons behind the temple's construction, which perhaps can be attributed to Demetrios Poliorketes in its first phase and the Rhodians in its second.

Excavators found several sculpted fragments of the pediment depicting sea monsters.

Select Bibliography: Strabo 10.5.11; Étienne and Braun 1986, 93–106; Damaskos 1999, 74–79; Mattern 2015, 150.



Current state, Temple of Poseidon, Tenos, view from the northwest. Photo: courtesy P. Katz

T102 Teos, Agora Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 2nd century BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Aphrodite and Apollonis**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local limestone**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral or tetrastyle amphiprostyle**Dimensions:** 8.10 x 18.40 m**Cella Dimensions:** 12.70 m

Description: Located in the agora at Teos, this temple was placed to the southeast of the bouleuterion and oriented to the south. The Ionic temple likely dates to the second century BCE and may have been either peripteral or amphiprostyle in plan, with four columns along the front façade in a systyle arrangement. Based on its size, a tetrastyle amphiprostyle plan seems most likely. The temple's interior consisted of a pronaos 5.50 m deep, a cella 12.70 m deep, and an opisthodomos 2.15 m deep. Upon her death, Teos honored Apollonis, wife of the Pergamene ruler Attalos I, with *synnaos theos* in Aphrodite's temple. This structure may have served the cults of Aphrodite and Apollonis; however, excavators found no remains during excavations to confirm its identification.

Select Bibliography: Béquignon and Laumonier 1925, 288; Tuna 1998, 323–325; Kadioğlu 2018, 15.

A



Actual state plan, Agora Temple, Teos.
Drawing: Z. Durmuş, in Tuna 1998, plan 1

B



Current state, view from the north.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T103 Teos, Temple of Dionysos**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** Late 3rd–early 2nd century BCE (original construction); 1st century CE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Dionysos**Architect:** Hermogenes of Alabanda**Patron:** Unknown (original construction), Hadrian (rebuilding)**Material:** Teian gray marble (superstructure), white marble (frieze)**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** c. 18.50 x 35.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** c. 8.53 x 11.89 m

Description: According to Vitruvius, the Temple of Dionysos at Teos was designed by the architect Hermogenes, who wrote a treatise about the building. Hermogenes created a 6 x 11 Ionic peripteral temple with columns spaced according to the eustyle arrangement. The temple was located within a trapezoidal temenos formed by surrounding stoas and sat upon a rock formation cut and formed to create a podium. The building stood upon a six-stepped krepis and included a deep, distyle in antis pronaos and a narrow, distyle in antis opisthodomos flanking the cella. The temple was rebuilt during the Hadrianic period, when the steps along the front, eastern façade were doubled. The temple faced east toward its altar, which was located across a paved courtyard.

Select Bibliography: Vitr. 3.3.6–8; Pullan 1881, 35–55; Béquignon and Laumonier 1925, 291–298; Uz 1987, 1990; Strang 2007, 146–155.

A



Ground plan, Sanctuary of Dionysos, Teos.
Drawing: D. M. Uz, in Uz 1990, fig. 1

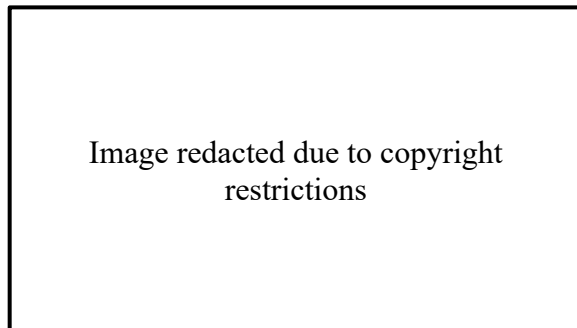
B



Current state, view from the southwest.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T104 Thebes, Kabeirion**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 275–200 BCE (phase 1); c. 200–125 BCE (phase 2a); c. 125–150 BCE (phase 2b); c. 50 BCE–125 CE (phase 3)**Deity:** Kabeiroi**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Limestone**Building Type:** Tholos (phase 1); oikos (phase 2a); Ionic tetrastyle prostyle (phase 2b); Doric distyle in antis (phase 3)**Dimensions:** 3.50 m Diam. (phase 1); 5.80 x 11.55 m (phase 2a); 5.80 x 22.55 m (phase 2b); 6.68 x 22.55 m (phase 3)**Cella Dimensions:** 4.61 x 6.20 m (phases 2a–2b)**Description:** The evolution and dating of the Kabeirion at Thebes is complex, with multiple manifestations and phases of the building. The first structure identified as a “temple” was a tholos, likely dating to 275 BCE, erected on the east–west axis of the city’s theater (phase 1). This building was replaced around 200 BCE by a simple oikos with a porch and cella (phase 2a). An Ionic tetrastyle façade was added to the temple in the late second century BCE (phase 2b). Evidence for a cult statue base within the cella also appears in this phase. The base spanned most of the cella’s width and was slightly off axis of the main entrance, positioned closer to the southern wall. At the end of the Hellenistic period or the beginning of the Imperial period, the temple’s plan was transformed again, this time into a Doric distyle in antis (phase 3).**Select Bibliography:** Dörpfeld 1888a, 1888b; Heyder and Mallwitz 1978, 13–21; Cooper 1982; Mattern 2015, 151.

A



Ground plan, Kabeirion, Thebes, phase 2a.
Source: Heyder and Mallwitz 1978, fig. 11

B



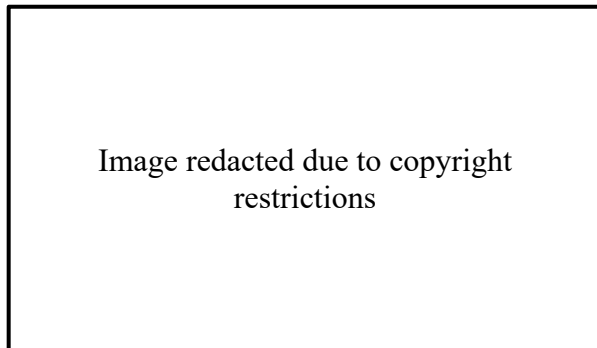
Ground plan, Kabeirion, Thebes, phase 2b.
Source: Heyder and Mallwitz 1978, fig. 13

T105 Tibur, Rectangular Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 150–125 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Tiburnus**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Local travertine**Building Type:** Ionic pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** 9.10 x 15.90 m (podium)**Cella Dimensions:** c. 6.25 x 7.75 m

Description: Located on the acropolis of Tibur, the Rectangular Temple in modern Tivoli is today situated alongside the Round Temple (**Cat. T106**) within the Parco Villa Gregoriana. This temple is pseudoperipteral with four Ionic columns across the front and six along the flanks, five of which are engaged to the cella walls. The temple faced west and featured a pronaos two bays deep. The building was constructed entirely of local travertine and all decoration was originally stuccoed and painted. The deity to whom the temple belongs is unknown, but it was perhaps dedicated to the founder of Tibur, Tiburnus. In the medieval period, the temple was converted into the Church of San Giorgio.

Select Bibliography: Delbrück 1903b, 11–22; 1912, 11–16; Stamper 2005, 64–65.

A



Ground plan, Rectangular Temple, Tibur.
Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 45

B



Current state, view from the southwest.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T106 Tibur, Round Temple**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 100 BCE**Deity:** Perhaps Sybil Albunea or Hercules**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Lucius Gellius**Material:** Travertine, tuff, concrete**Building Type:** Corinthian tholos**Dimensions:** 14.20 m Diam.**Cella Dimensions:** 7.10 m Diam.

Description: Located on the acropolis of Tibur, the Round Temple in modern Tivoli is today situated alongside the Rectangular Temple (**Cat. T105**) within the Parco Villa Gregoriana. The temple is made of reinforced concrete and faced externally with travertine *opus quadratum* blocks. The blocks inside the temple's cella are tufa *opus incertum*. The Round Temple sits on a high, brick podium faced in travertine and was surrounded by 18 Corinthian columns, 10 of which survive today. Two windows and a door penetrated the interior cella. The temple was perhaps dedicated to the Sybil Albunea, which was known for its legendary cult statue, and may have contained the Books of the Sybil, which were transferred to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in Rome in 76 BCE. An inscription naming Lucius Gellius is preserved on the temple's architrave, but it is unclear if he sponsored the temple's original construction or a later restoration. The temple was later converted into the Church of Santa Maria della Rotonda.

Select Bibliography: Delbrück 1903b, 11–22; 1912, 11–14, 16–22; Sear 1983, 22, 62; Stamper 2005, 75.

A



Ground plan, Round Temple, Tibur.
Drawing: J. Stamper, in Stamper 2005, fig. 55

B

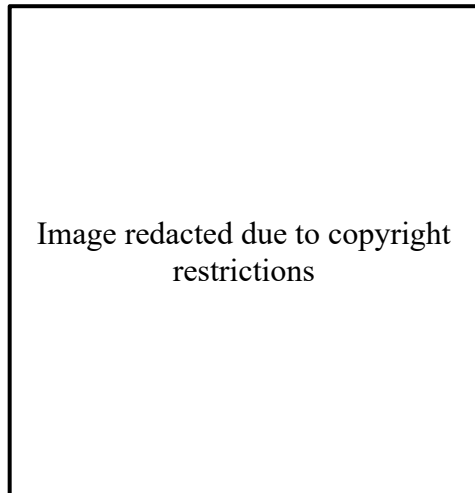


Current state, view from the northwest.
Photo: A. Eckhardt

T107 Tibur, Temple of Hercules Victor**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** c. 150–100 BCE**Deity:** Hercules**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Unknown**Material:** Concrete**Building Type:** Pseudoperipteral**Dimensions:** c. 25.00 x 42.00 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The extramural Sanctuary of Hercules Victor was the most important sanctuary in Tibur. The sanctuary sat upon an immense artificial platform constructed in concrete (c. 150.00 x 190.00 m). A pseudoperipteral temple on a high podium stood in the center of this platform, surrounded by a pi-shaped portico. A semicircular, theatral staircase was located directly in front of the temple.

Select Bibliography: Rakob 1976, 375; Coarelli 1987, 85–112; Hollinshead 2015, 94.

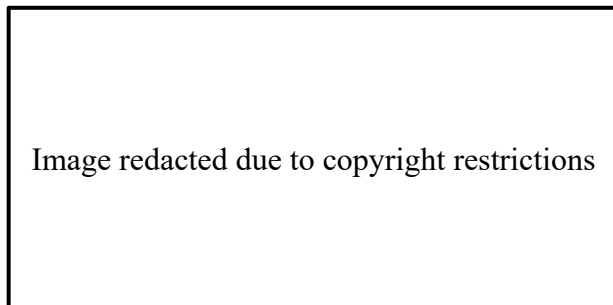


Reconstruction, Sanctuary of Hercules Victor, Tibur. Source: Rakob 1976, fig. 4

T108 Xanthos, Temple of Leto**Associated Cult Statue:** None**Date:** 4th century BCE (original construction); 2nd century BCE (rebuilding)**Deity:** Leto**Architect:** Unknown**Patron:** Perhaps Arbinas (original construction); perhaps Lycian League (rebuilding)**Material:** Limyra limestone**Building Type:** Ionic peripteral**Dimensions:** 15.75 x 30.25 m**Cella Dimensions:** Unknown

Description: The primary temple within the Letoon at Xanthos, that dedicated to Leto herself, was erected in the early fourth century BCE, perhaps by the order of the local dynast, Arbinas, after consultation with the Delphic oracle. Only the stone foundations of this building have been found. This temple was replaced by a larger structure in the second century BCE, perhaps at the initiation of the Lycian League. The Temple of Leto faced south on a three-stepped krepis. The Ionic 6 x 11 peripteral temple featured a pronaos, cella, and “false” opisthodomos, whose façade consisted of two half-columns between antae. The spacing of the exterior colonnade equaled $1\frac{2}{3}$ of the columns’ lower diameter, thereby falling between Vitruvius’s pycnostyle and systyle arrangements. The front, southern pteron was pseudodipteral. Corinthian half-columns lined the cella’s interior walls, with quarter-columns in the corners.

Select Bibliography: Strabo 14.3.6; Metzger 1966, 101–108; Hansen and Le Roy 1976, 2012; Hansen 1991; Rumscheid 1994, 24; des Courtils and Laroche 2004, 336–338; Laroche 2007; Cavalier and des Courtils 2013.



Ground plan, Temple of Leto, Xanthos. Source: after Hansen 1991, fig. 1

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Abbreviations

BCH 1925 = “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l’Orient hellénique.”
Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 49: 438–480.

BCH 1926 = “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques dans l’Orient hellénique.”
Bulletin de correspondance hellénique 50: 536–581.

CIA = Adolf Kirchhoff and Ulrich Köhler, *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*, Berlin: Reimer, 1873–1897.

CIL = Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin: Reimer, 1893–.

ID = Felix Dürnbach et al., *Inscriptions de Délos*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1926–.

IG = Max Fränkel, *Inscriptiones graecae*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1895–.

IGLSyr = Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929–[1986].

ILS = H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916.

IMagn. = Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*. Berlin: W. Spemann, 1900.

Inscr. Ital. = Antonio Ferrua and Albino Garzetti, *Inscriptiones Italiae*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1948–1986.

IvP = Ernst Fabricius, Carl Schuchhardt, and Max Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Berlin: Spemann, 1890–1895.

Milet I.7 = Hubert Knackfuß, *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1924.

OGIS = Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903–.

RICIS = Laurent Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes Isiaques (RICIS)*. Paris: De Boccard, 2005.

SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*. Leiden: Brill, 1923–.

*Syll.*³ = Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1915–1924.

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