

CHAPTER 5

Statuary, the Secular and Remaining Powers in Late Antiquity

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the survival and diverse usage of pagan-mythological statuary until the end of Antiquity. In order to explain its continued functioning in late antique centuries, I discuss two ways of viewing: the secular (whereby gods and divinities are seen as symbolic or emblematic for specific aspects of life, particularly elite life), and the religious (whereby gods and divinities retain power and agency). Whereas secular explanations have been given ample attention in recent decades, the power of statues in Late Antiquity, and especially their positive power in the eyes of people who self-identified as Christian, has been largely neglected. I argue that it is worthwhile exploring this route further to help explain why these statues remained so omnipresent in the cityscape.

Keywords: pagan-mythological statuary, magic, secular, Sagalassos, *paideia*, Constantinople, Palladion

How to cite this book chapter

Jacobs, Ine. 'Statuary, the Secular and Remaining Powers in Late Antiquity'. In *Being Pagan, Being Christian in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, edited by Katja Ritari, Jan R. Stenger and William Van Andringa, 85–118. AHEAD: Advanced Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.33134/AHEAD-4-5>.

Introduction

The fate of pagan and mythological statues in Late Antiquity has drawn a lot of scholarly attention in recent years. Careful research is attesting an ever greater number of statues that remained on display until very late in the period or even survived into the Middle Ages or later Byzantine periods. Moreover, it is becoming ever clearer that these statues were not simply left standing but were repaired, altered and moved around, sometimes multiple times and apparently until much later than we previously assumed.¹ As the numbers of actively preserved and manipulated statuary grows, and as the quality of our information on both the statues and their contexts of use increases, the need grows also to examine how and why they still functioned in an ever more Christian society. Currently, a few wide-ranging explanatory frameworks are used to understand this survival of pagan and mythological statuary. On the one hand, statues are believed to have been preserved, relocated and appreciated by ever decreasing numbers of late antique pagans because of residual power. Late antique Christians, on the other hand, supposedly either appreciated statues for their beauty and used them for various secular purposes or feared them because they were considered dangerous. Although these takes on statuary, much of which are still derived from literary sources, are not necessarily wrong, I argue that the gulf between pagan and Christian viewings was not as large as is generally portrayed. In particular, a lot of the surviving evidence and literary attestations of late antique usage of statues may be explained in a much more straightforward way by assuming that Christians also believed particular statues to possess benevolent potency. This argument has very recently been made for the statues remaining on display at Constantinople, based on the ample literary sources available for the capital (Chatterjee 2021, 8 and *passim*), but it is not considered for the archaeological remains of statuary found elsewhere.

In the following pages, I will review lines of thought on pagan-mythological statuary in Late Antiquity with particular attention to one assemblage of statuettes of pagan divinities, put on display alongside the main colonnaded street of Sagalassos (south-west Turkey) in the second quarter of the 6th century. After a short overview of the archaeological evidence, I set out to sketch in broad brush-strokes the content and impact of the explanatory framework of the secular. I will

assess how this can be used to understand the survival of pagan and mythological statuary in Late Antiquity in general and then explore if and how it can be applied to the statuary composition at Sagalassos. In the second part, I will present an alternative framework that I will refer to as ‘multiple religious consciousness’, whereby pagan and mythological objects retained advantageous religious potency to Christians. Again, I will discuss reactions to statuary that would support this notion and examine if, how and why such an explanation would be apt for the Sagalassos situation. The two frameworks explored below are, at least in my opinion, not contradictory, and one does not necessarily exclude the other.²

The Statuettes and Their Find Location

Sagalassos was a medium-sized Pisidian town with a total inhabited surface of about 40 hectares, located in the south-west Taurus Mountains of Turkey, at an altitude of between 1,400 and 1,700 m. Excavations, started in 1990, have uncovered large areas of the city centre, including two agorae, stretches of the main roads, numerous public buildings and churches. They have produced a particularly detailed picture of what was happening in the 6th century, which, as at many sites in Asia Minor, was the last phase of large-scale occupation. At the start of the century, the town was hit by an earthquake. An extensive renovation programme was initiated and apparently lasted until the mid-6th century. Even though renovations and repairs were often executed with reused materials, they ensured the continued use of public buildings such as the imperial bath complex, as well as public spaces, including the two agorae and the main north–south colonnaded street.³

During the excavation campaign of 2009, a set of under-life-sized statues was discovered on top of the pavement of this street, just to the south of the Lower Agora.⁴ Their find context suggests that they had been put on display on top of statue brackets along the street only during the post-earthquake renovations, more precisely during the second quarter of the 6th century. They would remain there until Sagalassos was hit by yet another earthquake in the first quarter of the 7th century. Some of the statues apparently even survived this seismic event and only toppled over at an unknown later point in time. Consequently, this collection provides us with information on what pieces of

statuary were still available and considered suitable for reuse. As such, they can also inform us about the values and beliefs of the population of Sagalassos in the 6th century.

Although these statuettes all depict pagan divinities or personifications, there can be little doubt that the population using the street in the 6th century, and also that initiating its last refurbishment, self-identified as Christian. Churches had already been constructed in highly conspicuous locations in the first half of the 5th century, and by the time the street was renovated, there were at least seven. In the surroundings of the statuettes, Christianity was omnipresent in the form of crosses and prayers inscribed on columns, and some architectural fragments carried crosses in relief.⁵ Christian iconography by that time also proliferated on locally produced tableware (Talloon and Poblome 2005, 70–78).

To judge from the find locations of the statuettes and the consoles, there were a minimum of three statuettes on display along the eastern border of the street: an Apollo, a Hygieia and a Hygieia with Hypnos. 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, a third statuette of Hygieia was mounted on top of a console near a crossroads, an Aphrodite was present about halfway, near a street fountain, a central figure of a group once representing the Three Graces more to the north, and possibly a much smaller statuette, depicting Aphrodite, on a smaller console near the agora gate staircase. None of the statues were complete at the time of excavation. The best preserved were the Hygieia with Hypnos, which was restored from four pieces, with the hands, lower legs and plinth missing, and the Apollo, of which 14 pieces were recovered, but the head, genitals, left hand and right forearm had disappeared. Conversely, of the lonely Grace and the Aphrodite, only the torsos were recovered.⁶

Most of these fragments were found where they fell, either directly on top of the street pavement or on top of a thin layer of soil above the pavement. By contrast, the torso of the Aphrodite, preserved from shoulders to navel, with the upper buttocks just visible, was discovered in more exceptional circumstances. It had been thrown into a disused street fountain, on top of an already present pile of rubbish assembled there since the fountain went out of use. Moreover, it had been covered by a large and heavy column base, which had been lifted from the street border just next to the fountain especially for this purpose. The

weight of the base indicates that several people were involved in this operation. The fact that they were able to use a column base for this purpose puts the date of the events after the early 7th-century earthquake, which caused the colonnade and columns to fall onto the street pavement. Consequently, it can also be deduced that the statue of Aphrodite remained on its position of display until the seismic event.

Statuary and the Secular

The most common way in which to frame the life story of this collection of statuettes would involve some reference to 'the secular'. This notion, developed in most detail by Robert Markus, is pervasive in the interpretation and characterisation of Late Antiquity in general.⁷ Based on an analysis of Augustine's writings, Markus proposed to envision antique society as a cluster of ideas divided into three spheres: the 'profane', the 'sacred' and the 'secular'. The first indicates all that had to be rejected in the surrounding culture, practices and institutions and became more and more identifiable with 'pagan'. The second is more or less identified with the sphere of Christian religious belief, practices, institutions and cult. Situated in between is the 'secular' sphere, a collection of habits and contexts that were ambivalent, 'capable of being linked either with damnation or salvation, depending on the ultimate purposes to which it is harnessed' (Markus 1985, 85).⁸ The 'secular' sphere enabled ancient customs, norms and political institutions as well as physical spaces, objects and iconography to be shared between non-Christians and Christians. In many instances, it avoided a radical departure from an entire culture based on pagan traditions.

Scholars have used the influence of 'the secular' as an explanation for the continuation of New Year celebrations and civic games (Markus 1990, 107–09). Texts featuring gods and mythological creatures could be used by Christians as well because they had been 'secularised', and became 'simple cultural inheritance' (Lepelley 2010, 489). The same 'secularised' subjects remained a source of inspiration far into the 6th century for silversmiths, mosaicists, painters and so on (Liebeschuetz 1995; Leader-Newby 2004), with (elite) Christian owners appreciating classical art as much as anyone else. For laypeople – including the authorities – the secularisation of institutions and objects, externalised as the removal of offensive ritual aspects and physical attributes, was sufficient to avoid a radical departure from their culture. It made it

possible to assimilate multiple classical elements into a Christian society, and to further profit from them in many ways. These opinions were shared by at least some of the high-ranking clergy, who came from the same social background and had shared the education and culture of their lay peers.⁹ By contrast, within the Church more hard-line factions existed as well. Men like Augustine (at least later in his life) and Ambrose in the West, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom in the East, opposed the compromising solutions that were promoted by the imperial authorities, supported by the elite and welcomed by the majority of the civic population. Their ideal version of Christianity left a lot less space for a secular sphere.

Only with time did the growing influence of this ascetic Christian tradition over activities within society, including charity, justice, building projects, urban calendars, politics and so on, supposedly lead to a growing desecularisation, with Christianity getting a grip on ever more aspects of everyday life or rejecting them altogether (Markus 1990, 16; Van Dam 2007, 361). Although the genesis of the secular sphere in the course of the 4th and early 5th centuries has been given more attention than its later evolution and possible demise, there can be little doubt that it slowly contracted. Markus stressed that the secular could only exist as long as a society was not religiously homogeneous. The location of laws related to the Church and ecclesiastical matters at the very beginning of the *Codex Justinianus* already suggests that Christianity had become a particularly important aspect in the self-definition of the Byzantine state. Nevertheless, the final triumph of the sacred over the secular may have followed only in the wake of factors such as plague, invasions and brigandage, which became predominant from the mid-6th century and which caused urban populations to turn to their bishops for both spiritual and factual help.¹⁰ By the end of the 6th century, a wholly Christian society had come into being. There were no non-Christians left to share the sphere of the secular with.¹¹

Two assumptions have occurred in modern scholarship building on Markus' ideas of the secular: first, the original ambivalence that was still present with Markus is often reduced to issues of aesthetics, cultural significance, self-representation, antiquarianism and so on.¹² In other words, a religious neutrality is assumed, and the texts and objects involved are separated from religious meaning.¹³ Probably based on a modern perception of a secular world, in the modern mind they have

become powerless and passive reflectors of a changed late antique society, which may not have been what Markus originally intended when he discussed his views on the secular in Late Antiquity. Second, many scholars who use this notion implicitly or explicitly assume that it was mainly elite classes who were susceptible to it. By contrast, the majority of people who did not have the benefits of a classical education could not appreciate the subtleties of the pagan past and were much more inclined to associate its remnants with demons.¹⁴ At best, it is acknowledged that we do not have much information on their attitudes.

How can the above be applied to the statuary record? Imperial promulgations of the late 4th and early 5th centuries demanded the destruction of some pagan statues, notably those that had received worship. This entailed cult statues in temples, other statues in temple domains that for some reason or other had become the object of veneration, and statues elsewhere in the cityscape that were treated in similar ways.¹⁵ A famous example of such a statue is the Aphrodite on the agora of Gaza, which, according to Marc the Deacon, was offered incense by women until Bishop Porphyry had it destroyed at the end of the 4th century.¹⁶ Bath buildings are another context that was explicitly referred to in imperial laws, as a location where such veneration took place.¹⁷ In other words, as these statues were too much entrenched in the pagan sphere, the laws suggest that they were not deemed acceptable in the new worldview, at least not without drastic alterations.¹⁸

Conversely, other laws stressed the artfulness of statues and suggested they should be appreciated for their beauty.¹⁹ Although this was acknowledged for temple statues as well,²⁰ it can be considered to have been very apt for statues that had not received veneration. These supposedly could remain under the radar more often and transition into the secular sphere without much fuss, where they were regarded as general cultural heritage, references to a rich past and elements of decoration and representation (Lepelley 2001).

Statues of mythological beings or personifications, such as Tritons, Gorgons, Muses, Eros, satyrs and so on, thus remained omnipresent in the cityscape. Nike/Victoria remained highly popular.²¹ But pagan deities as well are known to have remained standing in theatres' facades, monumental fountains, bath buildings, and sometimes on streets and squares.²² Their original cultic associations were replaced by other connotations.²³ Particular gods came to symbolise admirable qualities. Tyche the goddess came to symbolise the spirit of a city,²⁴ Apollo and

the Muses became references to a cultured life (cf. *infra*). Athena and Zeus could be reinterpreted as evocations of wisdom (Bassett 2004, 91), Dionysus became shorthand for hospitality and conviviality,²⁵ and so on. On a more general level, all these pagan-mythological statues could convey political messages or could be appreciated because they were fine works of art.²⁶ Elite Christians not only decorated their houses with pagan-mythological mosaics and textiles and ate from precious silverware displaying the adventures of mythological gods and heroes; they also displayed small-scale statues of Aphrodite, Apollo, *putti* and so on. Private collections of statuary have been retrieved from all around the Roman world.²⁷ The consensus here as well is that these collections were appreciated by members of the elite – pagans, Christians and Jews – for reasons including self-display, elements of status and prestige, and references to the education they had received.

Throughout Late Antiquity, there appear to have been multiple physical mechanisms in place to aid a statue's survival in the new realities of a Christian empire. Even statues that potentially would have been too 'pagan' to be preserved by means of physical alterations could undergo a status change. For instance, a statue of Rhea-Kybele could represent the Tyche of Constantinople (as city symbol) after her accompanying lions had been removed (Bardill 2012, 262; Bassett 2004, 73, 118). At Aphrodisias, a small Eros was removed from the statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiana, an honoured local, thereby deleting the most obvious reference to her role as priestess of Aphrodite (Erim 1967, figure 7; Smith 1998, 66–67).

A widespread solution, establishing a transition from the pagan into the secular sphere, was to change the physical environment of the statue. This was achieved mostly by taking the statue from its original surroundings, though in a few cases a selective altering of surroundings themselves may have done the trick. Thus the statue of Victory could remain in the Senate of Rome after the Altar of Victory had been dismantled (Lavan 2011, 446, with further references). Relocation of statues themselves had been a known practice for centuries but was intensified in Late Antiquity.²⁸ In Italy and North Africa, statuary relocations were eternalised in new inscriptions that do not mention the exact subject of the statues or their original locations.²⁹ It is conceivable that some of these relocated images came from temples, certainly after the issuing of the laws mentioned above, and that some of them depicted divinities.³⁰ The reasons for the transfer, when given, are

invariably *ad ornatum publicum*, *ad faciem publicam* or *pro beatitudine temporum* (Curran 1994; Machado 2006, 183; Ward-Perkins 1984, 32–33, 43–44). Consequently, it has been concluded that the statues were given a new meaning as decoration of the public realm, as cultural heritage with religious neutrality. An antiquarian interest in statues made it possible for Christian senators to restore a statue of Minerva in the Atrium Minervae in Rome to its former glory (Kalas 2015, 101; Machado 2009, esp. 331–33). Another typifying example comes from Aizanoi, a small town in north-west central Asia Minor. Around the year 400, a honorific base was moved to a new colonnaded street and combined there with a statue of a satyr with a panther skin around its shoulders (von Mosch 1995). The new combination appears to have been caused by a pun – the inscription mentions the name Claudius Pardalas, a name in which the Greek word ‘pardalis’ (panther) can be recognised. The relocation can therefore be considered an intellectual exercise that displayed the qualities of Aizanoi’s population and was thus characteristic of the late antique secular sphere (von Mosch 1995, 751–53).

Although such notions explain why pagan and mythological statuary remained omnipresent in both public and private contexts, their popularity would not last. After the initial changes to the statuary record in the later 4th century, in which mainly venerated statues may have been targeted, further changes become noticeable by the later 5th and certainly in the early 6th century. Some of the magnificent collections built up at Constantinople during the 4th and early 5th century began falling apart under the reign of Justinian, but statues remained omnipresent in the cityscape.³¹ Justinian himself may have imported statues of horses and, probably not coincidentally, eight marble Gorgon heads from the Artemis Temple at Ephesus (cf. *infra*; Bassett 2004, 127–29).³² By the beginning of the 6th century, three imperial portraits ended up in a new foundation in the Stoa-Basilica at Ephesus (Alzinger 1972–1975, 260–63). Even if in private contexts at least some statues were preserved into the 7th century, including an Amor and Psyche group in the House of the Painted Inscription at Hierapolis,³³ other villa owners in Asia Minor and Greece were throwing out or burying their statuettes, their philosophers’ portraits and their *tondi* by the second quarter of the 6th century (Jacobs 2016, 112, for examples). The replacement of more traditional themes by Christian iconography was apparently widespread around this time. In other media such as

pottery and silverware, Christian iconography began to supplant previously well-liked personified and semi-divine entities (Jacobs 2010, 287, with further literature). Dionysiac iconography was in decline from the later 5th century onwards, and once popular depictions of Nike diminished in the course of the 6th.³⁴ Such changes can be connected to the growing desecularisation described above, which supposedly decreased the relevance of this iconography and statues for contemporary society.

Before we turn to an evaluation of the statues on the colonnaded street at Sagalassos, it is worthwhile stressing again that modern scholarship considers statuary preservation and appreciation very much an elite business (Cameron 2011, 357–66; Kristensen and Stirling 2016a, 16). Members of the elite had enjoyed a classical education which properly equipped them to appreciate the expressive mythological meanings of statues, their value as markers of literary education, their cultural associations and even their aesthetic beauty. By contrast, the Christian masses supposedly saw statues as demonic, dangerous or despicable.³⁵ The contrast between elite and non-elite finds material expression in villa decoration, where pagan-mythological statuary with recorded find spots come from more secluded areas, including dining halls, inner courtyards, gardens and nymphaea (Stirling 2016, 270). These areas were accessible only to the owners of the villa and their social peers and were thus protected from the Christian masses (Stirling 2005, 139–48, 2016, 289). As Stirling recently pointed out, as opposed to the cross-marked and mutilated statues found in public contexts (cf. *infra*), none of the statues found in villas were altered in any way.

A Secular Display at Sagalassos?

The secular motivations for the reuse of statuary can be applied to the statuary display at Sagalassos as well. In their new surroundings, the statuettes could have testified to the wealthy and cultured past of the city and functioned as elements of prestige in one of its most visible zones. The north–south colonnaded street was not only the main axis connecting the two agorae but also the main approach to the town centre. As such, it can be expected to have been heavily travelled and to have formed the architectural background for formal ceremonies such as *adventus* and other processions, both secular and Christian.³⁶

Both literary and iconographic sources make it abundantly clear that such vital colonnaded traffic axes continued to inspire much admiration throughout Late Antiquity.³⁷ Although not all city quarters were in good condition, these high-profile zones were invariably well taken care of (Jacobs 2013, 572–73 with further references).³⁸ Their colonnades were rebuilt or repaired when necessary, they were provided with new mosaics, and in cities such as Ostia, Ephesus, Side and Sagalassos their attractive character was heightened by adding fountains behind or inside the colonnades. Finally, statuary accreted in colonnaded streets, often alongside the road in front of their colonnades.

The high traffic on the colonnaded street can therefore explain the location of the statuary display, but the late date remains remarkable. At Sagalassos, the only private elite house that has been excavated was subdivided in the first half of the 6th century, as the elite owners either sold or rented out their property to diverse entrepreneurs. The audience halls were stripped of their furniture and decoration; mosaics were cut through for the installation of water pipes or cooking installations; the lower rooms were turned into an inn with kitchen, dining room and stables. Of the original statuary decoration of the house, only a fraction survives, whereas the rest was probably burned in the lime-kiln established inside the former atrium.³⁹ Although there is no way of knowing if the statuettes of our street came from this mansion, it is fairly certain that they originally were on display in a similar private context, and such contexts were obviously changing drastically around this time, here as elsewhere (Jacobs and Stirling 2017, 214–16). The main reason this change makes it so difficult to combine a statuary composition such as that of Sagalassos with the secular framework is that it has always been assumed that ‘the secular’ was more appealing to elite individuals, as discussed above. In this reasoning, the fact that even members of the elite were getting rid of classical statuary was taken as a sign of the demise of the realm of the secular and the end of the statuary habit. However, recent excavations and re-examinations of older material are suggesting that pagan and mythological statues were actively employed for much longer in public contexts. At Sagalassos, not only was the colonnaded street given a new statuary ensemble in the second quarter of the 6th century but it is also very likely that at least the Antonine Nymphaeum bordering the north side of the Upper Agora was redecorated around the same time.⁴⁰ Likewise, the comprehensive excavations and re-evaluation of the Place of Palms at

Aphrodisias have clarified that the final large-scale interventions in the area happened only in the 6th century. At this time, a basin, decorated with slabs depicting scenes from an Amazonomachy, Centauromachy and Gigantomachy as well as standing putti, was added to the so-called Propylon of Diogenes.⁴¹ Three slabs of the same original relief cycle were reused slightly earlier in the construction of a second fountain that has now been restudied and redated to the late 5th or early 6th century (Ögüs 2015). Yet, at some time in the 6th century, the philosopher portraits – a collection of *tondi* of renowned philosophers and heroes from the present and the past – were removed from the Atrium House and thrown into an inaccessible alley behind the main apse of the house (Smith 1990, 153–55). Attitudes towards statuary were obviously highly diverse, but it is becoming increasingly clear that this imagery remained part of public space where it would have been visible to all layers of society.

Finally, a word on the identity of the statuettes on display on the colonnaded street. Even though pagan divinities could be reinterpreted as symbols, it remains somewhat difficult to see what specific values a collection of an Aphrodite and Apollo next to three statues of Hygieia and a Grace would have signified. An alternative explanation is that the 6th-century population no longer saw these statues as originally intended but had reinterpreted them as a combination of Apollo and the Muses. Such a reinterpretation would explain the appearance of two, possibly three dressed female statuettes, formerly identified as ‘Hygieia’. For this purpose, the snakes that originally accompanied and also identified the depictions would have been intentionally removed, like the lions were from the statue of Rhea-Kybele at Constantinople and the Eros from Tatiana’s statue at Aphrodisias. In addition, a reinterpretation of diverse statues as Muses would also explain the presence of only one Grace and maybe even that of Aphrodite, both of which could have been dressed to cover their nakedness.

Apollo and the Muses certainly remained very popular in all media in Late Antiquity and were, as already stated, capable of being reinterpreted as symbols of intellect, culture, virtue and philosophical inquiry.⁴² A group of Muses thus served as source of inspiration in the senate house of Constantinople (Bauer 1996, 164; Bassett 2004, 91). Before they were moved here, they may have been posted in the palace, where they would have reflected imperial virtues and moral authority (Bassett 2004, 74). Statues of Muses, often in combination with Apollo,

have been found in many cities of Asia Minor.⁴³ Some of these groups were obviously handled as late as the early 6th century, and they were all left on display until the end of Antiquity.⁴⁴

A change in attitude towards at least some of these statues on the colonnaded street eventually does become visible, but only much later, in the 7th century. After a devastating earthquake in the early 7th century, the town centre 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. There is, however, plentiful evidence for the continued usage of the street. While rummaging around here, the Sagalassians must have come across the remains of the statuettes that had fallen down from their consoles. Judging from where the statues were found, the population of the 7th century overall was unbothered by them. However, the torso of Aphrodite apparently induced a stronger reaction; it had been thrown into the disused street fountain, into a pile of butchery refuse and ceramics, and buried under a heavy column base. This emotional reaction can only be explained if we acknowledge that this statuary fragment was considered a powerful (and dangerous) presence, which had to be controlled and prevented from ever seeing daylight again (Jacobs and Stirling 2017, 218).

Statuary and Multiple Religious Consciousness

In the Byzantine centuries, sources such as the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* and the *Patria* of Constantinople give ample examples of potent statuary, capable of doing harm or of protecting their surroundings or the city as a whole.⁴⁵ They exerted their power independently of the Christian God and unconnected to his saints. In other words, they appear to have been remnants of an entirely parallel system of power, with roots in a distant pagan past. The question then is: what happened in the centuries in between? Were such statues first turned into cultural heritage and pieces of art to then be turned back into powerful presences after Antiquity? Or did they always retain the power to intervene in matters of this world? And, if so, how was this combined with the supposed exclusivity of Christianity?

Studies of modern-day religion are ready to accept that seemingly exclusive religious traditions continue to overlap. The saliency of a religion is apparently very context dependent. Edwards thus discusses how

the Japanese combine funerals with a Buddhist identity with births and marriages that are celebrated in a Shinto fashion (Edwards 2005, 110). If we go back in time, Christianity combined, for instance, with old Sámi beliefs and practices in Finland (Äikäs and Salmi 2013). Äikäs and Salmi dubbed it 'double consciousness': with the introduction of Christianity, instead of a pure replacement of old beliefs or forms of syncretism, the Sámi worshipped both old and new gods, because although the latter were good for many things, they did not fulfil all needs.⁴⁶ In Antiquity, before Christianity, people were also used to dividing their attention and devotion between two or more religions, depending on what worked best for them (Engels and Van Nuffelen 2014). Even with the introduction of Christianity, a division between powers apparently continued at least in the 4th century. According to Augustine some of his congregation claimed that 'God is good, great, invisible, eternal, incorruptible. He is to give us eternal life, and the incorruptibility that belongs to the life of resurrection ... But secular and temporal interests are the province of demons, of the powers that rule this dark world.'⁴⁷ We therefore at least have to consider that for late antique populations, the supremacy and superiority of the One Christian God on all levels was not so clear and the option to trust in 'the guardians of earthly things' for specific situations remained a safe solution, especially if there was no equivalent Christian alternative (Brown 1995, 13).

The most prevalent view of late ancient Christianity is the monotheistic interpretation heralded by Augustine, whereby all powers are dubbed demonic (Brown 1995, 21–22). They are considered to be far inferior to the Christian god, as indicated by the many stories of saints vanquishing demons. Yet, the Christian masses held on to them. A century after Augustine, Caesarius of Arles (*Serm.* 52.5) referred to dual religious participation when he warned his congregation that they could not 'both drink from the cup of the Lord and that of demons'. Indeed, studies of Byzantine demonology in general have shown that in the popular mind, *daimones* remained omnipresent, but, contrary to what hagiographies would like us to believe, were not necessarily considered dangerous or evil by Christians (Brown 1970; Kalleres 2015; Magoulias 1967).⁴⁸

When non-Christian powers are discussed by modern scholars of Late Antiquity, they receive an interpretation and appreciation that is very much determined by the lens designed by Augustine. Consequently, the omnipresent belief in non-Christian powers is gener-

ally still categorised as 'superstition', attempts to repel such powers as belonging to the domain of 'magic'. At best, non-Christian devices or iconography are considered to be apotropaic or prophylactic. Current anthropological approaches, however, consider such separation between magic and religion purely theoretical (Bell 1997). The notion of double or even multiple consciousness gives more independence to beliefs in supernatural powers and enables them to be researched alongside more Christian practices, not as inferior solutions or inextricably linked to Christianity but as proper alternatives required in specific situations.

Besides the more obvious application in material evidence to understand the usage of amulets and other instruments for day-to-day protection, a similar trust in the effectiveness of turning to other supernatural powers besides the Christian God may also explain the continued popularity of reliefs of Gorgons and even statues of particular deities such as Dionysus, Asclepius, Nike and so on.⁴⁹ Continuity of their images and statues need not to indicate continuing 'paganism', even though this is what Christian writers would have us think. The label 'paganism' is very unhelpful in this discussion, as it eliminates all nuance in religious belief. No one would disagree, for instance, that the emperor Valentinian was Christian. Nevertheless, his dedication of a bridge in Rome was accompanied by the dedication of statues of Victoria. The most illustrious pagan officials of the city performed the ceremonies (Lizzi Testa 2004, 409–11). The most common explanation would be that Valentinian was accommodating the powerful pagan segment of Rome's population for political reasons. Alternatively, he could have truly believed in the benefits of such practices, even as a Christian. When Symeon Stylites, in the mid-6th century, reproaches people he calls the pagans of Antioch who sacrifice 'in the name of the good fortune of the city' (van den Ven 1962–70), it is likely that he is referring to Christians who believed that their attention to an image of the city Tyche would be beneficial. As in the secular framework, divinities and personifications retain their specific field of responsibility, but instead of being merely a representative symbol or suitable scenery, through their presence they actively bring forth the quality in question. In other words, they remain powerful presences.⁵⁰

Tyche is an interesting case in point. The Tyche at Antioch was, at least for some people, obviously much more than just the symbol of the spirit of the city (cf. *supra*). Other stories have survived of animated stat-

ues of Tyche that offered assistance. Thus, according to Theophylactus Simocatta (*Historiae* 8.13.10), several statues posted in the Tychaion of Alexandria approached a passer-by to warn him about the imminent assassination of the emperor Maurice in Constantinople. Although, as noted above, there is a 'secular' explanation for the popularity of Tyche in Late Antiquity, it is remarkable that Constantine erected a new temple for the Tyche of Rome in the capital and revamped the statue of Rhea-Kybele in the neighbouring temple (Bardill 2012, 262; Bassett 2004, 34). It is equally remarkable that centuries later it was still said that Constantine dedicated the city to Tyche (Malalas 321; *Chron. Pasch.* 277). Certainly in Constantine's case, a targeting and incorporation of multiple divine powers, the Christian God being an important one among them, can indeed be ascertained.⁵¹ Constantine provided his new capital with the Church of Saint Irene and his mausoleum and possibly started the construction of Saint Sophia, but was equally responsible for the construction or restoration of the Capitol dedicated to Zeus, Hera and Athena (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva), the temple for Roman Tyche, and the neighbouring temple for Rhea-Kybele/Tyche. He furthermore allowed older temples to remain standing (Bardill 2012, 259–64; Bassett 2004, 24–26, 31, 34–35), and of course kept on associating himself with Sol Invictus (Bardill 2012, 84–89; Ousterhout 2014). Sarah Bassett suggests that by providing all these different options, at a considerable and safe physical distance from each other, Constantine was giving material expression to his Edict of Tolerance issued two decades earlier (Bassett 2004, 35). He was not necessarily just placating the largely pagan population of his empire though, but may have believed in the power of all these divinities, including in that of the Tyche of Rome and the Tyche of Constantinople as protectress of the city. Tyche's continuing power furthermore explains why the gilded statue of Constantine that was processed through the city on the anniversary of the city's inauguration still carried the Tyche of Constantinople in the 6th century (Bassett 2004, 224; Lavan 2011, 452; Malalas 322). If we are to believe Socrates (3.11), Constantine even offered sacrifices to a statue of Tyche posted in the Basilica, whereas Julian sacrificed to the statue in the Tychaion (Socrates 3.11 on Constantine and 3.2 on Julian; Bassett 2004, 156; Lavan 2011, 452). Despite this history of veneration, the later statue survived in its original location until the later 6th century.⁵²

In addition to literary sources, some surviving statues also testify to the fact that they were regarded as powerful presences in Late Antiquity. Most pertinent for this discussion is the marking of statues with crosses. Troels Kristensen's corpus of cross-marked statuary now comprises 58 statues marked with crosses, more or less half of them on the head, mostly on the forehead, the other half on other parts of the body (Kristensen 2012, 2021). I have argued at length elsewhere that the carving of crosses on statues as well as on urban monuments can be understood only if their carrier was regarded as possessing power with the inherent possibility of being harnessed, sometimes more than once (Jacobs 2017). Paramount is the observation that the proliferation of crosses occurred only well after Christianity had become the most dominant religion. The application of crosses was apparently not foremost for the benefit of physical opponents of the new religion but was sending a message to other superhuman and/or supernatural powers. Whether the cross ensured a statue's integration into the Christian realm after application or served as a sealing mechanism protecting onlookers from a statue's powers, in both cases it can be assumed that the statue was a presence, not a symbol.

It is useful at this point to return to the practice of statuary relocation. Although, as described above, this has been considered an effective way to secularise statuary, it is not very difficult to find examples whereby the statue retained or even gained powers after relocation. For instance, although Constantine's imports into Constantinople have been considered an attempt to provide the city with a decoration appropriate for a capital, or even to break connections with their pagan past (see, for instance, Magdalino 2016, 138), Cyril Mango has pointed out that this is highly unlikely to have been the case (Mango 1963, 56). Keeping in mind that Constantine provided his capital with diverse options for worship as well, it would be logical that the imports of statuary under his reign were intended as an import of divine presence and power. The statues of Rhea-Kybele and Tyche already mentioned above are good examples. The first originally came from a sanctuary above Kyzikos; the second may have come from Rome (Bassett 2004, 72, 155). In addition, the most famous example of divine power imported into Constantinople is that of the Palladion, a statue of Pallas Athena with a very well-established reputation. It was said to have fallen from heaven at Troy, and it protected the city until it was taken away and travelled to Rome. From there it was transported to Con-

stantinople and was kept near the Column of Constantine, from where it could continue its protective function, this time for the New Rome (Bassett 2004, 69, 205–06).

In the Theodosian period, cult statues from famous temples of the empire were imported. Zosimus thus recounts how the statues of Athena (from Lindos on Rhodos) and Zeus (from Dodoan in Epiros) had been set up in front of the Senate building of Constantinople. They then miraculously survived the early 5th-century fire and collapse of the Senate without being harmed.⁵³ To Zosimus, the survival of both Zeus and Athena was a sign that they would take care of the city for all eternity.⁵⁴ Athena/Minerva indeed had a long history as protector of cities such as Athens and Rome (Bassett 2004, 206; Lavan 2011, 455–56). Zosimus claims that the miracle provided comfort to ‘all cultured’ people. It is unclear who he means exactly. The opinion expressed by Themistius, who talked about Zeus being a ‘model of the wise and the powerful together with his pendant companion Athena’, is generally considered to be representative of cultured Christians (Bassett 2004, 91). Hence, it is assumed that Zosimus was referring to pagans living in the city. However, there is no pagan–Christian dichotomy present in the expression ‘all cultured’ and it is wrong to interpret it this way. As I have been arguing here, cultured Christians could appreciate the beneficial powers of ancient divinities, just as cultured pagans had been looking at pagan gods in intellectual ways for centuries and continued to do so in Late Antiquity.⁵⁵

As Lavan has pointed out, there were at least two and maybe three statues of Athena present in the city, all of them closely positioned near buildings of civic government – near the Senate in the Augusteion, near the Senate at the Forum of Constantine and possibly in the basilica courtyard, in front of the Tychaion (Lavan 2011, 456). That in the Forum of Constantine may even have been positioned on top of a high column, which, as already mentioned above would develop into a typical *topos* of idolatry (Bassett 2004, 190; Lavan 2011, 456). Nevertheless, she was preserved until the end of the Middle Byzantine period. Although a modern researcher could interpret them merely as symbols of wisdom, she may equally have been conceived to actively induce the correct and wise government of the capital. As already mentioned above, an image of Minerva was restored in the Atrium Minervae of Rome as well, by a Christian urban prefect. The new inscription still acknowledges it as a *simulacrum*, a term typically used for religious

statues (see above, p. 103). The common explanation is the secular one already mentioned above, but again, there is nothing that disputes that the presence of this religious statue of Minerva was conceived to induce correct rule, not just to symbolise it.

A Powerful Display at Sagalassos?

There is no evidence of cross-marked statues at Sagalassos, although the possibility of, for instance, painted crosses cannot be excluded. Crosses do appear, however, on the architecture that surrounds the statues, including on the columns of the colonnaded street, side by side with the pagan and mythological statuettes.⁵⁶ In general, it could be said that the two realms of power physically continued next to one another. Admittedly, it is impossible to pinpoint what specific power or powers the statues on the colonnaded street at Sagalassos were perceived to have. I can only make a few suggestions, all of which would allow for the statues to retain some sort of potency and power. Firstly, if we were to accept that the main reason for creating this collection was their potential to embody Apollo and the Muses, their presence could have not only testified to the intellectual virtues of the city and its citizens but actually intensified these qualities. Alternatively, the statuettes were not reinterpreted when they were put on top of their consoles. The presence of three Hygieias, personification of health, and Apollo, who also had healing and purification among his powers, would suggest a particular stress on health and healing. Interestingly, when the Antonine Nymphaeum of the Upper Agora of Sagalassos was given its final statuary decoration, this also revolved around curative powers: it included a statue of Askleipios, his mother Koronis, Hygieia and the plinth for a male statue, probably again an Apollo (Mägele 2005).⁵⁷

The date of the ensemble in the nymphaeum cannot be ascertained, although, as I argue elsewhere, it is very likely that it can be attributed to the 6th century (Jacobs 2019, 31–32). The composition of the collection on the colonnaded street shares a similar date and could be assigned to the second quarter of the 6th century. Especially if we assume that these statues were still conceived of as powerful and influential, it is tempting to connect this preoccupation with health to the arrival of the bubonic plague. The additional naked female statues of Aphrodite and one Grace could be evocations of healthy bodies, unmarked by buboes. In the nymphaeum display, a naked male youth

was present, possibly for similar reasons, together with (rather apt in this line of interpretation!) a statue of Nemesis. Although this is all wildly conjectural and we are not used to thinking about statuary in the 6th century at all in this way, this explanation has as much internal logic as the more secular ones.

As already mentioned above, the torso of the Aphrodite that was found on a pile of refuse inside a street fountain, underneath a column base, is a rare indication that statues were met with fear and hostility at Sagalassos. The Aphrodite torso fulfils both prerequisites of ritual deposition as put forward by Silviu Anghel in his study of buried statues of deities: (1) it was buried and removed from the surface and (2) it was not simply thrown away or reused (Anghel 2011, 5).⁵⁸ Even though Anghel's corpus mostly predates the Sagalassos deposition by almost three centuries and is very different in composition and interpretation, it remains interesting to note that none of the statues discussed in this publication had been merely decorative in character during its life (Anghel 2011, 242–44). The particular treatment of the naked torso indicates that it was not merely considered morally offensive either. This would have led to it being discarded, as had already happened elsewhere to so many other naked statues, including Aphrodites. The sealing in the fountain basin suggests that someone believed the torso to possess dangerous qualities that needed to be neutralised. Multiple late antique literary sources suggest a connection between burial and the binding of the power of a deity or demon (Anghel 2011, 261–65).

Other statues at Sagalassos did not undergo such treatment. This can probably be partly explained by the fact that by the time the population came across the fragments of the Aphrodite statuette lying on the street pavement, many of the other naked statues that had still been on display at Sagalassos before the earthquake had either disappeared from view (covered by destruction debris) or were piled up to be burned in a lime-kiln (as has been argued for the statuary collection found in Frigidarium II of the Imperial Baths). However, it remains difficult to explain why the equally naked statuette of Apollo apparently was not targeted. Judging from its find position on top of a thin layer of soil accumulated on top of the street, it probably remained standing on its console for some time after the earthquake, but it would have been fairly easy to reach nonetheless. Maybe the specific identity of the Aphrodite torso sealed its fate, both at Sagalassos and at Carthage. Literary passages certainly confirm that statues of Aphrodite in particular

exerted power and therefore were regarded with fear.⁵⁹ Intriguingly, a rare example of mutilation at Sagalassos consists of a tiny naked female statuette torso, possibly identifiable as Aphrodite and certainly very similar in appearance, whose breasts appear to have been abraded.⁶⁰

It would therefore seem that pagan and mythological statues could still be regarded as useful powerful components of the civic landscape of Sagalassos until the second quarter of the 6th century, whereas they had become potentially dangerous after the start of the 7th century. We have no idea when exactly this change in mentality took place or why it occurred. It can only be said that the character of the settlement changed rapidly from the mid-6th to the early 7th century. Life at Sagalassos became a lot more difficult within a short period of time.⁶¹ When the city was finally struck by an earthquake around the early 7th century, large-scale occupation had already come to an end. The ensuing 7th-century occupation differed even more from that of previous centuries and people continued to live amid the ruins of the old city.⁶² In the assumption that the statuettes had been placed on their consoles to protect the city from harm, they had surely failed miserably.

The Illusion of Consistency

It is possible to identify some general factors influencing the fate of pagan-mythological statues in Late Antiquity. These could have included the subject of the statue (e.g., personifications were apparently more easily acceptable than divinities), the manner of depiction (e.g., dressed versus naked statues), the region of display (the Near East overall looked less favourably on the statuary medium than, for instance, Asia Minor), the settlement of display (no cross-marked statuary was found at Sagalassos, though the phenomenon is known from elsewhere in the region; Tyche appears to have been treated much better at Constantinople than she was elsewhere), their context of display (the numbers of surviving statues in nymphaea facades is higher than anywhere else), the treatment they had received in previous centuries (venerated versus non-venerated statues), and so on.⁶³ Then there were of course also differences in statuary viewing between individuals (including the so-called opposition between educated elite versus Christian masses). Moreover, specific individuals may have perceived a statue in one way one minute and in another the next. When confronted with surviving statues today, it is never possible to ascertain all

influencing factors. Consequently, at times we are left with the impression that statues were dealt with in a fickle manner. It may be comforting that such (apparent) inconsistencies not only vex researchers today, but also made it hard for contemporaries to comprehend the actions of their fellow citizens.⁶⁴

In order to explain the survival of pagan-mythological statuary in general, I have discussed two ways of viewing in Late Antiquity: the secular, whereby gods and divinities are seen as symbols for specific aspects of life, and the religious, whereby gods and divinities retain power and agency. Whereas secular explanations have been given ample attention in the last decades, the (positive) power of statues in Late Antiquity remains largely neglected. I hope to have demonstrated that it is worthwhile exploring this route further to explain why these statues remained so omnipresent in the cityscape.

In this last paragraph, I want to reiterate that the two explanations for survival, the secular and the religious, do not exclude each other. What was cultural heritage for one person may have been conceived of as powerful by another. Moreover, as said, even in the eyes of one and the same individual the status of a statue was probably changeable, depending on factors we can no longer grasp. When imperial laws mention that statues must be preserved for the sake of their art or inscriptions categorised a statuary transfer as beautifying public space, this does not automatically imply that these statues no longer had any power.⁶⁵ Political motives for the import of the Palladion into Constantinople could easily be combined with a desire to appropriate its comprehensively proven protective powers; relocated cult statues of famous sanctuaries may have expressed cultural continuity as well as imports of (subdued) divine power; antiquarian interests in an old *simulacrum* of Victoria may only have been strengthened by its power to elucidate correct rule; and so on.

Notes

- 1 See the regional overviews in Kristensen and Stirling (2016b).
- 2 My argument is very much indebted to the exploration of aesthetic and ritual viewing in Elsner (2007, especially 29–33).
- 3 For a more extended discussion of building activities in the 6th century, see Jacobs (2015, 163–71).
- 4 The statuettes, their origin, the find circumstances and a reconstruction of the original display are discussed in detail in Jacobs and Stirling (2017).
- 5 Jacobs and Waelkens (2014, 248). An overview of the ‘rise of Christianity’ has been recently provided by Talloen (2019), who, however, ignores the street assemblage.
- 6 For a complete description of the state of preservation, see Jacobs and Stirling (2017, 201–12).
- 7 Markus (1990, especially 1–17, 2006); Brown (1995, 11–15), for the flourishing of a public culture shared between Christians and non-Christians.
- 8 The three domains are discussed in Markus (1985, 2006, 11–13).
- 9 Rapp (2005, 172–207), on the social background of bishops in Late Antiquity. Brown (1992) for *paideia* in general.
- 10 For instance, Meier (2003) strongly focuses on such local and supra-local ‘disasters’ as immediate cause, but identifies the reign of Justinian as the most vital period.
- 11 Markus (2006, 77–86), for the radically Christian world of Gregory the Great, 87–88 for a comparison with the Eastern empire.
- 12 On antiquarianism see Bassett (2004, 101 for Kedrenos on the statues in the Zeuxippos baths, 115–16 for the Lausos collection); Machado (2009).
- 13 E.g., Machado (2009, 354) concludes that Christian intellectuals could endeavour to understand pagan rituals and myths while staying ‘religiously neutral’. The statues discovered in the sanctuary of Magna Mater at Ostia have been suggested to possess ‘a unique social and cultural significance for those who lived and worked in later Ostia’ (Boin 2013, 267).
- 14 This opinion is expressed in Mango (1963); Saradi-Mendelovici (1990, 50, 55).
- 15 *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.18 (399) stressed that the status of every individual statue in a temple context needed to be investigated and ‘idols’ taken down. Likewise, *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19.1 (408) = *Const. Sirmond.* 12 (407) states that images in temples and shrines that received worship had to be ‘torn from their foundations’. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12.1 (392) refers to sacrifices taking place in front of images outside temple contexts. For discussions of the evidence, see Jacobs (2010, 286); Kristensen and Stirling (2016a, 16–17); Lavan (2011, 440, 443).
- 16 Marc the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii* 59–62.
- 17 *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.20.3 (415) decrees that statues that received worship had to be removed from the baths and ‘the favourite haunts of the public’ in order to prevent further veneration. *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.12.1 (392) already referred to sacrifices taking place in front of images outside temple contexts. Stewart (2003, 192–93) points to religious veneration of non-cultic statues.
- 18 The edicts decree that such statues be taken down, taken from their foundations and so on. They do not stipulate that they should be destroyed, which was

- a course of action advised for altars, in, for instance, *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.19.2 (408).
- 19 *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8 (382), 16.10.15 (399).
 - 20 *Cod. Theod.* 16.10.8 refers to statues in a temple of Edessa, south-eastern Turkey.
 - 21 Machado (2009, 345, 352–53) for late antique dedications of statues of Victory from Rome. Lavan (2011, 445–50) cites multiple examples.
 - 22 Jacobs (2010, appendix 1) for an overview of such ensembles in Asia Minor.
 - 23 For a summary of reinterpretations of mythological beings and personifications, see Jacobs (2010, 287) with further references.
 - 24 Bardill (2012, 262) for the Tyche of Constantinople. Lavan (2011, 450–53) discusses the fate of Tyche elsewhere.
 - 25 Parrish (1995, esp. 332); Parrish (2004); and Stirling (2005, 87) discuss Dionysiac images in private houses.
 - 26 E.g., Bassett (2004, 48, 66, 75–78); Bardill (2012, 268) for the statues on display in Constantinople.
 - 27 Hannestad (2006, 197, and 2007, 292, 299) makes the connection between late statuary production and the many late antique villas in the Mediterranean. Hannestad (2006, 2007, 2014) gives an overview of late antique statues displayed in villas. Stirling (2005) is a fundamental work for late antique pagan and mythological small-scale statuary discovered in private houses all over the Mediterranean. Stirling (2007) compares evidence from Gaul and Spain; Stirling (2008, 132–36) focuses on domestic statuary found in Greece. Hannestad (2001) and Stirling (2016) compare the treatment undergone by statues in private collections with those in bath buildings.
 - 28 An extensive bibliography exists on this topic. Key studies include Brandenburg (1989); Curran (1994); Lepelley (1994, 2001); Witschel (2007). When a statue was moved to a new location, the old base was often left behind, especially when its new location of display was far away and transporting the base would be an extremely difficult and cumbersome business – think, for instance, of all the statues imported into Constantinople – but also when its new location of display was within the same city. Consequently, such relocations not only had the potential to sever the bond with previous adoration, but they could also even lead to the identity of the statue being forgotten altogether (Ma 2012, with examples).
 - 29 Exceptionally, statues of Juno Regina and Hercules that had been moved to the baths of Charchel were relabelled once they arrived at their new location (Stirling 2012, 68, with further references).
 - 30 Curran (1994, 49), for instance, mentions a further unspecified statue taken from the *Capitolium* in Verona and moved to the forum. A certain Septimius Theodulus, apparently a Christian, relocated depictions of pagan gods to the forum of Aquileia in Italy around 360 CE (Witschel 2007, 130). Bassett (2004, 90–91) notes that cult statues of temples were imported to Constantinople only from the Theodosian period onwards.
 - 31 For a recent overview of statues throughout the centuries in Constantinople, see Chatterjee (2021).
 - 32 For the transfer from Ephesus, see Bassett (2004, 126, cat. nos 98 and 100); Foss (1979, 87).

- 33 Zaccaria Ruggiu (2019, 102–03, 114); Canazza (2019, 567–68, with further references).
- 34 Roueché (2002, 541–45), for Nike; Talloen and Poblome (2005, 69–73), for the heyday and decline of Dionysiac images on tableware at Sagalassos.
- 35 The elite–masses dichotomy is present in Mango (1963, 56); it is repeated even more strongly in Kristensen and Stirling (2016a, 20) who refer to it as a possible ‘culture clash between classes’.
- 36 Bauer (1996, 389–94); Halfmann (1986); Slootjes (2006, 106–10) for a reconstruction of the events and the itinerary followed during an *adventus*.
- 37 For an overview of the sources, see Jacobs (2013, 119–20).
- 38 Dey (2015) discusses the continued importance of colonnaded streets at length.
- 39 On the evaporation of the elite character of this residence, see Waelkens et al. (2011, 272–73). There was evidence for one life-sized female statue and a relief of Ganymede and a tondo (Mägele 2009, cat. nos 66, 68 and SA-2011-DA1-69-311), as well as for 13 statuettes with a height between 0.30 and 1 m (Mägele 2009, cat. nos 59–72).
- 40 For an extensive discussion, see (Jacobs 2019).
- 41 For a description of the reliefs, see Linant de Bellefonds (1996). For the new dating, see Wilson (2016, 130–34).
- 42 Bassett (2004, 74, 91, 150) with translations of Themistius, *Or.* 17: 308; *Or.* 18: 324.
- 43 Examples from Asia Minor can be found in Jacobs (2010, appendices); Jacobs and Stirling (2017, 212–14).
- 44 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 century. As late as the first half of the 6th century, the hall was being altered and repaired, while the statues remained in place (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 century (Niewöhner 2013, 186–89).
- 45 Berger (2013); Cameron and Herrin (1984). See the overviews on powerful statuary in Chatterjee (2021); James (1996); Mango (1963).
- 46 The term was originally coined to define struggles with self-conception in colonial situations. Interestingly and perhaps unsurprisingly, especially for problems concerned with livelihood, the Sámi continued to address their old gods.
- 47 Augustine in *psalm.* 34.1.1., same notion present in *psalm.* 40.3. See the discussion in Brown (1995, 9–18).
- 48 By contrast, Saradi-Mendelovici (1990) contrasts the positive or ambivalent pagan opinions on statues with negative opinions held by Christians.
- 49 For Gorgons, see e.g., the eight marble Gorgon heads imported to Constantinople by Justinian; cf. *supra*. The most comprehensive overview of statues that retained power in Late Antiquity was composed by Luke Lavan in 2011. He examines the preservation of statues of Nike/Victory, Tyche, Athena/Minerva, civic heroes and emperors and often arrives at the conclusion that these statues were considered to possess powers that could be beneficial at least in certain situations. Nevertheless, the importance of these examples is somewhat cloaked since they are designated as ‘talismans’, after the late antique *tetelesmenon*, and mainly their importance for political purposes is stressed (on *tetelesmenon*, see

Faraone 1992, 4). Karivieri (2010, 403–05) deals with powerful statues but refers to them as ‘magical’, which brings us back into the sphere of magic, implicitly inferior to proper religion. Be that as it may, the statues discussed in these articles were definitely not part of ‘secular’ heritage, as each example had the power to influence its surroundings.

- 50 This does not mean that all objects or statues were constantly treated as powerful entities intervening or influencing everyday life. Rather, they had a potential power that may have been dormant most of the time, but could be activated at certain moments, when attention was drawn to them by specific events or specific personalities or when the power of statues was needed for particular purposes.
- 51 Bardill (2012, chapters 7 and 8), offers an extensive overview of Constantine’s religious policy.
- 52 The *Patria* (2.131) claims that it was destroyed by Maurice.
- 53 Bassett (2004, 149 on Athena, 151–52 on Zeus; for a discussion, see 90).
- 54 Zosimus, 5.24.7–8: ‘This inspired more cultured people to be optimistic for the city in the belief that these deities would always take care of it.’
- 55 In addition to Themistius, a ‘rational’ viewing of pagan divinities has been preserved in Libanius’ *Orationes* (*Or.* XIV, 3–4, for Zeus, *Or.* XVIII, 159–62, for the Muses). For a broader discussion on intellectual viewings of statuary appearing alongside ritual viewings, see Elsner (2007, 30–33), who discusses the side-by-side appearance of the two ways of viewing during the Second Sophistic.
- 56 Kristensen (2012, cat. Nos A5–A6: two Severan portrait heads from the so-called Straßenbrunnen at Ephesus; B7–B8: headless satyr and a lion from the Faustina Baths at Miletus); see also Schneider (2009). Kristensen discusses the possible meanings of cross-carving.
- 57 Jacobs (2010, 274–75) for a further discussion of this statuary ensemble.
- 58 Depositions in a Christian context are extremely rare. Most known depositions are closely connected with traditional pagan cult. Anghel acknowledges only one ‘Christian’ example, which, interestingly, is also very late – postdating the Byzantine reconquest of Carthage in 533 – and, moreover, could also be identified as an Aphrodite, buried in 11 fragments underneath the mosaic floor of a basilica (Anghel 2011, 235). For the find situation see Alexander, Ben Abed-Ben Khader and Métraux (1996, 367, figures 17g–h); Kristensen (2013, 32).
- 59 Notably the passages in the Mishnah, *Avodah Zarah* 3.4 (2nd century) and *Quodvultdeus*, *Dimidium temporis* VI, 9–10 (AD 434), mentioned in Lepelley 1994, 5. See also the commentary in Stirling (2005, 157–58). For further comments on the offensiveness of Aphrodite, see Kristensen (2013, 222–28).
- 60 Find number SA-2010-CG-202-254. The statuette fragment was only 0.06 m high. It was found in an erosional-collapse layer above the street entering the Upper Agora.
- 61 For an overview, see Jacobs (2015, 171–75).
- 62 For a description of the fortified settlement and the effects it had on the street, see Jacobs (2015, 176–84).
- 63 Jacobs (2010, 286–89) discusses broader patterns in the decision-making process in more detail.
- 64 Saradi-Mendelovici (1990, 50) for examples.
- 65 For parallels from the Second Sophistic, see Elsner (2007, 30–33).

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