

Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene

Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità
Sapienza Università di Roma



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Roman Power and Greek Sanctuaries
Forms of Interaction and Communication

edited by Marco Galli

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Athens 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

M. Galli	<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	7
M. Galli	<i>Ritual Dynamic in the Greek Sanctuaries under the Roman Domination</i>	9
B.D. Wescoat	<i>Insula Sacra: Samothrace Between Troy and Rome</i>	45
J. Griesbach	<i>Zur Topographie hellenistischer 'Ehrenstatuen' auf Delos</i>	83
A. Lo Monaco	<i>Fuori dall'Altis. Tende, bagni e propilei a Olimpia in età ellenistica</i>	125
M. Melfi	<i>Religion and Communication in the Sanctuaries of Early-Roman Greece: Epidauros and Athens</i>	143
G. Falezza	<i>From Eleutheria to Theos Kaisar Sebastos. Rome and the Sanctuaries of Northern Greece</i>	159
J. Piccinini	<i>Dodona at the Time of Augustus. A Few Notes</i>	177
A. Baudini	<i>Propaganda and Self-Representation of a Civic Elite in Roman Greece: The Flogging Rite of Orthia in Sparta</i>	193
E.C. Portale	<i>Augustae, Matrons, Goddesses: Imperial Women in the Sacred Space</i>	205
E. Lippolis	<i>Eleusis. Sanctuary of the Empire</i>	245
M. Galli	<i>The Celebration of Lucius Verus in the provincia Achaia: Imperial Cult, Ritual Actors and Religious Networks</i>	265
	<i>Bibliography</i>	299
	<i>Abstracts</i>	343

AUGUSTAE, MATRONS, GODDESSES: IMPERIAL WOMEN IN THE SACRED SPACE

Several recent studies have emphasized how the image of the *Kaiserfrauen* is basically an idealized construction intended to the elaboration of guiding models for coeval society¹. First of all, it responds to “central” requests (official prototypes, approved representational forms), but it is also able to adapt itself to different environmental situations and needs through the Empire: its real success as *Leitbild* is based, in fact, on its malleability.

After the *Porträtforschung* has focused on the propagandistic component and on the centripetal force of the models made in the *Urbs* (within the emperor’s circle), there are many hermeneutical potentialities for a “pluralistic” evaluation of the same official portrait. As a matter of fact this, even caused by central reminders, is realized through an interaction, where the customer’s request and the specific context intervene also as active and “creative” factors.

Lately, the scholars involved in the conference entitled “*Augustus: der Blick von außen*” and O. Dally, in a critical review of the 20th century researches on the imperial iconography, have pointed out the various ways of representing the central authority in the peripheral sphere: the reception and the re-elaboration of the imperial concept in the local imaginary are, as a matter of fact, fundamental for accrediting the Augustan political system, and, more in general, for establishing a communication process where many voices take part (customers and inventors, prompters, addressees and actors of honours, executors and users of the figurative contexts)². In the Greek

¹ See ALEXANDRIDIS 2004; for modalities and media for disseminating the imperial image: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 7 ff.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000. For Julio-Claudian princesses see also WOOD 1999 and especially for Livia BARTMAN 1999.

² KREIKENBOM *et al.* 2008; DALLY 2007, esp. 225 ff., 243 ff., 254 f. See ALEXANDRIDIS 2005; also ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 9 f. The conspicuous epigraphic-numismatic record about honours for *Augustae* in the Greek East is collected by HAHN 1994. The imperial cult in the 1st cent. Greece has been dealt with in a recent monograph by KANTIRÉA 2007; also HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008; LO MONACO 2009A, 188-240 and *passim*; LO MONACO 2009B; especially for Athens LOZANO 2002; for Asia Minor see the classic monograph by PRICE 1984A; see also PRICE 1984B.



Figg. 1-2 - Lower fragments of two female statues from the *Poseidonion* at Tenos, Building D. Tenos Museum (after LINFERT 1976)

provinces, obviously, such dialogue fits in a rich and complex background both for the conspicuous tradition in the elaboration and use of images within the public and religious life (therefore each new initiative is included in a densely stratified context) and for the prestige of Hellenic artistic creations, which are *per se* an integral part of the imperial *aurea aetas*.

D. Boschung has recognized a triple modality of reception-assimilation-elaboration of the imperial models by the Greeks. The first trend consists in the insertion of the new authority of the *Augusti/Sebastoi* within the pre-existing tradition of the *timai* for the *basileis* or for the notables, underlining continuity, even with the re-use of ancient monuments, and anyway with the maintenance of a language mainly Hellenistic³. A second pattern adopts

³ BOSCHUNG 2002B, 135-138.

the new Roman schemes, such as the togate statue and the standardized types of the official portrait (not without any misunderstandings and simplifications)⁴. A third but more demanding modality involves a “translation” in images following the practice of expressing the sense of the actuality through mythological paradigms: the new rulers are therefore merged into contexts or scenes belonging to the traditional repertoire, such as mythical duels or allegorical representations⁵.

In fact for all three trends one can find parallels even for the female members of the *domus Augusta*; and, checking the documentation in comparison with the evidence given by the whole Roman world – lately arranged by A. Alexandridis –, it seems possible to notice a “Greek” approach in line with the visual traditions and the local perception of the imperial topic, encompassing a wide range of solutions and nuances.

Restricting our attention to the early Empire and to some samples, for the first trend detected by Boschung suffice it to mention some images of *Kaiserfrauen* based on the traditional formulas of the Hellenistic honorary and votive statuary, that were coupled with the cuirassed statues “Alexander type” used for Augustus and Agrippa or other characters of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially in the Aegean. The female figures adopt types with a richly draped *chiton* and *himation* placed over the head, like the fragmentary statues of the dynastic group from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tenos, to one of which the *velato capite* head of Agrippina I (Figg. 1-3)⁶ must have belonged; but we can also consider the Augustan statue of the *Grande Ercolanese* type, with an ideal head, from the Butrint theatre (Figg. 4a-b),

⁴ Cf. BOSCHUNG 2002B, 138 ff., esp. 140 ff., figg. 11 f. and BOSCHUNG 2002A, 174 for the so-called *Strategeion* in Cyrene and the adaptation of a female statue into a *togata effigies* for prince Tiberius (4 A.D.); BOSCHUNG 2002A, 193, for the toga as a distinctive sign for the imperial family members in the Greek East. See in general HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998 for *togati* in Greece.

⁵ See the *Sebasteion* complex at Aphrodisias: SMITH 1987; SMITH 1990; REYNOLDS 1996, 44-47; ROSE 1997, 164-169, 273-275, cat. n° 105, pls. 199-210; also MAVROJANNIS 1994, 337-341; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 17; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 196 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002B, 143-146; CHANIOTIS 2003A, 77 ff.; LENAGHAN 2008; SCHERRER 2008.

⁶ For the Tenos group see ETIENNE – BRAUN – QUEYREL 1986, 288-302, cat. nn° 30-55; MAVROJANNIS 1994. The female statues have received lesser attention: LINFERT 1976, 119 f., figg. 282-286, classes them as directly based on Hellenistic types, as one *Pudicitia* variant (LINFERT 1976, 114 f.; see EULE 2001, 16, *Schema der Baebia*; DILLON 2010, 87 ff., 101 f.), generally absent from the early-Imperial princesses’ iconography (BARTMAN 1998, 47, 51 [n. 82]; ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 15 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 60 f.).



Fig. 3 - Head of Agrippina I from the *Poseidonion* at Tenos, Building D. Tenos Museum (after ÉTIENNE – BRAUN – QUEYREL 1986)

if it is an official character⁷; and the statue of Livia from the *Sebasteion* of Aphrodisias, recently restored (Figg. 5a-b)⁸.

Such representations appear since the first engagement with the imperial topic, that is inserted into the old set of family and royal groups erected in public and sacred buildings⁹, and, for the female component, into the tradition that conceives the public image of important women within the family

⁷ UGOLINI 2003B, 199 and 204 f. (find-spot), 212, figg. 8.6-8.10 (the torso is now missing); BERGEMANN 1998, 54 f., 135-137, cat. n° Th 6, figg. 78, 81a-b, excludes that it could have had an iconic destination.

⁸ LENAGHAN 2008; see *infra*.

⁹ LOHR 2000; LO MONACO 2009A, 271 f. Dynastic groups: HINTZEN-BOHLEN 1990; KOTSIDU 2000, 169-172, 430-432, 537-540, cat. nn° 104 f., *305; LOHR 2000, 115 ff., 123, 125 f., 223 ff., cat. nn° 137 f., 140, 142. Recent studies about the *gens Augusta's* cycles point at this Greek-Hellenistic tradition (BOSCHUNG 2002A, 197) and at the early adoption in the Greek East of “enlarged” groups including wives and sons: see for example the plentiful honours for Agrippa and his family (BOSCHUNG 2002A, 144-146, 154: *e.g.* at Thespieae [13-12 B.C.?] comprising Agrippa’s whole family, Livia, and perhaps Augustus, BOSCHUNG 2002A, 144 f.; ROSE 1997, 149-151, 271, cat. n° 82).

relationship network¹⁰. According to the well established Hellenistic procedure¹¹, even the imperial ladies' likenesses emphasize elegance and irreproachability, through the refined dress and the mimic¹²; the individuality of the features gives way to an idealization more or less strong, up to a standardization according to a model of female beauty that has nothing to do with reproducing real physiognomies¹³. This last option, corresponding to the Greek female portrait formula, is indeed rare for the imperial ladies – the Large Herculaneum Woman of Butrint¹⁴ (Figg. 4a-b) might be an exception¹⁵. As a matter of fact, it is not quite adapt for underlining the incomparably higher status of the honoured, “flattening” the image onto a canonical model shared *in toto* by the members of the local elites (although the dedicatory inscription could provide to some degree for the need of exaltation beside other aristocratic women)¹⁶.

¹⁰ EULE 2001, 133 ff.; DILLON 2007, 78; DILLON 2010, 30 ff., 41 ff., 133.

¹¹ EULE 2001; DILLON 2007; VORSTER 2008B; DILLON 2010.

¹² The interest for body types and drapery elaboration is clearly derived from Hellenistic iconic statuary: LINFERT 1976; EULE 2001; DILLON 2010, 5 f., 99 ff. and *passim*.

¹³ DILLON 2007, 76-80; DILLON 2010, 103 ff. Ideal heads, covered by the mantle, characterize also some early-Imperial iconic statues of Hellenistic fashion, recycled in the *Agora Gate* façade at Aphrodisias: SMITH 2006, 205-207, 287 f., cat. nn° 86+202, 203, pls. 68, 137 f. (cf. also the statue signed by *Menodotos*, SMITH 2006, 204 f., cat. n° 85, pls. 65-67); DILLON 2010, 149 ff.

¹⁴ VORSTER 2008A, 98 identifies her hypothetically with Julia. DAEHNER 2008, 104, 111-114, figg. 4.8-9 prefers a member of the local elite (as the eponymous *Grande Ercolanese*), for the lack of an official type of portrait (see instead the Livia's head [Fig. 6]). He seems to agree with TRIMBLE 2000, 62-64, who thinks that the type was “re-imported” into Greece through the spread of the Augustan ideology in the provinces (so also BERGEMANN 1998, 67-73), in spite of its restricted circulation in the early Empire (DAEHNER 2008, 104 f., 114). See also DILLON 2010, 82 ff., and 86 for the iconic destination of both the copies with an ideal head (cf. VORSTER 2008A, esp. 92-99, pls. 1-14, 19 f., figg. 3.8, 3.11 and VORSTER 2008B, 132, 146 ff., 157, 192 [n. 149], figg. 5.3-4), and the archetype of ca. 320 B.C. (see VORSTER 2008B, 136 ff.).

¹⁵ See also a statue comparable to the *Schema der Megiste* (EULE 2001, 35 f.), which was found in the agora of Gortyn together with an *effigies togata* of Caligula (PORTALE 1998, 286-293, cat. n° 2, pls. 35d-37; for the fringed mantle cf. DILLON 2010, 65, 100).

¹⁶ On the contrary, in certain periods and contexts the visual homogeneity between *Kaiserfrauen* and citizen aristocrats will be appreciated: at Perge, for example, “rather than Plancia Magna following imperial models, it is the imperial images that follow hers” (DILLON 2010, 155 ff., esp. 158 ff.; DAEHNER 2008, 118-120, fig. 4.15, doubts about the identities of the supposed Sabina and Faustina II; cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 16; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 59-61, 105 and *passim* about the tendency in Hadrianic-Antonine princesses' portraiture to get more “bourgeois” traits). VORSTER 2008A, 184 n. 72 points out that only the *Grande Ercolanese* type (rarely) is adopted for *Augustae*, for example Faustina I: DAEHNER 2008, 101, 116 f., 121 f., 126, figg. 4.1, 4.13, 4.18 (cf. DAEHNER 2008, 187 [nn. 62, 76], a possible Sabina in the guise of the *Piccola Ercolanese*); VORSTER 2008B, 154.



Fig. 4a - Great Herculeanum Woman from the theatre of Butrint
(torso at present missing), (after GILKES et al. 2003)



Fig. 4b – Head of the Great Herculeanum Woman from the theatre of Butrint.
Tirana Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)



Fig. 5a - Statue of Livia from the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias:
Graphic reconstruction (after RATTÉ – SMITH 2008)



Fig. 5b - Portrait-head of Livia from the Propylon of the *Sebasteion*,
according to the Marmaris type (courtesy R.R. Smith © New York,
Institute of Fine Arts – Aphrodisias Excavation)

Rather leaving only to the epigraph the characterization of the subject of imperial rank¹⁷, generally it is preferred to make it recognizable through the official portrait scheme. Therefore, the urban archetype is adapted and modified with a kinder and aesthetically “normalized” physiognomy and a hairstyle that retouches in a classicizing way the main iconographic model. Sometimes, like in the supposed *Iulia Augusti* of Corinth, we can observe a connection rather forced between the classical face and the fashion *Nodus-frisur*¹⁸. A better result comes from a group of Microasiatic portraits of Livia, the so-called Marmaris-type (Fig. 5b), where the modern coiffure (derived from the urban Marbury Hall type), combined with individual features, is revisited with Hellenistic accents¹⁹. Like in this last case, even for the *Nodus-Zopftypus* Copenhagen NCG 616 of Livia herself (Fig. 6) – whose diffusion is also limited to the Greek speaking part of the Empire (Achaia and Asia) –, we are in the presence of an “approved” portrait, known by many copies and inspired by a successful urban type (the *Nodustypus*), but elaborated in a Greek context, and spread in the same area by the local workshops and mints²⁰.

Thanks to its Hellenistic *allure* and to the refined tone, given by the details of the fringe over the forehead, the Marmaris type may, however, match theomorphic representations, as the seated figure of Livia like *Hera-Iuno* from the *basilike stoa* of Ephesus, coupled with a statue of Augustus like *Zeus-Iuppiter*, that are part of a different category adopted officially only from Caligulan period²¹.

¹⁷ In the non-official portraiture in the Hellenistic fashion, on the contrary, the identity of the subject is specified exclusively through the inscribed base: DILLON 2010, 3, 26 and *passim*.

¹⁸ DE GRAZIA VANDERPOOL 2003, 378 f., fig. 22.12. See. *infra*, n. 68.

¹⁹ FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, 2, cat. n° 1, n. 7 with list of replicas (i, from Larissa; l, m-p microasiatic variant), dating archetype *ca.* 20-10 B.C.; also WINKES 1995, 25 f., 63; BARTMAN 1999, 21 f., 64 argues a Triumviral origin for this scheme, lasting long in Asia Minor. According to LENAGHAN 2008, 49 f. Tiberian replicas stress physiognomic similarity between Livia and her son.

²⁰ WINKES 1995, 35 ff. (scheme “Aa”); BARTMAN 1999, 80 (coins), 46 (braid-diadem): Livia (inscr. *Livian Heran*), according to the *Zopf-Nodustypus*, and Julia (inscr. *Ioulian Aphroditen*) appear on Pergamon coins issued 10-2 B.C. (RPC I, 2359; cf. HAHN 1994, 42, 108, nn° 75, 101). KÜNZL’S (2001) proposal of identifying as *Iulia Augusti* the type “*Butrint-Wien*” is not convincing; according to her, the heads in Butrint (see *infra* [Fig. 6]), Wien (formerly Este collection), Glanum (ROSE 1997, 128s., cat. n° 53, esp. pl. 166) are the only ones not re-worked.

²¹ For the imperial couple from Ephesus: ROSE 1997, 175, 276, cat. n° 115, pls. 214 f. (early Tiberian); BOSCHUNG 2002A, 66 f., cat. n° 18.1-2, pls. 52, 1-3 and 53, 3 (Caligulan-early Claudian); for Livia’s likeness see BARTMAN 1999, 21 f., cat. n° 60, fig. 20 (soon after 14 A.D.);

Still, a divine assimilation with Hera is made explicitly by the dedicatory inscription even in the case of the statue of Livia from the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (Figg. 5a-b), already mentioned as to the representations according to Hellenistic schemes²²: the *capite coperto* portrait of the empress, attributed to the torso with the inscribed base, repeats exactly the Marmaris type. This latter occurs again in one of the “porticos” reliefs from the same sanctuary, on an incomplete figure that was therefore identified with Livia by R. Smith, although other scholars seem reluctant to admit in the imperial iconography “inaccurate” versions such as the one in question²³. However, just like the aforementioned statue of *Iulia Sebaste Hera* dressed as a Hellenistic lady (Figg. 5a-b), even the possible joining between the “jovian” body and the portrait-head of Tiberius, recently discovered in the Southern portico of N agora of Aphrodisias (but maybe originally

ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 82 (n. 785), 130, cat. n° 36, pl. 10, 3 (before Livia’s death). See ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 50 ff., esp. 50 (n. 460), 54 f., 82 ff., 104, 109 f. and ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 10, 13 f. for the official adoption since Caligula’s reign of theomorphic schemes inspired by courtly Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) models. These formulas are formerly known only on court cameos or, randomly, on non-official monuments. For Livia-Hera assimilation see HAHN 1994, 42-44, 329 f., nn° 72-79.

²² SMITH 2006, 197-199, cat. n° 80, pls. 60-61; RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 737 f., figg. 23-25; LENAGHAN 2008 (the plinth, with the inscribed base, was reused within the Byzantine fortification wall right behind the stage of the theatre; the head was found nearby). The scheme *Moschine-Typus* (LENAGHAN 2008, 50; cf. LINFERT 1976, 20 ff., n. 36, figg. 5-7, and EULE 2001, 33 f., esp. cat. n° 32, fig. 50 for the torso from Miletus, according to Lenaghan identifiable perhaps as Livia, or as Hera) is ascribed to the *Artemisia-Delphi format* by DILLON 2010, 73 ff. (cf. DILLON 2010, 138, figg. 29, 69 for the “Statue A” from Thasian *Artemision*); DILLON 2010, 162 for Livia’s portrait. The connected inscription (HAHN 1994, 43 f., 330, n° 77) joins the divine concept, singled out on the last line, to the title *Iulia Augusta*-Augustus’s daughter following her adoption into the *gens Iulia* (14 A.D.). Near Livia’s statue there was probably a likeness of Augustus as *Zeus Patroos Sebastos Kaisar* (we have its epigraph, MAMA VIII 431; cf. REYNOLDS 1996, 45 ff.), and perhaps a “jovian” Tiberius (see *infra*). On *Sebasteion* temple dedication Livia (*Ioulia Sebaste*) is named *Nea Demeter* (REYNOLDS 1996, 47; LENAGHAN 2008, 49, with other ref.; also HAHN 1994, 45, 90, 324, n° 31).

²³ SMITH 1987, 125-127, n° 10, pls. 22, 23, 2-4; SMITH 2006, 47, pl. 152, 2; ROSE 1997, 165 f., cat. n° 105, n° 13, pl. 210 doesn’t admit the identification as Livia, preferring *Atia*, while Livia could be the Venus-like figure crowned by Rome or *Virtus* in another panel, which both SMITH 1987, 97, and SCHERRER 2008, 875, explain as the personification of Aphrodisias (ROSE 1997, 165 f., n° 4, and 274, nn. 25 f.; *idem* BARTMAN 1999, 134 f.). For another controversial example see the *velato capite* head with *Mittelscheitelfrisur* from Thespieae, Livia according to KALTSAS 2002, 317, cat. n° 663 (after her *deificatio* in 42 A.D.), and KANTIRÉA 2007, 143.



Fig. 6 - Portrait-head of Livia according to the Copenhagen NCG 616 *Nodus-Zopf*typus, found in the theatre of Butrint. Tirana Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

pertinent to the same *propylon* of the *Sebasteion*)²⁴, confirms the existence of some non-canonical representations (compared to Roman and Western standards), apt to eclectically combine features of all three trends (traditional/Hellenistic, official/urban, encomiastic/theomorphic) till now discussed, conceived and appreciated by a public that perceived the imperial figure according to a “Greek perspective”.

Therefore it is noteworthy the fact that Livia’s effigy, even if paralleled in the dedicatory inscription to Hera (similarly to the unknown emperor referred to as *Zeus Patroos Sebastos Kaisar* in a dedicatory inscription of the same origin, and to the above mentioned “jovian” Tiberius), updates again a model of female excellence rooted in the local Hellenistic context.

²⁴ See RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 745-747, figg. 4-5, esp. 714 ff. for the find-context (*North Agora, calchidicum* at the E end of S *stoa*). Style and “concept” could suggest that the statue formerly pertained to the *propylon* of the *Sebasteion* complex (ca. 40 m off).

In fact the statue traces one of the traditional formats adopted for the local prominent citizens, suited for visualizing their involvement in ritual activities through the “active” pose which characterizes priestesses and offerers, and lends itself to the imperial subject, by now charged with the role of the female model of the elite²⁵.

So different needs seem to be balanced: the local custom of the *timai* for important ladies (for priesthood roles or euergetic acts), identified in the epigraph through family affiliations; the recognition of the imperial succession according to the line defined in Augustus’s will, which individuates in Livia (Augustus’s daughter) the guarantee of the heir (her progeny), renewing a mother-son relationship that is shown in the cycle of Aphrodisias since the archetypal couple *Aphrodite Prometor*-Aeneas²⁶; the ideal closeness of the rulers to the Olympian divinities and their being placed in the traditional *pantheon*, following an integration scheme well known by the dedications and legends of Eastern Greek coins²⁷. The statue of Livia gives a tribute to the tradition of the Greek female portrait²⁸, but with the addition of a *stola* to the *chiton* in order to signal a “historic” and “Roman-official” identity of the character²⁹, while the dedication and the context suggest more flamboy-

²⁵ AS KEARSLEY 2005 points out, esp. 107 ff., 103: “Her < Livia’s> life provided a model for women from the elite families of how to participate in public life... Identification with her must have been straightforward for those to whom the cultivation of *sophrosyne* had long been acknowledged as desirable”. RATTÉ – SMITH 2008, 738 argue that in the Aphrodisian portrait “the fashion-hairstyle is Livia’s, the face is Hera’s”.

²⁶ For *Aphrodite Prometor/Venus Genetrix*: REYNOLDS 1996, 42, 50; CHANIOTIS 2003A, 77 ff. The Tiberian statue group of the *Propylon* of the *Sebasteion* included also *Aphrodite Prometor* and Aeneas, *Atia* (Augustus’s mother), Gaius Caesar, Lucius Caesar, Drusus Minor and Julia his daughter, *Agrippina Germanici*, Tiberius Claudius Drusus, Claudius as prince, *Aemilia Lepida*, Antonia (SMITH 2006, 44-47, 77; also ROSE 1997, 163 f., cat. n° 103).

²⁷ HAHN 1994; KANTIRÉA 2007, esp. 141. For the integration of the *Sebasteoi* into civic structures through religion see PRICE 1984A, *passim*; STEUERNAGEL 2010, esp. 254 f.: “The gods of the *polis* admitted the divine emperors to their circle so that the latter should not appear as superimposed representatives of a somehow abstract world order without relation to everyday experience”.

²⁸ See the 1st cent. A.D. female statues from the Agora Gate (*supra*, n. 13), esp. SMITH 2006, 205 ff., cat. nn° 86+202, pls. 68, 137; DILLON 2010, 149 ff., figg. 76-78.

²⁹ See FILGES 1997, 158 ff., 185. Note the sandals (FILGES 1997, 164): such blendings between ideal-Greek habit and elements of actual Roman dress, aberrant for 1st cent. Roman portraiture (ALEXANDRIDIS 2000, 13 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 51 ff., esp. 54 f., 104), do appear on both relief representations of Agrippina II in the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias (*calcei* + *Göttertracht*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 89, 91, 95, 101, 158 f., cat. nn° 104 f., pl. 27; FILGES 1997, 45 ff., 256, cat. n° 66, fig. 66; SCHERRER 2008, 877 f.).

ant divine references. That seems to confirm the *ratio* existing between the abundant and explicit epigraphic and numismatic documents, and the generally scarce and ambiguous sculptural testimonies known: it could reflect the Greeks' inclination to exalt the *Augustae* including them in sacred contexts, and pairing them to traditional goddesses through epithets, more than exterior signs such as *götterangleichende* types or attributes. These latter are used with a certain parsimony³⁰, although occurring in the same building at Aphrodisias, for the images of Agrippina II on the reliefs of the inner porticos and for the statues of *Atia*(?) and *Aemilia Lepida*(?), in the Tiberian cycle of the *Propylon*, freely echoing classical types of Aphrodite (Munich-Syon House-Puteoli) and Tyche (*Braccio Nuovo*)³¹.

Even for the second trend identified by Boschung, the one that better shows conformity to Roman fashions, we can observe some signals of an active reception of the models, even when totally foreign to local tradition. For example, it has been noticed that Greek workshops often render the *velatio capitis* as a decorative device, both for the *togati*, more common since the Augustan age also in the Greek provinces³², and for their female parallels, which are instead mainly based on the statuary models of Hellenistic legacy, adopting the veil as a sign of *aidos* (and of the status of a married woman)³³. In several works of provincial make (portraits of *Nero Germanici* at Corinth, of Tiberius and of Livia at Gortyn, of Agrippina I at Tenos...) (Fig. 3), the drapery over the head show extra ornamental motifs³⁴ compared to the austere and solemn tone of the Roman types, more focused on

³⁰ HAHN 1994; MIKOCKI 1995, 123 f., 132-137; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 82 (nn. 787 f.), 93, 290 ff., tab. 3-8. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 35 ff., 46 ff., 49 f., 82 ff. Alexandridis notices such difference in the honorary praxis of the Greek East.

³¹ For Agrippina minor's likenesses on porticoes' reliefs (*supra*, nn. 23, 29): WOOD 1999, 301 f., figg. 141 f.; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 158 f., cat. nn° 104 f., pl. 27; SCHERRER 2008, 877 f., with other ref. Among the *Propylon* statues, the likely *Aemilia Lepida* (SMITH 2006, 193 f., cat. n° 81, pl. 62), in ideal costume (*chiton* and *himation* with triangular overfold, sandals), depends on the *Fortuna Braccio Nuovo* scheme (see ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 232 f., Appendix 2.2.9, and 89 for its adoption in dynastic iconography).

³² Though with some idiosyncrasy, like the virtual non-adoption at Athens (apart a Julio-Claudian group from Eleusis): HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 20 ff. See BOSCHUNG 2002A, 193 about actual Roman dress functioning as a status symbol, and *velatio capitis* signaling *pietas* (by females too). ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 44-46 (cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 209 f.) argues a polyvalent meaning of this latter detail (status of married *matrona*, also divinization), but mostly a religious significance (*pietas*).

³³ DILLON 2007, 77; DILLON 2010, 105, 110 ff.

³⁴ HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 15 f., 64, 83, with other ref.; PORTALE 1998, 316, 333 f.



Fig. 7 - Statue of Agrippina II signed by *Dionysios athenaios*, found in the *Metroon* at Olympia. Olympia Museum (after Photothek DAI Athen, n°1986-0059)

the visualization of the *pietas*. Besides, as already remarked, the same faces of the *Kaiserfrauen* are re-shaped getting a generic physiognomy (which shed doubts about their identities), still along the line of the Hellenistic female iconography. However, examples of greater conformity to the predominant portrayal trend of the West are not lacking, like the Agrippina II from the *Metroon* of Olympia, signed by *Dionysios athenaios* (Fig. 7), or the colossal diademed head of the same empress discovered near the theatre of Kos³⁵.

³⁵ HITZL 1991, 43-46, 67 ff., pls. 14c-19, 39b, 40c; ROSE 1997, 147 ff., cat. n° 80, esp. n° 3, pl. 192; WOOD 1999, 297 f., figg. 105 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 101, 103, cat. n° 33.5, pl. 81, 2 (Olympia); ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 161 f., 160, cat. nn° 111 and 108, pl. 26, 3.1 (Olympia, Kos). For typological comments see FITTSCHEN – ZANKER 1983, 6 f., cat. n° 5, n. 4: Milan type, replicas g, j.

On the other hand, the Livia's Copenhagen NCG 616 type with *Nodus-Zopffrisur* (already mentioned for its Greek-Asiatic regional aspect) shows that even the most eye-catching feature of the urban fashion (the coiffure with a bulky roll of hair over the forehead and a *toupet*) can be re-arranged, adding a diadem-like braid (sometimes with long locks running down the neck)³⁶ that reminds Hellenistic styles, albeit leaving recognizable the Roman character. Moreover, in copies like the graceful head of Butrint³⁷ (Fig. 6), the face reveals a considerable adjustment in the classical sense.

The features of the modern *Tracht* symbolizing the status of the honoured (like the toga and the *calcei* for male figures) are certainly drawn from the official iconography. Just like elsewhere, even in the Microasiatic and Hellenic area the imperial ladies are portrayed using some classicistic types that adopt, as a sign of social distinction, Greek draperies arranged according to 4th cent. B.C. styles (sometimes with details of late 5th cent. "rich" style), but combined with a *stola* and/or the *calcei muliebres*³⁸ acting as a visual clue of the rank of Roman *matrona* and official personage³⁹. In that respect, the female figures of the dynastic cycle of the *Metroon* of Olympia (Fig. 7) show examples on the same wavelength as other representations of the *Kaiserfrauen* in Italic and Western contexts, where, on the other hand, Attic artists worked on the most prestigious orders⁴⁰.

³⁶ LINDNER 2006-2007, 60 ff., hypothesizes that proper *shoulder locks* are a signal of posthumous likenesses, differently from shorter *tendrils*, as those in the Livia's portraits on the *Ara Pacis* or the St. Petersburg gem, LINDNER 2006-2007, figg. 5, 10. For idealized hairstyles see ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 68-70.

³⁷ GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 5; BERGEMANN 1998, 52, 128 f., cat. n° *Th* 2, figg. 74a-c; BARTMAN 1999, 46, 74, 169 f., cat. n° 54, fig. 58; also ROSE 1997, 60, 136, cat. n° 66, pl. 185; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 82 f., esp. cat. n° 22.2, pl. 67, 3-4; UGOLINI 2003B, 199, 215 ff., cat. n° 3 ('*testa di Livia*'), and 221 ff., cat. n° 5 ('*testa femminile*'), whose descriptions are clearly inverted.

³⁸ ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 54 f. The "ideal" Sabina (?) from Perge (as the other Pergean *Grandi Ercolanesi* with ideal heads) is actualized by this dress element: DILLON 2010, 159 f.

³⁹ ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 39 ff., esp. 41-44 analyzes the problem "*des >gelebten< Klassizismus*", and the blending between Greek habit (*chiton* and *himation*) and Roman *Tracht* (*stola* and *calcei*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 51 ff.) which was highly appreciated, often with new classicistic types, for iconic use, in order to confer *dignitas* and *venustas* to imperial subjects. Only the *peplos* is generally not touched by these eclectic forms of actualization, maintaining a distinct Greek classical-divine character (see *infra*); ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 64 f. for the style.

⁴⁰ For the statues from the *Metroon* at Olympia see HITZL 1991, 43-46, 49-52, 55 f., 64 ff., pls. 14c-19, 26-29, 35-37, 39; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 161 f., 176 f., cat. nn° 111, 160 f., pls. 26, 3, 29, 1-2; LO MONACO 2009A, 233 ff., figg. 142-144. See also the imperial cycle of Naroná: MARIN- VICKERS 2004.



Fig. 8 - Torso according to the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus*, found in the theatre of Butrint. Butrint Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

Among the late Classical schemes reviewed and updated with modern dressing features we can quote, in the *Metreon* cycle itself, the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus* (named by the same and by another example of Greek origin), possibly already adopted in the Augustan age in the group of the theatre at Butrint (again with *calcei muliebres* indicating an iconic-Roman character)⁴¹ (Fig. 8), and later used for portraying Drusilla in the statue that has come to light in the area of the *Caesareum* at Cyrene (wear-

⁴¹ Butrint: UGOLINI 2003B, 228-230, cat. n° 8, figg. 8.31-8.33; BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 141-143, cat. n° Th 8, figg. 83a-c, sees stylistic similarities with the female statues of the Augustan group (GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 4, argued that Livia's portrait, *cit. supra* [Fig. 6], belonged to that torso).

ing sandals, more appropriate to the first *diva* of the *domus Augusta*), with other remains of a probable imperial cycle⁴². The type is also attested in the sanctuary of Eleusis by a torso (perhaps Hadrianic), which was valorized by Filges for the identification of the subject of the 4th cent. B.C. archetype as Kore/Persephone. Even here, however, its use for a portrait-statue seems significant, moreover in the building (unfortunately almost unknown) which also gave back a *peplophoros* and a group of *togati* representing Julio-Claudian emperors, once again in a context of honours to the imperial family⁴³.

A more “antiquarian” accent, compared with the above quoted female likenesses, characterizes the cuirassed Butrint type, a parallel creation of the Athenian workshops of Augustan age⁴⁴. It is worth considering briefly the statues that gave the name to this type, given their association with several female statues (some already mentioned, other discussed below), in the *scaenae frons* of the theatre at Butrint (Fig. 15). The twin *loricati* – one signed by *Sosikles athenaios* – can be identified with Augustus and Agrippa, whose heads were found nearby. For Agrippa we can notice again an iconographical type created and spread in a Greek environment, like the Copenhagen NCG 616 type of Livia (Fig. 6)⁴⁵. The Butrint body type is also known in Greece and in some regions in close contact, where such a retrospective

⁴² WALKER 1994, figg. 1-5, identification as Messalina; *idem* FILGES 1997, 16, 163, 187, 243, cat. n° 11, fig. 11; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 150 f., cat. n° 84, pl. 20,1,3, more convincingly, recognizes Drusilla (cf. the classicistic statue perhaps of the same *Augusta* in the Naron group, the only one here with *stola* + sandals: MARIN – VICKERS 2004, 103-112, cat. n° 1, Agrippina II). For the honours given by Greek communities to Drusilla see HAHN 1994, 151-168, 341-344; KANTIRÉA 2007, 72.

⁴³ FILGES 1997, 14, 242, cat. n° 4, fig. 4, and 19 for the identification of the original subject as Kore/Persephone; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 266, Appendix 2.24A, n° 10 signals the *calcei* and possibly a *stola*, suggesting an iconic destination. KATSAKI 2002, 343, n. 122 reports its provenance from the same context as the Julio-Claudian *togati* (HAVÉ-NIKOLAUS 1998, 32-35, 94-106, 147-150, cat. nn° 9-10, 31-32, pls. 8-9); the *peplophoros* remains unpublished.

⁴⁴ KARANASTASI 2004, 1054 f., 1062 f.; CADARIO 2004, 120-139, pls. 16, 2-4, 17, 1-2, 18, 4-6; LAUBE 2006, 119-126, 139, 228-230, 234 f., cat. nn° 7-9, 17, 26 f., 56, 58, pls. 50-52 for the distribution of this type in Western Greece-Macedonia-Adriatic region (Dyme, Herakleia Lynkestis, Brindisi) and also Herculaneum (posthumous likeness of M. Nonius Balbus) and Rome, and the revival of Hadrian's age in Greece, attested by three torsos in the National Museum of Athens, Epidaurus and Thessalonike (LAUBE 2006, pls. 53-54,1-2; KATAKI 2002, 116-118, 283-286, 480-484, cat. nn° 125 f., pls. 140-146; CADARIO 2004, 373-375, pl. 48, 2-6).

⁴⁵ BERGEMANN 1998, 54, 133 f., cat. nn° *Th* 4, *Th* 5, fig. 77, and 52, 65 f.,132,126 f., cat. nn° *Th* 3, *Th* 1, figg. 75a-c, 73a-c the portraits; see also ROMEO 1998B, 69 f., 89 f., 109 f., nn. 211-214, and 186, cat. n° R20, figg. 152-154 for Agrippa's likeness; ROSE 1997, 136, 268, cat. n° 66, pls. 183-185, and BOSCHUNG 2002A, 83 f., cat. n° 22, pl. 67.

formula resuming the Classical citizen-hoplite model is understandably appreciated, being apt to place in heroic-ideal terms the *arete* of the *autokrator*: the emperor is not equated with a *basileus aniketos-soter* (like in the *Röhrenpanzer* type), but resembles an epic hero (Aeneas, Helenus)⁴⁶ and/or a *heros ktistes* (especially in the new colonies), although being recognizable in his “historical” identity through the portrait head and the *calcei patricii* (added as a status clue)⁴⁷.

In the same way, even if characterized through details of Roman *Tracht*, the female imperial image could refer to (through the adoption of typological variants or the place itself) a Greek cultural context, interwoven with ancestral memories to which the new authority must be attached. So, the iconic statue of Claudian period (Livia or Agrippina II) from the temple of Artemis in Aulis (Fig. 9) renews, adding the *stola* and the portrait head (not kept), a rare sculptural prototype of late 4th cent. B.C.⁴⁸ The placing within the *naos* of the goddess⁴⁹ and the sheer scale of the work, finely executed, may denote a cultic association with Aulidian Artemis, in the wake of the *basileis* elevated to *synnaoi theoi* of traditional gods⁵⁰. More still – following O. Palagia’s brilliant intuition – the selection of a scheme connected to the cult of *Themis* at Rhamnous, and to the memory of the early events of the *Troikà* (which represent the *trait-d’union* with the Beotic sanctuary), sheds light upon the mechanisms of appropriation and elaboration of the “central” impulses. If in theory even somewhere else we might conceive a classicistic imperial statue, we could hardly imagine outside the proper Hellenic *milieu* such an integration in an ancestral temple, and the anchoring to a local mythical-historical tradition, exhuming a meaningful type which anyway,

⁴⁶ LAUBE 2006, 119-122, 138 f., cat nn° 8-9, pl. 50. The prominence of the Trojan myth for Butrint’s civic identity, beside the success of the Virgilian poetry (VERG. *Aen.* 3, 493-305), is rightly emphasized by HANSEN 2007, 44-48, 55 f.; also HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 7.

⁴⁷ CADARIO 2004, 124 ff., esp. 126 f., dates the twin statues from Butrint 18 (or 23)-13 B.C. and argues, less convincingly, an urban model of them.

⁴⁸ PALAGIA 2003. She observes other eclectic “improvements” on the Rhamnousian archetype (one variant of it is already adopted for the statue of the priestess of *Themis, Aristonoe*: DILLON 2010, 14, 76, 106 f., figg. 1, 46 f.). The unusual combination *stola* + sandals is signaled by FILGES 1997, 160 f., 164; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 55, n. 506.

⁴⁹ Like other Artemis’s sanctuaries, the temple of Aulis contained votive statues of priestesses, but of more common scale and type: CONNELLY 2007A, 157-161, figg. 5.26-5.28 (CONNELLY 2007A, fig. 5.29 our statue); VORSTER 2008B, 147, fig. 5.9 and 190 (n. 90); DILLON 2010, 22 f.

⁵⁰ Such concept (STEUERNAGEL 2010, 250-253) shapes yet some Augustan likenesses of the emperor, for example the colossal one in *Juppiterkostüm* from the *Metron* at Olympia. For the transformation of the building into a *Sebasteion*, see BOSCHUNG 2002A, 100-105.



Fig. 9 - Torso representing an empress (Livia or Agrippina II) as *Themis*, from the temple of Artemis in Aulis. Thebes Museum (courtesy of V. Aravantinos)

at the same time, can be understood in Roman terms (*Themis/Iustitia*). The composite nature – a real character, whose official image is adopted, but placing it on the same level of the local cults and memories – appears through the peculiar synthesis made by the Attic artist between the ideal and iconic/official trends. That can clearly be seen also in the adoption of the sandals, a *Göttertracht* feature usually not combined with a *stola*, but indeed appropriated for the *Augusta* in this specific case.

Besides we have seen even how the new Livia-Hera (Fig. 5a-b) and the other statues of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias show, in different ways,

blending among divine associations, Hellenistic iconic tradition, status symbols and features of the official iconography. Yet more strikingly, in the porticos' reliefs the emperors, princes, and *Augustae* (Livia, and Agrippina II twice), recognizable by the portrait, appear in divine or heroic clothes in allegorical scenes within an impressive sequence of symbolic and mythological images that express the civic identity of the Microasiatic city and its relationship with Rome and the imperial power, perceived and re-created through a filter that projects it onto an ideal level and of universal validity⁵¹.

Further evidence, though sparse, reveals that such an eclectic approach, which aims at restyling the central model according to a "Greek" perspective, can operate in different manners, but always in the sign of a fusion between the Hellenic cultural heritage and the new Augustan ideology. The documents in question have not been fully valorized, for the lost of contextual data and also for the modern habit of separating ideal sculpture/copies of famous "originals" and iconic sculpture. Moreover, such categories have been treated paying less attention to the mechanisms of acquisition, to the elaboration and use of the works, compared with the originary contexts and meaning of the archetypes (on one hand the lost 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Greek "originals", and on the other hand the official Roman models of the portrait heads)⁵².

In these last years, in different ways, the attention has been focused on the Nemesis of Rhamnous type as a test-case to illustrate the process of reception of a classical *Meisterwerk*, valuable through the original Agorakritan fragments and the surviving copies, brilliantly recognized by G. Despinis forty years ago⁵³. The Imperial replicas are remarkable for their recurring iconic adaptation which however, far from being "neutral", preserves the religious value of the model, as H. Bumke explained⁵⁴. She pointed to some 2nd cent. A.D. portraits of priestesses, from the sanctuary of *Artemis Orthia* at Messene⁵⁵

⁵¹ SMITH 1987; SMITH 1990; ROSE 1997, 164-169; ALCOCK 2002, 90-93; CHANIOTIS 2003A; BOSCHUNG 2002B, 143 ff.

⁵² DALLY 2007, 231 ff., esp. 235 points out this parallelism in the modern critical approach.

⁵³ DESPINIS 1971.

⁵⁴ BUMKE 2008, 118-130. For technical-stylistic characteristics of the replicas see BRIGGER 2002.

⁵⁵ CONNELLY 2007A, 15, 158, fig. 5.24, under life-size (*Kallis* daughter of *Aristokles*; note the *calcei muliebres*). DILLON 2010, 82 refers it to the phenomenon of the imitation of divine models by priestesses (for other likenesses of priestesses and young attendants/initiated, see CONNELLY 2007A, 147-157, figg. 5.22-23 and 5.17-21). Our, rarer, scheme seems to suit Artemis's cult through the known Nemesis-Artemis connections (HORNUM 1993, 7); an artemisian touch is given also by the melon-coiffure.

and from the *Tychaion* at Corinth – here for a personality like Annia Regilla, involved with her husband Herodes Atticus in the revival of the cult of the Rhamnousian Nemesis, and remembered as *Tyche* (of the city) in a dedication by the spouse at Corinth itself⁵⁶ –; whereas the contexts of the copies from Athens and from Aptaera (hypothetically considered an example of a “private apotheosis”) are not known. But already in the Augustan/Julio-Claudian age the Nemesis type was used for an iconic statue from the acropolis of Athens, for a replica of debated dating (for some scholars a Hadrianic-Antonine copy) in Copenhagen (from Campania?)⁵⁷, and for the so-called *Dea di Butrinto* (Figg. 10a-b), another statue from the theatre of the *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum*⁵⁸. The reason of such success of the Agorakritan model has been correctly traced back to the association between Livia and Nemesis in the sanctuary of Rhamnous, documented by an epigraph dedicated to the *thea Livia* placed on the Eastern architrave of the temple; more concretely, E. Brigger, on the base of the *Kopienkritik*, postulated that a reduction in scale 2:3 of the original cult statue, made in that occasion, was at the source of the copy tradition. Finally, F. Lozano and therefore G. Schmalz have shown through epigraphic-prosopographic criteria that the Rhamnousian dedicatory inscription goes back to the Augustan age (according to Schmalz ca. 6-10 A.D.), and not to the Claudian age as it has been in general assumed⁵⁹.

A confirmation of the use of the early-Imperial versions of the Nemesis for portraits of Livia has been achieved by H. Bumke, who, based on the latest evidence from L. M. Ugolini’s excavations, argues that the above mentioned *Dea di Butrinto* (at the time wrongly restored with an Apollo head

⁵⁶ EDWARDS 1990, 535-537, 541 f., fig. 2, pl. 86, connects the fragments of a copy of the Nemesis type, reused within a Byzantine wall in the forum of Corinth (SO), with the dedication of a statue of Annia Regilla near the *Tychaion* (found in the same area: EDWARDS 1990, pl. 87a), who could be represented in such a guise as a priestess of *Tyche* (-Nemesis). See GALLI 2002, 98-104 for the dedication by Herodes Atticus where Annia is joined to *Tyche*, and for the sophist’s interventions for restructuring the Corinthian *Tychaion*. The connection of Herodes’s family with the Rhamnousian sanctuary is attested through dedications IG II² 3969, 13208 and evidences of a site’s revival in Hadrianic-early Antonine ages (GALLI 2002, 230 f., 234 f.), besides the references to Nemesis in the *Triopion* near Rome (GALLI 2002, 110 ff., esp. 117, 133 f.; also HORNUM 1993, 80, Appendix 2, n° 153; KAJAVA 2000, 40 f., n. 2).

⁵⁷ References in BUMKE 2008, 120 ff. The iconic destination of these latter (acephalous) statues is shown by the cavity for the separately made head and the high-necked *chiton*.

⁵⁸ For the Nemesis torso, see BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 138f., cat. n° Th 7, figg. 82c-d, restored with the Apollo (“Persephone”) head (BERGEMANN 1998, figg. 82a-b) whose pertinence Bergemann rightly doubts, while GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 1 recognized an eclectic combination between the Nemesis type and the Apollo head itself.

⁵⁹ LOZANO 2002, 28; LOZANO GOMEZ 2002; LOZANO 2004; SCHMALZ 2009, 103-105, n° 132.



Figg. 10a-b - The so-called *Dea di Butrinto*: torso according to the Agorakritan Nemesis type, head (not pertaining) according to the *Anzio Apollo* type, from the theatre of Butrint (statue at present missing), (after UGOLINI 1928)

and identified as Kore-Persephone) (Figg. 10a-b) must have had in origin the head of Livia in the Copenhagen NCG 616 type (Fig. 6), found next to it⁶⁰. Considering the importance of such statement and of the whole context for our topic, it would be worth examining the finds from Butrint yet

⁶⁰ BUMKE 2008, 122 ff. The portrait (BUMKE 2008, figg. 14 f.) has been recalled above for its Greek *allure*. For excavations' records by Ugolini and the arbitrary restoration of the *Dea di Butrinto*, see UGOLINI 1928, 270 ff.; UGOLINI 1937, 60, n. 1, 137 f.; UGOLINI 2003B, 212: the Archaeologist himself was aware of the differences between the head – in his opinion a Greek original – and the body, according to him a Roman copy adjusted to the former during Imperial period.

again, in order to understand the *ratio* of the associations and of the choices made by the commissioners within the early-Imperial figurative repertoire. Up to now, in fact, despite J. Bergemann had already shown the stylistic coherence between the so-called *Dea* and the iconic statue in a classicizing type (Berlin- London *Schulterbauschtypus*) (Fig. 8) and, in a lesser way, the Large Herculaneum woman⁶¹ (Figg. 4a-b) I have previously mentioned, the Nemesis type figure has not been examined with reference to the Augustan sculptural cycle of the theatre, which was circumscribed to the portrait heads of Livia (Fig. 6), Augustus and Agrippa to whom, at most, were added the two cuirassed torsos⁶² (Fig. 15).

Actually, though the original spot of the sculptures remains debated, and, even worse, some of them (such as the Nemesis) are lost, impeding to verify each hypothesis, the picture given back by the Butrint complex appears coherent both for its workshop (Attic, as the *Sosikles* signature confirms) and for its Augustan chronology (except some 1st cent. A.D addition)⁶³. The quite late date in Augustan age given by the portrait type of Livia (Fig. 6), dated from 10-2 B.C. – while for Augustus the less diagnostic Prima Porta model was adopted⁶⁴ –, is confirmed by the portrait of Agrippa, surely posthumous, as shown by the close stylistic affinities with the portrait of his son from Corinth (4 A.D. ca.)⁶⁵. The eventual presence of his spouse Julia next

⁶¹ BERGEMANN 1998, 141, 54 f.: the *Grande Ercolanese* is grouped together with deities' statues, among which is tentatively classified also the *Dea di Butrinto*.

⁶² See n. 45; on the contrary, GOETTE 1985 dates between Caligula and Claudius the whole group. HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 11 point to the combination Augustus, Livia, and Agrippa, which seems unusual in comparison with current ensembles; *idem* HANSEN 2007, 48-51, who detects some stylistic similarities with the Apollo head (joined to the *Dea di Butrinto: ibidem*, fig. 4.9), wholly consistent in an Augustan cycle, and, for symmetry reasons, admits possibly another female likeness coupled with Agrippa (maybe the Augustus's niece Claudia Marcella, the second wife of Agrippa: *stemma* in ROMEO 1998B, 221).

⁶³ To this period the classicistic statue (Fig. 11) with portrait like Agrippina II dates (see the statue complete in BERGEMANN 1998, 64, 151, cat. n° As 5, figg. 38a-c, 40, wrongly referred to the *Asklepieion*; head now missing). BUMKE 2008, 127 f. seems to not exclude the possibility of a Julio-Claudian date for the "Nemesis", likely due to difficulties given by the fact that the Rhamnous temple was reputed dedicated to Livia only in 45 A.D. (see *infra*). The torso like the Berlin-London *Schulterbauschtypus* (Fig. 8) could be even down-dated to Julio-Claudian age, considering some similarities with the probable Drusilla from Cyrene (*supra*, n. 42), notwithstanding it is also stylistically related with the Nemesis and the *Grande Ercolanese* (Figg. 4a-b), both dating to the Augustan period.

⁶⁴ Livia: see n. 20. Augustus (after 27 B.C.): BOSCHUNG 1993, 38-50, 64 f, 146 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 82 f., cat. n° 22.1, pl. 67, 1 with other ref.

⁶⁵ Though some objections by CADARIO 2004, 126, and even admitting the classification

to him, if that is the way the ideal *Grande Ercolanese* is to be intended (Fig. 4a-b)⁶⁶, would not preclude the dating of the group after the marriage of the princess to Tiberius in 10 B.C.⁶⁷, suggesting in this case the planning of the cycle before her fall in disgrace in 2 B.C. The idea that the personage (Fig. 4a-b) next to Agrippa was Julia is anyway not really convincing, considering the differences between the head and the official portrait of the princess, known by coins and *tesserae* in the Eastern part of the empire (although not recognizable up to now in sculptural copies)⁶⁸, in combination with the *Nodus-Zopf* of Livia, which was indeed chosen for the symmetrical female portrait (fig. 6). Therefore, the absence of the Augustus's daughter can suggest indeed a date after 2 B.C., when it would have been totally out of place honouring that character, already banished from the official scene.

The *Grande Ercolanese* (Fig. 4a-b), that seems unusual because of its "bourgeois" look, compared with the conventions proper to the *Kaiserfrauen*, could have also been identified (through the association with him, and the dedicatory inscription) with another wife of Agrippa collateral to

operated by BOSCHUNG 2002A, 83, cat. n° 22.3, pl. 67, 2 (simplified version of the Gabii type), the comparison done by ROMEO 1998B, 186 with Gaius/Lucius Caesar from Corinth demonstrates the late-Augustan chronology, suggesting a workshop liaison. Quoting C. Vermeule, HANSEN 2007, 48 hypothesizes indeed a Corinthian *atelier* for the Agrippa's head from the Butrint theatre, but without getting any chronological implications.

⁶⁶ There is no evidence for the identification with Julia proposed for the head type Copenhagen NCG 616 (Fig. 6) by KÜNZL 2001 (see *supra*, n. 20).

⁶⁷ See the South Gate of the Ephesian agora, dedicated 4-3 B.C. with statues of Augustus + Livia, and Agrippa + Julia. Instead of a late execution of the project (ROSE 1997, 14, 172-174, 275 f., cat. n° 112, pl. 211; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 95-97, 146), the anachronistic association between Agrippa, dead 12 B.C., and Augustus's daughter, married to Tiberius the following year, might be due to the will of the emperor's *liberti Mazaeus* and *Mithridates* to honour their own patrons, as the dedication declares (ALEXANDRIDIS 2005, 6). Furthermore they didn't forget to add (according to Rose like a posthumous honour, after his death in 2 A.D.) the statue of Lucius Caesar (and maybe his elder brother Gaius), who is only remembered as (adoptive) son of the emperor. For the honours conferred to Julia in the East see HAHN 1994, 106-117, 334-336; CHANIOTIS 2003B, 342 f.

⁶⁸ WOOD 1999, 62-70, figg. 20 f. for the numismatic evidence, 70-74 for several controversial identifications of Julia in sculptural record (also ROSE 1997, 61, 126-128, cat. n° 52, esp. n° 2, pls. 43-45, 159, Béziers: *contra*, ROMEO 1998B, 75 f.: Octavia II; for Julia *ibidem*, 74, 110, n. 222); add the proposal by KÜNZL 2001 to recognize in the "Butrint-Wien" type the Augustus's daughter, instead of Livia (*supra*, n. 20). BOSCHUNG 2002A, 183 f. hypothesizes that in mid-Augustan age the princess adopted a *Mittelscheitelfrisur*, like the figure between Agrippa and Tiberius on the *Ara Pacis* frieze, generally identified as Livia (*infra*, n. 36); but see ROMEO 1998B, 74.

the main dynastic branch. It could be his first wife Caecilia Attica⁶⁹, the daughter of T. Pomponius Atticus with whom the city of *Buthrotum* had had a relationship of patronage “inherited” by the son in law (an element of closeness to the emperor’s family surely relevant in the eyes of the local clients)⁷⁰, or his eldest daughter Vipsania (Tiberius’s former wife, and mother of the prince Drusus II), born from the same wedding and portrayed elsewhere according to the Large Herculanum Woman type (but with an individual portrait)⁷¹ – if the customers intended to underline the clientele bond going back up to Atticus.

However, in view of the parallelism between the central couples (Fig. 15), with the two cuirassed statues dressed as *heroes ktistai/patroni coloniae*, considering the total absence of the Agrippa’s boys and emperor’s adopted sons (who would have had an important role in a programme of the last decade B.C.-4 A.D.)⁷², and evaluating the stylistic data, it seems to be more plausible that the cycle reflects a late Augustan constellation, but with an original accent compared with the groups of three or four characters (the emperor and/or two or three princes) prevailing from the last years of the 1st cent. B.C., actually focusing on the parallel Agrippa-Augustus and on the family net guaranteed by the ladies at their sides⁷³.

⁶⁹ So LAUBE 2006, 122, who argues a date just after Actium (*idem* POJANI 2007, 62, 74; HANSEN 2007, 48-51, who hypothesizes the Attica’s presence within the cycle, though Agrippa was married to Claudia Marcella from 29 B.C.): but cf. *supra*, n. 65. The statues from the *propylon* of the Aphrodisias *Sebasteion* (*supra*, n. 26) demonstrate as family groups could be enlarged to personalities out of the political scene, but important for the local clients’ keen to express their own links with the imperial leaders: in such a way, a portrait of Attica could be plausible at Butrint even in late Augustan age.

⁷⁰ BERGEMANN 1998, 57 f., 63 f., 68, fig. 37; DENIAUX 2007. HODGES -HANSEN 2007, 10 argue that, given the success of the local *Pomponii* since Augustan age, the clientele was strengthened by the link of that *gens* with Agrippa. For the weight of clientele links in Greek honours to imperial princesses, esp. for Livia and the *Claudii*, see HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 122-127.

⁷¹ Vipsania Agrippina, Attica’s and Agrippa’s daughter, and Tiberius’s first wife, despite the divorce imposed by Augustus on them and her following marriage to C. Asinius Gallus, is honoured under Tiberius with statues, for sure partly posthumous (*post* 20 A.D.): ROSE 1997, 65, 116, cat. n° 44, esp. n° 1, and 182 ff., cat. n° 125, esp. n° 10, pls. 226 f.; WOOD 1999, 177 ff., esp. 179 f., 185-187, figg. 72 f.; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 191, 71, cat. n° 20.31, pl. 61, 1, and 9, cat. n° 1.9, pl. 7.3. For the statue from Puteoli according to the *Grande Ercolanese* type, see TRIMBLE 2000, 60, fig. 9; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 138, cat. n° 53, pl. 11, 2; DAEHNER 2008, 121.

⁷² Cf. BOSCHUNG 2002A, 147 f.

⁷³ Within late-Augustan dynastic groups (4-14 A.D.), BOSCHUNG 2002A, 148-150 observes more variability, though the interest, after 7 A.D., on designed successors Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus minor, and the yet rare presence of Livia.

In this case, the female figure (Fig. 4a-b) displayed as *pendant* of Livia could be Agrippina I, the only direct descendant of Augustus and Agrippa who was in a position of prestige (after the death of her brothers Lucius and Gaius, and the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumous and Julia II, between 2 and 7-8 A.D.), being married from 5 A.D. to Germanicus, the emperor's great grandson (and adoptive son of Tiberius) who in 12 A.D. was appointed *duumvir quinquennalis* by the Butrintians⁷⁴. The choice of an ideal image for the princess would be then justifiable for the lack of an official prototype, because the Agrippina's canonical portrait (Capitoline type) seems to spread only in the first half of Tiberian reign, and above all from Caligulan period – quite significantly in and around Greece (Fig. 3), due to her privileged ties with some communities (such as Mytilene)⁷⁵. Besides, the Large Herculeanum Woman format in the Augustan age does not appear yet in combination with individual portraits, while the melon hairstyle (Fig. 4b) reproduced by the Butrint head is used for young princesses on the *Ara Pacis*⁷⁶.

The other two relatives of Agrippa, and offsprings of Atticus, mentioned before (Caecilia Attica and Vispsania Agrippina) in theory could be hypothesized for the remaining two niches on the lower level of the *scaenae frons* (Fig. 15), at the extremities, one of which might have contained the classicistic effigy of the Berlin- London *Schulterbauschtypus* (Fig. 8). Surely the first niche received later a Claudian statue most probably portraying Agrippina II (Fig. 11), another of Agrippa's descendants!⁷⁷

⁷⁴ See BARTMAN 1999, 73 and 80 f. She observes that, after Julia's exile, Livia's female partners were Agrippina I and Livilla, respectively wives of Germanicus and Drusus; Bartman registers a lesser frequency of Livia's portraits before 4 A.D., and their exploit from 14, following her new role after the testamentary adoption by Augustus (BARTMAN 1999, 102 ff.; BOSCHUNG 2002a, 152; see *infra*).

⁷⁵ WOOD 1999, 183 f., 203 ff., esp. 217 ff., and 220-223 for Eastern examples; for the *Kapitol-Typus* see esp. FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, 5 f., cat. n° 4, pls. 4 f. with list of replicas (n. 5), among which several of Greek provenance (m, n, q, r from Pergamon and Athens, *Beil.* 1c.d- 2, and other three heads from Mytilene). Cf. also BOSCHUNG 2002a, 141, cat. n° 72.7 for the Samos-Pythagorion portrait (found with a Livia-Marmaris/Marbury Hall type, and an Antonia Minor-Wilton House type, resp. cat. nn° 72.3 and 72.5); see BOSCHUNG 2002a, 190 (n. 1384) for other replicas, including a new one from Dion and the head from the Tenos group (*cit. supra*, n. 6).

⁷⁶ Cf. the so-called *Domitia*: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 117 f., cat. n° 7, pl. 1, 2; VORSTER 2008a, 96, fig. 3.18. See VORSTER 2008a, 96-98 for the "melon-coiffure" (echoed even by the portrait of the seated statue of Livia [?] from Paestum, VORSTER 2008a, figg. 3.20-21).

⁷⁷ See *supra*, n. 63. The identification with Agrippina seems likely, despite some typological "anomalies" noticed by BERGEMANN 1998, 65; GOETTE 1985, 28, n° 6 detects traces of reworking, maybe from a Messalina's likeness, and recognizes the actual portrait as Agrippina II, or her mother.



Fig. 11 - Statue of Agrippina II (?), found in the theatre of Butrint (head at present missing). Butrint Museum (courtesy of I. L. Hansen)

Although the identification of the female figures of Butrint, excluding Livia (Fig. 6), can't leave the field of unproven hypotheses, the "gradation" established among the images, through the different trends in portrayals, remains palpable. If the statues discovered by Ugolini were near the original place of exhibition, as it seems plausible⁷⁸, we would have, in the two couples next to the *valva regia* (Fig. 15), the dead Agrippa and the emperor, both shown as re-enacting a type of founder-hero, blending status symbols (*calcei patricii*), "hellenized" portrait and classicistic cuirass. Accepting the suggestion advanced by I. Laube, that recognizes in the Butrint type an allusion to mythical-historical figures relevant to Augustan imaginary, such as

⁷⁸ About Hadrianic-early Antonine chronology of the restructuring of the Roman theatre, within an extensive refashioning of the *Asklepieion* complex, s. however MELFI 2007A.

Aeneas or Helenus, and considering the fine analysis carried out by I. L. Hansen of the local re-elaboration of the Trojan myth⁷⁹, the “dual” perception of the Trojan founder heroes – one of them *archegetes* of the empire centred on Rome, the other guardian of the new peace order, in the delicate fringe between the Greek/Achaean world and the West – could inspire the combination, in the honours paid to Augustus and Agrippa, of the two *summi viri* that the Augustan colony presents as its own patrons and *ktistai*, respectively at the local and imperial levels.

The two women on their sides acquire a role consistent with the hierarchy within the *domus Augusta*: Livia (Fig. 6 and 10a-b) appears in a prominent position, expressed “*alla greca*”⁸⁰, acting like the charming Agorakritan goddess guarantor of *kosmos* and *taxis*, but remaining recognizable in her human aspect through the portrait-head (albeit idealized). On the contrary, the Agrippa’s relative (Fig. 4a-b) does not come out of the more general *cliché* of the perfect *gyne*, embodied by the Large Herculaneum Woman type with an ideal head yet familiar in the Hellenistic iconic statuary, expressing *sophrosyne* and *eusebeia*⁸¹. Regarding the (smaller) statues on the margins, one of them (Fig. 8) proposes a current model of prominent woman, built up by combining basic classical formulas with details of modern status, just like the one added fifty years later (Fig. 11), vaguely re-echoing the Nemesis format. Another venusian statue (the life-size “Muse”) completed the sculptural display of the lower level, together with two divine figures tightly linked to the sacred context in which the theatre is inserted⁸²: Asclepius (life-size or just smaller) and Apollo (much bigger than life-size), to whom the head of the so-called *Dea di Butrinto* (Fig. 10a-b) has to be referred – both of outstanding quality among the noteworthy sculptures of the first order, and the second, obviously, in line with the Augustan ideological

⁷⁹ HANSEN 2007, 44-48, 55 f., esp. 47, 53, 56, stresses that Butrint coins don’t connect directly the local foundation legends and Augustus.

⁸⁰ Cf. e.g. the difference between Livia (*thea*), and the younger princesses Antonia II and Livilla in the famous Messene decree referring to festivals for the *domus Augusta* (15 A.D.): KANTIRÉA 2007, 69 f.; HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 132, 141.

⁸¹ KEARSLEY 2005, 117 observes that “*sophrosyne* not only described domestic virtue it was also appropriate to designate ceremonial and formal decorum in a public sphere”, following the imperial women (especially Livia) who appear as lively models of such virtues. We cannot however over-simplify explaining the success of the *Ercolanesi* formats in the East merely as “another aspect of the influence of early Augustan ideology and imagery” (KEARSLEY 2005, n. 92), as argued by TRIMBLE 2000 (see DAEHNER 2008).

⁸² See MELFI 2007A; HODGES – HANSEN 2007, 6 f. For the “Muse”, see BERGEMANN 1998, 55, 144, cat. *Th* 9, fig. 84; UGOLINI 2003B, 235-238, cat. n° 12, figg. 8.40-8.41.

climate⁸³. Instead there are no effigies of other male characters of the *domus Augusta*, a circumstance that has up to now suggested very high dates of the cycle, difficult to compose with the whole evidence⁸⁴. Rather than an improbable chronology of 20s B.C., the “anomalous” choice of the Butrintians can be explained considering the local agency: one can not say that such honours to the emperor, to Agrippa and to their relatives are to be collocated “for historical likeliness” in the years straight after Actium, bearing in mind the time and the means necessary to fulfil an urban re-modelling plan such as the one achieved at Butrint; on the other hand, even after the city needed to revive its own privileged relationships with the imperial circle, confirming its ties with the Julian branch and Agrippa’s descendants (still at the peak with Germanicus). If the chronology in the last decade of Augustan reign was correct, the composition of the cycle would actually denote the emphasis put by the local colonists not as much on the imperial succession theme (that would have meant honours to Tiberius, maybe not welcomed), as on the family network of their own two imperial patrons (above all Agrippa), with the female offspring having the task of continuing the good and collaborative relationship between the provincial *parva Troia* and the *Urbs*⁸⁵.

But how can one explain the pompous representation of Livia (Fig. 6 and 10a-b) dressed like Nemesis? Surely at Butrint it is a legacy of the propulsive ability of the Attic *ateliers*. Still the presence of such iconic replicas of the Agorakritan masterpiece in sacred (starting from the Athenian acropolis) and in public-sacred contexts (such as the theatre of the Epirote city, set between the *Asklepieion* and the forum)⁸⁶ shows, more, how the echo of the initiative of imperial praising and veneration, assumed by the

⁸³ Both HANSEN 2007, 51, and POJANI 2007, 63 observe here the link between Apollo and Augustan ideology, till now unnoted due to the wrong identification of the “Persephone” head (cf. nn. 58, 60). For the head of Asclepius, s. UGOLINI 2003B, 219–221, cat. n° 4, figg. 8.22–8.24.

⁸⁴ Besides the typological and stylistic observations (*supra*), it remains to clarify the relation between the scene building and the paving of the small square W, dated to early-Augustan age like the similar paving of the forum E (MELFI 2007A, 26 f.; HODGES – HANSEN 2007, 11; POJANI 2007, 66), and the modifications due to the re-modeling of the theatre. The chronology of the statuary group during late-Augustan years, one generation later, could theoretically fit better for the evidence.

⁸⁵ Here lies the difference with the group from Andriake near Myra, epigraphically attested, where Augustus and Agrippa are named *soteres* and *euergetai*, but on the cosmic level the emperor, on the *ethnos* level Agrippa (cf. HANSEN 2007, 50).

⁸⁶ Differently from honorific praxis for the Hellenistic dynasts (KOTSIDU 2000, 543), there are statue dedications of imperial family members from other Greek theatres: e.g. BOSCHUNG 2002A, 93 f., cat. nn° 30–32.

Athenians matching Livia to the goddess of Rhamnous, already under Augustus, was not circumscribed to her “remote” rural sanctuary⁸⁷.

Doing that, the Attic city integrated the empress in the ancestral sacred landscape assimilating her to a traditional divinity of the *polis*, adoptable by the official Roman ideology⁸⁸ as a sum guarantor of *Iustitia* and order (like later the “companion” goddess *Themis* for the effigy from the sanctuary of Aulis [Fig. 9])⁸⁹. The reading in “official” terms that has prevailed up to now (swinging between Augustus and Claudius), although detecting an important aspect of the revival of the *Medikà*, can not on its own justify the rebirth of that ancient sanctuary, certainly wanted “from the inside” and promoted by the Athenian elite in forms consonant to the local audience, that supported the initiative and was the main user of the sacred area. For the same reason, the comparison with the honorary and/or cultic standard procedure of the centre of the empire is not clarifying. The placing of the Rhamnousian epigraph implies indeed an association of Livia to the appointed deity of the *hieron*, though the generic epithet *thea*. But this corresponds to a Greek concept of divine exaltation of the empress (not yet *Iulia Augusta*, nor officially *diva*), independently from her posthumous *consecratio* by Claudius, and rather according to the Hellenic practice of divine honours given in life to the members of the imperial family (and above all to Augustus’s wife)⁹⁰.

⁸⁷ This denies the idea of a certain “relegation” of the imperial cult in a remote location (SPAWFORTH 1997, 194).

⁸⁸ LOZANO GOMEZ 2002 detects from the temple dedication, according to him dated to Augustan age, a reflection of the policy of Augustus, because of the parallelism between the Persian wars (to whose memories the Rhamnousian sanctuary is connected) and the defeat of the Eastern barbarians, a leit-motif within the Actian and anti-Parthian *propaganda*, and also important for Athens: cf. BALDASSARRI 1998, 26 ff., *passim*; ALCOCK 2002, 74-86; KANTIRÉA 2007, 91 f., 107f., 110 ff., 116, 119-126. KAJAVA 2000, esp. 48 ff., underscores such an ideological background, but referring it to Claudius.

⁸⁹ According to the more current chronology to the Claudian age of the Rhamnousian inscription (HAHN 1994, 57, 101 f., 322, n° 8; KAJAVA 2000; KANTIRÉA 2007, 115 f.), the restoring of the sanctuary could have been consistent with the emperor’s archaizing taste: see e.g. PALAGIA 2003, 546, who makes a comparison with the *Augusta* from Aulis (Fig. 9), which however is yet acceptable, though the earlier date of the assimilation Nemesis-Livia, apart from Claudius’s inclinations. Claudius is honoured at Rhamnous, cf. the altar IG II² 3275: LOZANO 2002, 87; KANTIRÉA 2007, 116.

⁹⁰ For the vocabulary and its implications see PRICE 1984B. HAHN 1994, 34-105, 322-334 collects the rich epigraphic-numismatic dossier at disposal about Livia. Cf. also CHANIOTIS 2003B; and ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 36-38, 82 f. for the Greek tradition of divine assimilations; ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 2 f. rightly criticizes the rigid distinction by MIKOCCI 1995 between conjunct cult with divinities (*synnaoi theoi*), visual or verbal assimilation, proper *deificatio* (*divus/a*), in reason of the complexity of the documentation.

The parallel adoption of the Nemesis scheme for effigies (homogenous in scale) smaller than the Agorakritan colossus, coming from the Athenian acropolis – where *Demostratos* from Pallene, the same one mentioned in the Rhamnous dedication, was the priest of Rome and Augustus⁹¹ –, from Campania(?), from Butrint, and updated like the Butrintian one with Livia's features⁹², propagates the association established in the ancient Attic sanctuary. It extends the *auctoritas* of the Rhamnousian image to the empress and radiates upon her the religious- ideological meaning of the Attic work, readable also in Roman terms through the connection Nemesis-*Iustitia-Fortuna-Victoria*, which will be used for imperial propaganda (therefore being appreciable even in contexts far from the original one). By the way, it seems quite significant that, in the same years, the image of the *ultrix Rhamnusia* (Ov., *trist.* V 8, 3) looked familiar to the Roman public, nearly as a female counterpart of *Mars Ultor*, dear to the Augustan ideology: a combination that could have been evoked even by the figurative sequence of the theatre of Butrint (Fig. 15)⁹³.

Preferring mainly the religious aspects, in comparison with the above quoted political implications, H. Bumke has already argued that the Agorakritan Nemesis's tradition, far from being an extravagant exception, can exemplify the logic that presides over the selection of the models for the reproduction of "copies"⁹⁴, re-proposing them first, when they were classical cult statues, (only) in the frame of the imperial cult. Besides the content-functional aspect surely important from a Roman point of view⁹⁵, looking at the context in which such a recovery is made, and to its further reverberation, it is anyway right to intend primarily the phenomenon in terms of an Athenian "reshaping" that re-defines the central power in a form appropri-

⁹¹ He is also qualified as *strategos epi tous opleitas*: cf. BUMKE 2008, 127 f.; SCHMALZ 2009, 103-105, n° 132. See LOZANO GOMEZ 2002; LOZANO 2004.

⁹² Therefore, in considerable anticipation as regards to the official theomorphic representations, known only from Caligula's reign: cf. *supra*, n. 21.

⁹³ For the association empress-Nemesis see HORNUM 1993, 19, 31, and 40; cf. also KAJAVA 2000, 59.

⁹⁴ According to BUMKE 2008, the Nemesis case demonstrates that in the early Empire the reproduction of copies (in a smaller scale) of Greek cult statues is effectuated only for the emperors and in a cultic context, with modalities not different from the installation of *aphidrymata* for "filials" of famous cults (BUMKE 2008, 132). PERRY 2005, 172 ff. also points out the practice of *aphidrymata* as an important reason for sculptural replication, in order to reproduce not the aura of the original artistic creation by one reputed sculptor, but the precise identity of the deity or hero object of cult.

⁹⁵ Cf., *inter alia*, PERRY 2005, 78 ff., 90 f.

ate to the local culture, even if “exportable”, in virtue of the magister of the workshops and of the prestige of the classical models that the city promotes putting them to the service of the Augustan ideology.

Actually, there are similar evidences for the adoption as *Bildnisträger*, since the beginning of the Empire, of a group of types deriving from some late 5th cent. B.C. statues of goddesses, placed very likely in Athens or at least mediated through Athenian workshops (such as the so-called Hera Borghese or even the *Fréjus* Aphrodite, whose identity is disputed)⁹⁶, that were probably used for *Kaiserfrauen*, judging from few intact examples, and considering the exclusive and praising tones of the theomorphic representations. The best known (and controversial) example is the so-called Hekler V type (Fig. 12), hard to re-contextualize for the complexity of the tradition, differentiated by L. Baumer in several strands depending from archetypes of disputed subject (Kore, Aphrodite?) and attribution; all of them, anyway, were adapted to iconic statues of the early Imperial age⁹⁷. Among these, the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli type (probably by Agorakritos) had a certain success with replicas both ideal – although the affinity of the image from Puteoli with the iconography of Antonia minor is to be considered meaningful⁹⁸ – and provided with a portrait head. These latter can keep the body unmodified (the Munich and Syon House examples) or show a high-necked *chiton* and the *calcei* indicating the actual subject, like the *diva Drusilla* from the theatre of Caere, a Claudian statue from the *Asklepieion* at Epidaurus (Fig. 12), and a torso from the *Forum Vetus* of Lepcis Magna (yet unpublished). We can quote also a classicistic re-elaboration, qualified as *Venus* (Antonia II from the nymphaeum of the imperial

⁹⁶ WEBER 2006, 208 admits that the Greek original of the *Fréjus* type was an *Aphrodite Ourania*; there is no consensus about the theomorphic value of the fully draped variants, adopted during the early Empire for *Kaiserfrauen* (ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 85 f., 142 f., 164 f., cat. nn° 62, 118, pls. 13,1, 23,1.3, n. 821; also BOSCHUNG 2002A, 67-69, n° 19.6, pl. 55, 2). Hera Borghese: ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 233 f., Appendix 2.2.10, and 87, n. 840.

⁹⁷ BAUMER 1997, 19-25, pls. 3-5 differentiates the Munich-Syon House (-Puteoli) type (BAUMER 1997, 20 f., 92-94, cat. nn° G2/1-5, pls. 3-4), from a 430 B.C. model depicting Aphrodite. The hypothesis by DESPINIS 1971, 178-182, fig. 2, accepted by several scholars and recently revalued by WEBER 2006, 202 ff., 206 ff., recognizes the Hekler V type as reproducing the statue of Kore realized by Agorakritos for the Eleusis sanctuary, coupled with Demeter (Capitoline type: see *infra*). Cf. ALEXANDRIDIS 2004, 256 f., Appendices 2.2.15A-B.

⁹⁸ VALERI 2005, 85-98, esp. 97 concludes that one could “quasi pensare che il tipo statuario, raffigurante Afrodite, sia stato scelto inizialmente come modello per l'esecuzione di un ritratto ufficiale della giovane Antonia Minore, appunto lo <schlichter Typus>... La scultura di Pozzuoli, completa della testa, restituisce la replica più fedele del tipo e forse la più antica”.



Fig. 12 - Torso according to the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli/Hekler V type, found in the *Asklepieion* at Epidaurus. Epidaurus Museum (after KATAKI 2002)

villa of Baia), and another iconic version (*Atia*, Augustus's mother?), already mentioned before, from the *Propylon* of the *Sebasteion* at Aphrodisias⁹⁹. Apart from this last one, made by a local *atelier* from Aphrodisias, and besides the unique example from Baia, the distribution of the replicas is clearly connected to the commercial success of the Athenian workshops, reflecting, therefore, an “international” trend even in the case of the statue from the sanctuary of Epidaurus (Fig. 12)¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ *Supra*, nn. 31 and 26 (Aphrodisias). See also KATAKI 2002, 104 f., 144 f., 275-277, cat. n° 111, pls. 114-116 for the Epidaurian statue; KATAKI 2002, 296, 494 (n. 1435) for its probable provenance from the exedra NE of the *Tholos*, together with a *loricatus* (KATAKI 2002, 116 f., cat. n° 125, pls. 140-145), probably Hadrian (cf. *supra*, n. 44), and a Hellenistic female statue. HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 126, 129 f., 135, 138 ff., underlines the role of the Epidaurus sanctuary of Asclepius in granting honours to Julio-Claudian princesses.

¹⁰⁰ Like, for example, the classicistic likenesses realized by Attic sculptors for the *Metreon* at Olympia: see *supra*, n. 40; and HITZL 1991, 38-43, pls. 8-14a-b, 38b, 40a for the statue of Claudius in *Jupiterkostüm* (cf. STEURNAGEL 2010, 252 f.).

Nevertheless, by analogy with the Nemesis, it seems likely that the revival for *Kaiserdamen* of different sculptural models from the school of Phidias¹⁰¹ can be part of a strategy of adaptation of the local cultural heritage to the new imperial horizons, set up by Athens under the initiative of the eminent pro-Roman oligarchs. Here indeed (certainly with the support, and maybe the pressure, of the central power) the trend of recovering and renewing the remains of the city's noble past grows, changing them in means of agreement and of integration in the Augustan system and, as such, reusable as a cultural icon of the new era, in the Urbs and in the Italic cities, or in the other regions of the empire, supported by the moral supremacy recognized to the classical paradigms (see *e.g.* the emblematic role of the decorations of the Eretheum).

Concerning the most astonishing aspect of the Athenian “policy of memory”, the phenomenon of the “itinerant temples”¹⁰², it is not possible to reconstruct the exact terms of the re-insertion of the sacred buildings transferred or semi-transferred from the Attic territory¹⁰³ into the city centre re-matched according to the new political-religious constellation. Whatever it means – but the most plausible scenario would be one of a complex interaction between internal (Athenian) instances, direct interventions of characters of the emperor's *entourage* (*e.g.* Agrippa) and “propaganda” managed or addressed from above –, surely it involves the resettling and

¹⁰¹ They already in origin formed a “system” of images related with the reshaping of the sacred areas of the city and of its territory in the second half of the 5th cent. B.C., and therefore are difficult to judge only through the surviving replicas, without contextual data: see GASPARRI 2000 about the so-called *Aphrodite-Olympias*, another scheme used for iconic replicas, esp. in 2nd cent. A.D. (ALEXANDRIDIS 2004 222 f., Appendix 2.2.3; 58 [n. 533], 87 [n. 837], for its “exclusiveness”; PERRY 2005, 56–60, 76).

¹⁰² DINSMOOR jr. 1982; BALDASSARRI 1998, 158 ff., 202–215; ALCOCK 2002, 51–71; KANTIRÉA 2007, 110–116. Modern criticism has not fully explained the translation into the agora of monuments from Attic demes to which are tied some of the most prominent personalities in cult organization, and in promoting imperial ideology within the city. For example, from Pallene, deme of the *Demotatos* mentioned in the Rhamnousian inscription, the whole temple of *Athena Pallenis* could have been transferred, according to the identification now mostly credited of the peripteral building, which was re-dedicated within the agora to Ares and Athena (HARRISON 2005, with ref.; STEFANIDOU-TIVERIOU 2008, 24 ff., fig. 7.23; STEUERNAGEL 2009, 284 ff., esp. 290 ff., 328; *contra*, LIPPOLIS 2001, 178–210, 213 f.; LIPPOLIS 2008, 37 ff.). For the leading role of local elites in emphasizing the Athenian past and in transforming the urban landscape see DALLY 2008, 47–49.

¹⁰³ A few extra-urban sanctuaries, object of an Augustan revival, make anyhow an exception: see LOZANO 2002, 51–53, 55, 86 for Rhamnous, Eleusis, and Delos; more specifically for Rhamnous, LOZANO GOMEZ 2002.

the *renovatio* of the cultural apparatuses, from the architectural components to the statues of the divinities, with the need, at least in some cases, to replace, reduplicate or update what is moved or “revitalized”, radically restructuring the sacred landscape and tying it to the imperial authority.

So we can probably explain why at Cape Sounion one of the most ancient replicas of the 5th cent. B.C. Athena Giustiniani type was discovered, of Augustan age – we do not know if coming from the *Athenaion* (one of the temples partially moved), or more likely from the *Poseidonion* (that would have taken over its legacy *in loco*, although partly contributing itself to the creation of “classical” sacred buildings in the centre of Athens) –: it could be considered a replacement of the original cult statue which probably had been moved into the Agora together with the architectural elements of the Sounian temple. The classical *agalma* lent itself to the reproduction¹⁰⁴ and, maybe, to the association with the imperial eulogy, perhaps pairing Livia with the poliadic divinity, as the existence of such associations both in Athens and in Greece, from the beginning of the Empire, can suggest¹⁰⁵.

Actually the broken remains of a colossal statue of post-Phidian style, wearing a *peplos* (Fig. 13), come from the building that as believed by W. B. Dinsmoor jr. would have reused the elements of the Ionic Sounion temple: the so-called *Agora South-East temple*, which was dated however by the American scholar to the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D., and therefore released from the context of the Augustan re-modelling of the Agora (though both

¹⁰⁴ DESPINIS 1999, esp. figg. 1-3 (cf. OSANNA 1995, 108); GOETTE 2000, 29, 41 agrees with the opinion that in Roman age the cult of Athena had been transferred into the Classical temple of Poseidon (which could explain the mention by PAUS. 1, 1, 1 of just one temple, of *Athena Sounias*), and that “die große Athena-Statue könnte dann als neues, kaiserzeitliches Tempelbild das möglicherweise zerstörte oder nach Athen transferierte klassische Werk ersetzt haben”. The Athena Giustiniani type is instead related by HARRISON 2005, 125-128 to the *agalma* of *Athena Pallenis*, i.e. the Athena by Lokros of Paros quoted by PAUS. 1, 8, 4, together with the Ares of Alkamenes standing (besides two Aphrodites, and the Enyo by Praxiteles’s sons) within the *hieron* near the NW corner of the agora, whose temple could have been translated from the sanctuary of Pallene (cf. *infra*, nn. 102, 108). The Athena by Lokros has been otherwise considered *Athena Areia*, according to the Athenian tradition associating that goddess with Ares (LIPPOLIS 2001, 178 ff., 184 f.); STEUERNAGEL 2009, 291 f., admits both the Pallenian provenance of the *agalma* and its renaming as *Athena Areia* in the new context, where it was paired with the Alkamenian Ares (probably resettled here from the Areopagus).

¹⁰⁵ For Athens, besides the nexus *Athena Archegetis-Theoi Sebastoi* in the “*agoranomion*” dedication (SCHMALZ 2009, n° 198, with ref.), a good example of the union between ruler cult and poliadic deity (cf. *Aphrodite Prometor* at Aphrodisias, *supra*, n. 26), we could mention several epithets of Livia (HAHN 1994, 49 f., 95 f., etc.).



Fig. 13 - Fragment of colossal *peplophoros* found in the Agora SE Temple (photo Portale)

affirmations appear scarcely demonstrable). This striking *agalma*, according to the former opinion of the American archaeologists, would have been moved, instead, into the Agora from the sanctuary of Demeter at Thorikos, with the architectural members of Doric order placed in the new temple that employed part of its elevation (this latter was recognized, however, by Dinsmoor jr. in the *South-West temple*). The *South-East temple* could indeed be identified with the temple of Demeter and Kore quoted by Pausanias (I 14, 1, 4) together with the *naos* containing the statue of Triptolemos (possibly related to the city *Eleusinion*) as maintained by M. Osanna, who preferred a more “linear” transfer of the Classical *spolia*, keeping even in the new context the link with the original divinity of the sanctuary “transplanted” (respectively the Sounian Athena and the Thorikos Demeter for the two temples SW and SE, in line with the initial proposal by H. Thompson)¹⁰⁶. In spite of the scarceness and ambiguity of the evidence, which do not allow

¹⁰⁶ See DINSMOOR jr. 1982, esp. 431-437; *contra*, OSANNA 1995 supports H. Thompson’s older hypotheses. BALDASSARRI 1998, 202-215 reexamines the evidence for the SW and SE temples and the possible connection of the former with the worship of Livia-*Julia Augusta* (and mother of the emperor, after 14 A.D.) as a *Boulaia* deity. For the fragmentary cult statue from SE temple see BAUMER 1997, 49-51, 109, cat. n° G13, pl. 19, with previous bibl.

us to reach certainties¹⁰⁷, we cannot neglect the weight of the sacred traditions tied to the precious Classical relics, that must have played a role in creating an Athenian “landscape of memory”, notwithstanding the radicality of the transfers. But, at the same time, in the horizon of *renovatio* (not properly a musealization, neither a nostalgic recovery) that is being outlined, a certain semantic shift and/or broadening of the religious panorama has to be admitted. A “related” divine entity could be inserted into the renovated sacred spaces – as suggested for the temple of Ares and Athena (*Areia?*), a supposed transformation of the ancient *naos* of Athena at Pallene¹⁰⁸ –, or the deity could have features added or different from her original epiclesis, or above all she could be associated with a member of the imperial family, sealing the alliance between the Attic *polis* and the Empire.

Such, indeed, could be the case of the cult of Demeter witnessed by the *agalma* from the SE temple¹⁰⁹ (Fig. 13), despite the difficulty of detecting the itinerary followed by the single elements and the story of the ensemble. It has been observed that the broken statue shows a striking analogy with the Agorakritan type of the *Demetra Capitolina*, known by copies of the Imperial age (scale nearly 1:2 compared to the colossus in the Agora) (Fig. 14), with contrasting opinions due to the conditions seriously damaged of the Athenian *agalma*. This in fact does not allow to check a mechanical relationship archetype-replicas with the aforementioned copy series (so much more due to the complexity of the Phidian “system” of divine images), while on the other hand the votive reliefs and the statuettes of the late 5th cent. B.C. deriving from the same model point at a Demetrian-Eleusinian sphere for the prototype¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ Besides the chronological problem of the SE temple (*supra*), there is also some uncertainty about the actual status (Greek original?) of the colossal *peplophoros* found here (though not in a primary context), due to the technical detail of the cavity for a separately carved head, uncommon in the Classical age.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *supra*, nn. 102, 104 (see esp. STEUERNAGEL 2009, 282-296); *contra* LIPPOLIS 2001, 185-210, 213 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Apart from Pausanias’s controversial quotation mentioned above, the dimensions of the base within the SE temple should be considered: it is sufficient to contain several figures, as some scholars have observed (BALDASSARRI 1998, 211), recalling the hypothesis by DESPINIS 1971, 178 ff., fig. 2 about the original association (in the sanctuary of Eleusis) of the Agorakritan archetypes of both the schemes *Demetra Capitolina* and *Hekler V* schemes (intended as Kore, cf. n. 97). Such thesis has been recently revised, but substantially maintained as plausible, by WEBER 2006, 202 ff., 206 ff.

¹¹⁰ See DESPINIS 1971, 178-182 for the *Demetra Capitolina* type and its Agorakritan paternity; for comparable Demetriad reliefs BAUMER 1997, 53-56, 130 f.; 56 f., 162 ff. for small scale statues; 52 ff., 81 ff. for the sculptural type.



Fig. 14 - Statue according to the *Demetra Capitolina* type with a portrait-head of Livia, found in Lepcis Magna. Lebda Museum (after BARTMAN 1999)

As a matter of fact, an Attic statue found in Lepcis Magna (Fig. 14)¹¹¹, probably the most ancient replica known up to now of the *Demetra Capitolina* type, combined with a portrait head of Livia (ca. 14 A.D.), confirms how in resuming this model a link with the exaltation of Livia could have acted at the beginning, and how the picture above traced through evidences difficult to compose, yet recurrent, has its own plausibility, validating the hypothetical reconstruction suggested for the Nemesis (Figg. 10a-b and 6) – a work by the same master Agorakritos, to whom the archetypes both of the Capitoline Demeter (Fig. 14) and the Munich-Syon House-Puteoli

¹¹¹ For a detailed discussion see PORTALE 2012.

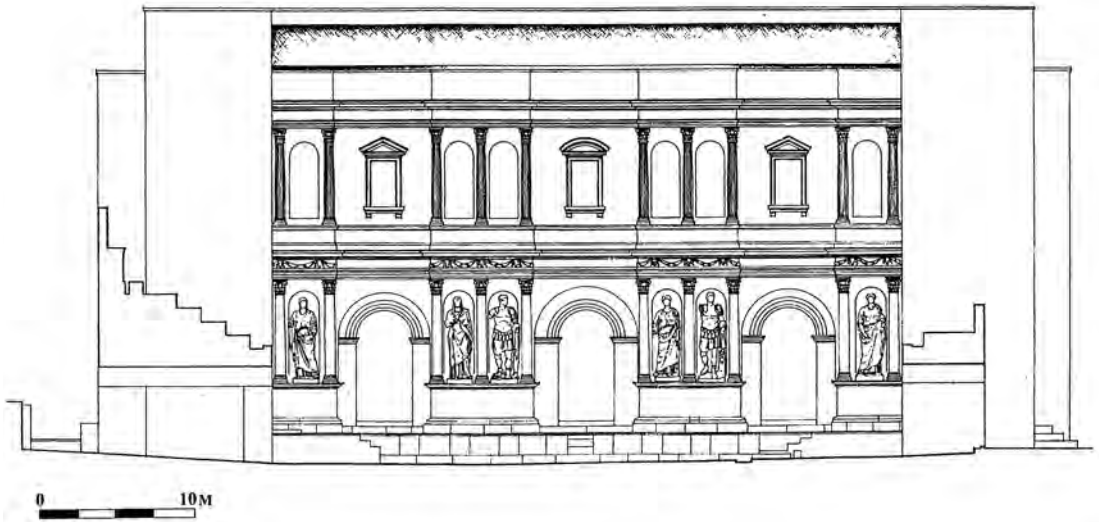


Fig. 15 - Graphic reconstruction of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre of Butrint by Ceschi and Ugolini (after GILKES et al. 2003)

(Fig. 12) types, sharing a similar popularity among the Roman copyists, should belong.

That we have to suppose, even in the case of the *Demetra Capitolina*, a connection with the early-Imperial “restoration” of Classical Athens, and with a wider religious change, is suggested by its convergence with the colossal cult statue of the *South-East Temple* in the Athenian agora (Fig. 13), just remembered for its problematic valuation (original or replica, sanctuary of provenance, dating of the sacred Roman context in the agora, destination, relationship with the Demeter Capitoline type, with the sanctuary of Eleusis and with the city *Eleusinion* ...). Whatever is the specific meaning of the remains, it is, as a matter of fact, undeniably about the same phenomenon of recovery of a divine model of the 5th cent. B.C. “great Athens” in an imperial horizon: a recovery that will have not been unrelated, one might believe, to the importance of the “centrale” itself of the Athenian Demeter cult, the sanctuary of Eleusis, in the delicate operation of connecting the Attic *polis* and the Roman ruling power¹¹². It is not without significance that in the

¹¹² Not by chance, the most ancient dedication associating to the new emperor (still Octavian) his wife Livia was offered at the Eleusis sanctuary: CLINTON 1997, 163, 165 (he notices the large size of the monument); also ROSE 1997, 140 f., cat. n° 71; BOSCHUNG 2002A, 111, 144, cat. n°

Eleusis *milieu* are rooted some of the Classical sculptural models revitalized for an “Athenian reformulation” of the imperial myth – approaching the *Kaiserdamen* to the goddesses of the sanctuaries reshaped during the Athenian imperialism, that were given an authoritative form by the sculptors of Phidias’s circle –; that at Eleusis we can see a precocious, intense, and widespread incorporation of the imperial component in the religious frame of the sanctuary; and that the personalities concerned with introducing and spreading the imperial cult in Athens have responsibilities, or affiliations with the oligarchy involved in administrating the great sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and in restoring the rural and urban *hiera* affected by the Augustan *restyling*¹¹³.

Perhaps in this will of a “renaissance” of Classical Athens under the imperial aegis resides the reason for the particularly high “copyistic” correctness of the Attic reproductions of the classical models, and for the translation into a “classical” language of the imperial image (especially the female one). This makes the (modern) separation between the “ideal” and the “iconic” sculpture fall, and on the other hand, there where the need of such a classicistic staging of the *Sebastoi* is not felt – lacking the cultic approach that renders it instead lively in Athens, in some crucial moments of the process of acculturation and elaboration of the imperial theme –, it allows that the purely “ideal” aspect of the copy of the 5th cent. B.C. masterpiece is preferred, intended anyway as compatible (that is encoding congenial values) with the imperial ideology.

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36.3 (31-28 B.C.); HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE 2008, 123. See at least CLINTON 1997 and CLINTON 1999, esp. 94-97 for the great importance of Eleusinian sanctuary in the “Romanization” of the city, in the affirmation of loyalism, and in conferring cultic honours to the emperor, and for the prominence given to Livia; also KANTIRÉA 2007, 143; DALLY 2008, 48.

¹¹³ See specifically, even for prosopographic observations: CLINTON 1997; CLINTON 1999; BALDASSARRI 1998; LOZANO 2002; SCHMALZ 2009; and the very rich bibliography here quoted.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

M. Galli	<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	7
M. Galli	<i>Ritual Dynamic in the Greek Sanctuaries under the Roman Domination</i>	9
B.D. Wescoat	<i>Insula Sacra: Samothrace Between Troy and Rome</i>	45
J. Griesbach	<i>Zur Topographie hellenistischer 'Ehrenstatuen' auf Delos</i>	83
A. Lo Monaco	<i>Fuori dall'Altis. Tende, bagni e propilei a Olimpia in età ellenistica</i>	125
M. Melfi	<i>Religion and Communication in the Sanctuaries of Early-Roman Greece: Epidauros and Athens</i>	143
G. Falezza	<i>From Eleutheria to Theos Kaisar Sebastos. Rome and the Sanctuaries of Northern Greece</i>	159
J. Piccinini	<i>Dodona at the Time of Augustus. A Few Notes</i>	177
A. Baudini	<i>Propaganda and Self-Representation of a Civic Elite in Roman Greece: The Flogging Rite of Orthia in Sparta</i>	193
E.C. Portale	<i>Augustae, Matrons, Goddesses: Imperial Women in the Sacred Space</i>	205
E. Lippolis	<i>Eleusis. Sanctuary of the Empire</i>	245
M. Galli	<i>The Celebration of Lucius Verus in the provincia Achaia: Imperial Cult, Ritual Actors and Religious Networks</i>	265
	<i>Bibliography</i>	299
	<i>Abstracts</i>	343

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edited with the cooperation of Lara Mastrobattista

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