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### ROMAN PELOPONNESE III SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND CULTURE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE: CONTINUITY AND INNOVATION

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**Cover illustration: Head of city goddess (*Tyche*) of Sparta**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Geographical map of the Peloponnese	x
Preface	xi
A. D. Rizakis, Peloponnesian cities under Roman rule: the new political geography and its economic and social repercussions	1
M. Piérart, Argos romaine: la cité des Perséides	19
P. Marchetti, L'épigraphie argienne et l'oligarchie locale du Haut-Empire	43
J. Roy, Roman Arkadia	59
G. Steinhauer, C. Iulius Eurycles and the Spartan dynasty of the Euryclids	75
P. Themelis, The economy and society of Messenia under Roman rule	89
S. B. Zoumbaki, Elean relations with Rome and the Achaean Koinon and the role of Olympia	111
A. D. Rizakis, <i>Colonia Augusta Achaïca Patrensis</i> . Réaménagements urbains, constructions édilitaires et la nouvelle identité patréenne	129
D. G. Romano, Romanization in the Corinthia: urban and rural developments	155
Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, Mécanismes d'acquisition et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine dans le Péloponnèse sous le Haut-Empire	173
O. Salomies, Roman <i>nomina</i> in the Peloponnese: some observations	193
N. M. Kennell, Citizen training systems in the Roman Peloponnese	205
D. Stewart, The rural Roman Peloponnese: continuity and change	217
I. Touratsoglou, Coin production and coin circulation in the Roman Peloponnese	235
V. Di Napoli, Entertainment building of the Roman Peloponnese: theatres, <i>odea</i> , and amphitheatres and their topographical distribution	253
M. Vitti, P. Vitti, Trasmissione ed adattamento delle tecniche costruttive romane in Peloponneso: il caso di Trezene	267
M. Jost, Chr. Hoët-van Cauwenberghe, La vie religieuse en Arcadie à l'époque du Haut-Empire	291
A. Lo Monaco, Feasts and games of <i>paidēs</i> in the Peloponnese of the Imperial period	309
M. Melfi, Rebuilding the myth of Asklepios at the sanctuary of Epidauros in the Roman period	329

J.-S. Balzat, Prosopographie des prêtres et prêtresses des Dioscures de la Sparte d'époque impériale	341
M. E. Hoskins Walbank, The cults of Roman Corinth: public ritual and personal belief	357
F. Camia, M. Kantiréa, The imperial cult in the Peloponnese	375
Y. Lafond, Concours et identité civique dans le Péloponnèse d'époque romaine (II <sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. - III <sup>e</sup> s. apr. J.-C.)	407
A. Farrington, The origin of victors in the Isthmian games	421
O. Palagia, Sculptures from the Peloponnese in the Roman Imperial period	431





## SCULPTURES FROM THE PELOPONNESE IN THE ROMAN IMPERIAL PERIOD\*

Olga Palagia

*Abstract:* A great number of sculptures of the Roman imperial period have come to light in the Peloponnese. Portraiture, reliefs, architectural sculptures, sarcophagi, divine images, personifications, are all represented in abundance. Even though bronze statues are attested by footprints on statue bases, the majority of extant sculptures are in marble. Pentelic marble predominates and it appears that Attic workshops dominated the Peloponnesian market, as is also indicated by Athenian artists' signatures. Attic sarcophagi were imported in abundance though we have instances of local imitations as well as imports from other centers like Prokonnesos. The Peloponnese can also boast of some late antique works including a possible portrait of Constantine, as well as a handful of fine copies of classical masterpieces. Laconia became an important center of production in the Roman period as attested by sculptors' signatures and sculptures in local (Taygetos) marble. The villa of Herodes Atticus at *Loukou* was a great repository of Greek and Roman sculptures collected by Herodes and his successors and can be compared to Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

### Introduction

Sculptural production in the Peloponnese flourished between the principate of Augustus and the early 4th c. A.D. Quantities of sculptures from that period have been excavated in the Roman colonies of Corinth and Patras. Panhellenic sanctuaries like Olympia, Isthmia and Epidauros were also embellished with statuary, and so were the prosperous cities of Sparta and Messene. Most sculptures functioned in a sacred or funerary context or served to decorate public spaces like theaters. Architectural

sculptures were mostly confined to arches or stoas though temple E in Corinth was exceptionally decorated with pedimental statues.<sup>1</sup> Private villas also housed statuary, particularly in late antique times when pagan homes offered sanctuary to images of the Greek pantheon.<sup>2</sup> Portrait sculpture flourished, with many high-quality portraits erected to honor individuals (**Fig. 1**) or commemorate the dead.<sup>3</sup> Imperial portraits could serve as center-pieces of theater stages or *nymphaia*; in addition, their distribution may reflect the existence of imperial cults

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\* I am grateful to Athanasios Rizakis for inviting me to contribute to this volume, and to Hans R. Goette and Petros Themelis for their advice and generosity in providing photographs for the illustration of this article.

1. See, for example, the Trajanic arch over the Lechaion Road in Corinth (Edwards 1994), as well as the Antonine "Captives' façade" in the same city (Johnson 1931, 101-06, cat. nos 217-26; Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 71-75, figs 48, 50-51; Ridgway 1981b, 444; Sturgeon 2003, 354 n. 16). Caryatids from Corinthian buildings: Sturgeon 2003, 354 with ns 15-16, fig. 21. 4. Pedimental statuary in Pentelic marble of the 1st c. A.D. from temple E in Corinth: Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 210-30; Ridgway 1981b, 441, pl. 95d.

2. Cf. late antique villas in Messene and Corinth: Deligiannakis 2005 (Messene); Stirling 2008 (Corinth).

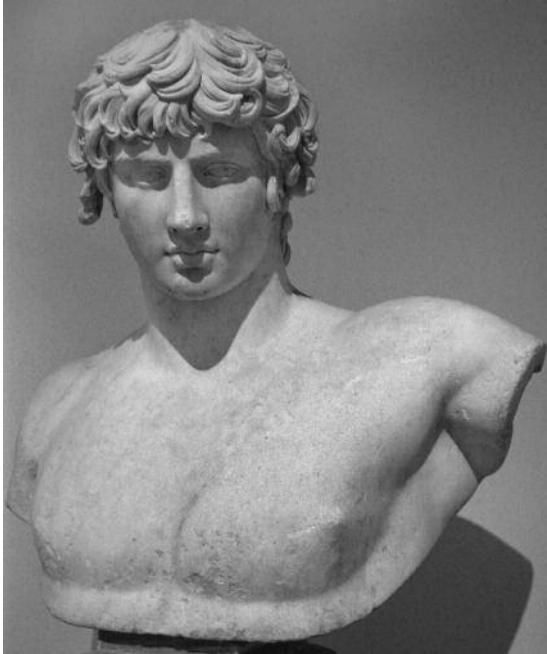
3. Private portraits: see, e.g., Datsouli-Stavrudi 1987 (Sparta); Spyropoulos 2006, figs 18-20; 22-32 (Loukou); Petropoulos 2007, 193-94, fig. 14 (Patras); Sturgeon 2009 (Isthmia); Bol 2008, 149-50 and Krumeich 2008, 83-85, pls 14, 3; 15, 1 and 3 (Olympia). **Fig. 1** shows an over-life-size priestess (?) of the 1st c. A.D. from the Heraion in Olympia, Olympia Museum Λ 144. It is exceptionally of Parian marble. The high quality of its workmanship and heroic size originally prompted a tentative identification with Poppaea Sabina which is now rejected: Treu 1897, 259; Krumeich 2008, 83-84, pls 14, 3 and 15, 1 with earlier references.





**Fig. 1.** Portrait statue of a priestess (?), so-called Poppaea Sabina, in Parian marble. From the Heraion of Olympia. Olympia Museum Λ 144 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens neg. no. Hege 717).





**Fig. 2.** Bust of Antinoos in Thasian marble. From Patras. Athens, National Museum 417 (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

or the personal interest of the honorands in individual cities and sanctuaries.<sup>4</sup>

Hadrian's influence prompted the erection of numerous portraits of Antinoos during his lifetime, attesting to local cults that were founded to please the philhellene emperor (**Fig. 2**).<sup>5</sup> In late Hadrianic and early Antonine times the patronage of Herodes Atticus left its mark in Olympia, Corinth and Isthmia. In addition, Herodes' Villa at Loukou has yielded a rich crop of private portraits, imperial portraits of Hadrian, the Antonines and Septimius Severus, copies of classical masterpieces, and reliefs, both classical and Roman.<sup>6</sup> It provides a Greek parallel for Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, and continued in use until the 5th c. A.D. judging by a mosaic representation of the sophist Helikonios, who wrote a history of the world until Theodosius I.<sup>7</sup>

Reproductions or variants of famous masterworks could be placed as dedications in sanctuaries, sometimes duplicating the still extant originals, or in domestic shrines and gardens. Herodes' taste for Athenian sculpture, documented by his Nymphaion at Olympia and the sculpture collection in his Villa at *Loukou* is largely reflected in the entire sculptural production of the Peloponnese in the Roman

4. For portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty set up in Corinth, Olympia, Epidauros, Sparta and Gytheion, see Rose 1997, cat. nos 69, 72-74, 78-81. Portraits of the Flavians set up in Olympia: Hitzl 1991, 46-56, cat. nos 4-7. Portrait of Trajan in Corinth: Sturgeon 2004, 60-68, cat. no. 1. Portraits of Hadrian in Corinth, Olympia, Epidauros, Sparta, Loukou: Evers 1994, cat. nos 9, 36, 75; Katakis 2002, cat. no. 99; Sturgeon 2004, 71-74, cat. no. 4; Spyropoulos 2006, 106 fig. 16. Portraits of the Antonines set up in Olympia, Loukou, Messene: Bol 1984, 153-64, cat. nos 29-31; 173-75, cat. no. 37; Spyropoulos 2006, 106; 111, figs 17 and 21; *Ergon* 2001, 49 fig. 42. Portrait of Septimius Severus at Loukou: Spyropoulos 2006, 103 fig. 15. Late antique emperor, perhaps Constantine, in Messene: Deligiannakis 2005, 393-400, pls 10-13. Imperial portraits seen by Pausanias in the Peloponnese: Arafat 1996, 120; 126-31; 134; 157; 185.

5. A mystery cult of Antinoos was established by Hadrian in Mantinea (Paus. VIII. 9, 7-8). Images of Antinoos came to light in Patras (Athens, National Museum 417 [**Fig. 2**] and 418: Meyer 1991, 29-31, cat. I 7 and I 8; Rhomiopoulou 1997, no. 79; Goette 1998, 36; Kaltsas 2002, no. 723); Mantinea (Athens, National Museum 698: Clairmont 1966, no. 64); Corinth, theater (Sturgeon 2004, no. 25 and perhaps no. 26); Isthmia, sanctuary of Poseidon (Sturgeon 1987, no. 57); Myloi (Argos Museum: Meyer 1991, 27-28, cat. I 4). There was a cult of Antinoos in the villa of Herodes Atticus at Loukou, which contained a unique seated cult statue (Astros Museum: Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003, fig. 12; Spyropoulos 2006, 131-32 fig. 24), a bust (Astros Museum 173: Meyer 1991, 28-29, cat. I 5; Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, 38, pl. 27α-δ) and an Egyptianizing head of Antinoos as Osiris (Astros Museum 232: Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, 29-30, pl. 17α-ζ). Most of Antinoos' images from the Peloponnese are in Pentelic marble but there are examples in Thasian marble like the two busts from Patras, the statue(s) from the Hadrianic theater in Corinth and the seated statue from Loukou.

6. Herodes Atticus' Nymphaion in Olympia: Bol 1984. Chryselephantine cult statues of Poseidon and Amphitrite at Isthmia sponsored by Herodes: Paus. II. 1, 8. Herodes' Villa at Loukou: Spyropoulos 2001, Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003; Spyropoulos 2006. Herodes in Corinth: Ridgway 1981b, 436 n. 60; de Grazia 2003, 372. For a herm of Herodes from Corinth (Corinth Museum S 1219), see Sturgeon 1987, 94, pl. 85 c-d. Statue base of a portrait of Herodes' wife Regilla as Tyche dedicated in Corinth (Corinth I, 1658): Edwards 1990, 537, pl. 87a.

7. For Helikonios, see Wirth 1964. *Loukou* mosaic of 5th c. A.D. with the philosopher Helikonios holding a scroll with his name: Spyropoulos and Spyropoulos 2003, fig. 8 (misidentified as a personification of Mt. Helikon).



**Fig. 3.** Laconian sarcophagus in Taygetos marble. Mistras, embedded in Ottoman fountain adjacent to *Panagia ton Boubalon* church (Photo: Olga Palagia).

imperial period. The Argive and Sicyonian Schools of the classical and Hellenistic periods were now defunct and Pentelic marble dominated the markets. Quantities of Attic sarcophagi were imported into the Peloponnese or served as models for local imitations.<sup>8</sup> Imitations of Attic and other sarcophagi in Laconia and Arcadia, for example, are easily distinguished by the use of local marble, from Mt. Taygetos in Laconia (**Fig. 3**) and from Doliana in Tegea.<sup>9</sup> Asiatic sarcophagi were also imported, for example in Patras, Sparta and Hermione (**Fig. 4**) but they are few and far between.<sup>10</sup>

Few sculptors' signatures from the Roman Peloponnese have come down to us. The majority are Athenians with a few local sculptors operating in

Laconia (attested by signatures and by unfinished works), while workshops in Corinth, Isthmia and Epidauros, for example, seem to have produced small-scale works and architectural sculptures.<sup>11</sup> Grave reliefs also tended to be local affairs judging by their modest scale and low quality of carving.<sup>12</sup> The exception that proves the rule is a monumental grave relief of the 1st c. A.D. in Epidauros showing the deceased as Hermes.<sup>13</sup> A handful of statues from the Roman Peloponnese also depict the deceased in the guise of a god, with individualized heads belonging to naked bodies that draw on classical prototypes.<sup>14</sup> The Thasian marble statue of a young man as Diomedes (**Fig. 5**) from a tomb adjacent to the gymnasium of Messene reproduces a well-known

8. Corinth: Johnson 1931, 114-20, cat. no. 241; Ridgway 1981b, 441. Arcadia and Laconia: Sichtermann, Koch 1982, 360-62; 474; Koch 1993; Karapanagiotou 2008 and *ead.* 2009.

9. An imitation Attic sarcophagus with *erotes* and garlands in Taygetos marble is embedded in an Ottoman fountain near the church of *Panagia ton Boubalon* in Mistras (**Fig. 3**): Koch 1993, 248, fig. 6. Locally produced sarcophagus with Achilles outside the walls of Troy, possibly in Doliana marble, Tegea Museum 3: Koch 1993, 247, figs 2-3; Karapanagiotou 2005 and *ead.* 2009 (attributing it to a Laconian workshop which cannot be right, if it is made of local Doliana marble).

10. Sparta: British Museum GR 1839.8-6.5; see Walker 1990, cat. no. 47. Hermione: Kyrou 1990, 207; Koch 2009, 122, fig. 8.

11. Evidence for workshops depends on unfinished, repaired or reworked sculptures. Laconia: cf. unfinished head of Hadrian from Sparta, Athens, National Museum 371 (Evers 1994, 85, cat. no. 9). Signatures of Spartan artists: see below, esp. ns 27-29. Workshops in Corinth and Isthmia: Sturgeon 1989 and *ead.* 2003, 360-62; Edwards 1990, 541 n. 64. The reliefs from the Hadrianic theater stage in Corinth are attributed to a local workshop: Sturgeon 1989, 119. Workshops in Epidauros: Katakis 2002, 313-19.

12. Cf. grave reliefs from Patras (Papapostolou 1989) and Laconia (Papaefthymiou 1992 and 1993).

13. Epidauros Museum: Maderna 1988, 229-30, cat. H 6, pl. 28, 2.

14. On the significance of such practice, see Hallett 2005, 259-64.



**Fig. 4.** Proconnesian sarcophagus lid. Hermione (Photo: Olga Palagia).

high classical type, which was occasionally used for imperial portraiture, and is highly idealized, perhaps implying heroization.<sup>15</sup> The inscribed base of an honorary statue of the 1st c. A.D. that stood next to it describes the honorand, Theon, as a hero.<sup>16</sup> A statue in Pentelic marble from Gytheion showing the deceased youth as Dionysos preserves all the trappings of that god: wreathed with ivy, he holds a kantharos in his right hand, resting his left hand on a vine, and is accompanied by a panther.<sup>17</sup> It dates from the 3rd c. A.D. and the body type derives from a Hellenistic prototype.

Even though votive reliefs in the Roman period are few, Laconia not only produced quantities, they were also chiefly carved of local Taygetos marble.<sup>18</sup> The reliefs in Pentelic marble found in Herodes Atticus' Villa at Loukou were obviously part of his sculpture collection and very likely imported from Attica.<sup>19</sup> In late antique times when marble quar-

ries ceased to operate and marble became scarce, local sculptors repaired and reworked earlier statues to serve as portraits of governors or emperors.<sup>20</sup>

The present survey depends on published material and may be regarded as preliminary; the picture conveyed here may change with the study of Roman sculpture from important sites like Patras or ancient collections like that in the Villa at Loukou which are still largely unpublished. We will discuss selected sculptures found in the Peloponnese in order to highlight themes and problems pertinent to the region. In this period we prefer to speak of sculptures found in the Peloponnese rather than of Proconnesian sculpture in its own right.

#### *Sculptors' Signatures*

Sculptors' signatures in Roman times are less common than in earlier periods; artists tended to sign on the statues themselves, possibly because their

15. Messene Museum 8664: Themelis 2000, 147-58. Portraits in the guise of Diomedes: Maderna 1988, 56-80, pls 18-25.

16. Messene 6650: Themelis 2000, 146-47.

17. Athens, National Museum 2779: Wrede 1981, 261, cat. no. 175, pl. 24, 3; Kaltsas 2002, no. 773.

18. British Museum 811 and 812: Walker 1989. The rest are in the Sparta Museum: Steinhauer 1993; Sanders 1993; Palagia 2001, 293-94 figs 6-7; Schörner 2003, pls 12-17.

19. They are now distributed between the Astros Museum and the Tripolis Museum. Spyropoulos 1993, figs 9 and 12; Datsouli-Stavridi 1993, pls 15, 30, 31; Spyropoulos 2006, 100-02, fig. 14. For a Mithraic relief of the 3rd c. A.D. from Patras (Patras Museum 19), see Kolia 2003, 417-23, pl. 94, 1. Relief of the flute player Korinthos at Isthmia: Lattimore 1996, cat. no. 87.

20. Johnson 1931, 150-54, cat. nos 325-28; Ridgway 1981b, 447 with n. 102, pl. 97b; Sturgeon 1989, 116-17; De Grazia Vanderpool 2003, 382; Deligiannakis 2005.



**Fig. 5.** Statue of heroized dead youth as Diomedes in Thasian marble. From Messene. Messene Museum 8664 (Photo courtesy of Petros Themelis).



works were shipped out unaccompanied to be installed at destination without the supervision of their creators. It is interesting that the majority of signed works in the Peloponnese were the products of Attic workshops. Five portraits in Pentelic marble signed by Athenians were dedicated at the Metroon and the Heraion in Olympia in the 1st c. A.D. First, the portraits of Claudius (**Fig. 6**) and Agrippina Minor, erected in the Metroon to form part of the imperial cult in Claudius' lifetime, were signed by the Athenians Philathenaios and Hegias (on the stump bracing Claudius' right leg) and Dionysos son of Apollonios (on Agrippina's plinth).<sup>21</sup> The image of Claudius as Jupiter, with scepter and eagle (**Fig. 6**), was directly inspired by a prototype created in Rome as attested by a statue found in Lanuvium.<sup>22</sup> The Athenian version, however, is more animated and livelier than its Roman model. In addition, three honorary portrait statues of Eleian ladies set up in the Heraion were signed by Athenian artists: two headless images of the same statuary type were signed by two different sculptors, Eros (on the left knee) and Eleusinos (on the plinth),<sup>23</sup> while a third, reproducing the type of the Large Herculaneum Woman, was signed on her right knee by Aulos Sextos Eraton.<sup>24</sup>

The only sculptor's signature from Roman Corinth is that of the Athenian Theodotos, inscribed on a marble revetment plaque of the *scenae frons* of the Hadrianic theater.<sup>25</sup>

Roman Sparta was exceptional. Not only did it leave a substantial sculptural production in local Taygetos marble in the form of sarcophagi (**Fig. 3**), reliefs, architectural sculptures and the odd acrolith,<sup>26</sup> there are also records of local sculptors in both marble and bronze. In the time of Augustus, an association of worshippers of the Dioscuri participating in an annual banquet (*σπηθέντες*) included the sculptors who made the votive reliefs (in Taygetos marble) for the occasion. Two such sculptors are known: Mantikles son of Sosikrates and Antilas son of Ainetidas.<sup>27</sup> In the first half of the 3rd c. A.D. Demetrios son of Demetrios signed three honorary marble portraits herms.<sup>28</sup> These were modest works but Sparta in the first quarter of the 3rd c. A.D. could also boast of a local bronze sculptor. [---] son of Dionysios, no ethnic, therefore local, signed as *τεχνείτης* (sic) a bronze group of over-life-size imperial portraits.<sup>29</sup> The inscription describes these portraits as divine (*θεῖα*) *agalмата* indicating that they were recipients of imperial cult. The large base is now fragmentary and contains erasures suggesting a case of *damnatio memoriae*. Two reconstructions have been proposed: a family group of Elagabalus, one of his wives, his mother, Julia Soemias, Alexander Severus, his mother, Julia Mamaea, and Julia Maesa, erected in A.D. 221/2<sup>30</sup> or Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Geta and Fulvia Plautilla, erected between A.D. 203 and 205.<sup>31</sup> The statue base is often associated with an

21. Claudius, Olympia Museum Λ 125: Treu 1897, 244-45; Stone 1985, 381-82, pl. 82, 2; Hitzl 1991, 38-43, pl. 13a. Agrippina Minor, Olympia Museum Λ 143: Treu 1897, 256-57; Stone 1985, 382, pl. 83, 1; Hitzl 1991, 43-46, pl. 14c. Agrippina's portrait was found near the Heraion but is generally assigned to the Metroon group.

22. Claudius from Lanuvium, Vatican Museum 243: Maderna 1988, 157-58, JS 2, pl. 3, 1; Hallett 2005, pl. 96. For this statuary type of the emperor as Jupiter, normally employed for Augustus and Claudius, see Hallett 2005, 169-70.

23. Statue signed by Eros, Olympia Museum Λ 140: Treu 1897, 258; Stone 1985, 386, pl. 85, 1; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 5. Statue signed by Eleusinos, Olympia Museum Λ 141: Treu 1897, 258; Stone 1985, 386, pl. 85, 2; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 4.

24. Olympia Museum Λ 139: Treu 1897, 252-53; Bol 2008, 151-52, figs 3-4; Krumeich 2008, 85, pl. 15, 6.

25. Sturgeon 2004, 22-24; 49, pl. 2c.

26. Sarcophagi: see supra p. 434 n. 8. Reliefs: see supra p. 434 n. 12 and p. 435 n. 18. Architectural sculptures: e.g., late 2nd c. A.D. Herakles herms from the *scenae frons* of the Sparta theater now in the Sparta Museum: Palagia 1989. Acrolith: head of Helen, Sparta Museum 571: Palagia 2001, 291-92, fig. 5.

27. Sparta Museum 203: *IG V* 1, 209; Spawforth 1986, 324 n. 33; Palagia 2001, 293 n. 63 with further references. Another relief: *IG V* 1, 208.

28. *IG V* 1, 538, 539 and 540; *SEG* 11, 1950, 796-97; Spawforth 1984, 274-77.

29. Inscribed statue base of Taygetos marble in the Sparta Museum: Spawforth 1986, 317; 323-24, fig. 1; Palagia 2001, 298-99, fig. 13. The artist's signature is in the genitive ([Διον]υσιού ν τεχνείτου [*sic*] δὲ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαλμάτων) according to a well-known formula implying that he also made all practical arrangements for setting them up.

30. Koumanoudis 1970; Riccardi 1998.

31. Spawforth 1986, 313-27; Palagia 2001, 299; *RP* II, 232-34 LAC\* 366 (Lepenioti).



**Fig. 6.** Colossal portrait statue of Claudius in Pentelic marble, signed by the Athenian sculptors Philathenaios and Hegias. From the Metroon of Olympia. Olympia Museum A 125 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens, neg. no. OLYMPIA 2126).



over-life-size bronze portrait of a Severan empress. The portrait was found flattened, her face battered, in a Roman building on the acropolis of Sparta, and was promptly thought to have fallen victim to *damnatio memoriae*.<sup>32</sup> Her hairstyle is typical of wigs worn by female members of the Severan house and she has been variously identified with Julia Mamaea (Alexander Severus' mother),<sup>33</sup> Julia Acquilia Severa (one of Elagabalus' wives)<sup>34</sup> or Plautilla (Caracalla's wife).<sup>35</sup> Whereas both Plautilla and Julia Mamaea had suffered *damnatio memoriae* and subsequent mutilation of their portraits,<sup>36</sup> Julia Aquilia Severa did not. If the portrait belonged to the latter, then another explanation had to be found for her crushed image. Christian desecration or damage inflicted by the collapse of the building have both been proposed.<sup>37</sup> Regardless of what actually happened to the bronze statue, it is perhaps significant that of the three, only Plautilla can be shown to have had any connection with Sparta. Laconia issued Roman imperials featuring her (in A. D. 202-205), Caracalla, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna and Geta,<sup>38</sup> the exact members of the imperial family, in fact, who may have been honored with bronze statues in the same period if the massive base is correctly assigned to them. Caracalla's special relations with Sparta are also documented by his recruitment of a Spartan contingent in A.D. 214 that probably served in his Parthian campaign until 217.<sup>39</sup> This increases the probability that the bronze sculptor [---] son of Dionysios was active in Sparta in the early years of the 3rd c. A.D.

### Marble Copies of Classical and Hellenistic Masterpieces

A number of high-quality Roman copies and variants of well-known masterpieces of Greek sculpture came to light in the Peloponnese. They are in Pentelic marble favoring fifth-century prototypes and are very likely products of Athenian workshops. We will discuss copies that are unique in some way or have special significance.

A standing, nude Zeus from Olympia with long hair falling on his shoulders (**Fig. 7**) is more likely a copy of a Severe Style prototype than a Roman creation even though no other copies of this type have come down to us.<sup>40</sup> His idiosyncratic coiffure with long locks rolled over a hairband recalls the fragmentary plaster cast of a Severe Style bronze head found in Baiae, where the man's long locks are rolled up over a braid that is tied around his head.<sup>41</sup> A copy of the post-Pheidias Dresden Zeus, also from Olympia, is of special significance because its presence in Olympia establishes the identity of the type as Zeus rather than Asklepios or Hades as had been suggested.<sup>42</sup>

A reduced copy of Pheidias' Athena *Parthenos* of the 2nd c. A.D. from Patras (**Fig. 8**) preserves the right half of her shield, reproducing important details of the amazonomachy on the exterior which are not available in other copies.<sup>43</sup> A colossal, fragmentary cult statue of Amphitrite in Pentelic marble that formed part of an early Antonine cult-statue group with Poseidon in his temple at Isthmia seems to draw heavily on Agorakritos' statue of the Mother

32. Athens, National Museum X 23321: Rhomiopoulou 1997, no. 121; Kaltsas 2002, no. 756.

33. Koumanoudis 1970; Datsouli-Stavridi 1998, 254-57 with earlier references.

34. Riccardi 1998; Kourinou Pikoula 2001.

35. Spawforth 1986, 326; Palagia 2001, 295-300.

36. Varner 2004, 164-68 (Plautilla); 195-98 (Julia Mamaea).

37. Riccardi (1998, 264-67) attributed the damage to Christian desecration, Kourinou Pikoula (2001, 428) to the collapse of the building, at the same time questioning the association of the bronze portrait with the inscribed statue base.

38. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann 1978, 191-94, pls 27-28. Laconian imperials of Plautilla: *op. cit.*, 192, pl. 28.

39. Herodian IV. 8, 3. Spawforth 1984, 267-69. Cf. also the grave relief in Taygetos marble of the Spartan soldier Alexys, who died in that campaign: Athens, National Museum 1290, Kaltsas 2002, no. 764.

40. Olympia Museum A 170: Bol 1984, 187-90, cat. no. 48, pls 59-61. Associated with the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus.

41. Baia Castle 174.482: Landwehr 1985, cat. no. 68, pl. 65a.

42. Olympia Museum A 108: Bol 1984, 190-93, no. 49, pls 62-63; 68. Associated with the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus. Identified with Hades or Asklepios: see Despinis 1971, 133-45; Ridgway 1981a, 173; 197.

43. Patras Museum 6: Leipen 1971, 4, no. 6, figs 7 and 24; Harrison 1981, ill. 5 and figs 25-27; 29-30; Nick 2002, 238, A5.



**Fig. 7.** Statue of Zeus in Pentelic marble. From the gymnasium of Olympia, attributed to the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus. Olympia Museum Λ 170 (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

of the Gods that stood in Athens.<sup>44</sup> Amphitrite's statue base carried relief narratives inspired by creations of Pheidias and his pupils: the slaughter of the Niobids is dependent on the armrests of the throne of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, while the Callydonian boar hunt may document an otherwise unknown classical prototype.<sup>45</sup> The Isthmia group is attributed to an Athenian workshop. Pausanias (II. 1, 8) describes another cult-stature group set up by Herodes Atticus and therefore only a few decades later than the extant marble group: it was made of ivory and gold and stood on a base with a different relief narrative. We do not know the size of Herodes' group but it need not have been colossal. It is likely that both groups stood in the cella of Poseidon's temple.<sup>46</sup>

Another echo of Agorakritos' work is preserved in a fragmentary Neo-Attic relief from the Asklepieion in Corinth, presumably imported from Athens.<sup>47</sup> It reproduces a *peplos* figure from the statue base of Agorakritos' Nemesis at Rhamnous. She is shown alongside a seated Zeus that derives from an unknown source, following the usual practice of Neo-Attic reliefs of combining figures from different Attic monuments.

A copy of Lysippos' Herakles Farnese in Pentelic marble from the Roman Bath of Argos (**Fig. 9**) is probably the most accurate reproduction extant.<sup>48</sup> The original stood in Argos too, as attested by the type's appearance as a mint mark on a posthumous Alexandrine of the early 3rd c. B.C.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, the collection in Herodes' Villa at Loukou comprised an important copy of the second-century B.C. group of Achilles and Penthesilea.<sup>50</sup> It is the only copy extant retaining Achilles' head, showing that it was turned away from Penthesilea who was collapsing at his feet.

44. Isthmia Museum: Sturgeon 1987, 76-113, pls 34-42 (Amphitrite) and 45-50 (statue base).

45. Harrison (1996, 60 n. 209) has suggested that the Isthmia statue base was copied from Agorakritos' base of the Mother of the Gods in the Agora of Athens, and that Agorakritos had adopted Pheidias designs for the reliefs on his base. For a possible fragment of Agorakritos' statue base found in the Athenian Agora (Agora A 3001), see Palagia 2006, 124 with n. 56.

46. Sturgeon 1987, 4.

47. Corinth Museum S 1449: Palagia 2000, 73-74, fig. 4.12; Sturgeon 2003, 366. On the Zeus type, see Böhm 2004, 96-101 fig. 58.

48. 2nd c. A.D. Argos Museum: Marcadé 1957, 408-413; Moreno 1995, 52 fig. 4.4.2.

49. Moreno 1995, 44 fig. 4.4.1.

50. The copy dates from the 2nd c. A.D. Astros Museum: Spyropoulos 2001, 129-58, pls 5-8; Spyropoulos 2006, 83-87, fig. 10.



**Fig. 8.** Shield from a reduced copy of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos. From Patras. Patras Museum 6 (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Athens, neg. no. 1973/2291).

### *City Goddesses*

Tyche as a city goddess had several cults in the Peloponnese, documented chiefly by Pausanias, and was also a popular coin type on Roman imperials.<sup>51</sup> In Sparta her cult was associated to a number of other cults, including the imperial cult.<sup>52</sup> Roman Tyche was usually depicted with a mural crown, as in two heads found in Corinth (one belonged to the pedimental sculptures of temple E).<sup>53</sup> There are, however, two unusual heads of city goddesses (**Figs 10-11**) of high quality that merit further discussion. A colossal head of Tyche from Sikyon (**Fig. 10**), made of Pentelic marble and once inserted into a statue that is now lost, exceptionally combines her mural crown with a helmet. This may indicate a fusion between Tyche and Roma.<sup>54</sup> Pausanias (II. 7, 5) records a temple of Tyche in Sikyon housing a *xoanon*; Tyche wear-

51. Pausanias: references collected in Hamdorf 1964, 98-99. Coins: references collected in Palagia 1994, 67 with ns 19-29.

52. For epigraphical documentation, see Palagia 1994, 66; Hupfloher 2000, 201-03.

53. Corinth Museum S 1540, 1st c. A.D., from the pediment of temple E: Stillwell *et al.* 1941, 216, cat. no. 5, fig. 171. Corinth Museum S 802: Edwards 1990, 531, pl. 83a; Sturgeon 2003, 356-57, fig. 21.7. Temple of Tyche in Corinth: Paus. II. 2, 7.

54. On the iconography of Roma: Vermeule 1959.



**Fig. 9.** Copy of Lysippos' Herakles Farnese. From Argos. Argos Museum (Photo: Hans R. Goette).

ing a mural crown and holding a *cornucopia* is shown on Roman imperials issued in Sikyon under Plautilla.<sup>55</sup> The representation of Roma as a city goddess wearing a mural crown as attested by the head in **Fig. 10** is a new invention and was probably related to the imperial cult as was customary with most cults of Roma in Greece.<sup>56</sup>

A life-size head of a city goddess in Pentelic marble of the 2nd c. A.D. found in Sparta (**Fig. 11**) wears a unique mural crown decorated with a figural scene.<sup>57</sup> The high quality of carving and exceptional iconography suggest an import, presumably from a great artistic center like Athens. The right part of the scene on the turreted crown is damaged but it is possible to make out two frontal, striding figures in short chitons. They are arranged in a schema implying conflict, as exemplified by Athena and Poseidon in the west pediment of the Parthenon.<sup>58</sup> The figure on the right stands above the center of Tyche's forehead, while the one on the left is an Oriental on a slightly smaller scale. The scene has been variously interpreted as an amazonomachy or as Aeneas escaping Troy with his son Ascanius and father Anchises (hypothetically restored on the now damaged right side), and the goddess has been accordingly identified with either the Tyche of Sparta or a personification of Ilion.<sup>59</sup> Quite apart from the fact that no sculptural representations of Ilion are known, the corkscrew curls falling at the sides of Tyche's head (**Fig. 11**) and her double chin are reminiscent of Ptolemaic queens, which points to a possible Ptolemaic prototype for the city goddess of Sparta.<sup>60</sup> It has been shown that the amazonomachy was a popular subject in Sparta and may have functioned as a city crest.<sup>61</sup>

In sum, sculpture in the Peloponnese in the Roman imperial period is remarkable for retaining classical and classicizing forms like sculptured pediments and copies or adaptations of classical works, at the same time following new trends especially

55. *BMC Peloponnesus* 56, no. 244.

56. For the association of the cult of Roma with the imperial cult in the Peloponnese, see Mellor 1975, 106-07; 208-09.

57. The head has been dated to the late Hadrianic/early Antonine period. The body is lost. Palagia 1994; Franken 2002.

58. Cf. Carrey's drawing of the west pediment: Palagia 1993, fig. 3.

59. Tyche of Sparta with amazonomachy: Palagia 1994. Ilion with Aeneas escaping Troy: Franken 2002.

60. Palagia 1994, 72. A good parallel is provided by a colossal limestone head of a Ptolemaic queen, Alexandria Museum 21992: Kyrieleis 1975, 184-85, M 10, pl. 103, 4.

61. Palagia 1994.





**Fig. 10.** Head of city goddess wearing helmet and mural crown, here identified with Roma as city goddess. Pentelic marble. From Sikyon. Sikyon Museum 324 (Photo: Olga Palagia).



**Fig. 11.** Head of city goddess wearing mural crown with figural scene, here identified with the Tyche of Sparta. Pentelic marble. From Sparta. Sparta Museum 7945 (Photo: Olga Palagia).

as regards architectural sculptures, imperial portraiture or new personifications. The Peloponnese can boast of at least one outstanding villa with a magnificent sculpture collection which was evidently assembled in Attica and elsewhere. The region was dominated by Athenian artists and materials but local works were also produced, especially in more isolated parts like Laconia which also produced its own marble.

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