

Re-using the gods. A 6th-c. statuary display at Sagalassos and a re-evaluation of pagan-mythological statuary in Early Byzantine civic space.

Introduction

During the Sagalassos excavation campaign of 2009, a set of under-life-sized statues was discovered on top of the pavement of the main north-south colonnaded street of Sagalassos. Their particular find contexts suggest that they had been on display on top of statue brackets along the street in its last phase of existence. Moreover, these statues not only survived in the cityscape into the 7th c., but it could also be established that they were part of a large-scale renovation of the lower town of Sagalassos datable to the second quarter of the 6th c. AD. Consequently, this collection, which is an exceptionally late example of displayed pagan-mythological statuary, provides us with information on what pieces of statuary were still available and considered suitable for reuse in the Early Byzantine period. In addition, the collection's composition can inform us about the preferred appearance of a bustling urban thoroughfare at that time, and, more broadly, tell us something on the values and beliefs of the Early Byzantine population, since, to phrase it in the words of Cyril Mango, "whereas the common folk [...] did not read Homer and Pindar, everyone - the butcher, the candlemaker, and the lower-class saint-could and did look at these statues".¹

In the following pages we will first give a short description of the town of Sagalassos in the 6th c., before taking a look at the statuettes themselves. After a description and discussion of the separate items, we will suggest that they were reinterpreted at the time of their redisplay in the street. Next, an overview of other small scale statues found at Sagalassos will aid in tracking down the origin of the street statuettes, as well as give some indications of the highly underrated flexibility of the statuary record. Indeed, our ubiquitous inability to reconstruct the entire life history of a statue remains highly problematic. Without epigraphic or literary evidence to the contrary, it is often implicitly assumed that a statue must have been intended for the location where was found. Finally, we will attempt to reconstruct the appearance of the 6th-c. display by means of an analysis of the find circumstances of the statuettes and through a comparison with other statues known to have been placed on brackets.

Sagalassos and the colonnaded street in the early 6th c.

Sagalassos is located on the south-facing slope of a mountain crest in the western Taurus, at altitudes between 1490 m and 1600 m. It was a wealthy, medium-sized town and pottery production centre, whose total inhabited area has been estimated to be some 30 hectares. The town's regional importance in Antiquity was highlighted, amongst other things, by it being named twice *neokoros* and "first city of Pisidia" in inscriptions.² Interdisciplinary research carried out at the site and its territory since 1990 has in the meantime been able to reconstruct the general process of urbanization from Early Hellenistic to Mid-Byzantine times and has produced a particularly detailed picture of what was happening in the course of the 6th c.,

¹ Mango 1963, 55.

² Waelkens 2015.

which, as at many sites in Asia Minor, was the last phase of large-scale occupation. After a devastating earthquake in the early 7th c., the town centre of Sagalassos shifted towards a new fortified hamlet constructed on a promontory to the south of the old centre, with additional small-scale communities or hamlets probably located in the central and southern parts of old Sagalassos,³ leaving large areas of the classical town centre only sporadically occupied.

The 6th c. started with an earthquake, traces of which can be recognised all over the town centre. However, the many repairs of the first and second quarter of the century suggest that the inhabitants were still wealthy and willing enough to repair their hometown to its former glory. Admittedly, all renovations made extensive use of older materials, but they were large-scale and executed with a sense of monumentality. Public buildings such as the Imperial Baths were repaired, redecorated and put into use. The damaged marble veneer of the enormous pillared halls forming the complete east side of the baths may have been replaced only with a simple white plaster, but their floors did receive a new black-and-white mosaic with decorative motifs accentuating the internal divisions of the building.⁴ The porticoes of both the Upper and the Lower Agora of Sagalassos were re-erected using a diverse collection of pedestals, columns and capitals.⁵ The decorative fountains or *nymphaea* positioned along their north side still had an extremely pleasing effect on the hot and busy city squares.⁶

The most extensive project of this renovation phase was the reconstruction of the city's main traffic axis, the 10 m-wide north-south colonnaded street (Fig. 1).⁷ Excavations between 2005 and 2009 have uncovered a 90 m-long stretch between the Lower Agora to the north and the site known as Fortification Gate 1 to the south, where a barrier wall associated with the 7th-c. fortified hamlet blocked the street completely. It could be established that the street colonnades in this excavated section were recomposed in a thoroughly unclassical manner: they incorporated both brick-and-tuff piers as well as Corinthian columns placed on a variety of bases. These supports were surmounted by arches instead of entablatures. A new colonnade floor was begun and the shops behind the colonnade were in all likelihood partially reconstructed as well. In addition, part of the street pavement was replaced, whereas the monumental staircase leading up from the street to the Lower Agora was completely re-laid several meters to the south of its predecessor, implying that the length of the agora was augmented. This new street was further adorned with decorative monuments: the Tiberian gateway that had originally surmounted the monumental staircase had collapsed, but the columns and entablature pieces that had remained intact were collected and used to erect a new, somewhat odd looking L-shaped monument with only three columns. A statue base of Julian the Apostate just in front of this columnar monument was preserved, whereas a second, small statuary base was placed on top of the gate podium after the renovation.⁸ Furthermore,

³ Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 221 for the date of the earthquake; Vionis *et al.* 2010 for the Middle to Late Byzantine occupation of the site.

⁴ Waelkens *et al.* 2009, 435-37; Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 270; Waelkens 2011, 71. It is possible that a new marble decoration formed part of the original renovation plans, but it were certainly not brought to completion (cf. *infra*).

⁵ Jacobs 2011.

⁶ Jacobs and Richard 2012, *passim*.

⁷ The original lay-out and the 6th-century renovation of the street have been described in detail in Jacobs and Waelkens 2014.

⁸ Lavan 2013, 312.

on the street itself a small street fountain was put in place on top of an older, strongly diminished water supply.⁹ Finally, the highlight of this renovation phase was the creation of the new statuary display in the street section between the Lower Agora and a crossroad with a secondary street.

List of statuettes discovered in the Colonnaded Street¹⁰

The statuettes belonging to the 6th-c. statuary display will be described below according to their find location, from south to north. These items were not the only statuary finds made on the street, but the only ones of which we are certain that they collapsed together with the colonnades, often on top of the pavement, and that we could thus connect to a display in the street itself. Further fragments were discarded together with other rubbish, or used together with ordinary rubble in levelling layers, whereas we have no idea where most fragments found in the erosional layers on top of the street, came from. These statuettes are listed in an appendix at the end of this article.

1. Statuette of headless female figure in chiton and himation (Hygieia) (Fig. 2)

SA-2009-SS1-00015-00154

Burdur Museum inv. 32.39.09

Findspot: Sector 2325-2310. A fragment of a console was found just to the east of this statuette. It is possible that the statuette was put on display on top of a bracket integrated into this west wall, which at this location stood some 2 m high.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.476 m; Max. p.W. (taken at shoulders): 0.215 m; Max. p.D.: 0.140 m. Estimated h. of complete statuette: c.0.80 m without plinth

Bibliography: Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 267; Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 245; Jacobs *forthcoming*

Description: Preserved from knees to neck, the statuette depicts a woman wearing a chiton and himation, standing in gentle contrapposto with the weight on the left foot. Locks of hair remain on each shoulder. The woman wears a mantle that leaves the right arm free. A roll of folds passes under the right breast and over the left shoulder. The carving is sensitive and deft, with crisp edges and modeled surfaces on the deeper folds and attention to volumes of the body under the folds of drapery.

All surfaces of this fragment are water-worn. There is a dowel hole from an ancient repair on the neck (diam. 8 mm, d. 30 mm); the break surface around it is roughly scored. There is an ancient drill hole above the navel (diam. 6 mm; d. 17 mm) and another located 67 mm below the left elbow (diam. 2 mm; contains metal).

Reconstruction: The woman's right arm was held away from the body. The left arm reached forward from the elbow. The imprecise rendering of the folds on the belly implies that the

⁹ Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 244.

¹⁰ All statuettes were carved from fine-grained white marble. In anatomical descriptions of the statues, "left" and "right" refer to the proper left and right of each statue unless the viewer's right or left is specified. Reconstructed heights are calculated by comparing the remaining section of the statue to fully preserved examples of the same statue type. In descriptions of dimensions, "Max. p.H. refers to "Maximum preserved height."

woman held something passing in front of her. An attribute in a different medium may have been inserted in the two drilled holes.

Chronology: Late 2nd or early 3rd c.

With its tall, slender proportions and the combination of schematic fold lines in the upper drapery with the moulded, three-dimensional drapery folds below the knees, the Sagalassos torso resembles female figures on columnar sarcophagi of the late 2nd and early 3rd c. Examples include the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina from Sardis, dated by Volker Strocka to the last decade of the 2nd c. and the sarcophagus of Philisca and Domitius Julianus from Perge, dated c.190 by Marc Waelkens.¹¹ The drapery of the Sagalassos torso also resembles that of a statuette of Hygieia found in the House of the Rape of Europa on Kos.¹² The Kos Hygieia is linked to Anatolian statuettes by the sleeping Hypnos at its feet (see below on Hypnos).

Discussion: The composition of drapery on the Sagalassos piece with a roll of mantle running from the right hip to the left shoulder is one that is used frequently in Asia Minor for statues and statuettes of Hygieia and Tyche.¹³ Christiane Vorster refers to this configuration as the “Hygieia Zara,” after a piece in Zaghreb.¹⁴ The finished surface on the left arm and shoulder precludes the presence of a cornucopia as a Tyche would carry. Instead, the positioning of small drilled holes at the chest and left hip is consistent with a snake passing across the belly to feed from a dish in the left hand, similar in format to a statuette of Hygieia in the Centraalmuseum Utrecht.¹⁵

2. Apollo with a cithara and hydria (Fig. 3a-b)

SA-2009-SS1-00017-00196 (other fragments are SA-2009-SS1-00033-00178)

Findspot: Sectors 2335-2315, 2330-2315.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.566 m; W. (plinth): 0.27 m; Max. p.W. of torso: 0.195 m; Max. p.W./ H./D. of plinth: 0.27 x 0.063 x 0.14.5 m. Estimated H. of complete statuette: c.0.65 m without plinth; c.0.70 m with plinth

Bibliography: Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 267; Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 245-46, fig. 17; Jacobs *forthcoming*, fig. 3.

¹¹ Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina: inv. 4027 Strocka 1971, 70-71, fig. 9; Wiegartz 1965, 158 (Istanbul G); Waelkens 1982, 82; Sarcophagus of Philisca: Antalya N: Waelkens 1982, 82, no. 80; Strocka 1971, 71, no. 6 (dating it c.210).

¹² LIMC V, 1990, p. 560, no. 71, s.v. Hygieia (F. Croissant); p. 605, no. 147, s.v. Hypnos-Somnus (C. Lochin); Koch 1978, 121. The house is thought to have been destroyed in the mid 3rd c. A.D. by a landslide: Sirano 2005, 148-49.

¹³ Statue of Fortuna from Cremna, Burdur Museum inv. 70/1: Filges 1997, 275, no. 160; statuette of Tyche in Afyon museum: Filges 1999 no. 32; statuette of Tyche in Antalya museum, inv. A649: Filges 1999, 430, no. 34, pl. 39.1-2; statue in the courtyard of the Afyonkarahisar Archaeological Museum: inv. 82; Filges 1997, 269, no. 130.

¹⁴ Vorster 2004, 17. Examples of Hygieia wearing drapery in this configuration with a snake crossing her belly to feed from the left hand include a statue in garden of Vatican (pieces of snake remain on the belly; Filges 1997, 275, no. 163), a statue in Herakleion (traces of snake on the right arm; Filges 1997, 275, no. 161).

¹⁵ *Klassieke Kunst* 1975, no. 51, fig. 37; Filges 1997, 281, no. 187.

Description: The statuette depicts a nude Apollo with a chlamys tossed back over his shoulders, leaning his left elbow on a tall support composed of a laurel, cithara, and jug. The right arm is missing but was held away from the body. The head faced to proper right. The square strut on the left side is shaped like an altar, with a beveled base. In front of it grows a single short trunk of laurel. A cithara is depicted above the laurel shrub. Atop the altar is a hydria lying on its side with the mouth facing forward. Apollo's fingers hang down over the mouth. Breaks on the top surface of the trunk-shaped support at Apollo's right indicate that there was once an attribute or a support for the (now missing) right hand. Overall, the body is rendered with plasticity and attention to organic volumes. The back of the statuette is only slightly less finished than the front.

The statuette is broken into 14 pieces. The head, genitals, left hand, and right forearm with the top of its strut are missing. A hard, limey encrustation appears on several pieces. A bent iron dowel with a square profile (diam.: 3 x 3 mm; l. 22 mm) protrudes from the neck and must result from an ancient repair that broke a second time when the statuette fell from the console.¹⁶

Chronology: Late 2nd c.

With the organic if soft musculature, comfortable contrapposto stance, differentiated planes in the modeling of the drapery, and moderate drillwork, this statuette accords generally with practices of the second half of the 2nd c. These features appear on a mid 2nd-c. Pamphylian sarcophagus showing the battle before Troy, now in the Rhode Island School of Design.¹⁷ An Antonine statue of Apollo from the theatre at Ephesus has similar soft, organic musculature; Maria Aurenhammer adds that the presence of a strut on both sides is an Antonine feature.¹⁸ Two details on the Apollo statuette find close parallels on the sarcophagus of Aurelia Botiane from Perge, dated ca. A.D. 190.¹⁹ The rendering of the long leaves on a tree behind one of the warriors exactly matches that of the leaves on the strut of the Apollo statuette. At the left side, Achilles drags an Amazon whose cloak is clasped in the middle, with folds fanning out in a butterfly shape as seen on the Apollo.²⁰

Discussion: The general stance of the Sagalassos Apollo, with the left elbow resting on a tall support, is found in many variations.²¹ A highly unusual feature of the Sagalassos Apollo, however, is the hydria. There are only a handful of parallels in statuary and coinage, all from sites in Pisidia and Phrygia. The closest sculptural parallels for this iconographic element come from two statuettes in the Archaeological Museum of Afyonkarahisar, both showing a

¹⁶ The genitals on the statuette of Apollo (2) are broken off, which contrasts with the generally good condition of the statue, but there is no visible chisel mark to indicate that the damage was intentional.

¹⁷ Mouldings date ca. 155-160: Waelkens 1982, 35, 67, 126, no. 6.8, pl. 9-10; Antonine cuirasses: Ridgway 1972, 96-98, 212-16 no. 38.

¹⁸ Aurenhammer 1990, 40-41, no. 15, pl. 15.

¹⁹ Inv. 1.35.991; Demirer 1998; date M. Waelkens, pers. comm., 25 January 2016. The name Aurelia suggests a date after the Antonine Constitution of 212 for the inscription.

²⁰ Another example of a cloak clasped at the centre rather than the side comes from the colossal seated statue of Apollo Citharoedus at Sagalassos: Mägele 2009, 484-86, no. 73, pl. 122-25.

²¹ For instance, a statue found in the baths of Salamis on Cyprus (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966, 11-12, no. 3, pls. x, xi; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 211, no. 221, pl. 202, s.v. Apollon [W. Lambrinudakes]) and related pieces (Apollon/Apollo 67a-g). See also a figured pilaster capital from Aphrodisias: Dillon 1997, 736-36, fig. 4, no A3.

nude Apollo pouring liquid from a hydria that rests on a tripod.²² These statuettes were part of a deposit of about 70 statuettes found at Çavdarlı, 17 km from Afyonkarahisar, during roadwork in 1964.²³ It is thought that this assemblage is related to a sanctuary of Apollo. At Cremna, an overlife-sized Apollo leaning on an upright hydria was found in the baths.²⁴

Three 3rd-c. coins from the Pisidian cities of Cremna, Etenna, and Kolbasa depict Apollo leaning on a round object atop a tripod.²⁵ The coins of Etenna and Kolbasa show an overturned vessel under Apollo's right elbow. The Cremna example depicts a round object with horizontal bands above and below; it resembles the upright hydria seen on the statue from the baths at Cremna. We have not located examples of this imagery on coins from Phrygian cities.

The very narrow distribution of the coins and sculptures of Apollo with a hydria in Phrygia and Pisidia and their overall scarcity within the repertoire of Apollo statuary suggest that this composition reflects the attributes of a local cult. Presumably the overturned hydria represents the importance of a spring at the sanctuary. Given the concentration of depictions of Apollo and dedications to him within the deposit of statues found at Çavdarlı, the sanctuary may have been located near this site. Çavdarlı is near Dokimeion (Isçehisar), with its very active sculptural workshops. Indeed, most statuary in fine-grained marble found at Sagalassos is thought to derive from Dokimeion.²⁶ Some of the Apollo statuettes from Çavdarlı were signed by Straton, son of Artemon of Dokimeion.²⁷

3. Legs from a draped female figure (Fig. 4)

SA-2009-SS1-00063-00205

Findspot: Sector 2330-2320, just south of the Hygieia with Hypnos.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.167 m; Max. p.W.: 0.032 m; Max. p.D.: 0.108 m

Estimated h. of complete statuette: c.0.85 m without plinth

Bibliography: Jacobs *forthcoming*

Description: Two joining fragments depict the lower legs of a draped woman standing in contrapposto, with weight on the left leg and the right knee thrust forward. Traces of the original highly smoothed surface appear between the folds. A protrusion from the bottom of a broken strut (w.: 27 mm) appears at the breakline above the right knee; it must join to an object at the figure's right. A break on the left calf indicates a strut, object, or figure on this side. The generous folds between the knees may signal that the figure wore a mantle rolled at the hips or shoulders, leaving the arms more free for gestures or attributes.

²² These statuettes have not been published in detail; for brief discussion see Pensabene 2010, 88, 90, figs. 14a-b; Pensabene 2011, p. 47-48, figs. 3.13a, 3.13c.

²³ Drew-Bear 1992. The statuettes were found with material of the 3rd and 4th c. and were possibly in a secondary display location, according to signage at the Archaeological Museum of Afyonkarahisar.

²⁴ Inan 1970, 70-71, no. 9, plate 23.1-3; Jacobs 2010, 272; Arachne 67585.

²⁵ SNG vol. 12, nos. 5028 (Etenna, A.D. 249-251), 5062 (Kolbasa, A.D. 235-238), 5092 (Cremna, A.D. 198-217).

²⁶ Mägele 2009, 44-45. On the quarries at Dokimeion, see Waelkens 1982. The recently discovered quarry of Göktepe some 40 km from Aphrodisias produced a fine-grained white marble used in some Aphrodisian statuary (Attanasio, Bruno, and Yavuz 2009). Thus it is possible that some Sagalassos pieces carved in fine-grained marble originate at this site, though the iconography of the Apollo statuette under discussion here provides a strong link to the region of Dokimeion.

²⁷ Signage at the Archaeological Museum of Afyonkarahisar.

Chronology: 2nd or early 3rd c.

The workmanship of this piece resembles that of the headless Hygieia (1), dated stylistically to the late 2nd or early 3rd c. Deeply drilled channels give expression and deep shadow to the piece without being schematic or drawing outlines. The modeling of the drapery resembles that works of the later second century, such as a statue of Hygieia from Miletus and a female statue (Hera of Ephesus type) found in the theatre of Nysa.²⁸ The modulated folds also resemble those of a female statue (Hera of Ephesus type) found in the theatre of Nysa and dated stylistically to the late 2nd c.²⁹

Discussion: The configuration of drapery and strut matches the Hygieia (4) and the headless woman (presumably Hygieia; 1) found in the colonnaded street. If so, the break along the left calf could indicate a sleeping Hypnos figure. Reconstructing the draped legs (3) as Hygieia would mean that there were three statuettes in the same configuration decorating the street. Alternatively, the arrangement of drapery and strut could belong to a Tyche holding a cornucopia in one hand and a rudder in another, as seen in a statuette found in a Roman house at Side.³⁰

4. Statuette of Hygieia with Hypnos (Figs. 5, 6)

SA-2009-SS1-00063-00203

Burdur Museum inv. 33.3909

Findspot: Sector 2330-2320, east of console SA-2009-SS1-00063-00202-1 and just south of a concentration of brick and tuff, presumably the remains of a pier.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.76 m; Max. p.W.: 0.26 m; Max. p.D: 0.19 m. H. of head of Hygieia: 0.107 m; H. of Hypnos: 0.14 m; Estimated h. of complete statuette: c.0.80 m without plinth

Bibliography: Waelkens and Poblome 2011, 142, depicted on p. 143; Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 267, 279 fig. 3; Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 245; Jacobs *forthcoming*.

Description: Hygieia stands in contrapposto, with Hypnos crouching by the left foot. The body is slender and elongated, with a high waist and narrow hips. The left arm evidently extended forward from the elbow and the right one down, though it did not lie against the thigh. Struts appear on the navel, the left forearm, and the right leg. Hygieia wears a chiton belted under her breasts. Over the chiton is a himation that runs over the left shoulder in a thick roll, leaving the right shoulder and arm free. Next to Hygieia's left calf, a chubby winged child (Hypnos) dozes on a rocky spur. The face is pear-shaped, with chubby cheeks, thick lips and puffy eyes.

Hygieia's long oval face gazes slightly up and to the right (Fig. 6). The wide eyes have puffy eyelids, and shallow, round depression indicates the iris. Curving ridges delineate the eyebrows and line of the nose. Slightly parted lips evince a faint smile. The shallow chin slopes down to a long neck. The hair is parted at the centre and drawn back at the sides in

²⁸ Miletus: Bol 2011, 100-2, no. VI.16, pl. 42-43; Nysa: Kadioğlu 2006, 162, 319, no. 592, pl. 40.4-5.

²⁹ The theatre had renovations in the early and late second century (162).

³⁰ Side: Inan 1975, 105-6, no. 40, pl. 49.1-3. Boston: Comstock and Vermeule 1976, 123, no. 190.

thick curled waves to a chignon at the back. A squared strut hugging the neck supports the chignon. Undercut tendrils of hair escape on either side of the chignon and reach the shoulders. Drilled dots in the waves of hair and in ringlets over the browline accentuate curls. Triangular wisps of hair appear on the cheeks near the ear.

Overall, the figure has elongated proportions and a mannered treatment. Deeply drilled channels emphasize certain folds and create pattern rather than an organic sense of the body interacting with a garment. Some channels serve as lines to outline body parts or transitions.

The statuette is restored from 4 pieces. The hands, lower legs, and plinth are missing. The surface of marble is water-worn. A hard yellowish-brown accretion appears on the backs of the fragments.

Reconstruction: Comparison for the pattern of struts shows that the figure once held a patera in the left hand to feed a snake supported by the right hand in a format similar to a statuette of Hygieia in the Centraalmuseum Utrecht.³¹ The tail of the snake hung down by the right knee.

Chronology: 250-260 or later

Many features of the Hygieia correspond to those of figures on later columnar sarcophagi from the Dokimeion workshops. The latest portraits associated with columnar sarcophagi are dated c.250-260, and it appears that sarcophagus production at Dokimeion had essentially ceased by about 260, brought to a halt by economic decline and the upheavals of invasions during the 250s.³²

In particular, a sarcophagus found in Konya in 1990 and dated 250-260 by the male portrait on its lid offers numerous parallels for face, drapery, and attenuated proportions of the Sagalassos Hygieia.³³ Figures on the sarcophagus have oval faces with arcing brows and almond eyes. Drapery combines sections of flat, linear folds with thicker folds modulated by rather deep drill lines. Drilled lines also outline or separate body parts. The figures are tall and slim, with heads that seem rather small for their height. A sarcophagus found in 1993 in Antakya provides a parallel for the rendering of the Hygieia's hair, though the exaggerated thinness of some of the figures on the sides of the sarcophagus goes even beyond that of the Hygieia.³⁴ Coins found inside this sarcophagus provide a *terminus ante quem* of 262-264.

Thus, the Hygieia accords well with the latest sarcophagi of the Dokimeion workshops, but many of these features are also found in works that are later still. For instance, the Selene from Silahtaraga, dated to the late 4th or early 5th c. by Marianne Bergmann and others, has elongated proportions and oval facial features.³⁵ Oval facial features and ridged, arched brows are generally a feature of the Theodosian period, as seen on the obelisk base in Constantinople, though the Sagalassos Hygieia has a slimmer face and the nose is less ridged.³⁶

³¹ *Klassieke Kunst* 1975, no. 51, fig. 37; Filges 1997, 281, no. 187.

³² Wiegartz 1965, 21, 31, 48; Waelkens 1982, 68; Özgan 2000, 386-87; Koch 2011, 9-10; Feuser 2013, 58-60.

³³ Özgan 2003, 3-7, no. 1, 35-37, pl. 1-7.

³⁴ Özgan 2000, 365-76.

³⁵ Bergmann 1999, 17-21, pls. 22, 23.1. See also a statuette of Hygieia found on Rhodes (Bergmann 1999, 54, fig. 46.1) and a statue now in the Villa Medici in Rome (Vorster 2012-13, 434-35, figs. 33-34).

³⁶ For the obelisk base, see Küllerich 1993, figs. 19-23.

One may well ask if some production of statuettes continued after the end of sarcophagus productions. Statuettes, after all, were much smaller than whole sarcophagi (which might carry 8 or 10 figures the size of the Hygieia). The Jonah statuettes in the Cleveland Museum of Art, carved from Dokimeion marble, are dated stylistically to *c.*280; Bergmann further adduces the Ganymede from Carthage (late 4th or early 5th c.) as a late products of workshops in Dokimeion.³⁷ Axel Filges proposed that itinerant sculptors from Dokimeion made and vended mythological statuettes in Side *c.*A.D. 170-300; thus production continued past the heyday of sarcophagus manufacture. A sleeping Hypnos similar to that found at Sagalassos appears on several statuettes of Aphrodite and Hygieia.³⁸ The statuettes in Filges' group are typically smaller, thinner, and more abstract than those from the colonnaded street at Sagalassos (though the tiny head with a topknot (no. 8) could belong to this group).³⁹

To summarize, the Hygieia's face and drapery accord well with Dokimeion sarcophagi of the 250s and 260s, the latest datable products of those workshops. However, comparanda for the face and body also appear in later works, and it is possible that production of statuettes (a smaller and less costly genre) continued at Dokimeion after sarcophagus production tailed off.

Discussion: The configuration of drapery on this statuette, with the roll of cloth passing between the breasts, matches that of the headless statuette (1) in the "Hygieia Zara" type. Filges further defines statuettes with this drapery configuration accompanied by the sleeping Hypnos as a type that he names the Hygieia Kos-Compiègne.⁴⁰ The motif of the crouched, sleeping Hypnos became popular as a subsidiary figure accompanying different configurations of Hygieia and Aphrodite in statuettes from Asia Minor in the 2nd c.⁴¹

At the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, one relief depicts Hygieia in quite similar drapery and pose, accompanied by a seated chubby child whose right leg dangles in a similar fashion. R. R. R. Smith proposes that the Hygieia imitates a local cult statue of the goddess.⁴² Thus, the statuettes may be invoking a regional understanding of Hygieia.

5. Nude female torso (Aphrodite, Fig. 7)

SA-2009-SS1-00137-00270

Findspot: Sector 2325-2325. Found in a disused fountain, under a column base (see further discussion below).

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.211 m; Max. p.W.: 0.206 m; Depth: 0.111 m; Neck: 0.057 x 0.050 m; Waist: 0.084 x 0.127 m; Estimated h. of complete statuette: *c.*0.85 m without plinth

Bibliography: Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 267; Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 253; Jacobs *forthcoming*, fig. 8

³⁷ Bergmann 1999, 23, 59. On late antique production of mythological statuary, see also Stirling 2005, 91-137.

³⁸ On the genre, see Filges 1999, 425 (Hypnos), with pls. 33, 34.1, 37.1, 38.1-2.

³⁹ Filges 1999, 392-94 (Hypnos), 419-23 (workshops).

⁴⁰ Filges 1997, 117-22.

⁴¹ Sobel 1990, 96. On the type, see *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 605 nos. 146-50bis, p. 609, pl. 418, s.v. Hypnos-Somnus (C. Lochin); Filges 1999, 390-94.

⁴² Smith 2013, 173-74, fig. 111, pl. 90.

Description: The torso of a nude female figure is preserved from shoulders to navel, with the upper buttocks just visible. An undercut tendril of loose hair falls on the right shoulder; tiny drill channels separate the locks of hair. The statuette is competently worked, with light musculature articulated on the abdomen and firm, organic volumes in the body. The chest shows a fairly rigid upright orientation, though curvature towards proper left shows in the lower spine. The surface is well smoothed, front and back. Near the right armpit is the break from a round strut (12 x 12 mm). There are coarse white encrustations on front surface.

Reconstruction: This figure held the right arm out and away from the body, while the left upper arm reached forward and down. The absence of loose hair at the back of the neck implies that most of the hair is collected in a bun or topknot. The figure faced right.

Chronology: Roman, possibly 2nd c.

The preserved fragment provides few indicators for dating. The organic moulding, especially seen at the back, resembles sculptures of the 1st and 2nd c. The small breasts and slight stiffness in the torso are common on Aphrodites of the Roman period.⁴³ The combination of the body parts is not as stiff and accretive as a life-sized Aphrodite Pudica of the later Hadrianic period found in the nymphaeum of the Lower Agora at Sagalassos.⁴⁴

Discussion: The pose, the hair, and the small strut above the right breast are well paralleled in a type that Filges defines as the “Antalya type” after a statuette found near Side.⁴⁵ The statuette shows a half-draped Aphrodite who holds a lock of hair in the right hand and pulls up a roll of drapery with the left. A sliver of child torso (9) found in the colonnaded street could belong to a standing Eros as a subsidiary figure, though its findspot is not nearby.⁴⁶

6. Central torso from statuette of the Three Graces (Fig. 8a-b)

Inv. SA-2009-SS1-00184-00334

Findspot: Sector 2325-2335.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.245 m; Max. p.W. (across shoulders) 0.286 m; Max. p.D.: 0.192 m; Estimated h. of complete statuette: c.1.00 m without plinth

Bibliography: Jacobs *forthcoming*

Description: The fragment preserves the upper torso of the central figure in a composition of the Three Graces. The figure has rounded shoulders and soft, feminine contours. The shallow groove marking the spine curves down towards the right hip, indicating that the weight rested on the right leg. Two figures flanked the torso, facing opposite to it. Each draped a plump, unmuscled arm on the nearest shoulder of the central figure. Knuckle joints and fingernails are articulated on the fingers. The arms of the side figures cover the breasts of the central

⁴³ For instance, an Aphrodite from Salamis (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966, 20 no. 83, pl. 8.1-3) and one from Cherchel (Landwehr 1993, 30-31, no. 12, pl. 22-23).

⁴⁴ Mägele 2009, 493-95, no. 77, pl. 137-40.

⁴⁵ Filges 1999, 380-81, 427, no. 1, pl. 33.1. Height: 32.5 cm. See also a statuette from Arykanda: Antalya Archaeological Museum inv. 14.33.90; Arachne 227279.

⁴⁶ Inv. SA-2009-SS1-00220-00379. Max.p.H.: 0.06 m; W. of hips: 0.056 m. Estimated H. of full statuette: c.0.25-0.30. Found in sector 2325-2340, below the collapse layer at the bottom of the staircase.

figure. All surfaces are equally finished to a smooth matte. The positioning of the neck shows that the figure looked to proper right. The surfaces are water worn to a spongy texture.

Chronology: 2nd c.

The fragmentary state and abraded surface of this piece make it difficult to date closely, but the rounded, soft treatment accords generally with works of the 2nd c. A.D., including an Aphrodite Anadyomene from Cherchel, and a hermaphrodite from the theatre at Side, built in the mid 2nd c.⁴⁷ The organic if soft treatment of volumes could suggest a further narrowing to the Hadrianic period; one may compare a pair of statues of the Aphrodite Pudica from the frigidarium of the West Baths at Cherchel.⁴⁸

Discussion: This female torso clearly belonged to the central figure in a statuette group of the Three Graces with their arms over one another's shoulders. The statue type was developed in the late Hellenistic period (late 2nd or early 1st c. B.C.).⁴⁹ Provenanced examples elsewhere come from a variety of settings. At Cyrene, two sculptures of the Three Graces were found in baths and one in the Temple of Isis.⁵⁰ At 0.96 m tall, the example from the temple is very similar to the scale of the Sagalassos example. At Side, a roughly life-sized statue was found in the theatre.⁵¹

7. Small head with topknot (Aphrodite? Fig. 9a-b)

Inv. SA-2009-SS1-00184-00352; Burdur Museum inventory 34.39.09

Findspot: Sector 2325-2335. Found within a collapse layer, c.0.30 m above the level of the street.

Measurements: Max. p.H.: 0.084 m; Max. p.W.: 0.056 m; Max. p.D.: 0.054 m; H. of head, topknot to chin: 0.063 m; Estimated h. of full statuette: c.0.35-0.40 m without plinth

Bibliography: Unpublished

Description: Coiffed with a chignon and topknot, this small head faces up and to the right. The eyes appear sunken and moody under a thickened brow, but pitting and encrustation may be amplifying the Skopaic effect. The figure has bow-shaped lips, a sloping chin and a long neck. The hair is gathered into a wide topknot above the forehead. At the sides, it is drawn into two thick, rolled panels that join into a low, rather flat chignon. A broken lock of hair once trailed on the right shoulder. The surface is pitted from water wear.

⁴⁷ Aphrodite from Cherchel: Landwehr 1993, 25-26, no. 8, pl. 16, 17a; Hermaphrodite from Side: Inan 1975, 23-125, no. 56, pl. LIX.1-3.

⁴⁸ Landwehr 1993, 19, no. 3, pls. 4-6; 20-21, no. 4, pls. 7, 8b, 9.

⁴⁹ Ridgway 2002, 114-16, pl. 36; *LIMC* III, 1986, 203, 209-10, nos. 124-39, pls. 166-67, s.v. Charis, Charites/Gratae (H. Sichtermann).

⁵⁰ Paribeni 1959, 108-9, nos. 301-3, pls. 144-5.

⁵¹ Inan 1975, 158-1, no. 85, pl. 74.1-2.

Discussion: Hairstyles with a chignon and topknot appear on both Aphrodite and Apollo.⁵² On balance, the hairstyle and the positioning of the head suit the pose of the Capitoline Venus. A larger statuette with this hairstyle was found in the baths at Sagalassos.⁵³

Chronology: The thin face, long neck and rather sketchy treatment of this fragment broadly resemble the treatment of the group of statuettes studied by Filges, who argued that they were made in Side in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁵⁴ One example is a statuette of Aphrodite Fréjus/Louvre from Side.⁵⁵ None of the examples from Filges' group shows the torsion and deep-set eyes of the Sagalassos piece, however.

Carefully selected sculptures

The statuettes decorating the colonnaded street in the 6th c. were surprisingly well matched. Four of the statuettes or fragments are reconstructed as being essentially the same height: 0.85-0.90 m including the plinth. These are the Hygieia (4), the headless Hygieia (1), the draped legs (3), and the torso of Aphrodite (5). The torso of the Apollo (2) is fairly similar to these in width, but the statuette overall is not so elongated, and it stood some 0.70 m tall with its plinth. The torso from a statuette of the Three Graces (6) is more problematic. The reconstructed height of c. 1.05 m is manageable for the display setting, but the width of the full three-figured statuette would be c. 1.00-1.05 m, making it impossible to set a complete statuette of the Three Graces on the consoles, whose maximum display surface was about 0.60 m. Perhaps the central figure was removed from a (damaged?) statuette and used on its own. The small head of Aphrodite (7) belongs to a much smaller statuette standing c. 0.35-0.40 m plus a plinth. Such a small statuette seems badly suited to a monumental architectural setting, but conceivably it stood on one of the smaller consoles.

It is interesting that the people who refurbished the colonnaded street could find a core of matching statuettes as late as the early 6th c. As we speculate below, these statuettes may have come from the décor of wealthy homes where they had remained valued as markers of *paideia* (élite culture). The statuettes had been cared for over their life history. The heads of the Apollo (2) and the headless Hygieia (4) were re-affixed at some point. A tiny iron-filled hole in the belly of the headless Hygieia (1) could represent a repair to her snake attribute or the location for attaching a metal snake. A leg fragment of similar scale as these statuettes and found in the vicinity has a drilling for a dowel, indicating a repair.⁵⁶

Apollo and the Muses on the Colonnaded Street?

Remarkably, of the 4 statuettes that are closely matched in size, two of these statuettes depict Hygieia in the same configuration (1, 4); the fragment of draped legs (3) may furnish a third

⁵² *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 52-53, no. 409, pl. 38, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias). For an Apollo, the best comparison is a head of Apollo found in the baths of Caracalla and now in the British Museum: *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 388-389, no. 75, pl. 307, s.v. Apollon/Apollo (E. Simon and G. Bauschenß). This type, the Apollo Giustiniani, is associated with Asia Minor.

⁵³ Mägele 2009, 565-67, no. 148, pl. 239-44.

⁵⁴ Filges 1999, 419-24.

⁵⁵ Filges 1999, 427, no. 9, pl. 35.3; Inan 1975, 41-43, no. 8, pl. 20.12. She dates this piece stylistically to the early 4th century.

⁵⁶ Inv. SA-2009-SS1-00184, max. preserved l.: 0.69 m.

example of this statue type. The snakes are all missing and it may be that they were intentionally removed from the statuettes at the time of their redisplay in the street. Without these snakes, the Hygeia statuettes had lost their most vital identifying features and they were turned into more neutral female depictions, open for reinterpretation. In combination with a statuette of Apollo, a new identity as muses as not unlikely.⁵⁷ This particular reinterpretation would indeed explain the appearance of two, possibly three “Hygieias.” In addition, it would also explain the presence of only one Grace and maybe even that of Aphrodite.

Muses remained extremely popular in Late Antiquity. Like other personifications, their original cultic associations were replaced by other connotations, in this case to education and cultured life.⁵⁸ As such, muses feature frequently on portable luxury goods produced in the 4th and early 5th century and in some 4th-c. mosaics.⁵⁹

Although the last muse statue known was produced in the 4th century,⁶⁰ older muses, often in combination with Apollo, frequently turn up in excavations of bath buildings, theatres and nymphaea as well.⁶¹ Their find locations indicate that they had remained on display until their architectural surroundings went out of use. For instance, the group of muses and the Apollo discovered in the Faustina Baths at Miletus were probably brought to the so-called Hall of the Muses in the second half of the 4th c. As late as the first half of the 6th c., the hall was being altered and repaired, while the statues remained in place.⁶² The theatre of Aphrodisias, which was intensively used into the 7th century, incorporated a statue of Apollo flanked by two muses in its façade.⁶³ With its two muses and statue of Apollo, the statuary programme of the Severan nymphaeum at Stratonikeia clearly was focused on this iconography. The statues were kept in place even after an elaborate cross had been added to one of the nymphaeum’s columns.⁶⁴ Likewise, the centrepiece of the Late Hadrianic Nymphaeum at Sagalassos, located on a terrace above the Lower Agora, was a colossal statue of a seated Apollo Kitharoidos. He greeted visitors approaching the city centre over the colonnaded street until the end of Antiquity.⁶⁵ The muses were present as well, this time as reliefs on the projecting pilasters of the podium. Although Apollo had been one of the main deities of Sagalassos,⁶⁶ the reasons for preserving his statue in the Late-Hadrianic

⁵⁷ We owe this suggestion to Peter Stewart.

⁵⁸ For a summary of reinterpretations of mythological beings and personifications, see Jacobs 2010, 287 with further references.

⁵⁹ For instance, a muse appears on a leaf from the diptych of Flavius Constantius, consul in 417 (Shelton 1983, 7, fig. 1) and a diptych in Monza pairs a muse with a writer or philosopher (Shelton 1983, 18, fig. 10). Muses appeared on silverware, such as the Muse Casket in the Esquiline Treasure (Shelton 1981, 75-77, no. 2, pl. 1). For mosaics (all western), see *LIMC* VII (1994), 1028-1030, s.v. “Mousa, Mousai/Musae” (J. Lancha).

⁶⁰ This life-sized statue is signed in Latin by Atticianus of Aphrodisias and is dated to the 4th c. on stylistic criteria (Aurenhammer 2006; Taeuber 2006).

⁶¹ Examples from Asia Minor can be found in Jacobs 2010, appendices. In addition to the muses mentioned there, a statue of Melpomene stood in the proscaenium of the theatre at Nysa until the building collapsed (Kadioğlu 2006, 320-22, no. 595, pl. 41.3-6, 42.1-1). Muses stood in front of the Senate at Constantinople at the start of the 5th c. (Bauer 1996, 164). The same group was possibly posted in the palace in the early 4th c. where they may have reflected imperial virtues and moral authority (Bassett 2004, 74, 91).

⁶² C. Schneider 1999, 47-54. Their find locations again indicate that they remained on display until the entire building went out of use in the first quarter of the 7th c. (Niewöhner 2013, 186-89).

⁶³ Erim and Smith 1991.

⁶⁴ Jacobs forthcoming, fig. 6.6.

⁶⁵ Mägele, Richard, and Waelkens 2007. A naked torso has been identified as a second, standing Apollo.

⁶⁶ For an overview of the evidence, see Talloen and Waelkens 2004, 2005.

Nymphaeum and for reusing his statuette on the street are probably not local, but need to be sought in his association with the muses and their communal reference to intellectual activities, education and culture.

Origin of the statuettes

As will be argued below, there is no reason to assume that the statuettes were already on display in an earlier phase of the street. They apparently were introduced during the 6th-c. renovation phase. Before that time, they must have been part of another urban setting. In order to determine their origin, it is useful to take a look at other contexts at Sagalassos in which under life sized statues were found, namely an elite mansion and the Imperial bath building of the town. The large majority of small-scale statuettes found throughout the Roman Empire came from private houses where they were put on display for aesthetic reasons, as moral *exempla*, or as expressions of status, rank, and education.⁶⁷ The excavations at Sagalassos have uncovered one such (enormous) elite house comprised of over 70 rooms spread over 4 terraces, including two peristyle courtyards, dining halls, reception rooms, an atrium with decorative fountain, and a private bath complex.⁶⁸ Although this mansion was subdivided and used for more pragmatic purposes in the second half of the 6th c., and although the limekiln found in its former atrium was no doubt fuelled with the former interior decoration, a number of statuary fragments found throughout the rooms still give some indications of the former furnishings.⁶⁹ There was evidence for one life sized female statue and a relief of Ganymede and a tondo,⁷⁰ as well as for 13 statuettes with a height between 0.30 and 1 m.⁷¹

The number of statuettes discovered in public contexts generally is much smaller, though they are not unknown.⁷² At Sagalassos, a remarkably high number of statuette fragments was found in the Imperial Baths, concentrated in the two frigidaria and the apodyterium in its eastern half.⁷³ Of the 25 statues discovered in these rooms, 14 were small-scale.⁷⁴ However, it is far from certain that all statuettes attested were originally intended for the baths. The argument most often used in favour of this hypothesis is that their production date in the Antonine period matches the construction date of the bath complex.⁷⁵ However, at

⁶⁷ Bartman 1992, 39-42. For an overview of collections found in private houses, see Hannestad 1994; 2007a-b; Bergmann 1999; Stirling 2005; 2007; 2008.

⁶⁸ This private palace, located in the eastern domestic area of the town, probably reached its largest extent in the second half of the 4th century (Uytterhoeven and Martens 2008).

⁶⁹ On the evaporation of the elite character of this residence, see Waelkens *et al.* 2011, 272-73.

⁷⁰ Mägele 2009, cat. no. 66, 68 and SA-2011-DA1-69-311.

⁷¹ Mägele 2009, cat. nos 59-72. Most of these were assigned an Antonine date or were placed in the second half of the 2nd century.

⁷² Bartman (1992, 42) mentions statuettes found in the Trajanic Baths of Cyrene, the Roman theatre at Capua as well as the Julian and South Basilicas of the Roman forum at Corinth. In addition, 15 statuettes were found in the theatre of Corinth (Sturgeon 2004, 17).

⁷³ Mägele 2009, V.1.3.

⁷⁴ It has been suggested that another 8 small-scale statues found in erosion layers on the Lower Agora below the baths derived from this monument as well (Mägele 2009, cat. nos 105, 112, 114, 120, 126, 131, 134, 135).

⁷⁵ The architecture is thought to have been finished by AD 165, when that the “Marmorsaal” and probably the entire building was inaugurated and dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. For a slightly outdated summary of the building history of the “Imperial Baths”, see Waelkens 2002, 350; 2005, 385.

least one statue fragment associated with the baths has been assigned an Antonine date not on internal criteria, but because this would fit the completion of the architecture of the baths.⁷⁶

Furthermore, it is clear that some of the bath décor was altered in late antiquity, and reused statuettes could have been brought into the baths at any time. Two cylindrical statue bases that stood on the pool parapet of Frigidarium I in the last phase of the baths confirm that later changes were made to the bath's statuary collection, as they were used at least twice, once for metal statuary, later for stone statues with plinths. Consequently, it seems highly likely that the decoration of the baths had been adjusted over the course of time. Frigidarium I in its current form only came into existence around the year AD 400. The baths were renovated in their entirety in the early 6th c., during which the *crustae* were removed from the walls of Frigidarium II and the space was given a new mosaic pavement. These renovations provide two opportunities when statuettes from elsewhere might have been brought into the most prestigious rooms of the bath building. At Aphrodisias, the Hadrianic baths accreted statuary, including reused sculptures of the high empire, into the 6th c.⁷⁷ The themes attested in the statuettes from the Imperial baths were suitable for a bath building, but also for private contexts.⁷⁸

Moreover, only 4 statues in Frigidarium I (two boys with hydria and two Aphrodites) were clearly found where they had tumbled down from their final location of display.⁷⁹ All the other statues found in the same room were represented by smaller fragments. Their original dimensions were quite diverse (between c.0.30-0.40 and 0.80 m), and their production dates ranged from the mid-Antonine period to the last quarter of the 2nd c.⁸⁰ In addition, according to this scenario there would have been a remarkable contrast between the omnipresence of statuary in the frigidarium and its virtual absence from all other rooms in the baths. Although the concentration of late antique statue display in *frigidaria* is known elsewhere,⁸¹ it is more probable that in a final phase the *natatio* was used to intentionally dump statue fragments or store them before taking them to the nearby limekilns.⁸² Since none of the statues was found complete, it can be assumed that this process was ongoing when the space went out of use.

Therefore, although a large number of statuettes was discovered in the Imperial Baths of Sagalassos, the chance that our statues on the street came from such a public context are rather slim. On the contrary, it is likely that a large part of the collection assigned to the baths was introduced there only at a later moment in time. In fact, in some other cities where small-

⁷⁶ A torso of a Herakles statuette found in erosion layers on top of the Lower Agora was assigned an Antonine date as it was assumed to have come from the baths (Mägele 2009, cat. no. 112). According to Niels Hannestad (2014, 215), the majority of small-scale statuary is dated to the Antonine period, not always correctly.

⁷⁷ Smith 2007, 208-9, 215-16.

⁷⁸ Stirling *forthcoming*.

⁷⁹ Mägele 2009, cat. nos 145-146 and 147-148.

⁸⁰ Mägele 2009, V.1.3. Cat. nos. 149, 150, 151, 151a, 153-156, 159.

⁸¹ Leone 2013, 153-154 mentions the Thermes d'Hiver in Thuburbo Maius.

⁸² This could have occurred both before and after the early 7th-century earthquake. Indeed, evidence that large numbers of goats were slaughtered here around the mid-7th century confirms this room was still accessible (Waelkens and the Sagalassosteam 2011-2012, 92-93). Remains of two limekilns have been discovered in a nearby apodyterium (Waelkens *et al.* 2013, 143-44). Leone's study of statuary in major monumental complexes in North Africa furthermore confirmed that post-Roman, i.e. Islamic, occupation was detrimental for the statuary record (Leone 2013, 152-53, 159, 187). In private contexts as well, statue fragments are often found in and near pools, apparently awaiting reuse or burning (Munro *forthcoming*).

scale statuary was found in a civic context, it can also be argued that it originally did not belong there but was taken from a private context.⁸³ Admittedly, relocation of statuary from a private to a public context cannot be securely proven anywhere, but this does not mean that it did not take place. Already by the start of Late Antiquity, the rules on statuary usage were not as strict as they had been in the past and examples of unorthodox relocations abound.⁸⁴

Discussion of the statuettes' find circumstances

Before attempting to reconstruct the mode of display of the street statuettes, it should be mentioned that this reconstruction is seriously hampered by the fact that at least some of the statue fragments and the debris of the street colonnades were moved sometime after their collapse. In addition, an unknown number of statuettes may have disappeared (almost) completely. As discussed above, occupation at Sagalassos did not end after the early 7th-c. earthquake, and contemporary inhabitants obviously moved about in the area of the colonnaded street as well. Amongst other things, they pushed and pulled collapsed column shafts, capitals and consoles that were lying in the centre of the street against the walls bordering the road surface (Fig. 10). Since some of these were positioned on top of a thin layer of earth, it would appear that soil from the slopes surrounding the colonnaded street started to accumulate on top of the road surface fairly rapidly. Moreover, at this time or shortly after, the construction of the fortified hamlet and its associated barrier wall to the south of the city centre was initiated. For this purpose, ashlar of the walls bordering the street, column shafts and at least one console were transported to the new construction site.⁸⁵ The majority of the construction material was apparently taken from the street section to the south of the excavated crossroads, although there are some blocks missing from the more northern section as well. In any case, it is clear that the colonnaded street to the south of the Lower Agora saw quite a lot of activity in the post-Roman period.

The statuettes were handled as well, certainly those that had already fallen down. The Aphrodite torso (5) ended up inside the by then already dysfunctional street fountain, on top of another dump of butchery refuse and ceramics. It was then covered by a large column base that had been pushed into the fountain (Fig. 11, cf. *infra*). Since the sherds inside this dump

⁸³ Jacobs *forthcoming* discusses the Stadium Fountain at Ephesus, the only other public monument in Asia Minor that was decorated with under life sized statuary, as well as two busts found in the Severan Gate-Nymphaeum at Stratonikeia. By contrast, the under life sized statues found at the South Nymphaeum of Apamea did fit the smaller niches of the fountain (Schmidt-Colinet 1985), whereas an under life sized figure of Hypnos would have been suited for the smaller upper niches of the Nymphaeum at Byblos (Lauffray 1940). We owe these references to Julian Richard.

⁸⁴ For example, at Ostia as well as at a number of other sites in Latium and Campania, funerary statues were taken from the high imperial tombs outside the city and reused in large numbers as *ornamenta* both inside public buildings such as baths and private houses in the late 3rd-early 4th century. The most telling examples are those of sarcophagus lids reused as fountain figures in fountains and bath buildings. The original meaning of the statues apparently was subordinate to their ornamental value. Murer *forthcoming* discusses three ensembles from Ostia, the Aula di Marte e Venere, the Sede degli Augustali, as well as the baths di Cisiarii. Taking ornaments from tombs for domestic decoration was denounced in several edicts dated between AD 340 and 363. At Athens, funerary reliefs were given a second life inside a 4th-century sanctuary for Hecate, whereas reliefs thought to have derived from an old sanctuary were reused in a small shrine in the House of Proclus (Burckhardt *forthcoming*).

⁸⁵ In addition, the foundations of the towers held massive amounts of ashlar, rubble and roof tiles mixed with a variety of smaller artefacts deriving from the colonnaded street and its shops.

could be assigned a date in the second half of the 6th-early 7th c., the torso's deposition could be dated independently to a moment postdating the earthquake.

The statue fragments of Apollo (2), the Hygieia with Hypnos (4) and the legs of a draped female figure (3) were found lying in the centre of the paved road, on top of a thin layer of erosional soil. The headless Hygieia (1) was found in a comparable position in front of debris from the western bordering wall of the street. In addition, the Grace (6) was discovered at the bottom of a collapse layer that covered the displaced column fragments. This leads us to believe that some parts of the colonnaded street survived the initial tremble and only collapsed some decades or even centuries after, when activity on the colonnaded street had already been drastically diminished.

Reconstruction of the statuary display

That being said, as mentioned above and as shown on Figure 1, limestone consoles were discovered in the proximity of the headless Hygieia (1), the Hygieia with Hypnos (4), the legs from a draped female figure (3), the Apollo (2) and the Aphrodite torso (5). That nearest to the Aphrodite torso (5) had already been pushed against the western bordering wall of the street. By contrast, in the case of the Hygieia with Hypnos (4), the find situation made it very clear that the statuette had tumbled down from a console which, to judge from the concentration of brick and tuff stones next to which the statue and console were found, had once been integrated into a brick-and-tuff pillar. A 6th, similar console was discovered in the Byzantine barrier wall blocking the street in the south. These 6 consoles were all similar in design and very simple, though their dimensions vary somewhat (see Table 1). One console was found with a dowel still attached, and another possessed dovetail clamps on its sides, indicating that they had originally been intended to be integrated into a limestone wall. Indeed, although the lack of decoration makes these consoles very difficult to date, there can be little doubt that they were reused in the 6th-c. renovation phase of the street, where they were integrated into brick-and-tuff piers.

The surface treatment of the consoles suggest that they protruded c.0.60 m, which would have been more than sufficient to display small-scale statues. To judge from the width of the consoles, the largest being 0.47 m wide, they were all intended to display a single statuette, not a statuary group. This makes one wonder if the other two Graces were ever on display here in the street, or, conversely, if they had been lost earlier on, with only the central Grace (6) re-erected in the 6th c. Although this would have been an unconventional solution, so is the entire street reconstruction. Moreover, this lonely Grace would not be the only example of damaged statuary re-erected in Early Byzantine times.⁸⁶

Finally, at the northern end of the street, near the staircase to the Lower Agora, two more consoles were discovered, one near the eastern street border, the other near the western.

⁸⁶ The two imperial statues of colossal size re-erected on the Byzantine esplanade of Caesarea Maritima sometime between AD 546 and 606 were installed in a very slipshod way: the Hadrian did not fit the granite throne he is seated on, and, moreover, makeshift bases and odd bits of stone were used to prop the statues up where parts of the original sculpture were missing. It is possible that by this time both statues were already headless (Kristensen 2010 with further references). Likewise, the statue of Caesarea's Tyche placed on top of a high sandstone base in a courtyard of what Holum (2008, 555-58) suggested was a lecture hall in the 6th century was probably no longer complete (Gersht 1984; Wenning 1986; Holum *et al.* 1988, 10-12; Fischer 1996, 257).

Both were carved from a better quality limestone and were of much smaller dimensions than the other 6.⁸⁷ Although they seem much too small to contribute to the adornment of a colonnaded street, these consoles were discovered at the bottom of colonnade debris, making it very likely that they too had once been integrated into piers. Fragments of much smaller statuettes were indeed discovered near the staircase to the Agora Gate and it is not impossible that some of them were positioned on top of these smaller brackets. The head with a topknot (7), which comes from a statuette ca. 0.35-0.40 m tall, would have fit on one of these smaller consoles, even though it seems very small for a monumental location.

In summary, to judge from the find locations of the statuettes and the consoles, it would appear that there were minimum three statuettes on display along the eastern border of the street. An Apollo (2), a Hygieia or Tyche (3), and a Hygieia with Hypnos (4) were mounted on top of statue brackets belonging to three adjacent brick-and-tuff piers about halfway between the agora gate staircase and the first crossroads. In addition, an unknown, even smaller statuette may have been mounted on top of a small console near the agora gate staircase. Along the western side of the street, the display may have been somewhat more spread out, with a statuette of Hygieia (1) mounted on top of a console near the crossroads, the Aphrodite (5) about halfway, near the street fountain, possibly the central figure of the Three Grace (6) more to the north, and possibly a much smaller statuette on a smaller console near the agora gate staircase. Since none of the statuettes shows holes for bars or other connection mechanisms on their back, they were apparently not physically attached to the pillar behind. None of the consoles showed traces of dowel holes or cuttings for the statue plinths either, but it is possible that the plinths were mortared onto them. Considering that the consoles and the statue fragments lay near the surface for more than 1400 years, it would not be surprising that all traces of mortar have disappeared.

On the whole, this statuary composition looked very different from statuary displays composed in classical antiquity, but then, so did the entire 6th-c. colonnaded street. Despite irregularities, the end result was reminiscent of older colonnaded streets decorated with statues on statue brackets.

Consoles in other cities

Although inscribed consoles or statue brackets occur in other towns in Pisidia as well,⁸⁸ the presence of columns provided with consoles in streets is not known in this or in neighbouring provinces. At Perge in Pamphylia, one section of the colonnaded street had consoles, but they were integrated into the back wall.⁸⁹ At Ephesus, a console carrying the 5th-c. bust of Eutropius at Ephesus may have been incorporated either into the back wall of the Marble Street or into a column or pillar.⁹⁰ By far the large majority of consoles projecting out from columns are located in Cilicia and Syria. Palmyra once possessed a staggering number of

⁸⁷ SA-2009-SS1-182-308-10 (east) and SA-2009-SS1-217-347-1 (west).

⁸⁸ For instance at Melli: see Mitchell 2003, nos. 7-8, for a "patron and benefactor."

⁸⁹ Heinzelmann 2003, 206 ("Abschnitt West 4").

⁹⁰ Ephesus: <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>, LSA-611 (A. Sokolicek and Ulrich Gehn) with further references. In the discussion section, the console is suggested to have been inserted into a wall, though a column or pillar is not excluded either.

statues positioned on top of consoles along virtually all of its colonnaded streets.⁹¹ Statue brackets were present in the main street of Apamea-ad-Orontes, in Diocaesarea (Uzuncaburç), Anazarbos, Hierapolis-Kastabala and Pompeiopolis.⁹² The brackets were either monolithic with the column drum or intended to be inserted into a niche carved out within this drum. They were often decorated with acanthus leaves at the bottom and various mouldings to the sides, but others, like those in the main street of Pompeiopolis, were much simpler.⁹³ When the statue brackets are inscribed, the texts invariably refer to important individuals: emperors, members of the imperial house, Roman officials and civic benefactors.⁹⁴

Since none of the original statues from the sites listed above has been identified, their material, size and exact appearance cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Some assumptions can be made though. First of all, it is very likely that the original statues in these colonnaded streets were at least life sized and made of metal. Indeed, at times, the presence of metal statues is attested by holes, some of them still filled with metal, in the top face of the consoles. Such holes are attested in at least some of the consoles at Pompeiopolis and in all consoles of the colonnaded streets of Palmyra.⁹⁵ In both streets, some of the column shafts possessed small holes at a certain distance above the consoles as well, apparently because some of the statues needed to be secured further. Metal statues had the advantage of being much lighter than their stone counterparts. The latter would also have required a larger surface to safely support their plinths, larger than what normally was available on column consoles (those along the colonnaded streets of Palmyra were 0.70 m deep, 0.65 m wide and 0.45 m high).⁹⁶ However, metal statues rarely survive. At Palmyra, only a few scraps of metal statues have been recovered. At Pompeiopolis, there was no trace of them at all. They presumably disappeared into metal furnaces.

Excavations in the southern section of the street at Pompeiopolis, undertaken between 2000 and 2003, have uncovered several stone statues and statuary fragments of diverse subject matter and size, however. Some of them, such as an over life sized statue of the emperor Balbinus (AD 238), a slightly over life sized Hygieia and a life sized Asklepios were in all likelihood on display on bases found along the border of the colonnaded street.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Tabaczek 2002, 49-53, 118-22.

⁹² Apamea: Balty 1981, 69; Diocaesarea: Keil and Wilhelm 1931, 48-54; Anazarbos: Gough 1952, 104-5; Hierapolis-Kastabala: Bent 1891, 234; Verzone 1957, 55; Pompeiopolis: Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 376.

⁹³ Statue brackets attached to column shafts alternate with others inserted into niches. The latter may have been later additions to the original design. Nevertheless, at least part of the consoles belonged to the original building phase of the street. Even though this overall design was quite luxurious, including figured Corinthian column capitals, the consoles themselves were not decorated and of diverse sizes, as were the examples from Sagalassos (Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 376).

⁹⁴ The statue brackets in the colonnaded street of Apamea carried, amongst others, statues of the emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Dedications on the consoles at Pompeiopolis indicate that the statues on top originally were dedicated to emperors (two to Augustus, one to Hadrian, one to Commodus), two to high-placed Roman officials, one to a priest and three to apparently private individuals that presumably acted as benefactors to the city (Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 376-78). A fragment with a Greek inscription possibly belonging to a 4th console for a private individual was discovered during the Pompeiopolis campaign of 2009 (Yağcı 2010, 104). Most inscriptions at Palmyra honoured meritorious citizens and their families (Tabaczek 2002, 118-22).

⁹⁵ For Palmyra: Tabaczek 2002, 50; Pompeiopolis: observation authors.

⁹⁶ Dunant and Stucky 2000, 20-24 for a discussion on metal and stone statues at Palmyra.

⁹⁷ Yağcı 2004, 55-56; 2005, 86; Tulunay 2005a-b. The excavators do not really explain the presence of the statues in the street. It is possible that some of them ended up here because they were meant to be burned in a nearby limekiln of Byzantine date. The statues of Balbinus and Hygieia were found near the kiln (Yağcı 2004,

Conversely, a smaller statue of Nemesis (1.26 m without head) was almost certainly mounted on top of a column console, because it apparently had a mounting hole in the back corresponding to the hole in the column shaft.⁹⁸ In addition, excavations have uncovered an under life sized statuary group of Dionysus, Pan and a panther on a scale comparable to the Nemesis.⁹⁹ Because of the group composition and the larger plinth, this item would have been more stable than the Nemesis, so that it is not unfeasible that this group as well was placed on top of a column console in the final phase of the colonnaded street, even though the figures did not display mounting holes.

Although the evidence is extremely scanty, it would appear that the 6th-c. builders of Sagalassos were copying contemporary colonnaded streets from the eastern provinces, where, by that time, some of the consoles were carrying stone, under life sized statues, probably as replacements for taller metal precursors. Admittedly, the statue(s) of Nemesis and Dionysos at Pompeiopolis are still somewhat larger than the items found at Sagalassos, but then again, the street itself was much larger scale. It was 15 m wide and the colonnade roofs would have started at a height of 9.5 m or more,¹⁰⁰ whereas the street at Sagalassos was c. 10 m wide, and the height of the colonnade supports in the 6th c. could be calculated to have been only some 4.40 m.¹⁰¹ As such, the dimensions at Sagalassos were more suited for smaller statues than were those of the more magnificent thoroughfares of Cilicia or North-Syria.¹⁰² In fact, the ratio of the Sagalassos statues in relation to the street architecture would have been comparable to that of metal statues in relation to the colonnades of the main street of Palmyra. By contrast, the Nemesis at Pompeiopolis seems too small for the console to which it is connected.¹⁰³

That the consoles at Sagalassos were integrated into piers instead of columns indicates that this fashion of displaying statuary was new to the town and probably to the entire region. As described above, columns with consoles have not been found elsewhere in the region. By the 6th c., piers had in any case become a valid replacement for columns, presumably because the supply of column parts was running dry.¹⁰⁴

55). In addition, after its eventual collapse, the street was apparently used as a quarry (Yağcı 2010, 105), which, like at Sagalassos, could have disturbed the collapsed statues even further. Smaller fragments found in the street include the pelvic area of a male statue, a statue fragment belonging to a torso, and a marble statue base (2005, 86-87), arm and hand fragments from an architectural figural statue (Yağcı 2006, 58), a marble hand holding a phiale (Yağcı 2007, 74), etc.

⁹⁸ Tulunay 2005a, 21.

⁹⁹ Yağcı 2004, 55, 56 fig. 1; Tulunay 2005a, 24-25, 29 fig. 6.

¹⁰⁰ Peschlow-Bindokat 1975, 374; Başağaç 2013.

¹⁰¹ Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 237.

¹⁰² The smaller columns of the Baalshamîn sanctuary at Palmyra may also have carried under life sized limestone statues (Tabaczek 2002, 52-53).

¹⁰³ Sagalassos: 0.85 m (estimated height Hygieias) / 4.40 m (estimated h. colonnades) = **0.19**; Palmyra: 1.6 (height of an imaginary life sized statue) / 8.85 m (average height of the columns in the Main Street) = **0.18**; Pompeiopolis: (1.26 m + 0.16 m (estimated height head) + 0.05 m (height plinth)) / 9 m (height of the colonnades) = **0.155**; In addition, at the Baalshamin sanctuary at Palmyra, two columns with standing priests in relief were discovered. They occupied c. 1/5 of the total column height (Dunant and Stucky 2000, 23), which is again comparable to the ratios mentioned above.

¹⁰⁴ This shortage is confirmed by the fact that column shafts were positioned on a variety of bases. For contemporary examples of piers supplementing columns in streets, see Jacobs 2013, 169-70; Jacobs and Waelkens 2014, 250.

Conclusion

The 6th-c. statuary display on the main colonnaded street of Sagalassos at first sight seems very different from older statuary ensembles and even third-rate. It combined, amongst others, two, probably three, Hygieias (1, 3, 4), a broken statue of only one Grace (6) and maybe even very small statuettes (7). Moreover, the statues were mounted on reused consoles integrated into brick and tuff piers instead of the more standard columns. Nevertheless, for its time, the urbanistic project utilizing this statuary collection was undoubtedly highly prestigious. It was carefully planned and executed. The statues, (nearly) matching in size, were meticulously selected, presumably from rich homes in the city. The Hygieias, the Grace, and maybe even the Aphrodite were in all likelihood reinterpreted as muses and, together with Apollo, they made it clear that Sagalassos was a cultured town. They were displayed in a manner that was modelled after contemporary colonnaded streets in more eastern provinces but novel to Sagalassos and its region. Even in the eastern cities, some of the original busts or metal statues had probably been replaced by underlife-sized figures by the 6th c.

The statues themselves, produced at various dates in the 2nd and 3rd c., had been well taken care of throughout their lifespan. Some of them in all likelihood underwent intentional adjustments by the time they entered the street – for instance the metal snakes of the Hygieias (1, 4) were probably removed to facilitate their reinterpretation – but there is no real indication that their pagan-mythological nature or the nakedness of some of the figures was at any time considered offensive by the inhabitants of Sagalassos. Stratigraphically excavated and dated, the colonnaded street at Sagalassos will be a key piece of evidence in the ongoing re-evaluation of the public reuse of ancient statuary.

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Fig. 11. Find situation of the Aphrodite (I. Jacobs)

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