

# JEROM

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HEROM

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*Edited by*

Jeroen Poblome  
Daniele Malfitana  
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*Includes a thematic section on:*  
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and Early Christian Pilgrimage’

*Composed and edited by*  
Troels Myrup Kristensen

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# SCHERBEN BRINGEN GLÜCK. HEROM'S EDITORIAL STATEMENT

*Jeroen Poblome, Daniele Malfitana and John Lund*

UNIVERSITY OF LEUVEN, IBAM-CNR-ITALY AND THE NATIONAL MUSEUM  
OF DENMARK

Traditions are simply great. They bring people together during important moments of life. Traditions are not necessarily rituals, however, and do not pretend to be. Yet, they are valuable and meaningful in bringing us in a situation which requires customized behaviour. Although the participants seemingly spontaneously know what to do when following one tradition or the other and can attribute meaning to their actions, they rarely if ever are able to explain the origins of their behaviour. Traditions are alive, also, in the sense that contexts can induce a degree of interpretation of their enactment.

*Polterabend* is one such tradition, organized in parts of Germany and some German communities in neighbouring countries, when parents, neighbours, friends, colleagues and relatives gather to wish a new couple luck. They do this on the eve before the wedding ceremony in front of the house of the bride. The most important moment of the evening is when the party starts by throwing pottery to the ground, resulting in a spread of sherds. After the party, the couple is supposed to gather and clean up those sherds, so that they can experience how important it is to work together to overcome the good and bad life has in store for all of us. In this sense, “*Scherben bringen Glück*”. Smashing pottery for good luck is also traditional at Greek wedding parties and bouzouki hangouts, and some Italians, mainly in the south, like to throw old stuff out of their windows on New Year's eve, while Jewish mothers break pottery during Ashkenazi traditional wedding ceremonies in order to underline the importance of the bond which can never be broken, in the same way as the plates cannot be made whole any more.

Some past societies were also good at breaking stuff; so good, that archaeology has had to come up with a term for this practice: fragmentation. This concept refers to the manner in which deliberate breakage, dispersal and deposition of objects can connect people, places, material culture and

social practice. John Chapman<sup>1</sup> and Clive Gamble<sup>2</sup> developed the interpretational potential of the concept of fragmentation for the Balkan Neolithic and Chalcolithic, and for Palaeolithic communities the world over.



FIG. 1. A fragmented round bronze mirror, recovered from an adult female tomb at ancient Sagalassos, dated by association with other burial finds and stratigraphy to around 100 AD © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

Breaking an object in order to place it in a grave, for instance, holds a lot of associative potential. During the 2012 excavation campaign at Sagalassos, SW Turkey, a round bronze mirror was found broken (FIG. 1) in a tomb holding the remains of an adult female, within a sizeable burial compound (FIG. 2). The mirror formed part of a set of objects (FIG. 3), found in the tomb, which was dated by these gifts as well as the stratigraphical context to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD. The mirror was the only broken object in the tomb. The acts of breaking the mirror and placing it in the tomb made this object inalienable from the deceased female. Even if she herself might not have attributed any special importance to this particular mirror during her life (or perhaps never even used it?), the object was granted associative

1. Chapman 2000.
2. Gamble 2007.

and symbolic qualities through fragmentation and deposition, referring to the fragility and beauty of life, as well as to an aspiration of the afterworld, combined with the personality of the deceased. As a matter of fact, her relatives were the ones who created these layers of meaning by making the object – as well as the actions of breakage and deposition – form part of the funerary rituals. In this way, social practice and the funerary rites construct meaning by connecting innate material culture, through actions, to remembrance of the value of the deceased's life, deeds and persona. Not only fragmentation can be meaningful in these terms; in the same tomb a pair of golden earrings was found, which were not made to be used in daily life, as the jewellery could not be opened, but specifically as burial gifts.



FIG. 2. The partially excavated Roman imperial burial compound. The coffin tomb of the adult female, to whom the broken mirror was donated, is located in the lower right corner. The compound was in use between c. 100 AD and the fourth century © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

Marcus Brittain and Oliver Harris<sup>3</sup> have recently warned us against too quick interpretational fixes in the field of fragmentation, and, to be sure, the fragmented mirror was never intended to “bring Glück” in the same way as the

3. Brittain and Harris 2010.

broken pottery of *Polterabenden* is supposed to do, but both cases illustrate how broken material culture can be something more than ordinary waste, which – if understood correctly – sometimes reveals some sense of universal human meaning sheltered in rites and traditions that may be inherent in (broken) material culture.



FIG. 3. Grave goods from the adult female burial included, besides a ceramic *unguentarium*, two glass *unguentaria*, in one of which an iron applicator was found, several bone pins, a bone spatula, a bone spindle, and a bone distaff decorated with the image of Aphrodite *pudica*, two golden triangular earrings with pearl inlays, a silver signet ring with a chalcedony cameo depicting the Muse Polymnia, and the broken bronze mirror © Sagalassos Archaeological Research Project.

The theme of fragmentation in the past is a fitting opening statement to “HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture”. Because “HEROM” is in itself the result of a broken past. Indeed, the editorial triumvirate and its loyal scientific committee had previously embarked on a similar adventure in creating a scholarly journal dedicated to all things (be they broken or not) in Roman antiquity: “FACTA. A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies” (FIG. 4), which for five years found a home in the publishing house of Fabrizio Serra<sup>4</sup>. Everybody worked hard on “FACTA”, because

4. Available on [www.libraweb.net](http://www.libraweb.net).

we shared the conviction that there was enough critical mass and at the same time scholarly need to create an international platform to present and discuss issues related to the study of Roman material culture. Copy was available for the issues of 2012 and 2013, so there was no intellectual need to stop with “FACTA”. But the members of the scientific committee as well as the editors had for a while been receiving thoughtful notices that the subscription fees for “FACTA” were becoming prohibitively expensive in comparison with other journals in the fields of archaeology and classical studies. There was no premeditation in the minds of the librarians and the members of the scientific committee, with whom we as editors consulted, as also other publishing houses and journals featured in those *communiqués*, but the opinions were shared and general and it soon became clear that something had to happen<sup>5</sup>. But our best efforts to induce Fabrizio Serra and his publishing house to reconsider the rates of subscription fees or alleviate the matter in other ways

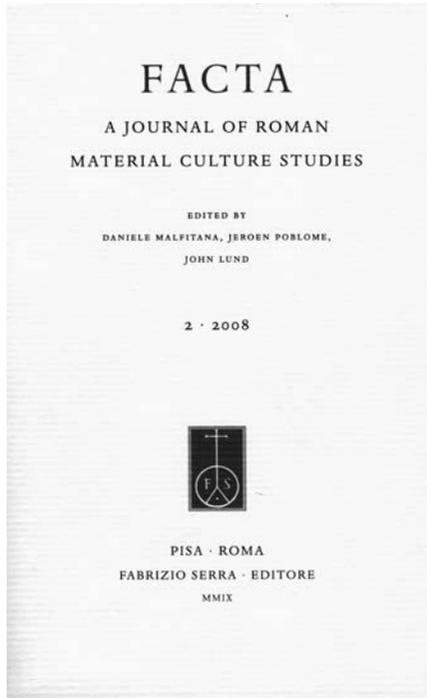


Fig. 4. The cover page of the second issue of “FACTA. A Journal of Roman Material Culture Studies” © Fabrizio Serra.

5. For similar advice on F. Serra's *Archaeologia Maritima Mediterranea. An International Journal on Underwater Archaeology*, see <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2008/2008-12-19.html>.

were unsuccessful, and as a result, the agreement between the involved parties was dissolved, implying the end of “FACTA”, as the field of Roman archaeology had come to know it. The members of the scientific committee and the editors wish to take this opportunity to thank Fabrizio Serra wholeheartedly for the efforts, patience and enthusiasm he placed in “FACTA”. We are proud of the result of five years of collaboration and will remain to be so. At the same time, we feel sad to have had to let go of the “FACTA” franchise, but all parties involved in this difficult process managed to maintain their mutual respect, something that is not always the case.<sup>6</sup>

Having taken the step away from “FACTA”, immediately the question came to mind: what now? As editors, we felt that our mission was not yet complete, not by a long shot, and we were quickly supported in this intellectual judgment/sentiment by all members of the scientific committee. But our masts were broken, and our ship lost at sea. We had to find a harbour soon enough. A difficult search to define a new identity as well as a new publishing house commenced, but we gained strength from the honest conviction that good ideas in science never go to waste. True, the politics of science imply that good ideas are oftentimes difficult to bring to fruition, as the hurdles of reviewers for publications and experts on reviewing panels of funding bodies can be challenging, but the good idea will survive. It will mature, lose some edges and gain in conviction, resulting in possibly a different materialisation of the original vision, but a materialisation nonetheless.

And so it happened with “FACTA NOVA” as we called the embryonic stage for a while. In bringing our message to a range of commercial and institutional publishing houses, we got to understand better how they saw the potential and limits to our vision. Also, the feedback from our scientific committee was useful in that stage. As a result, we gradually shifted away from “FACTA NOVA” as a continuation of the old “FACTA”, though sailing under a new flag, and decided that whatever was to follow had to have a taste of something new.

Our basic conviction was that we wanted to make a good product even better. This started with the definition of our chronological focus. Where FACTA gave “*central place to wider interpretative studies on how artefacts were produced and used throughout the Roman Empire, from Republican/Hellenistic times into Late Antiquity*”, the new journal seeks to focus on the same eras, but acknowledge the increase in interest and scientific potential of the study

6. See, for instance, <http://thecostofknowledge.com/> and [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/14/science/researchers-boycott-elsevier-journal-publisher.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/14/science/researchers-boycott-elsevier-journal-publisher.html?_r=0).

of material culture from the centuries of growth of the Roman empire in its historical dialogue with the Hellenistic kingdoms more explicitly.<sup>7</sup> That is why HE (Hellenistic) features as much as RO (Roman) in our new title “HEROM”, as well as in the subtitle “Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture”. Apart from the fact that the three last centuries of the first millennium BC are highly interesting in and of themselves, a lot of Roman imperial phenomena in the field of material culture cannot be contextualized and understood without taking some degree of path dependency into account.

This was the easy part. The fact that we wished to continue to go about (mostly) broken stuff was also immediately established. But what messages to bring exactly on material culture? The attentive reader may have noticed we changed the “material culture studies” of “FACTA” into “material culture” with “HEROM”. This is no coincidence. To be clear, this change has nothing to do with the fact that we deem the field of material culture studies to not work or to not be valuable for the study of Hellenistic and Roman artefacts. Our conceptual convictions as set forth in the original “FACTA” editorial,<sup>8</sup> and explained even better by Chris Tilley and colleagues<sup>9</sup>, as well as Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry,<sup>10</sup> still largely stand. But “HEROM” needs to do more, and intends not only to publish contributions with transdisciplinary conceptual capacity. “HEROM” should represent the field of Hellenistic and Roman find studies in its entirety, and should therefore reach out to as many different interests and communities as possible.

Some within the field of classical archaeology are convinced that “our homework is not finished”. What is implied is that the basic methodological and theoretical frameworks in which we operate are not well enough defined, let alone ready to be passed on the next generation. There is a large measure of truth in this.

For most material categories, a simple nomenclature of types has still not been agreed on, and most colleagues working on no matter which type of material culture are still struggling to strike a balance between quantity of material and quality of context, and to define how this balance may be related to the outreach of archaeological interpretation. Classification, typology, chronology, description of (transformed) raw materials and fabrics, stratigraphical contexts

7. E.g. Di Giuseppe 2012, Lawall 2005, de Callatay 2006 and the rich bibliographical resource at <http://www.instrumentum-europe.org/bibliography.html>.
8. Poblome, Malfitana and Lund 2007.
9. Tilley *et al.* 2006.
10. Hicks and Beaudry 2010.

and quantitative analysis of find assemblages are fundamental elements of the study of material culture. But these aspects are mostly published in site reports or proceedings of meetings by scholarly bodies focussing on specific material categories. International peer-reviewed journals rarely wish to bring such contributions, as they are considered too highly specific and technical, and with little universal impact on promoting the field of study. Site reports are very region/period specific, however, and quite often follow national traditions in publication. Indeed, one's scholarly appetite needs to be considerable and nurtured by access to excellent library services in order to profit from proceedings in many specific fields of material culture studies, which, as a consequence, run the risk of being isolated from one another. Although these channels should by all means continue to exist, they will probably never achieve a higher level of integration by allowing one field of study to inspire another or provide a better international exposure for much of this fundamental work.

This is where "HEROM" can help, by creating a medium for these fundamental aspects of studying material culture by providing sufficient space for the presentation of the basic methodological framework of such studies. In doing so, contributors to "HEROM" are invited to consider options beyond traditional paper-based means of publication and profit from the potential a 100% online environment has to offer. Databases, illustrations and photographs, as well as GIS-based analyses, for instance can be presented in much more flexible ways in a secure online environment, fully respecting and abiding by copyrights.

The same goes for the application of chemical or physical scientific analyses on material culture. Quite often, important archaeometrical research results on artefacts, with a potential impact on archaeology, are published in high profile archaeometrical journals or proceedings of such specialized societies. This is as it should be, but the flexible online environment of "HEROM" can become a new channel of communication enabling the geo- and bio-archaeological communities focused on material culture analyses to expound their message in exemplary detail to material culture specialists. If archaeometry is to have genuine impact, sufficient space needs to be given to contextualization of the analytical rationale and procedures as well as to the archaeological interpretation of these exciting results. The deepening of the interdisciplinary dialogue, as advocated by Kevin Andrews and Roger Doonan,<sup>11</sup> needs a specific medium, which, in the case of the study of material culture, may hopefully be "HEROM".

11. Andrews and Doonan 2003.

“HEROM” acknowledges that the stages of data generation and data analysis are far from complete yet in studies of material culture. But it is a comforting thought that both processes are not finished in any other scientific discipline neither, for that matter, as these often form part of the building blocks of fundamental scientific research. However, our field and “HEROM” cannot restrict themselves to only data generation and analysis.

First of all, if all research on artefactual assemblages was to be concentrated on mostly basic methodological issues, we would soon run the risk that our data can only answer basic questions about the past, limiting our work to answering questions of production and subsistence economy from a mostly functionalist perspective, and not be fit for approaching wider issues related to social, political, religious or cultural developments. The ladder of archaeological inference as developed by Christopher Hawkes<sup>12</sup> comes to mind.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, an exclusive focus on processes of data generation and analysis entails the implicit risk of working in haphazard or redundant ways, as well as of not sustaining sufficiently the social relevance of our field. If we were only to do basic data gathering on our material categories, we would quickly run the risk of being marginalized by fellow archaeologists, ancient historians and other scholars, because our results would be highly technical and difficult to incorporate in their lines of research. What is worse, funding bodies would also begin to turn us down and classify our applications as research fit for the category of expert knowledge, but non-fundamental and not worthy of the name of science. Indeed, as most of us work with tax payers' money, let's face it, our scholarly efforts must have some degree of relevance to society. And this is where disciplinary theory comes in: to make sure that our particular results on a given set of data of material culture reaches a higher level of meaning, useful to fellow scholars of the past and, if possible, also of the present.

Considering that the interpretation of archaeological data requires approaches involving materiality, a long-term perspective and acceptance of diversity and differences of perspective, it is fair to say that these qualities can be found back in the historiography of most scholarly bodies working on material culture. Though rarely made explicit, these are in most cases aligned with one of two positions: some see actors (be they artefacts, artisans or consumers) act rationally according to universal principles,<sup>14</sup> while others con-

12. Hawkes 1954.

13. Poblome, Malfitana and Lund 2011, p. 10.

14. For instance the notion that regional communities will Romanise under the aegis of the empire, affecting material culture assemblages to some degree.

sider artefacts to reflect activity patterns which are meaningfully and socially produced in complex historical and cultural contexts.<sup>15</sup> Both domains of analytical praxis can serve the wider archaeological community, specifically theoretical or not, and also other domains, on the condition that we become more explicit of what it is that we present a case-study of. Not by merely placing the studied assemblage in time and space, but by stating explicitly why the case-study was interesting to set up in the first place. Many of us are convinced that our study material is a crucial key to understanding ancient society and economy; all we need to do now is explain better in which ways this relevance can be demonstrated. In doing so, the recent advice by John Bintliff sounds most comforting: “*that a healthy core theory should combine insights and models from seemingly contrasted intellectual and methodological positions, deploying several, equally valid approaches to probe the complex structure of past life, rather than through one ideological package*”.<sup>16</sup>

“HEROM” acknowledges that the study of past material culture should contribute to our knowledge of this “*complex structure of past life*”. Complex matters are worse than complicated ones. Something complicated, like an engine, has lots of bits and parts that need to function together for it to work: an engine is supposed to perform within a relatively narrow and predictable range of behaviours. Archaeology and the study of ancient artefacts, by contrast, are complex matters, which display properties and behaviours that cannot be attributed to any particular part, but only to the system as a whole. As a matter of fact, archaeology harbours the fairly unique potential to explore societal development by combining the dimensions of materiality and cognition with time and space.

With its focus on the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including Late Antiquity, “HEROM” seeks to contribute to the wider field of historical archaeology. Also this field is complex. Whereas archaeology as a scientific discipline in general approaches the analysis of social complexity and its evolution in the long-term, historical archaeology is mostly concerned with specific periods and regions, where the functioning of society in itself has become quite complex. In consideration of this, we have to consciously avoid not to present our assemblages of material culture as the result of a homogeneous, evolutionary process of social and regional development (such as from chiefdom to polis to state), but to make the particularities and inconsistencies of that part of

15. For instance regional material culture assemblages in Spain or Romania look very different and interact in their own ways with the Roman commonwealth; if they Romanise, they do so in their own ways.
16. Bintliff 2011, p. 18.

the archaeological record we study contribute to debates in social, economic and regional archaeology. “HEROM” consciously opts to move away from cultural and social evolutionism, which still characterizes much research, particularly in classical archaeology (e.g. the debate on r/Romanization and imperialism).<sup>17</sup> The concept of social evolution (the ‘logical’ evolution from hunter/gatherers to complex civilizations) has placed an intellectual straight-jacket on the archaeological discipline, representing “*one of the most persistent meta-narratives in western thought*”.<sup>18</sup> Alternatively, “HEROM” aims to move towards an understanding of social complexity rather than evolution. While society has no doubt become more complex through time, “*complexity should not be conceived as the ultimate goal of social evolution*”.<sup>19</sup> Different communities within the Hellenistic kingdoms and Roman Empire were able to evolve in different yet complex ways based on how inequalities were established and contested. Social complexity and its development existed on many levels and scales, and in many contexts.

When facing the complexity and multi-scalarity of Hellenistic and Roman society, it should not come as a surprise that aspects and concepts of social sciences theory have found their way into the way we approach the past. Especially studies of material culture seem to be fit for this, as artefacts can be considered integral parts of communication strategies by communities, groups and individuals,<sup>20</sup> reflecting, creating and transforming their identities.<sup>21</sup> Past material culture was as much meaningfully constituted by society, as social life was constituted through the material world.<sup>22</sup> Meaning, however, is not derived from universally applicable aspects of social science theory, but from arbitrary, context specific practices and relationships among people and things, that may be uncovered during archaeological fieldwork. Clearly, classical archaeology needs to revise its traditional use of the notion of “society” and seriously begin to consider recent developments in the structure-agency debate (on the primacy of patterned arrangements over the capacity to act as driving force in developing society). The notion “society” can hardly be held any longer to designate an almost material entity made of social stuff or some sort of grander force explaining the functioning and positioning of each member.<sup>23</sup> An important attempt to overcome the structure-agency debate was

17. Wallace-Hadrill 2008 or Mattingly 2011.

18. Pluciennik 2005.

19. Chapman 2003.

20. Schiffer and Miller 1999.

21. Hales and Hodos 2010.

22. Gosden and Marshall 1999.

23. Shanks and Tilley 1987.

Structuration Theory,<sup>24</sup> characterizing society as a duality, in providing the framework for action by social agents and being the cumulative result of the totality of such actions. In this sense, action is at least partly determined by existing structures and rules, which are themselves not permanent, but, rather, are liable to change as a result of human action.<sup>25</sup> In archaeology, this theory has been highly influential by introducing the importance of social agency and the role of the active individual to create the structures of social life.<sup>26</sup>

Recently, however, the debate in archaeology was taken one step further by the adoption of insights from Actor-Network Theory (ANT), as developed by B. Latour,<sup>27</sup> M. Callon and J. Law in the field of science studies. ANT intends to map relations (which are simultaneously material and semiotic) as networks, in order to explain how material things and semiotic concepts can work as a whole, how such relations need to perform for the network not to dissolve and also how actor-networks are transient and liable to change. An ANT perspective on the study of past material culture suggests that it is not so much the inherent characteristics of archaeological entities or past agency which matter, but the nature of their fluid and heterogeneous relationships and the way individuals become “*flexible parts of a social network taking on the characteristics of the network*”.<sup>28</sup> Recently, Gavin Lucas<sup>29</sup> has called the “*process in which objects and people are made and unmade, in which they have no stable essences but are contextually and historically contingent*” materialization. “*What really matters,*” to Lucas<sup>30</sup>, “*is the relations between entities, as well as what kinds of entities there are*”.

Admittedly, aspects of theory from the social sciences introduce a degree of abstraction into the debate. Although “HEROM” is open to innovative case studies employing Hellenistic or Roman material culture to illustrate the working of such concepts, the journal wishes to focus even more on that one issue that matters most in archaeological terms: people. Enhancing our knowledge on the ABC of any given material category is important, as are innovative archaeometrical insights, and the creative use of concepts in archaeological and social theory, but these aspects become less significant unless aimed at improving our understanding on how communities, groups and individuals lived and worked in the framework of the Hellenistic

24. Gardner 2007.

25. Giddens 1984.

26. Dobres and Robb 2000.

27. Latour 2005.

28. Gosden 2004.

29. Lucas 2012, p. 166.

30. Lucas 2012, p. 167.

kingdoms and the Roman empire. For example, the detail of the clay fabric description of a cooking vessel is important only in the way that it makes us understand where, why and how artisans selected this clay, whether they had free access to their resources or had to lease raw materials and production infrastructure, how they worked and shaped the clay with an intended range of functions in mind, where their morphological inspiration came from, whether they or their overlords were successful in reaching more distant markets than their home-bases, how the artisans made a living from their produce, and how their customers could afford the cooking vessels, whether any of these parties was a slave or freeborn, whether the vessels were appreciated by their customers as strong and practical, whether they were sufficiently versatile in the latter's opinion to accommodate changes in foodstuffs, culinary habits and recipes as well as cultural or other waves of fashion, how culinary technology was grafted onto societal and other developments and how fast the useful life of the cooking vessels expired possibly reflecting degrees of consumerism. In most cases, few of these questions can be answered due to lack of evidence or research, but considering the ancient peoples, our templates are, perhaps, based on too simple and often dichotomous classifications: producers or consumers, elite or non-elite, ownership or tenancy, Roman or not, regional or imported, slave or not and so on. It seems to us that this is actually a poor reflection of the many shades and nuances that made up the lives and work of the people of the Hellenistic kingdoms and Roman Empire. "HEROM" wishes to view the world of antiquity in full, living colour.

Antoine Roquentin was not so much into colour, though, when he sadly proclaimed "*Mais la céramique ne me fait pas rire*". This fictional protagonist in Jean-Paul Sartre's early existentialist work *La nausée* of 1938 possibly would not have liked "HEROM" either. And although the business of studying Hellenistic and Roman ceramics as well as other contemporary types of artefacts is no laughing matter, there is a lot of pleasure and intellectual gratification in connecting these objects with patterns in past daily lives. Even if the concept of fragmentation can be linked to some degree to this journal's background, as with *Polterabend*, our broken Hellenistic and Roman stuff mainly means well and wishes us luck with the start of a new scholarly tradition: long live "HEROM. Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture"!

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# ROMAN BRONZE LAMPS WITH MASKS: DIONYSOS, PANTOMIME AND MEDITERRANEAN POPULAR CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

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Bronze lamps with masks, and in particular that series, apparently datable to the first and second centuries AD, in which a mask is placed on the end of an arching handle, overlooking the body of the lamp, have a wide distribution over the Empire but a remarkably consistent portrayal of mask that is worth investigation for its own sake. At the same time the series presents some difficult problems which have relevance to the use of representations of masks as evidence for theatre practice at this period. The masks themselves have been taken at various times as male or female, belonging to Tragedy, Pantomime, or as representing Dionysos himself.

Below is a list of those examples known to me, although there are surely many more that I have missed.<sup>2</sup> The main list has those which might be

- 1 Helga Sedlmayer (2001) covers much of the same territory as the present contribution. She, however, wrote as an expert on bronze vessels, which I certainly am not. I am more concerned with the distribution of these lamps and their relevance in determining the impact of theatre in the broader community in the earlier part of the Empire. I am grateful to many colleagues for help on individual lamps, for photographs, and permission to publish them: Luigi Fozzati (Aquileia), Jasper Gaunt (Atlanta), Odile Cavalier (Avignon), Christina Stirbulescu (Bucharest), Constantin Bajenaru (Constanta), John Lund and Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen (Copenhagen), Dorel Bondoc (Craiova), Bob Hensleigh and Iva Lisikewyz (Detroit), Anne Viola Siebert (Hanover), Bernhard Steinmann (Karlsruhe), Rüdiger Splitter (Kassel), Helen Berry (London), Marina Sanz Novo (Madrid), Patrice Darteville (Mariemont), Katherine Wodehouse (Oxford), G. Scardina and Agata Villa (Palermo), Maria Daniela Donninelli (Rome), Jaume Massó Carballido (Tarragona), Nicola Woods (Toronto), Marzia Vidulli (Trieste). Also to Hugh Beames, Elisa Lanza Catti, and especially to Sophie Morton for much help including searching out and ordering the photographs.
- 2 The list is based in the first instance on the parallels provided by Boucher 1973 and 1976, p. 195, and Bailey 1996, pp. 39-40; see also Valenza Mele 1981, pp. 93-95.

regarded as having the standard mask, i.e. a beardless mask with so-called mitra above the brow, side-hair in corkscrew curls, generally youthful face, and a palmette projecting forward from the bottom of the chin. Masks preserved without the body of their lamp are included in the same list. They are ordered alphabetically by collection, without chronological implication. The main list is followed by a selection of similar lamps with other types of mask.

## Description

The main list contains 77 examples, and another 16 closely-related pieces. It is certainly incomplete, and it does not, for example, contain a number of lamps of this type reported to be in Aquileia.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand the collection as it stands is probably large enough to form a reliable basis for some general observations.

The lamp type is Loeschcke XXb.<sup>4</sup> The body is of piriform plan. The shoulder is in the form of a low flat ridge. The discus and channel are in a single plane through to the wick-hole. The filling-hole is regularly cuoriform or shaped like an ivy-leaf and can sometimes have a stalk engraved on the adjoining surface; it can very occasionally be just a simple round hole (as 23). The spout is semi-lunate in plan. There is generally a ring foot, although its profile, height and diameter can vary considerably. The handle arches over from the back of the lamp. It is normally of semicircular or hollowed semicircular section, and has the mask attached at the end, looking over the body of the lamp; the mask is somewhat hollowed rather than flat behind and was of course cast separately. The angle of the mask ranges from vertical to horizontal, normally nearer 45 degrees, but this aspect may of course depend on the lamp's treatment after manufacture, whether pre- or post-depositional. What is at first sight a curious, if regular, feature is a palmette extending from below the chin of the mask; its treatment varies a great deal, ranging from fully and carefully modelled, with curved surfaces for the individual elements, to lightly inscribed on an otherwise flat surface.

- 3 On the other hand it is possible that there is some duplication among pieces formerly or now in private collections and the art market. Other reported examples which I have been unable to check include: (i) Serrure 1900, lot 210, said to be from Baalbek; (ii) Leiden, National Museum of Antiquities I 97/3.10 (bought in Smyrna) [mentioned by Hayes 1984]; (iii) *Artibus Asiae* 18, 1955, p. 147, from Volubilis; (iv) H.M.F. Schulman Gallery (New York), *Sale Cat.* 17-18 March 1960, no. 193; (v) Galerie Gunter Puhze, *Kunst der Antike* (Freiburg 1977) no. 28; (vi) Zurich, *Arete, Liste 14* (1979) no. 66. There is also said to be a handle-fragment Oxford G 410, but there is no sign of it in the Ashmolean.
- 4 Loeschcke 1919, pp. 339-341.

The distinguishing feature for our list is the presence of the mask. There are many other lamps of the same general type, not least among those from Italy, in which the handle terminates in the head of an animal, duck or swan, or indeed with horse-head as discussed by Sedlmayer.<sup>5</sup>

Individual treatments of the mask vary in the details, but typically there is a row of stylised curls above the brow with headgear, a so-called mitra, above. There is no central parting: that is the mask is of a male, not a female.<sup>6</sup> The face is framed at either side by three (occasionally two or four) parallel cork-screw curls hanging to the level of the chin. The cheeks are full and sometimes appear soft. The nose is straight and relatively long. The eyes are open and sometimes inlaid with silver (which would have glinted in the dark by the light of the lamp's flame). The brows are usually even but there is regularly a nick between, above the nose, so that the expression is serious. Occasionally there is also a crease across the forehead. The mouth is sometimes closed but usually slightly open. It is never wide open in the manner of a tragic mask. There is never a beard.

The chart (FIG. 25) gives the stated lengths of the lamps in millimetres, as taken from the publications. This information is, of course, of varying reliability; in some cases one might guess that the stated dimensions are rounded to the nearest centimetre; in some cases no length or other dimensions such as height are given; some items do not preserve their full length, but only the mask. The selection was confined to lamps in the main part of the list. It is therefore based on 46 items. The largest (68) is said to have a length of 29.8 cm, and 22 (FIG. 9a-b) 29.2 cm. As is observable in the chart (FIG. 25), there are few of over 23 cm. The smallest is said to have a length of 13 cm (1), and again the chart makes obvious how few are at that end of the scale. For objects that in photographs, and even in the memory, seem to have a common generic size, some are less than half the size of the largest.

The variability in size is easily demonstrated. Given the nature of the material, what is less easy to quantify and demonstrate is the variability in the handling of the body of the lamp or the treatment of the mask.

5 Note also the article by Gil Farrés 1949.

6 But note nos. 28a and 60.

## Development and Chronology

An important point to note before any further discussion is that it is near impossible to construct any coherent sequence, and any series we might construct would readily be undermined by the observation that the lamps in question would appear to have been made in many areas, not in any single, consistent tradition. They have been found in Pompeii, Rome, northern Italy, the countries of the Balkans and the Danubian region (where they are plentiful), in Gaul and Germany, Spain, parts of North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Cyprus and the Black Sea, in virtually the whole of the Roman world, even if, remarkably, none are known to me from Greece, the Aegean islands, Asia Minor or the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily. As a result, one cannot trace a simple chronological sequence; nor is it possible, on present evidence, to discern any regional pattern. As just one example, one might note that the handling of the face and hair of the mask on a piece recently on the New York market (75) is very much the same, indeed almost indistinguishable from, that of the lamp in Constanta (16, FIG. 7), and yet the treatment of the body of the lamp on the latter is more etiolated, the foot much narrower at its junction with the body, and the foot itself much taller-looking: that is the body-forms of the lamps do not match those of the masks in any postulated series. The issue is complicated further by the variable attention to detail on the part of the individual manufacturer. While some treatments may seem simpler and therefore later, it is again unsafe to suppose that any given simplified or conventionalised version is later than any given naturalistic or highly detailed version. The same applies, of course, to the handling not only of the masks but also of the palmettes below the chin. A more detailed and comprehensive study might make progress on these sorts of issues by comparing the forms of body and foot, but although one might naturally expect the shape to be a more reliable indicator, many of the same problems would apply. It is best in the meanwhile to continue to treat the whole series as a single group.

All this said, there does of course seem to be an overall development, visible most readily in the handling of the body and foot: from a very low and wide ring foot to a taller version of much smaller diameter; from a capacious to a shallower and in relative terms more elongated body. (For obviously late examples, see 4; 11, FIG. 5; 16, FIG. 7.) The masks would appear in the earlier phases to have a lower mitra with naturalistic folds, and in the later a taller version with plainer face and growingly prominent acroterion-like corners; from a more naturalistic to a more formalised handling of the hair. Yet there are almost always examples that offer contradictions.

There is evidence that many of our lamps had the eyes of the mask inlaid in silver, but the practice seems to have been an issue of care and quality rather than chronology.

Absolute chronology is not an easy matter, either, even if there is a broad consensus that the lamps are to be dated to the first and second centuries AD. The masks on the lamps from Pompeii, which must date before AD 79 and which generically may be placed in the early to mid-first century, show evidence, both stylistic and formal, that they should belong early in the sequence. The handle of 84, for example, comprises two separate elements in the lower part where it springs from the body and is then linked under a wrapping motif before continuing as a single element at its shoulder. A bronze lamp in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney (93, FIG. 24a-b), perhaps belongs to a somewhat later offshoot of this tradition: it has a mask not dissimilar to those of our series but overlooking the body of a double-spouted lamp with detachable discus. The handle comprises two curved rods which curve upwards from the back of the lamp and meet halfway to form a single strap; the junction of the rods is covered by a wider band and three narrow ones spanning the width of the handle. An archetypal memory of the arrangement employed in the lamp from Pompeii (84) is preserved in many of the rest of the series where one regularly finds a band across the handle somewhat behind the mask. On 82 from Pompeii the band is still decorated. Again, the mask on 85 (like 84) emerges from a calyx. This piece is important as providing a rationale for the palmette below the mask's chin, a feature which is preserved in the rest of the series but without any clear logic. The palmette below the satyr's chin on 82 is a great deal more carefully and traditionally done (note the way it rests on volutes) than on other (later) examples. Even within the three lamps from Pompeii, it is instructive to compare the two with satyr-masks. The body of the lamp 84 is shallower, has a simpler handle and a straighter foot than 82. The latter should be noticeably earlier, indeed the earliest surviving example of this class. At the same time one should note that 36, which has been said to be from Pompeii, with its smooth mitra and stacked conventionalised hair might reasonably have been thought to be later had it been found at another site.<sup>7</sup>

Also said to be from Pompeii is the example in Madrid, 31 (FIG. 12a-b), but although it looks as if it should be from comparatively early in the sequence, not least by its shape, I remain to be convinced that the stated provenience is a true one. None of the pieces actually known to be from that site has a mitra,

7 One wonders how good the evidence is for its having been found at Pompeii.

let alone one of this form; and the handle comes to the back of the mask without any intermediate element.

The 'early' examples include a much greater range of mask-types than the remainder of the series. 80 is a maenad, 82-83 and 87 satyrs, 84 is a papposilenos; that is they are Dionysiac rather than linked directly to theatrical performance. 74, a fine and to judge by its shape an early piece, has a Dionysos mask of an unusual kind. Note too the Louvre example, 78, on which one hesitates between seeing Dionysos or a maenad, with its simpler and rather finer side-curls and its larger and more elaborate palmette. It is said to be from Herculaneum, a provenience that is fully credible. The mask on 85 is a youthful Attis of a kind found not uncommonly among masks linked with pantomime.<sup>8</sup> What we seem to have at the beginning, therefore, is a series of Dionysiac masks, much as we find on roughly contemporary items such as the well-known silver cups from Hildesheim or the sardonix kantharos from the St Denis treasure.<sup>9</sup> The setting in that sort of case is often bucolic, evoking the sanctuary, and may thus form a link with the conceit of a mask springing from a calyx. At the same time one may compare the effect of the motif of heads and masks in Third-Style Pompeian wall-painting. It is in this sort of context, too, that we should place a lamp in Berlin which has the head of a panther emerging from a calyx.<sup>10</sup> (I would suppose that the animal was perceived as belonging to Dionysos.) Between the calyx and the band across, the handle has ridges that echo those of a stem. The form of the body of the lamp suggests that it is a very early example in the series.

On this argument, the main series represents an abandonment of the inventiveness of the original types and a focussing on a single popular motif. This development seems to have gone hand in hand with routine production. At the same time the spread of production is remarkable, and suggests that the mask-type eventually and consistently chosen must have meant something in many parts of the Empire.

The use of masks as decorative elements on objects such as lamps, braziers, drinking vessels, wall-decoration and so on had become increasingly frequent in the course of the Hellenistic period. Their function rested within

8 Cf. the oscillum from Bolsena, Pailler 1969, p. 633, fig. 2; Wootton 1999, pl. 1, fig. 1.

9 Pernice and Winter 1901, pp. 37-38, pls. 13-14; Gehrig 1967, pp. 24-25, figs. 23-24; Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1991, p. 178, figs. 170-171 (colour), p. 272, no. 93; Webster 1995, 4XA 2.1-2 (with further references). Babelon 1897, pp. 201, no. 368; Adriani 1959, p. 22, pls. 30-31; Le trésor de Saint Denis 1991, pp. 83-86, no. 11; Webster 1995, 4XJ 37 (with further references).

10 Inv. 7776 said to be from Asia Minor. L. 19.3 cm; Vierneisel 1978, p. 138, no. 131.

the symposion where they served as highly evocative symbols of the happy world engendered by Dionysos, as god of wine and of theatre.<sup>11</sup> Indeed the human meets the god in an almost literal as well as a metaphorical sense. The masks also bring to mind the fact that theatre was a major point of reference in society at large.<sup>12</sup>

The point of origin for the series must remain open. Boucher demonstrated that Charles Picard's claim that they derived from Alexandrian work (in what was a rather dismissive review of Thouvenot's publication of the Moroccan lamps) was manifestly false.<sup>13</sup> Indeed she has shown that very many small bronzes, commonly but casually referred to in the modern literature as inspired by Alexandrian workshops, are products developed in various parts of the Empire. Although Pompeii presents the earliest and widest range of examples, it could hardly be considered a point of origin. At the same time, the 'early' examples from Pompeii seem to show generic but not direct links with the Aegean and western Asia Minor, and if the question of origins is important, it may, rather, be worth looking in this direction.<sup>14</sup> Certainly this seems to have been the principal area to have developed the idea. For example one could cite the three-nozzled lamp from the Mahdia shipwreck, probably of the 80s BC, with its fine comic *panchrestos* mask,<sup>15</sup> and a not totally dissimilar piece from Pompeii.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand there is no known direct link into our series.

While the masks on the main series of lamps at first sight all seem much the same, if we examine them in more detail, the picture becomes more complicated. Almost half the pieces have the head-covering (mitra) characterised by folds of varying degrees of plasticity and others have grooves or incisions; the rest are smooth. Those with folds are: (2, FIG. 1); 5, FIG. 3; 9; 13, FIG. 6a-b; 17, FIG. 8; 20; 22, FIG. 9a-b; 27; 28a; 30; (32); 38, FIG. 14; 40; 42; (43); 44; 52; 55, FIG. 19; 57; (58); 59; 61, FIG. 21; 65; 66; 68; 70; 71; 73; 76. (On the bracketed examples, the folds are faint.) Those with grooves or incisions are 6, FIG. 4; 7; 12; 21; 41; 54, FIG. 18; 69; 75; 77.

11 Green 1991; *idem* 1994, *passim*.

12 Green 1999, pp. 36-63.

13 For Boucher, see note 2. Picard 1955. On this question, see also Valenza Mele 1981, pp. 94-95. She sees Aquileia as a likely major centre.

14 One thinks of the Hellenistic plastic vases and related terracottas of the so-called Magenta Group. See, for example, Green 1995 and Webster 1995, 3NV 1-9.

15 Hellenkemper Salies *et al.* 1994, pp. 640-641, figs. 1-4 (where see Barr-Sharrar's comments); Webster 1995, ii, p. 258, 3XB 4a.

16 Naples 72276, Hellenkemper Salies *et al.* 1994, p. 650, fig. 14.

There seems to be no consistent discernible correlation between whether or not the mitra has folds and its overall form – much as one might have liked to see those with strongly out-swinging corners associated with a lack of folds.<sup>17</sup> There is no evident progression from one kind to another. This being said, and as noted above, most of those with the most pronouncedly swinging corners are plain (e.g. 4; 11, FIG. 5; 14; 16, FIG. 7; 18; 23; 24, FIG. 10; 29; 48; 60; 72); and all those with no out-turned corners have folds (3, FIG. 2; 19; 30; 32; 58). But see 61, FIG. 21.

Except for the items from Pompeii, unfortunately few of our lamps have good reported excavation context, and even fewer have a context that provides good dating evidence; and even then one has to accept that these objects could have a long life above ground. A good case in point is the example in Milan (33), found in a tomb at Lovere in 1907. The deposition appears to belong to the third or fourth century, and this must surely have been the oldest item in it: the mask is of developed appearance and the mitra has pronounced corners even if it is given folds; the hair is fairly strongly formalised and the vessel is given a fairly tall spreading foot. It does not have the appearance of being one of the latest of our lamps. The example in Pristina (42) is said to have come from a context of the first half of the fourth century and yet, on the normal dating, it would appear stylistically to have been at least 200 years old at the time. The example in the Capitoline Museums (49) is from a room in a private house on the Viminal with a destruction context of the late second century. To judge by its appearance, it does not seem to be much later than examples from Pompeii. The mask and handle published by Thomas (62, FIG. 22) is dated by him to the fourth century, but it stands so far outside the main series in the handling of the mask that the date means very little. None of this is enough to confirm or question the date normally given, even if there must be a suggestion that the series continued somewhat longer than the normally accepted terminal date of ca AD 200.

There are some other factors that can be brought into play, but none of them is in any way definitive. One of them involves the style of hair. The parallel lines of corkscrew hair to either side of the face, that are standard in our masks, have their origin in small groups of such curls hanging below the ears that were introduced in the late second century BC for both comic and tragic masks, possibly to conceal the edge of the mask as seen on stage. Our

17 I call it a mitra in a purely conventional sense. For discussions of the proper use of the term, see Webster 1995, i, pp. 47-48, not to mention Brandenburg 1966, and for another view, Tölle-Kastenbein 1977. Note also the useful discussion by John Boardman in Kurtz and Boardman 1986, pp. 50-56.

basic type has become the norm by the first century AD. Layered or stacked arrangements in the curls hanging to either side of the face, become more common, though never standard, in depictions of several masks from the later part of the first century onwards. (In our main series, note 5, FIG. 3; 19; 34, FIG. 13; 36; 37; 39, FIG. 15; 42; 49; 63; and then 89 and 93.) Two classic examples on clay factory lamps from northern Italy, and therefore fairly well datable, are shown in FIGS 26 and 27. FIG. 26 is a quite common type, a heroine from Tragedy, and it occurs among lamps bearing the stamp of Fortis.<sup>18</sup> Bailey dates it to the last quarter of the first century AD. FIG. 27 has a lamp with the mask of a comic slave, doubtless the type with so-called wavy hair, no. 27 in the list by Pollux.<sup>19</sup> It is perhaps marginally later than the other, but not by much. (Bailey puts it late first century – early second century.) Here the treatment is more elaborate and in some ways not without parallel for our series. As a mask within the comic series, it exhibits a step in the progressive stylisation and unrealistic elaboration of particular features. Here we have three distinct levels in the side hair, as well as what seems to be a transitional element between it and the main body of hair over the top of the head. This too is a feature of our lamp series. Despite the loss of the upper part of the onkos, one might also compare as a slightly later example the treatment of the hair on the tragic mask that once decorated a tomb monument found at Aix-en-Provence and now in Marseille.<sup>20</sup> The arrangement of the corkscrew curls is elaborated for its own sake, by contrast with the simplicity of the face. It is surely to be dated to the second century, and perhaps not too late in it. It is interesting, though hardly surprising, that this effect, seen in masks in several media, was developed at much the same time as elaborate hairstyles (with wigs and hairpieces) in portraits, especially for women, and in their case it surely reflects real life.<sup>21</sup>

Another piece of evidence on chronological issues is a clay factory lamp in Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen (inv. 212) (FIG. 28).<sup>22</sup> It is decorated with a mask that is certainly derived from our series, complete with mitra

- 18 London, British Museum 1856.7-1.337. L. 10.9 cm. Bailey 1980, no. Q 1164 PRB, pl. 51; Green and Handley 1995, no. 74. Last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Compare for example the youthful male tragic masks on factory lamps in Landes 1989, nos. 39 and 42.
- 19 London, British Museum 1814.7-4.178. L. 10.2 cm. Late first - early second century AD. Bailey 1980, no. Q 1169, pls. 52 and 96; Webster 1995, 5RL 23a; Green and Handley 1995, no. 75. It has the stamp IEGIDI.
- 20 Marseille, Hospice de la Vieille Charité, inv. 208; e.g. Espérandieu 1907, p. 87, no. 109; Möbius 1961, p. 142, pl. 29, 1; Landes 1989, no. 97.
- 21 Among the many studies of hairstyles in portrait sculpture, see for example Fittschen 2005; Bartman 2001, which is useful on how the hair was put together. Both give adequate references to earlier studies.
- 22 I owe the photograph to Ted Robinson.

and hair on the brow, full side hair done as a double stack of wavy (rather than tight-curled) hair, slightly open mouth, and then a palmette below the chin. It was worked up by incision after removal from the mould, but the handling of the detail in the treatment of the hair, the form of the mitra (relatively low and without added corners) and the fullness of the palmette would all suggest that the lamp-maker was working from a relatively early original. It is roughly datable to the end of the first century or only slightly later.

One might also compare the mask with that of the double-spouted bronze lamp in Sydney (FIG. 24a-b). In fact slave masks with this degree of elaborated hair are uncommon (after all they hardly represent the upper classes of society) and one wonders if they were not created as a counterpart to those of other characters. The slave mask is, however, a popular lamp-motif and was presumably used as representing or symbolising traditional comedy. Indeed for many, particularly in the Latin west, the comedy of Menander must by this date have seemed as 'classical' as the tragedy of Euripides.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore one might even argue that Euripidean tragedy seemed less remote inasmuch as its themes were common in Pantomime, a performance medium that had a popular following.

## The Identity of the Mask

We may now move to the identification of the mask. Whatever it has been called in some of the publications, it surely represents Dionysos. In the later years of the Republic and under the Empire there are two principal versions seen among his masks. The one is the archaistic bearded type that is seen most commonly in what purported to be votive reliefs found in Pompeian gardens such as that of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, and elsewhere in central Italy.<sup>24</sup> The other, the beardless version, is infinitely more popular and is found in a wide range of materials. We may begin with a few obvious examples, first in wall-painting. Well known is the example from the central aedicula in ambiente 23 of the villa of Oplontis (FIG. 29).<sup>25</sup> It is relatively pale-faced

23 On the age of Menander as a 'classical' period, see Green 2008, pp. 103-104. It was perceived as such already by the Augustan period.

24 Two examples among many: from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, Pailler 1971, p. 130, fig. 2; Dwyer 1981, p. 286, no. 148, pl. 128.2; Cain 1988, p. 149, no. 66, fig. 46; from the Quirinal, Rome, Museo Nuovo Capitolino, inv. 2127, Cain 1988, p. 131, no. 83, fig. 25; Savarese 2007, pp. 130-131 (colour III.). Note also Hackländer 1996.

25 E.g. de Franciscis 1975, p. 26, pl. 13 and *idem* 1980, pp. 10-11; Ling 1991, pp. 27-28, pl. IIIB; Giubelli and Mazzola 1991, p. 17 and front cover; Fergola and Pagano 1998, p. 43 (colour); Guzzo and Fergola 2000, p. 61 (colour).

with long curling hair falling below the ears. About the head is ivy intertwined with a double-wound wool fillet, and a taenia hangs down to each side of the face. The mask is fairly full-faced and has a serious expression, with level brows but no frown; the mouth is open but not widely. The example from Solunto (FIG. 30) is also in a Second-Style context but is perhaps a little earlier even if it echoes a somewhat later original.<sup>26</sup> The face is treated in very similar fashion but the side-hair is longer and there is an onkos above the brow with a ribbon or taenia across it.

A useful example of what is certainly a Dionysos mask in stone is the one from the mausoleum in Cucuron (Vaucluse) (FIG. 31).<sup>27</sup> Rather like the Oplontis mask it has the ends of a taenia hanging down at the sides of the head, and again its identity is secure from the fruited ivy running across above the brow. The Oplontis version, which should belong quite early in the first century, is given a wool fillet about the head, a motif with a long history in the context of the symposion. The Cucuron mask is damaged in the relevant area; the material above the brow is probably to be taken as part of the taenia, but as preserved, it looks uncannily like the mitra or diadem we are used to from the lamps. The face is full and fairly soft; the mouth is partly open; the corkscrew hair is skilfully carved with hanging curls above the brow as well as to either side of the head. Lavagne is surely right to date it in the later half of the first century. He also made a valid comparison with the Dionysos mask from a tomb on the Via Appia published by von Sydow.<sup>28</sup> The latter is one of a series of masks on that monument that were placed in the areas above and between the arches decorating the façade. In this case the taenia across the onkos makes its upper part look almost like a separate element. The onkos of a Dionysos-mask from a grave monument in Vienne has unfortunately been lost, but the treatment of the face is relevant, with its full if insipid treatment of the cheeks, barely-open mouth, and above all the line of a wrinkle across the brow.<sup>29</sup>

Another useful background piece is a gem in Hanover (FIG. 32) that has reasonably been dated to the first century BC: one would expect it to belong to

- 26 Webster 1967, p. 123, SP 1; Beyen 1938, figs. 6a-c; Engemann 1967, fig. 60.4; Allrögggen-Bedel 1974, no. 98; Croisille 2005, p. 45, fig. 31.
- 27 E.g. Landes 1989, no. 94 (Lavagne); Hallier *et al.* 1990, especially p. 188, fig. 44 (mask 2); Lavagne's description and discussion at pp. 186-194 provide a good and full listing of similar monuments with comparable masks.
- 28 von Sydow 1977, especially p. 277, fig. 33.
- 29 Espérandieu 1907, no. 396; Will 1952, p. 50, no. 98A; Möbius 1961, p. 149, pl. 29, 4; Hallier *et al.* 1990, fig. 45; Webster 1967, JS 13.

the middle or later part.<sup>30</sup> It has a mask of a youthful Dionysos with a roll of hair at the front, fine corkscrew curls hanging at the sides, and an ivy-wreath with korymbos about the head. The eyes are carefully defined. There is a very slight hint of a frown; the cheeks are fairly full and soft. The mask is in three-quarter view but near-frontal.

The gem in Hanover foreshadows a feature that we have noticed above as typical of the first century AD, and not only on masks of Dionysos, namely the development of hanging parallel curls to either side of the face, usually done as corkscrew curls. The stone mask from Cucuron (FIG. 31) is a good example, and it stands at roughly the point of take-off for those on our lamps in this respect and in the treatment of the curls above the brow. In the later part of the first century and the early part of the second, they become stacked; it is just becoming apparent in later material from Pompeii.

The difficult feature on the masks of our series is the element conventionally named a 'mitra' above. It appears only very rarely in depictions outside the series; indeed it seems largely restricted to it. In other depictions, one has to observe first that, whenever the mask has any degree of onkos, it normally has a taenia across the front: the wall-painting from Solunto (FIG. 30) is a typical example. It often tends to form a divider, so that the upper part comes to be regarded separately. An interesting case that by its appearance should date to the later part of the first or the earlier part of the second century AD, is a small bronze mask as an appliqué in the Petit Palais in Paris.<sup>31</sup> The face is plump and there is a frown, as on many of the lamp-masks; the mouth is half open; the side hair is double-stacked. The fascinating part, however, is that above the line of the taenia on the onkos, the upper part is treated as a series of folds. They match the lines of the curls of the main body of the hair, but they are treated differently, like the folds of the 'mitra' on our masks.

These folds are a curious phenomenon and they seem in a way to link the type with what is often described as a veil, draped over a high onkos of hair and hanging fairly loosely. A well-known and particularly clear example is the Andromeda-mask in the wall-painting from the Casa dei Cervi at Herculaneum.<sup>32</sup> This is, of course, a tragic type. The hair is parted above

30 Hanover K 282, dark brown paste with white stripe, AGDS 1975, no. 611, pl. 80.

31 DUT 72. Petit 1980, p. 133, no. 62, with references. H. 5.8 cm.

32 Naples 9850, from Herculaneum IV.21, 5, tablinum west wall, e.g. Bieber 1961, fig. 760; Allroggen-Bedel 1974, p. 126, no. 20.1, fig. 3; Tran tam Tinh 1988, p. 44, fig. 41; Bernabò Brea 1998, p. 73, fig. 95 (detail). The identification as Andromeda seems assured by the *ketos* in the lower left of the painting.

the brow, as is regular for females. The brows rise towards the centre, in a line echoing that of the hair, producing an expression of anxiety. To judge by the comic masks from the same series, the panels reflect Early to Middle Hellenistic originals. Attractive as such a parallel may seem, however, the choice of such a mask, that of a young heroine about to be sacrificed to a monster, seems rather specific given the apparently rather generalised use and presumable applicability of the lamps. At the same time we may note a clay double-spouted volute lamp in Strasbourg, signed by Catullus, with a mask of this type attached at base of each spout, though the head-covering in this case seems more clearly to be a veil.<sup>33</sup>

In very many of our pieces, however, the head-covering is left smooth, and, furthermore, has jutting lower corners which in some cases have a pronounced upward curve, so that Boucher, for example, commonly described them, not inappropriately, as 'chapeaux de gendarme'.<sup>34</sup> Such a type is not infrequent as a pantomime mask, and one may compare many examples. Among them is the marble mask in the Museo Civico, Milan, from the theatre at Caesarea, that must originally have been held by the Muse Polymnia<sup>35</sup>. It was put by Frova as possibly dating to the second century but I am not sure that it should not be somewhat earlier. Indeed a Vespasianic date coincident with the remodelling of the theatre would be suitable.<sup>36</sup> It is comparatively naturalistic but already has a small nick for a frown above the nose. Seen in profile, it has a ridge along the brow line. The mitra is low and simple.

Also to be placed among this collection of potential sources of inspiration for our series is a mask in shallow relief in Rome (FIG. 33).<sup>37</sup> It is said to be Hadrianic in date. Unusually the mask is in profile, but it is certainly Dionysos: note the vine-leaves and grapes in the wreath about his head, most obviously by his temple. His hair is done in a shallow, erect onkos, almost like a diadem, or in effect like our mitra except that it is shown as hair.<sup>38</sup>

33 Strasbourg 53.30, Hatt 1954, p. 334, fig. 11.

34 Note also the observations of Valenza Mele 1981, p. 93.

35 Milan, Museo Civico A.O.9.4078. Frova 1966, pp. 202-203, no. 253 (7), 254 (7), 255 (7); Arslan 1979, p. 218, fig. 213; Jory 1996, pl. 2, fig. 8.

36 For an up-to-date précis of the architectural development of the theatre, see Sear 2006, pp. 302-303 (with earlier refs), and for an overview of its disputed chronology, *ibid.* pp. 107-108.

37 Rome MNR 8572, H 1.11 m, Palma and Lachenal 1983, p. 185, no. 79 (colour illus. front cover), with further references.

38 There is an uncanny resemblance to the hairstyle of Julia Domna. For an actual diadem, see the small bronze mask, Babelon and Blanchet 1895, no. 994.

Much closer to ours and surely contemporary is a bronze mask of Dionysos in Copenhagen (FIG. 34a-b).<sup>39</sup> As an attachment it is comparatively large (height 6.4 cm; width 6.1 cm) and it was designed to lean forward slightly from a vertical surface. The cheeks are smooth and fairly full; there are frown-marks on the brow above the nose; the eyelids are outlined and the pupils hollowed; the mouth is half-open. The hair done in vertical curls; not strictly-speaking corkscrew since the lines are horizontal, not winding, and there are small freer curls incorporated, especially at the sides. The side-hair is double-stacked if by no means formally. The mitra is marked with fine folds but it does not have projecting corners.

A further series of masks of relevance to our type is that held above his head by bronze figurines of Attis. Some of them are listed in *LIMC* iii, p. 29, but the closest to ours is that in Marseilles where what would have been the upper part of the onkos is treated in a manner very close to that of the mitra with folds in our series.<sup>40</sup> The link is an important one since, through the Attis figure, there is a good case for seeing them as belonging to Pantomime.<sup>41</sup>

More conventionalised are the terracotta 'lifesize' masks from the Athenian Agora.<sup>42</sup> They have the mouth somewhat pursed as well as small, with full lips, and there is a triangular furrow on the brow above the nose; the hair, which is done in careful braids, comes down to chin level. Here at last we see a mitra like ours. In all these the hair above the brow is wavy, with a central parting; they are surely to be taken as female. They have been dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, but a somewhat earlier date is not impossible.

These last are undoubtedly to be taken as pantomime masks, and so should ours. Dionysos of course remained as god of the theatre but he also had a considerable role as a character in performance.<sup>43</sup>

39 Copenhagen, National Museum 3093, acquired in Florence (1893). There is a pin on the underside of the chin that is perhaps modern.

40 Marseille, Hospice de la Vieille Charité, 2281. *Les trésors d'art du Musée d'archéologie* 1963, no. 37; Vermaseren 1966, pl. 40; *Trésors d'art du Musée Borély* 1970, unnumbered ill.; *LIMC* III, p. 29, no. 125.

41 Cf. Wootton 1999.

42 Athens, Agora T 1818, T 1086, T 1986, T 1987, T 744. Grandjouan 1961, no. 508; see also Kokolakis 1959, pp. 39-40.

43 For example Jory 1996, and esp. pp. 248-249; Webb 2008, pp. 35-36 and her discussion of the letter of Julian of the early 360s (89b = 304b) on the possibility of action "so that the theatres could be given back to Dionysos in a purified state".

There are of course broader social factors involved in the use of a mask on a widely-produced kind of lamp that one might guess was popular with the middle classes. (Nor should we forget the effect of the lamplight on the mask when used at night, itself a clever and attractive invention.) Pantomime was, together with Mime, the most popular form of theatrical entertainment under the Empire, and the basic types of mask must have been readily recognised by those who attended theatre. Lucian (*De Saltatione* 29 and 63) points out that the masks themselves were one of the attractions of the staging of Pantomime, alongside items such as the costume. Indeed he described the Pantomime mask as beautiful (κάλλιστον), strange as this may seem to us, condemned as we are to mainly monochrome reproductions that lose the colouring of the face, the elaboration of the hair and its adornment with ribbons and jewels.<sup>44</sup> Admittedly Lucian is making a point, contrasting the masks of Pantomime with those of Tragedy (and all their distortions and conventionalities such as wide-open mouths), but he would not have made such an observation if it could have seemed ludicrous. And then there is the point that Dionysos/Bacchus remained a central figure both in this kind of theatre and more generally: one remembers the important impact of his iconography in the creation of Early Christian art.<sup>45</sup> With such a wide distribution, it is likely that no single explanation will hold: for example, given the number of our lamps in Dacia and the Balkans more generally, it may also be relevant to look beyond Pantomime and to consider the popularity of Liber Pater in that region.<sup>46</sup>

The link with Pantomime also explains another aspect of our lamps' distribution: they appear in virtually all regions except Greece and the Aegean coast

44 At *De saltatione* 29, after attacking the performance of tragedy and its ridiculous physical appearance, he suggests that he has no need to point out that the physical appearance of the dancer is well-designed and becoming – it's obvious to anyone who isn't blind – and that the mask itself is quite beautiful and appropriate to the theme of the drama, and that the mouth of the mask is not gaping but closed, for the performer has many people to cry out for him: ἡ κωμωδία δὲ καὶ τῶν προσώπων αὐτῶν τὸ καταγέλαστον μέρος τοῦ τερπνοῦ αὐτῇ νερόμικεν, οἷα Δάων καὶ Τιβείων καὶ μαγειρῶν πρόσωπα. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρχηστοῦ σχῆμα ὡς μὲν κόσμιον καὶ εὐπρεπὲς οὐκ ἐμὲ χρὴ λέγειν, δῆλα γὰρ τοῖς μὴ τυφλοῖς ταῦτα· τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον αὐτὸ ὡς κάλλιστον καὶ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ δράματι εἰκός, οὐ κεχηνὸς δὲ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἀλλὰ συμμεμυκός· ἔχει γὰρ πολλοὺς τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βοῶντας. At 63 he deals with Demetrius the Cynic's claim that the dancer as distinct from the musicians contributed nothing to the performance, and that people were mesmerised by the accessories such as the silk costume and the beautiful mask (ἐσθῆτι σηρικῇ καὶ προσωπεῖῳ εὐπρεπεῖ).

45 See too Bowersock's comments (Bowersock 2006) on the pervasive influence of Pantomime performances well into the sixth century as part of a common culture alongside christianity. Also Huskinson 2002-2003.

46 Pop 1972.

of Asia Minor. So too with the spread of the genre's performance: it was not accepted into the Greek festivals until the later part of the second century AD.<sup>47</sup>

Despite Lucian, however, pantomime masks were not infrequently derived in general appearance from tragic. This of itself is hardly surprising since pantomime performances enacted myths of gods and heroes which themselves were often derived from versions well known from, say, Euripidean tragedy, as part of the general culture of the later classical world. A mask of a heroine or a young hero is therefore in itself likely to echo the type known from the tragic stage, simply as a matter of ready identification for the audience.

One may therefore ask to what degree the producers of these masks understood the niceties of the mask(s) represented.<sup>48</sup> This is a frequent problem in any analysis of theatre masks under the Empire, particularly when encountered in the provinces and/or in minor, routine work. For an artisan not all that familiar with traditional theatre performance, the difference may hardly have mattered, particularly if he was working from an inherited iconographic type rather than creating from his own observation. This is the supposition reached, for example, by Moretti in his survey of the masks incorporated in the architectural decoration of the theatres of Asia Minor at much the same period.<sup>49</sup> One sees a similar pattern also on provincial sarcophagi when the mask becomes little more than a face. The potential was of course already there in the use of masks in the wall-decoration and in the *oscilla* used in the gardens of the houses of Pompeii and the other Vesuvian towns where their principal function seems to have been to evoke the world of Dionysos and where their origin seems to lie in copies of Greek originals or as neo-classical inventions, 'classics' as it were, formally derived from Greek originals which thereby carried with them a reference to the classical past and the personal respectability that the house-owner might gain from it. In this respect they parallel the use of paintings of scenes of tragedy and comedy derived from Early Hellenistic originals. In Pompeii, at least, these representations rarely reflect the types of contemporary live theatre.

47 See again Jory 1996 and 2002 with further references. Note also W.J. Slater's further discussion (Slater 1996) of the inscription from Magnesia concerning the pantomime Tiberius Julius Apolaustus. It is likely to relate to a performance on the occasion of a visit by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in AD 176 and is to be associated with the introduction of pantomime contests in the East. Contrast the situation in Cyprus which has produced not only one of our lamps but quite a number of the terracotta 'life-size' masks deriving from Pantomime which have much the same date-range as our lamps. The links between the island and the Levantine coast were already becoming strong.

48 As Valenza Mele 1981, p. 94: "È quindi molto probabile che per i romani del I secolo d.C. questo motivo non assumesse nessun valore particolare".

49 Moretti 1993.

In conclusion, this case is a cautionary one for those tempted to take a mask in isolation from its context, whether geographic, archaeological or iconographic, using it without question as evidence for stage production. Could one, for example, take the piece from Belgium (34, FIG. 13) as evidence for the performance and popularity of pantomime locally? It is a lamp of a type in which we can now demonstrate that the decoration was closely linked to the type, and it is equally possible that the type carried its own connotations in different situations across the Empire, whether or not the mask was understood in the precise terms in which we would like to see it.

## A List of Examples

The comments on each piece are aimed at noting variations in the features of the mask within the standard: the form of the mitra, the treatment of the hair, the frown or lack of it in the brows, whether the mouth is open or closed, the form of the palmette. I make little note of the form of the lamp itself (which is often unfortunately unclear in the publications), although there is generally some note of the form of the filling-hole which is very occasionally circular, more often heart-shaped (cuoriform) or (what was arguably intended) in the form of an ivy-leaf.

### (I) WITH STANDARD MASKS

1. Aosta, from Aosta, domus in Piazza Narbonne. L. 13 cm.  
*Archeologia in Valle d'Aosta* 1982, pp. 106-107 (ill.).  
Not well preserved. Mitra probably with folds; slight projecting corners. Tight hair above brows continuing in band to sides; pairs of thick side-curls. Rather fat face; mouth near closed. Circular hole, placed somewhat eccentrically.
2. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico. **FIG. 1**.  
Brusin 1929, p. 191, fig. 132; Brusin 1936, p. 23, no. 62, fig. 62.  
Plain mitra with slight hint of folds, projecting corners. Hair above brow in fringe; three corkscrew ringlets to each side. Mouth slightly open. Cuoriform hole.



3. Atlanta, Emory Univ., Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1998.13.5 (once coll. Brummer), said to be from Adana, Syria (1946). L. 24.5 cm. **FIG. 2**.

Galerie Koller AG, *The Ernest Brummer Collection*, II, *Ancient Art*, Zurich, 1979, pp. 134-135, no. 571 (ill.).

Mitra with folds; arcades of hair across the brow; three ringlets to each side; fairly full face; slight frown; mouth barely open. Probably relatively early in the sequence.



4. Autun, Musée Rolin B. 150 (V 222), from Autun. L. 15 cm.  
Boucher 1973, pp. 806-807, pl. 23, 8; Lebel and Boucher 1975, p. 70, no. 111 (ill.); Rolley 1987, p. 123, no. 192 (ill.); Landes 1989, pp. 161-163, no. 51 (ill.).  
Plain mitra with swinging corners; formal waves of hair across the brow and double ringlets at sides; frown; mouth very slightly open; simple palmette; cuoriform hole. Somewhat worn.
5. Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. 378 (provenance unknown but probably Gaul; from a private collection in Nîmes, 1845). L. 14 cm. **FIG. 3**.  
De Brun and Gagnière 1937, p. 63, pl. 18, no. 315; Rolland 1965, p. 158, no. 357 (ill.).

The surface of the mask worn; handle broken and re-joined so that the mask sits low to the body of the lamp; palmette broken off. Folds in mitra; slight projections. Serious expression but no distinct frown; mouth near closed; three curls to each side of face, stacked in two layers. Eyes probably inlaid. Cuoriform hole. The lamp smaller than most.



6. Bucharest, Muzeul National de Istorie a României, inv. 16683, from Tomis/Constanta. L. 19.5 cm. **FIG. 4.** Iconomu 1967, p. 5, fig. 1, pp. 156-157, no. 809; Arbunescu *et al.* 1994, p. 201, no. 79 (colour ill.).  
Smooth mitra with widely-spaced vertical incisions and swinging corners; narrow band of hair above the brow with vertical incisions; pairs of simple corkscrew ringlets at the sides; frown; pupils hollowed, perhaps for inlay; mouth slightly open; large palmette. Cuoriform hole. Relatively high (late) foot.



7. Bucharest, Muzeul National de Istorie a României, from Tomis/Constanta? Popescu 1998, p. 291, no. 243 (colour ill.).  
Smooth mitra with widely-spaced vertical incisions and swinging corners; narrow band of hair above the brow with deep

curved incisions; pairs of simple corkscrew ringlets at the sides; frown; mouth closed; prominent chin; simple palmette. Cuoriform hole. Relatively high foot. Despite the entry in the exhibition catalogue, this lamp is not the same as no. 6 even if it looks quite like it.

8. Once Bucharest (?), priv. coll. (Istrati-Capsa), from Romula (Reșca, Tulcea). Tudor 1938, pp. 120-121, no. 155, fig. 34. Mask and part of handle only. Fairly tall mitra with out-swinging corners (left missing); naturalistic folds. Band of stylised hair above brow; triple corkscrew ringlets at sides. Smooth features; mouth closed. This piece apparently untraceable at the moment.
9. Byblos inv. 13805, from Byblos. Dunand 1954, no. 13805, pl. 53 [nothing in text].  
Fairly pronounced folds in mitra; curled corners; hair above the brow in marked waves; two corkscrew ringlets at each side; smooth features; mouth open. Cuoriform hole. The eyes inlaid.
10. Cadiz inv. 1992, from 15 km north of Arcos de La Frontera (1896). L. 16 cm. Romero de Torres 1934, p. 179, pl. 75, fig. 75; Menendez Pidal 1935, p. 494, fig. 282 (where said to be in Tarragona); *idem* (rev. ed. 1982) I, p. 239, fig. 132; Arce *et al.* 1990, p. 273, no. 207 (colour ill.).  
Smooth low mitra with short curved corners; hair above brow in grouped waves, giving impression of central parting; three ringlets to each side; straight nose, serious expression, no frown; mouth open. Palmette below chin (partly missing) on volutes.
11. Cadiz 83.2060, from Belo (1983). L. 17.5 cm. **FIG. 5.** *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 20, 1984, p. 480, fig. 38.  
Battered and corroded. Smooth mitra with large curving projections. Band of striated hair above the brow; pairs of thick corkscrew curls at sides; wide simplified

palmette. Ivy-leaf hole. Shallow body on a tall narrow base. Surely a late version.



12. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 27782, from Egypt. L. 14.5 cm.

Edgar 1904, p. 38, no. 27782, pl. 12 (the illustration is not very helpful).

Low mitra with light grooves (?) and swinging corners. Finely-grooved fringe above brow, with secondary layer above side-curls; three corkscrew ringlets at sides. Smooth face, brows rising above nose; mouth closed. Relatively large palmette, somewhat modelled. Cuoriform hole. Small example.

13. Caracal (Oltenia), Muzeul Romanatiului. Mask and part of handle only. Ht. 7.7 cm.

**FIG. 6A-B.**

Bondoc and Dincă 2003, p. 27, no. 17 (ill.).

Mitra with folds and projecting corners, that on the (true) right missing; band of hair above the brow in bunched groups with a further group above the three ringlets to each side; somewhat raised brows; heavily-lidded eyes; serious expression; mouth partly open and apparently cut down secondarily at each side.



14. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum N 3779, from Cologne. L. 17.1 cm.

Niessen 1896, no. 1260, pl. XXI, 21; Niessen 1911, p. 196, no. 3780, pl. 120; Franken 1996, pp. 84-85, no. 88, figs. 150-152.

Tall, smooth mitra with full corners, that on the right missing (and never matching the other). Band of hair above brow with curving incisions; triple ringlets at sides; serious expression with marked frown; mouth barely open; large simple palmette below chin. Cuoriform hole. Damage at the front of the spout not shown in 1911 drawing. A relatively late version and poorly formed.

15. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum N 3780, from Cologne. L. 20.8 cm.

Niessen 1911, p. 196, no. 3779, pl. 120; Franken 1996, pp. 83-84, no. 87, figs. 148-149.

Mitra with regular grooves; one corner partly missing. Narrow band of bunched hair above brow; three ringlets at sides from additional band; frown; mouth partly open. Simplified palmette below chin emerging from long volutes. Cuoriform hole.

16. Constanta inv. 16044, from Mamaia. L. 19 cm. **FIG. 7.**  
Irimia 1966, p. 38, no. 25.  
Smooth mitra with pronounced corners. Fringe of hair over brow, doubled over side locks; three ringlets to each side. Pronounced frown; sharp nose, mouth partly open. Cuoriform hole.



17. Craiova, Muzeul Olteniei Craiova, inv. I 46471. Mask and handle attachment only. H. 13 cm. **FIG. 8.**  
Bondoc 2000, pp. 9-11, no. 4 (ill.).  
Mitra with projecting corners and downward-radiating folds, both corners broken, especially that on the (true) right; hair running in an arch above the brow in separated bunches which have horizontal incisions; further non-symmetrical bunches over the three ringlets to each side of the face; full face with frown and flying eyebrows with incision; slightly broad nose somewhat damaged; mouth slightly open. Comparatively large palmette below the chin, flat with incised divisions between the leaves.  
Must have been a fairly large lamp; individual style. For the treatment of the folds, compare 30 (London).



18. Damascus F 189, from Dura-Europos. Part of mask only. Pres. H. 5.7 cm. Baur 1947, no. 448, pl. 16.  
Smooth mitra with pronounced corners. Vertically-grooved fringe running above brow and to sides with secondary layer above side-curls; three corkscrew ringlets at side. Pronounced frown. Mouth partly open.

19. Damascus C. 5018, from Jebal al-Arab. H. 15.5 cm. Al 'Ush *et al.* 1969, p. 111, no. 5 and colour pl. 8.  
Naturalistic treatment of mitra with deep folds; short fringe above brow with stacked pairs of corkscrew curls at sides; full, smooth features with frown at brow; strong nose; mouth barely open. Simple but modelled palmette.

20. Damascus.  
Zouhdi 1974, Arabic section p. 173 and p. 187, pl. 12, fig. 72 (top).  
Deep depressions for folds in mitra; curled corners; ivy band above brow; hair swept to sides with pairs of corkscrew curls below; smooth but serious features; mouth closed. Falls outside the standard and perhaps conceived as a maenad: compare the piece in Lucera (80) for a more naturalistic version.

21. Denver, Art Museum AN 58, said to be from South Italy. Length not stated (but appears normal).  
Mitten and Doeringer 1967, no. 297 (ill.).  
Folds shown as grooves on mitra; wavy hair in segments running over the brow; slight frown; mouth open; cuoriform hole.

22. Detroit, Institute of Arts 2001.55. L. 29.2 cm. **FIG. 9A-B.**  
*Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 76, 3/4, 2002, p. 33.  
Mitra with pronounced outswinging corners; folds; hair in groups across brow (melon style); three corkscrew curls to each side, the outermost shorter; slight frown; smooth, full face with partly open mouth; eyes inlaid with silver; simply

made but elaborately styled palmette below chin; ivy-leaf hole; tall foot. A chip missing from the right of the mitra. The mask larger than most relative to the size of the lamp, and the lamp itself large. Apparently not the same vessel as 72.



23. Germany, coll. Jovy, from Syria or Lebanon. L 14.1 cm.

*Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz* 1973, pp. 133-134, no. 204, pl. 90.

Smooth mitra, hair above brow in small verticals; two corkscrew curls on each side; mouth closed. Single round hole.

24. Karlsruhe 1445. Mask only. Pres. H. 6.5 cm. **FIG. 10.**

Schumacher 1890, p. 71, no. 408 (ill.).

Smooth mitra with swinging corners, that on the right missing. Band of hair above brow, continuing right across and doubled over side hair; pair of ringlets on (true) left, swinging on right. Full features, serious expression; eyes probably inlaid; mouth near-closed, part of palmette below chin missing.



25. Kassel, Museum Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Br 202. Pres. H. 5.5 cm. Mask and part of handle only. **FIG. 11.**

Bieber 1915, p. 94, no. 433, pl. 51.

Smooth mitra with corner projection on one side; plain band of hair across brow; on each side, bunches of hair then two corkscrew curls; mouth closed; simple palmette with heavy incision. In various museums in Kassel from 1912 and in the Museum Schloss Wilhelmshöhe since 1973.



26. Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum Kärnten, no no., from Virunum. Mask and part of handle only.

Sedlmayer 2001, p. 302, fig. 1 (drawing).

Slightly folded mitra with projecting corners. Formalised band of hair above brow and triple corkscrew curls to sides; poorly modelled face; mouth partly open; apparently sharp-edged palmette below.

27. León, Museo Arqueológico Provincial, inv. 670, perhaps from Lancia (Villasabarrigo, León). L. 17.1 cm.  
Gómez Moreno 1926, pl. 10; Mañanas 1983, p. 402, pl. 1, no. 17; Arce *et al.* 1990, p. 272, no. 206 (colour ill.).  
Low mitra with rounded corners, folds; bunches of hair above brow; four corkscrew curls to each side; straight nose; serious expression; mouth closed. Palmette below chin large. Large cuiriform hole.
28. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, inv. 103 B22, from Tróia. Mask only. H. 3 cm.  
Nunes Pinto 2002, p. 412, no. 314, fig. 173.  
Very worn and corroded. Remains of vertical modelling on mitra; no projections. No traces of the hair above the brow; three corkscrew curls each side. The mouth partly open. Mask surely from lamp though described merely as appliqué in the publication.
- 28a. Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, inv. 14.756, from Quinta de Torre de Ares. Mask and part of handle only. H. 6.8 cm.  
Nunes Pinto 2002, pp. 250-252, no. 106, pl. 104.  
High-curving mitra with vertical folds. Wavy hair over brow; pairs of corkscrew curls at sides; slight frown, mouth closed.
29. London, British Museum 1913.10-21.2, said to be from Rome. L. 26.2 cm.  
Bailey 1996, p. 40, Q 3669, pl. 47.  
Simple mitra with corner projections; hair above brow in groups of curls; side curls in two sections; palmette broken away. Leaf-form hole.
30. London, British Museum 1851.8-13.23, said to be from Italy. Mask only. Pres. H. 10.6 cm.  
Bailey 1996, p. 40, Q 3670, pl. 47.  
Mitra with folds converging to top; spiral ringlets of hair above brow and descending over lower part of side ringlets; pronounced frown; volute rather than full palmette below chin. For the treatment of the folds, compare 17 (Craiova).

31. Madrid 9991, said to be from Pompeii. L. 24 cm. **FIG. 12A-B.**  
Thouvenot 1927, no. 412; Blázquez 1959, pp. 159-160, pl. 1.  
Mitra with pronounced corners; narrow band of hair above brow with addition over the pairs of ringlets at the sides; strong frown; near-closed mouth; the palmette done as three straight tongues. Ivy-leaf hole.



32. Mainz, RGZM, O. 36636, from the Netherlands. L. 14 cm.  
Menzel 1969, p. 122, no. 716, fig. 103.  
Smaller example. Tall mitra with slight folds. Smooth features; no frown; mouth closed. Cuiriform hole.

33. Milan, Civico Museo Archeologico 09.2051, from Lovere (1907, t.1). L. 18.7 cm. Panazza 1984, pp. 112-113, no. 69, pl. 36; Lavizzari Pedrazzini 1990, pp. 277-278, no. 1 (ill.).  
Wide mitra with up-turned corners and shallow regular vertical folds. Hair above the brow in an even band with slightly curved striations, doubled at the sides; side hair in two ringlets; full face; slight frown; mouth fairly open. Quite well modelled palmette. Tall but spreading foot. Taken as the oldest object in the tomb: the deposition appears to belong to the third or fourth century AD.
34. Morlanwelz, Musée Royal de Mariemont, inv. 236 B, from Denderwindeke. L. 17 cm. **FIG. 13.**  
Braemer 1963, no. 522, pl. 36; Faider-Feytmans 1979, pp. 134-135, no. 240, pl. 98 (with refs.).  
Cornered mitra with band at bottom, smooth; barley-sugar hair above brow as well as at sides; stacked at the sides; smooth brows; hollowed pupils; mouth closed; very simplified palmette. Three holes, with central groove to wick-hole. Stands somewhat apart from main series.
35. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 72258, from Pompeii. L. 23.5 cm. Valenza Mele 1981, p. 105, no. 244 (ill.).  
Mask without headdress, the hair in globules, single above the brow, double at the sides. Smooth features. Mouth open. Cuoriform hole.
36. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 72283, said to be from Pompeii. L. 17.3 cm. Valenza Mele 1981, p. 105, no. 245 (ill.).  
Handle restored. Low smooth mitra extending to corners but not curled. Corkscrew hair in tight verticals above the brow, stacked in pairs of ringlets at the sides. The palmette below the chin springs from volutes. Cuoriform hole.
37. Nicosia, from Kourion. Stillwell 1961, p. 63, fig. 30.  
Mitra with pronounced regular folds and only the beginnings of corners. Hair in globules, single above the brow, double at the sides. Triple curls at sides, stacked once. Strong frown, mouth open. Fairly tight palmette. Apparently tall, narrow base. Found in a shop south of the theatre's stage building (Room S.1). The publication gives no measurements or description.
38. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1966.619. Mask only, with the palmette below. Pres. H. 9.5 cm. **FIG. 14.**  
*Sir John and Lady Beazley Gifts 1912-1966 to the Ashmolean Museum*, Exhibition catalogue 1967, London, no. 602.  
Pronounced naturalistic folding on the mitra but with jutting corners. Mouth somewhat open and brows raised, giving a rather startled expression; fairly sharp nose; three corkscrew ringlets on each side of the face with bunches of wavy hair above.





39. Paris, Cab. Méd. 992. Mask and part of handle only, with a little of the palmette preserved. Pres. H. 8.3 cm. **FIG. 15.** Babelon and Blanchet 1895, pp. 435-436, no. 992.  
Simple mitra without corners. Hair gathered into curls above brow; side hair of three corkscrew ringlets arranged in three steps. Slight frown; mouth somewhat open.



40. Paris, Louvre 588 (ED 2772) (formerly coll. Durand). L. 23 cm.  
De Ridder 1915, p. 146, no. 3107, pl. 109; Landes 1989, pp. 161-163, no. 49 (ill.).  
Folds on mitra gathering towards top; hair above brow in vertical groups of spiral curls; mouth closed; close to the Vienne example but with three locks on each side of face.

41. Pozarevac, National Museum inv. br. 490, said to be from Utrine. L. 17.2 cm.  
Cermanovic 1959, pp. 203-204, figs. 1-3; Smalcelj 1966, pl. 6, 2a-c; Popovic *et al.* 1969, no. 264 (ill.); Rnjak 1979, p. 157, no. 195 (ill).  
Mitra with somewhat projecting corners and light vertical grooving; band of hair above brows divided into squares; pairs of thick ringlets; heavy features with slight frown; mouth near closed. Cuoriform hole. Well-formed palmette.
42. Pristina, Muzej Kosova i Metohije, from Dobrotin kod Lipjana. L. 21.5 cm.  
Smalcelj 1966, pl. 5; Cerskov 1969, figs. 10-11; Popovic *et al.* 1969, no. 265 (ill.); Rnjak 1979, p. 158, no. 197 (ill).  
Relatively naturalistic. Folds in mitra (short corners); hair in formal waves above brow; four long thin stacked ringlets at sides; palmette below. Cuoriform hole. Appears to preserve a suspension chain; in Smalcelj's illustration it appears to come through the mask via a hole in the upper lip, but not in the later. Said to be from a context of the first half of the fourth century AD.

43. Rabat B-27, from Banasa (Morocco). L. 17.5 cm.  
Thouvenot 1954, p. 219, pl. 36, 1; Picard 1955, p. 65, fig. 8; Boube-Picot 1975, pp. 274-277, no. 469, pl. 205.  
Mitra with slight evidence of folds. Hair in grouped bunches above brow with two corkscrew ringlets to sides. Somewhat chubby face but with marked (and naturalistic) frown. Mouth somewhat open. Cuoriform hole. Fairly naturalistic but flat palmette.
44. Rabat B-32, from Banasa (Morocco). Mask with part of handle.  
Thouvenot 1954, p. 219, pl. 37, 3; Picard 1955, p. 66, fig. 9; Boube-Picot 1975, p. 278, no. 471, pl. 206 right.  
Mitra with folds. Groups of wavy hair over brow; pairs of ringlets at sides. Mouth somewhat open.

45. Rabat B-1160, from Banasa (Morocco). Mask only. Dimensions mask 5.3 x 4.5 cm. Boube-Picot 1975, pp. 277-278, no. 470, pl. 206 left.  
Plain mitra with up-curving corners. Narrow band of formal verticals above brow, with secondary band over groups of three ringlets at sides. Pronounced frown. Mouth partly open.
46. Rome, Museo Nazionale 4782, from Marmorata (Rome). L. 14.7 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1983, p. 49, no. V, 2 (ill.).  
Illustrated in a side view only. Plain mitra without extended corners. Cuoriform hole. Part of nozzle missing. Small example.
47. Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 67542. Mask and part of the handle only. Pres. H. 8 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1983, p. 106, no. 2 (ill.).  
Smooth low mitra with small corners; hair above brow in groups of curls extending to sides; slight frown; mouth closed; three smooth ringlets on each side, without markings. Relatively large palmette.
48. Rome, Museo Nazionale inv. 67552. Mask and part of handle only. Pres. H. 7 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1983, p. 106, no. 1 (ill.).  
Mitra smooth with pronounced swinging corners. Wavy hair running across brow to sides; two long ringlets on each side; frown; mouth somewhat open. Small incised palmette.
49. Rome, Musei Capitolini, from the Viminal, Piazza del Cinquecento (1872). L. 17.2 cm.  
*Bull.Com.* 1872-1873, p. 302, no. 25; Barbera and Paris 1996, p. 45, pl. 1c (colour), p. 46, no. 6 (ill.); Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, p. 296 (ill.).  
Mitra with folds, small corners. Hair in corkscrew curls above as well as at sides; side-hair layered at ear-level. Well-modelled face, slight frown, mouth almost closed. Short palmette with framing volutes at its base.

From a room in a private house with a destruction context of the late second century.

50. St Petersburg (Florida), Museum of Fine Arts, on loan from William K. Zewadski. Mask only. **FIG. 16.**  
Mitra smooth with pronounced swinging corners (the left partly missing). Zone of short striated hair above the brow with a secondary section to each side from which depend three ringlets. Full face with pronounced frown, nostrils outlined, eyes once inlaid, mouth partly open. Incised palmette partly missing.



51. Saint-Romain-en-Gal, inv. SRG 1982.0010, from Saint-Romain-en-Gal. L. 18 cm. **FIG. 17A-B.**  
Le Glay and Tourenco 1969, p. 122, fig. 103; Landes 1989, pp. 161-164, no. 52 (ill.).  
No mitra. Corkscrew curls above brow in two layers; two long ringlets to chin level on each side. Smooth face without frown; mouth slightly open. Palmette with individual leaves.  
One suspects that somewhere in the copying process, a mitra had been converted into hair.



54. Tarragona, MNAT 45258, from the Roman villa at Llàntia de la Llosa, Cambrils (prov. de Tarragona). L. 27 cm. **FIG. 18.** Menendez Pidal 1935, p. 179, pl. 75, fig. 75; Macias and Ramón 1992-1993, p. 130 (ill.). Tall mitra with curving corners and vertical grooves. Hair above the brow bunched, and two-tiered at the sides; four corkscrew curls to each side. Full face; frown; mouth slightly open. Carefully cut palmette on volutes below chin. Ivy-leaf hole. Relatively tall foot.



52. Skoplje, Archaeological Museum, from Demir Kapija, tomb 30. L. 16.5 cm. Sokolovska 1973-1974, pp. 183-5, p. 192, pl. 4, 1; Rnjak 1979, pp. 157-158, no. 196 (ill.). Pronounced folds in mitra; eyebrows strongly raised and little hair visible above brow; two spiralled ringlets to each side; mouth virtually closed. Cuoriform hole. Dated in the excavation report to the first century AD. Not unlike the Vienne example (59).

53. Sofia, from Roschava-Mogila, tumulus burial. L. 15.5 cm. I. Velkov, "Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare", 12, 1938, p. 269, no. 2, p. 270, fig. 74. The lamp damaged and the mask badly corroded. The burial said to be of the first century AD.



55. Toronto 918.5.47. L. 23.1 cm. **FIG. 19.** *Masks. The many faces of man*, Toronto, 1959, no. F 24 (ill.); Hayes 1984, p. 135, no. 211 (ill). Mitra with folds; curly hair above brow; three corkscrew ringlets at sides. Frown. Mouth barely open. Cuoriform hole. Hayes saw it as a pantomime mask; he was somewhat hesitant about authenticity. For the deep folds, compare 20 (Damascus).



56. Trieste 4891, from Starigrad (Argyrun-  
tum). L. 20 cm. **FIG. 20.**  
Abramić and Colnago 1909, Beiblat  
65-66, no. 8, fig. 25.  
Smooth mitra; wavy hair above the  
brow; blocks of waves to sides then four  
corkscrew curls; mouth slightly open.  
The body of the lamp damaged.



57. Trg Republike, from Vinkovci/Cibalae, t.  
16. L. 22.7 cm.  
Smalcelj 1966, pls. 3-4; Dimitrijevic 1979,  
p. 171, pl. 16, 2.  
Mitra with modelled folds. Small bunches  
of hair above brow, with three ringlets to  
each side. Fairly full facial features with hint  
of frown; mouth open. Cuoriform hole.

58. Turin, Museo di Antichità, ex coll. Pullini.  
Simple mitra without projecting corners;  
slight folds. Full face; mouth only slightly  
open; no obvious frown. Narrow zone of  
vertical curls above the brow, with pairs  
of corkscrew curls at the sides. Central  
leaf of the palmette below the chin largely  
missing. Cuoriform hole. Middle of the  
series, perhaps earlier side.

59. Vienne, from Vienne. L. 15.5 cm.  
Boucher 1971, p. 173, no. 401 (ill.); Boucher  
1976, p. 195, no. 347, pl. 71.  
Pronounced folding on the mitra; frown;  
two ringlets on each side; mouth closed.  
Cuoriform hole. Relatively naturalistic.

60. Zagreb, Archaeological Museum inv.  
3232, from Sisak - Siscia. Mask only. 10.8  
x 13.2 cm.

Smalcelj 1966, pl. 6, 1; Vikić-Belancić 1975,  
p. 152, no. 1108, pl. 52, 2; Rnjak 1979, p. 159,  
no. 199 (ill.).

Fairly heavily conventionalised. Smooth  
mitra with pronounced up-turned cor-  
ners. Wavy hair running to sides in a  
band from central parting above brow.  
Side hair divided into curls by straight  
vertical incised lines, the spiralling only  
lightly done. Relatively large and angular  
palmette below. The mask has lost any  
character in the face.

61. Zagreb, Archaeological Museum inv.  
10.314 (4622), from Donji Petrovci - Bas-  
sianae, Srem. Mask only. 13.8 x 13.4 cm.

**FIG. 21.**

Smalcelj 1966, pl. 6, 3; Vikić-Belancić 1975,  
p. 152, no. 1107, pl. 52, 1 and pl. 53, 1; Rnjak  
1979, p. 158, no. 198 (ill.); *Tesori nazionali  
della Croazia* 1991, p. 140, no. 139 (ill.);  
*Muzeopis* 1996, p. 115, no. 126 (ill.).

Very exaggerated wing-like corners on  
mitra, but with naturalistic folds. Gives  
impression of being influenced by Gorgon  
mask. Full face; frown and somewhat dro-  
oping brows. Mouth somewhat open. Hair  
above brow in a row of tight curls, at sides in  
multiple narrow corkscrew curls. Sharply-  
finished palmette below. The handling of  
the face surprisingly like the Atlanta exam-  
ple, 3 (probably from Adana, Syria).



62. Whereabouts unknown, from Pogánytelek. Handle and mask only. **FIG. 22.** Thomas 1964, p. 49, pl. 17. Derivative type turned into face; headgear more like a *pilos*; fairly naturalistic hair; mouth closed. Dated by Thomas to the fourth century.



63. Whereabouts unknown, from Tanais. Šelov and Arsenëva 1972, p. 92-93, fig. 38, 4; Koshelenko 1984, p. 259, pl. 72, 9. Low, simple mitra. Hair in separate curls above brow; pairs of ringlets at sides, double-stacked. Long face with sloping brows, mouth near closed. Cuoriform hole.

64. Whereabouts unknown (once Cairo, coll. Fouquet), from Lower Egypt. Mask and part of handle only. Pres. H. 7 cm. **FIG. 23.** Perdrizet 1911, p. 22, no. 35, pl. 10; Picard 1955, p. 64, fig. 7. Smooth mitra. Band of hair in fine vertical waves from side to side, then two heavy ringlets on each side. Full face with serious expression; mouth closed. Inlaid eyes. Long and somewhat crudely-cut palmette below.



65. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. 22 cm. Pierre Bergé & Associés (Paris), *Vente*, 1er décembre 2007, no. 175 (colour ill.); Bonhams (London), *Sale 15941 - Antiquities*, 15 October 2008, no. 251 (colour ill.). Fairly well preserved. Low mitra with slight, neat folds, no projections; twisted curls above the brow; three ringlets to each side in triple stacks; full face with strong nose, suggestion of a nick above it; eyes hollow and presumably inlaid; mouth barely open. Cuoriform hole (damaged). Fairly early.
66. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. 21.5 cm. Christie's, *Sale Catalogue*, 10 December 1985, no. 185 (ill.). Mitra with folds, possibly without corners (but perhaps restored). Centrally-parted wavy hair above brow; three ringlets at sides, from a band. Chubby face; mouth barely open. Long, modelled palmette.

67. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. 21 cm.  
Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 10-11 December 1984, no. 266 (ill.).  
Smooth mitra with knob at top and the lower corners rounded. Hair waved above the brow; three sharply cut ringlets at sides. Slight frown. Mouth open. Relatively naturalistic facial features. Fairly large palmette below chin. Leaf-like hole.
68. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. 29.8 cm.  
Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 17-18 July 1985, no. 206 (colour ill.).  
The mask near horizontal. Folds in mitra and no projecting corners. Hair in groups of waves above the brow; three ringlets at sides. Fairly full features. Mouth open. Cuoriform hole. Somewhat larger than most.
69. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. (?) 16 cm.  
Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 11 December 1989, no. 78 (ill.); Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 13-14 December 1990, no. 456 (ill.).  
Mitra with vertical incisions (slight damage at top left). Hair with vertical grooves above brow with secondary layer above triple ringlets. Slight frown; mouth slightly open. The base of the handle mended at the junction with the body.
70. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. (?) 15.5 cm.  
Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 31 May 1990, no. 285 (ill.).  
Mask near-horizontal. Vertical folds in mitra; corners not pronounced. Hair with vertical grooves above brow; pairs of relatively broad ringlets. Mouth slightly open. Area of filling-hole missing.
71. Whereabouts unknown (once Munich, market)  
Gorny & Mosch (Munich), *Giessener Münzhandlung, Auktion 10, Kunstobjekte der Antike*, Oktober 2000, no. 2411 (colour ill.).  
Mask only. Fairly naturalistic with parted wavy hair below mitra with rather summary folds and fully-turned corners; pairs of side-curls; full cheeks; no frown; mouth somewhat open. Base of the palmette preserved.
72. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 19 cm.  
Christie's, *Sale Catalogue*, 14 June 1996, no. 129 (ill.).  
Smooth mitra with elongated curling corners; two corkscrew curls on each side of the face. Leaf-shaped hole. The eyes said to be inlaid with silver.
73. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, then Abu Dhabi, market). L. 18.4 cm.  
Sotheby's (London), *Sale Catalogue*, 23 May 1988, no. 278 (ill.); Christie's (New York), *Antiquities*, 12 June 2002, no. 164 (colour ill.).  
Slight, naturalistic folds in mitra, corners not much projecting. Hair in groups of waves above brow; pairs of ringlets. Somewhat chubby face; slight frown; mouth barely open. Ivy-leaf (violin-cello) filling-hole; somewhat broken around the wick-hole. Later (2008-09) with the Barakat Gallery at their branch in Abu Dhabi.
74. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 27.3 cm.  
Sotheby's (New York), *Sale Catalogue*, 14 December 1994, no. 112 (ill.).  
'Mitra' given stylised hair on the front and three (ivy) leaves around outer edge. Tight wavy hair above brow but full wavy hair drawn back at sides; pairs of naturalistic corkscrew curls at sides. Frown; strong, slightly hooked nose; mouth slightly open. Modified version of the standard type. Extremely low foot. Formerly Lugano, coll. Moretti.
75. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 25.4 cm.  
Sotheby's, *Sale Catalogue*, 7 December 2001, no. 294 (colour ill.); Sotheby's, *Sale*

- Catalogue*, 11 December 2002, no. 227 (colour ill.).  
Ivy-leaf hole with incised stem. Vertical folds in mitra; corners not pronounced. Hair with vertical grooves above brow, doubled at sides; three ringlets to each side. Mouth open; frown. Unusual in having a pair of incised lines on the foot.
76. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 20 cm.  
Royal-Athena Galleries, *Art of the Ancient World*, VIII:2, New York, 1995, no. 56 (colour ill.).  
Smooth, high-arching mitra with grooves, corners. Band of hair above brow with vertical striations, somewhat naturalistic; pairs of thick curls to each side. Smooth face, somewhat aquiline nose, frown; mouth partly open. Palmette springs from volutes; long central leaf. Ivy-leaf hole with incised stem.
77. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). Pres. H. 10.2 cm.  
Royal-Athena Galleries, *Art of the Ancient World*, XVIII, New York, 2007, no. 54 (colour ill.).  
High-arching mitra, its front marked with grooves and with small curved elements at the sides. Parted wavy hair above the brow with pairs of curls at the sides. Frown, pierced pupils; full lips, slightly parted; soft cheeks.  
Interesting to see the type converted into a female; for a similar treatment, compare the mask published by Thomas (62), though it has a folded mitra.
- (II) WITH OTHER TYPES OF MASK
78. Paris, Louvre ED 2772, from Herculaneum. L. 23 cm.  
De Ridder 1915, p. 146, no. 3106, pl. 109.  
Maenad or Dionysos? Parted wavy hair (no mitra), brushed back at the sides and over the ears; pairs of fine, short corkscrew side-curls. Band across the brow with flowers by the temples. No frown but serious expression; mouth closed. Very full palmette below with small in-curved leave. The area of the central hole damaged. Is the mask (as distinct from the lamp) ancient?
79. Paris, Louvre Br 3108 (formerly coll. Durand). L. 18 cm.  
De Ridder 1915, p. 146, no. 3108, pl. 109; Landes 1989, pp. 161-163, no. 50 (ill.).  
Herakles wearing lionskin cap, well-modelled, ancient?
80. Lucera, Museo Civico, 963.  
De Juliis 1983, p. 38; Mazzei 1984, p. 255, fig. 305; *Lucera antica* 2001, fig. 13.  
Maenad. Cuoriform hole.
81. Rabat, inv. Vol. 254, from Volubilis. L. 23.1 cm.  
Thouvenot 1954, p. 217, no. 1, pl. 35, no. 1; Picard 1955, p. 63, fig. 5; Boube-Picot 1975, pp. 150-151, no. 173, pl. 82; Ripsati 1992, pp. 106-107, no. 32 (colour ill.).  
Cuoriform hole. Mask of youthful male (?) with wavy hair coming down into curls on the brow. Open mouth. Two ringlets down each side of face. Fairly heavy features. Not very pronounced onkos. The end of the handle behind the mask is incised with leaves.
82. Pompeii 2884, from Pompeii. L. 13.3 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1988, p. 141, no. 84, 148 (ill.).  
Horned satyr with wild hair; detailed naturalistic modelling; band on handle decorated. Cuoriform hole. The lamp is associated with a tall stand.

83. Jerash, from Jerash, 'House of the Carpenter'. L. 20 cm.  
de Montlivault and Rasyon 1986, pp. 71-73, pl. 10-11.  
Horned satyr, mouth barely open; naturalistic modelling. The end of the handle behind decorated with vegetal elements. The lamp rests on a low, relatively broad foot. Incised with owner's name: ABDALAQAS (?).<sup>50</sup>
84. Pompeii 3244, from Pompeii (I.VII.1, Casa di Paquio Proculo). L. 19.5 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1988, p. 141, no. 85, 149 (ill.); Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990, pp. 271-272, no. 62, figs. 256-7 (in mirror image).  
Said to be Zeus Ammon but more likely a Papposilenos; mouth closed; detailed naturalistic modelling. The lamp is associated with a tall stand. Doubtless an early version with double-handle bound into one by wrapping.
85. Pompeii inv. 13373, from Pompeii (Insula Occidentale). L. 25.7 cm.  
De' Spagnolis and De Carolis 1988, p. 141, no. 83, 147 (ill.); Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1990, pp. 270-271, no. 61, fig. 255 (where taken as female); *Rediscovering Pompeii*, Rome, 1992, p. 181, no. 68 (colour ill.).  
The mask emerges from a calyx. Youthful Attis wearing Phrygian cap, treated naturalistically; groups of curls about the face (as if of melon hair); mouth slightly open; neat palmette springing from volutes. Cuoriform hole.
86. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 72256, from Pompeii. L. 20 cm.  
Valenza Mele 1981, p. 145, no. 333 (ill.).  
What Valenza Mele describes as a female head (probably rightly) springing from a calyx. She puts the lamp in her atypical series; large circular oil-hole, semi-lunate spout with two holes behind.  
She compares for the lamp-form an example from Mahdia: W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Tübingen, 1963, pl. 41, 1 and 42, 2; now also published in Hellenkemper Salies *et al.* 1994, pp. 650-651.
87. Whereabouts unknown (once London, market). L. 21 cm.  
Smith 1899, no. 146 (ill.).  
Satyr. Shaggy hair around the brow, goat ears and 'a nebris passing under the chin from ear to ear'. Ivy-leaf hole with stalk engraved on the surface.
88. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 18.1 cm.  
Christie's (New York), *Sale Catalogue*, 5-6 December 2001, no. 613 (colour ill.); Christie's (New York), *Antiquities*, 12 June 2002, no. 166 (colour ill.).  
Io mask. Fairly full features, straight nose, eyes originally inlaid; frown; mouth just slightly open; the hair above the brow incised and treated as that of a cow; cow ears; short horns. At the sides and under the chin, cowskin terminated below at each sides with hooves. Filling-hole in form of ivy-leaf, with incised stem, the area about it inset. Apparently a fairly narrow foot. The facial features like those of the standard series, but the hair etc not. The handling not unlike that of the last; note also the incised stem for the ivy-leaf filling-hole on both. Conical foot.
89. Whereabouts unknown (once New York, market). L. 13.7 cm.  
Christie's (New York), *Antiquities*, 12 June 2002, no. 165 (colour ill.).  
Formally-arranged, wig-like hair in vertical corkscrews, double-stacked above the brow and again at the sides. Youthful face; no frown; hair in ringlets of three at sides; mouth closed. Below the chin not a palmette but an inverted triangle with herringbone surface decoration, probably

50. The authors also refer to an unpublished lamp in Tartous, implying that its mask is of the standard type.

hair, knotted at bottom as in marble masks from Hadrian's Villa, formalised: pantomime. While the type is of the standard series, the mask is not. Ivy-leaf hole with stalk engraved on the surface. Small.

90. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum N 8942, ex coll. Niessen. Mask and handle.  
 Franken 1996, pp. 85-86, no. 89, figs. 153-154. Triangular headgear with knob at top; band of hair curving above brow ending in curls from which hang triple ringlets pointed at the bottom; frown, inlaid eyes; full features; mouth closed. Derivative from the standard type.

The next seem to have been versions in clay:

91. Leptis Magna, from the theatre. Mask only. Pres. H. 5.5 cm.  
 Mandruzzato 1992, p. 138, 145, no. L. 7, fig. 21. Mitra with modelled folds and fairly small curled corners. Curled hair in a band above the brow; three corkscrew curls to each side not very formally separated from the hair above. Sloping brows (so that it looks tragic); open mouth; palmette largely missing. Clay version taken directly or indirectly from a bronze example. There seems to be no useful date from context. Stylistically relatively early in the sequence.
92. Sarmizegetusa S 416, from Sarmizegetusa. Mask and part of handle only; the palmette broken away. Pres. H. 5.8 cm.  
 Rusu *et al.* 1974-1975, pp. 108-109, no. 13, fig. 12; Alicu and Nemes 1977, p. 84, no. 335, pl. 38, 2.  
 Mitra without corner-projections, with folds curving towards the top. Band of hair in small bunches across the brow; three corkscrew curls at each side; drooping brows but no frown; mouth slightly open. Poor version, somewhat remote from the main series.

(III) BRONZE LAMP OF DIFFERENT TYPE

93. Sydney, Nicholson Museum 00.182, from Diospolis Parva. L. 15.8 cm. **FIG. 24A-B.**  
 Flinders Petrie 1901, pl. 42, lower left, upper centre within the group; Green *et al.* 2003, p. 75, no. 39 (colour ill.)  
 Double-bodied lamp with mask attached to twin rods: Dionysos wearing a taenia and what seems to be a mitra decorated with fruited ivy. Corkscrew curls above the brow and at the sides where it is stacked. Fully modelled face; nick above the nose; mouth open.

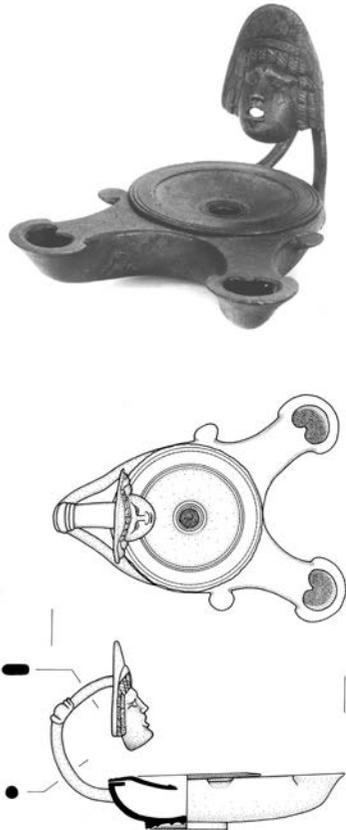


FIG. 25. Distribution of lamp lengths in millimetres.

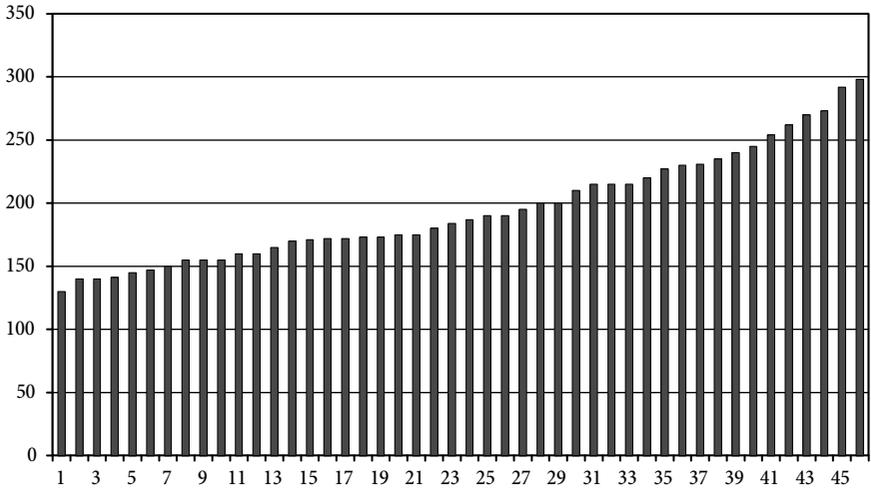


FIG. 26. London, British Museum 1856.7-1.337. Clay lamp with mask of tragic heroine.

FIG. 27. London, British Museum 1814.7-4.178. Clay lamp with mask of comic slave.



FIG. 28. Thorvaldsens Museum inv. 212. Clay lamp with Dionysos mask.



FIG. 30. Palermo, from Solunto. Wall-painting with mask of Dionysos.



FIG. 29. Villa of Oplontis, wall-painting with mask of Dionysos in ambiente 23.



FIG. 31. Mask from the mausoleum at Cucuron (Vaucluse). After Lavagne 1990.



FIG. 32. Hanover, Kestner Museum, K 282, gem (glass paste) with mask of Dionysos.



FIG. 34a. Copenhagen, National Museum 3093, bronze appliqué.



FIG. 34b. Copenhagen, National Museum 3093, bronze appliqué.

FIG. 33. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 8572, relief with mask of Dionysos. After De Lachenal 1983.



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# THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF ROMAN AND EARLY CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE: AN INTRODUCTION

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Scholarship on pilgrimage has proliferated over the last two decades, not only within religious studies as a whole but also more specifically within the study of Greek, Roman and late antique history and archaeology.<sup>1</sup> Many of the contributions to this growing field of research have stressed the importance of a diachronic approach and especially of examining the phenomenon of pilgrimage from both Christian and pre-Christian perspectives. However, this approach, which essentially borrows its vocabulary and methodological framework from the study of early Christianity, has also been subject to harsh criticism and intense scholarly debate.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the issue of whether the term is applicable in a pre-Christian context has featured prominently in many reviews of works on Greek and Roman sacred travel that have ventured to use the phrase "pilgrimage" in their titles. For example, in his otherwise positive review of Matthew Dillon's *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*, Ian Rutherford first noted

1. For studies focusing specifically on Greek, Roman and early Christian pilgrimage, see Ousterhout 1990; Elsner 1992; Külzer 1994; Dillon 1997; Frankfurter 1998; Frank 2000; Davis 2001; Talbot 2002; Coleman-Elsner 2003; Bitton-Ashkelony 2005; Elsner-Rutherford 2005a; Kaldellis 2009; Yasin 2009; Petsalis-Diomidis 2010; Harland 2011. For studies more broadly addressing other traditions of pilgrimage, see Coleman-Elsner 1995; Davidson-Gitlitz 2002; Westwood 2003. I would like to thank John Lund, Jeroen Poblome, Hendrik Dey, and Phil Kiernan for commenting on drafts of this introduction, as well as Maria Stilund Sommer for working on the formatting of the bibliographies. I am particularly grateful to *HEROM*'s editorial trio for asking me to put together this special issue for their journal, to Ann Marie Yasin for writing a commentary piece, and to Sven Ahrens for information concerning recent finds at Hierapolis. I also acknowledge the support of the Danish Research Council who is funding my project "The Emergence of Sacred Travel: Experience, Economy, and Connectivity in Ancient Mediterranean Pilgrimage" through their *Sapere Aude* career programme. For more, see [www.sacredtravel.dk](http://www.sacredtravel.dk).
2. Notably in Fritz Graf's 2002 review of Dillon 1997, also discussed in Elsner-Rutherford 2005b.

that the “book is a first step at mapping out the much neglected phenomenon of pilgrimage in the ancient world”;<sup>3</sup> only to then immediately digress into an apologetic statement on the use of the term pilgrimage in the Greek context. Such apologetic remarks foreshadowed other more negative reviews. In his review of the same book, Fritz Graf observed that “the label pilgrimage does actual harm”, thus directly critiquing the choice of terminology and what he saw as its less fortunate implications.<sup>4</sup> Graf’s comment in turn provided impetus for further work in a collection of papers, edited by Rutherford and Jas Elsner, that explored pilgrimage in Greek, Roman and early Christian contexts through a range of case studies.<sup>5</sup> Still, the issue remains: are the terms “pilgrim” and “pilgrimage” really useful when applied to historical periods before Late Antiquity? Is the “baggage” from their usage in Christian and Islamic contexts too cumbersome to make them appropriate to use in the study of Greek and Roman religion? At the very least these questions require some remarks in the present context, a special issue of *HEROM* on the material culture of pilgrimage, focusing on the Roman and late antique periods.

The use of the term “pilgrimage” to describe pre-Christian sacred travel can be seen as a natural development based on the emergence of a distinct field of late antique studies that specifically treats developments from the second century to the eighth century AD as culturally and socially intertwined. Placing pilgrimage within the long-term trajectory of religious traditions going back to imperial Rome and even Classical Greece is a less surprising step when seen in this context. The strength of such a chronological framework is that it enables us to explore issues of continuity and change more clearly. This does not mean that pilgrimage held the same meaning or importance in every historical period, and we should be careful not to reduce the study of antiquity so as to see it only through a Christian lens. It is, however, a stimulus for investigating both similarities and differences over the *longue durée*. Not only are many of the religious frameworks and logistical concerns apparent at Christian pilgrimage sites also observable in the case of Graeco-Roman pilgrimage, there are even continuities of place in several cases, such as, for example, Hierapolis in Phrygia. Hierapolis’ Greek name (“holy city”) signalled its religious importance in antiquity, and it continued to be revered in Christian times as the burial place of the apostle Philip. Such continuities of place and frequently also practice urge us to cross chronological and terminological boundaries, and to investigate pilgrimage as a meta-structure that permeates society and religion in different historical periods.

3. Rutherford 2000, p. 122.
4. Graf 2002, p. 195.
5. Elsner-Rutherford 2005a.

Concerning Christian pilgrimage, it is furthermore pertinent to enquire how the pilgrimage sites of that era used and re-used existing structures and religious landscapes, an issue that is of importance in, for example, Ephesus and Labraunda, two sites that are discussed in contributions to this issue by Andreas Pülz and Jesper Blid, respectively. Earlier developments have also been emphasized outside of the Christian context, such as in the study of the Islamic Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>6</sup> Using the term pilgrimage thus enables pre-Christian sacred travel to participate in an insightful multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural dialogue that is of importance to the study of religious traditions at large.<sup>7</sup> This is not an argument for *homo religiosus*, but rather an attempt to highlight long-term connections and to involve methodologies from disciplines not always in dialogue. However, the contributors to this issue do not wish to preach terminological homogeneity, and Blid favours in his contribution the term “sacred movement” over “pilgrimage”.



FIG. 1. Aya Thekla, a major pilgrimage site in Cilicia devoted to St. Thecla. View towards Silifke, showing overgrown ruins of churches, cisterns, baths and other buildings related to the pilgrimage “industry” (photo: author).

The primary aim of this special issue of *HEROM* is to go beyond text in the study of Roman and late antique pilgrimage. Many important recent studies

6. McCorriston 2011.

7. See, for example, Coleman-Elsner 1995.

have investigated pilgrimage from the perspective of the written sources, as a genre of ethnography or as a particular practice of map-making.<sup>8</sup> However, one important source for the study of pilgrimage that has not been fully exploited so far is the rich evidence of material culture related to many sites from both the Graeco-Roman and early Christian contexts that were at the centre of sacred travel.<sup>9</sup> In fact, already the editorial preface in the second volume of *FACTA*, the predecessor of this very journal, identified the role of material culture in pilgrimage as a topic worthy of further investigation.<sup>10</sup> The importance of material culture as a source for the study of religious practices is also a point that has been made more broadly within the field of religious studies.<sup>11</sup> This rich material evidence consists of pottery (such as the well-known pilgrimage flasks that are part of many collections worldwide, whereas others come with a better archaeological context) and a wide array of small finds (such as votive offerings), as well as architecture, constructed spaces, and landscapes through which the pilgrimage experience was carefully staged (FIG. 1).<sup>12</sup> Extraordinary textile finds from late antique Egypt furthermore bear witness to the lasting impact of the pilgrimage experience on daily life.<sup>13</sup>

The construction of sacred places is of central importance to the understanding of pilgrimage, a point that was already made by Maurice Halbwachs' pivotal study of the imagined topography of the Holy Land.<sup>14</sup> But archaeologists and historians can nuance many previous studies of the phenomenon in significant ways by taking in further insights from the study of material culture, a field that in itself has seen immense growth in recent years, which is also evident from the launch of this very journal. It is, for example, disappointing to see how little the site (both as space and as material culture) of the important and relatively well-preserved pilgrimage shrine of St. Thecla outside Silifke (known today as Aya Tekla, Meriamlik or Meryemlik) is put to use in Stephen Davis' otherwise excellent study of her cult in Late Antiquity.<sup>15</sup> There remains much to say about this site (and many others) from the perspective of how it is situated in the landscape and makes use

8. Ethnography: Elsner 1992, Lightfoot 2005. Maps: Hunt 2004.
9. However, the contribution of material culture to pilgrimage studies has been acknowledged in a number of recent overviews, see, for example, Frank 2008, pp. 831-834.
10. Malfitana-Poblome-Lund 2008, p. 12.
11. See contributions in Morgan 2010 and the newly founded journal *Material Religion*.
12. On pilgrimage flasks, see Anderson 2004; Bangert 2010; and Hunter-Crawley, this volume.
13. Vikan 1990; Davis 2008, pp. 165-170, and see Kristensen, this volume.
14. Halbwachs 1941.
15. Davis 2008.

of existing features, as well as how material culture played a part in its daily life.<sup>16</sup> For example, the shrine is carefully placed to fully exploit the views from both the town (Silifke, ancient Seleucia ad Calycadnum) and the sea. Furthermore, entry to the site from Silifke was originally through a rock-cut passage that was constructed to visually optimize the pilgrims' experience of arrival, as it effectively hid the site from view during the journey there (FIG. 2). The first building visible to pilgrims on their journey would have been the largely unexplored North Church, and only after they traversed the passage would the central part of the site with the basilica church of St Thecla have been revealed. The site is additionally placed immediately next to a large necropolis dating to the Roman and early Christian periods (FIG. 3). Understanding the relationship between new (in this case Christian) pilgrimage sites and existing *loci* within landscapes is therefore also a crucial concern of an approach that more explicitly takes in perspectives from the study of material culture.



FIG. 2. Ancient rock-cut road (still in use) leading from the town of Silifke to Aya Tekla. The depth and curvature of the route blocks views of the site proper for arriving pilgrims (photo: author).

16. The fundamental (archaeological) work on Aya Tekla remains Herzfeld-Guyer 1930, pp. 1-89, with the useful commentary of Hill 1996, pp. 208-234. Textual approaches to the site rely on Dagron 1978 and now also Johnson 2006.



FIG. 3. View from the necropolis towards Aya Tekla and the Mediterranean (Taşucu). The Great Basilica with the cave chapel of St Thekla can be seen in the upper right corner (photo: author).

Images and icons are topics that have traditionally been at the centre of pilgrimage studies.<sup>17</sup> But, of course, many other objects and buildings contribute to the construction and staging of the sacred at pilgrimage sites. Architecture and material culture are used in the various social activities and religious ceremonies that relate to pilgrimage, including those of a much more mundane character, such as lodging and the supply of water (FIG. 4).<sup>18</sup> At Aya Tekla, large cisterns are one of the most characteristic features of the site, offering a good indication of the size of the hospitality industry there, which was also responsible for the erection of several baths.<sup>19</sup> Important evidence from newer excavations – for example, the German work at Abu Mina, a site severely threatened by rising ground water today, and where primarily only ecclesiastical architecture has been published so far – will also help us further investigate

17. Vikan 1982; 2011. Carr 2000 investigates icons and pilgrimage practice in Constantinople.
18. On objects relating to the practical needs of pilgrims in Christian healing sanctuaries, see Caseau 2007, pp. 639-642.
19. Cisterns: Herzfeld-Guyer 1930, pp. 78-82; Peschlow 2009. Baths: Herzfeld-Guyer 1930, pp. 82-87.

the material culture of pilgrimage in all of its different forms.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, many sites have received renewed archaeological interest in recent years, facilitating more careful and detailed studies of pilgrimage as a phenomenon that incorporates a material and spatial dimension.<sup>21</sup> As stated repeatedly in the scholarship, Aya Tekla is also worthy of further fieldwork, which undoubtedly would provide for a much broader understanding of the site, including not only its church architecture but also the many 'secondary' buildings that make up the sanctuary. The pottery which such a modern excavation would produce would certainly also allow scholars to gain important insights into the chronology of the site as well as its economic and social life.

The value and ubiquity of mundane objects at pilgrimage destinations is evident at sites that function as such today, where pilgrims and tourists alike (the distinction has never been easy to make) are confronted with both sacred relics and numerous cheaply made objects for mass consumption (FIG. 5). As Joy McCorriston reminds us in a recent study, economic aspects of the pilgrimage industry have been understudied, the focus in scholarship having mainly been on ritual and other religious aspects.<sup>22</sup> However, pilgrimage has always had an important economic dimension and presented opportunities for entrepreneurs to make money. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, before inventing movable-type printing, Johannes Gutenberg was engaged in an innovative enterprise at Aachen to produce mirrors that would allow pilgrims to better see the relics that were put on display every seventh year.<sup>23</sup> While Gutenberg failed in this case, the congregations of people that pilgrim sites attracted – especially on saints' feast days – provided a rich business opportunity for traders and other stakeholders in commerce. The fairs at Aya Tekla are indeed richly described in the textual sources, from which we are familiar with some of the goods that were on sale on such occasions.

20. Grossmann 1989; 2004; Bangert 2010.

21. See, for example, new work at Germia in Galatia, Niewöhner-Rheidt 2010.

22. McCorriston 2011, pp. 28-31. Indeed, she includes among the essential attributes of pilgrimage the ability to enable economic exchange.

23. Kapr 1996, pp. 71-75.



FIG. 4. One of the very large cisterns at Aya Tekla (photo: author).



FIG. 5. Going for a song: Bottled holy water for sale at the House of the Virgin Mary (Meryemana) on Bülbüldağı (photo: author).

That these aspects of the material culture of pilgrimage are also observable in a pre-Christian context can be demonstrated by the case of the shrine of Apollo at Nettleton in Wiltshire (FIG. 6).<sup>24</sup> The site is located some 20 km north of Bristol, alongside the Fosse Way that linked Exeter (Isca Dumnoniorum) and Lincoln (Lindum Colonia). The sanctuary's location immediately on this major thoroughfare undoubtedly increased its popularity and appeal to travellers. The earliest monumental construction at the site took place in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, but it is a distinct possibility that the cult here goes back even further. The sanctuary consists of a circular shrine (which was altered in the third century to an octagonal form) with a series of adjacent buildings that have been interpreted by the excavators as catering to the needs of pilgrims, including hostels and possibly a shop that sold votives, food and drink to pilgrims.<sup>25</sup> There is much potential in investigating other Roman sites from the perspective of pilgrimage and its material culture, as is evident from the contributions to this volume.

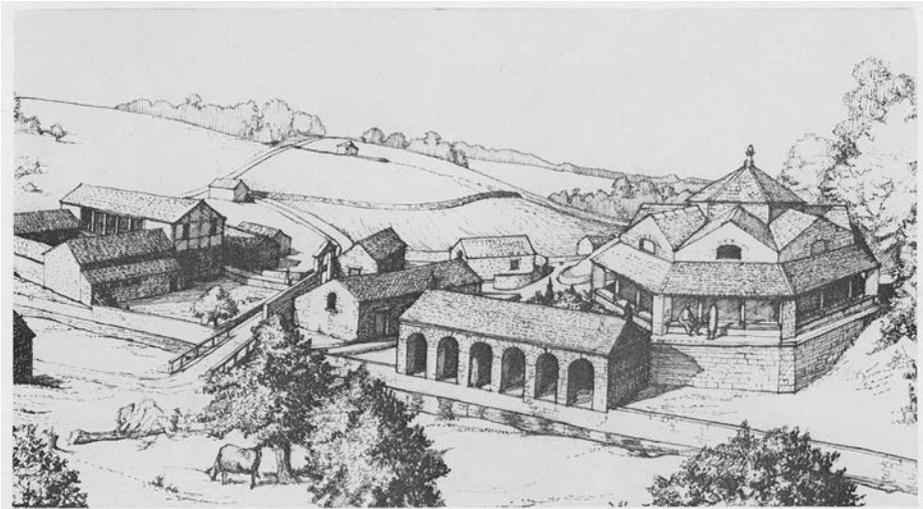


FIG. 6. Reconstruction drawing of the shrine of Apollo at Nettleton (after Wedlake 1982, pl. XIb).

Much of the new archaeological and historical scholarship on pilgrimage focuses on sites outside of the regions (the Holy Land and Egypt) that have traditionally received the most attention. For this reason, several contributions to this issue are concerned with important pilgrimage centres in Asia

24. Wedlake 1982.

25. Hostels: Buildings XI (Wedlake 1982, p. 17) and XII (Wedlake 1982, pp. 31-32). 'Shop': Building X, see Wedlake 1982, pp. 30-31.

Minor (Blid, Pülz, Malfitana & Poblome). Another contribution turns our attention to the Western Roman Empire, which has not usually been studied from the perspective of pilgrimage (Kiernan).

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# PAGAN PILGRIMAGE IN ROME'S WESTERN PROVINCES

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## Introduction

As the introduction to this volume makes clear, pilgrimage (or sacred travel) in antiquity has recently become the topic of a vibrant scholarly discourse. A glance at the bibliography of that same section, however, also shows that this discourse has focused almost exclusively on the Eastern Mediterranean and Egypt. This is hardly surprising, as both areas provide rich textual and archaeological evidence for pilgrimage in both the pagan and early Christian periods. But what about other parts of the ancient world? The western provinces of the Roman Empire seem to have been particularly neglected, when one considers that numerous temple sites in the region are described by archaeologists as 'pilgrimage sites', and their ancient visitors are regularly referred to as 'pilgrims' with very little attempt to justify or further define the terms. Were these 'pilgrims' merely regular users of the site, akin to Sunday churchgoers, or had they undertaken a long and arduous journey with the temple in question as a specific destination or staging post? The term has been employed in the archaeological literature of the western provinces remarkably casually. The lack of a discussion of pilgrimage in the pagan west is all the more puzzling when one considers the strong tradition of medieval Christian pilgrimage that would develop in this area, with pilgrims traveling to Rome and the Holy Land, as well as to sacred sites, most notably the graves of saints, nearer to home. Did this tradition spring up from nothing? The archaeology of religion in the prehistoric and early Roman west has been the subject of recent and intensive study, but the focus has been on Romanisation, questions of ethnic identity, and the structure of provincial society. The concept of pilgrimage presents a tantalizing new way of looking at this subject matter. Using examples from Gaul, Britain and Germany, this article attempts to take a first step towards putting archaeological evidence from

Rome's western provinces into the dialogue on pilgrimage and sacred travel. Many of the same sorts of activities that have been described as pilgrimage or sacred travel elsewhere in the ancient world can be found in its western provinces as well.

Though definitions of 'pilgrimage' have proved remarkably elusive, some sort of framework is needed if evidence for it is to be sought.<sup>1</sup> A very strict definition of pilgrimage would see it as a journey undertaken exclusively for a specific and persistent religious purpose, but a strict adherence to the terms of this definition excludes many types of sacred travel that occurred in antiquity that were multi-purpose in nature. Elsner and Rutherford have identified more than 17 different categories of pilgrimage using material from Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean: *theoria*, oracle consultation, *amphictonies*, healing pilgrimage, initiation pilgrimage, local pilgrimage, *oreibasia*, pilgrimage to battle sites, pilgrimage by young people, federal pilgrimages, sacred tourism, pilgrimages by poets and musicians, symbolic pilgrimage by Roman emperors, intellectual pilgrimage, pilgrimages involving cultural nostalgia, ethnic pilgrimage to a mother deity or core deity, as well as Jewish and Christian pilgrimage. There is, as Elsner and Rutherford rightly acknowledge, a distinct danger in making the term so broad.<sup>2</sup> If any visit to a sanctuary, whether for a public festival or private devotion, is to be considered a pilgrimage, then the term becomes so blurred with general religious practice as to have no useful meaning. Of course, the transformative nature of travel itself, an altered mental state or a special acquired social status could also be integral parts of pilgrimages, but these aspects leave little or no trace in the historical or material record. The most tangible material evidence for ancient pilgrimage consists of its destinations. For the purposes of this article then, pilgrimage is some kind of travel involving ritual destinations, even if the travel involves other non-religious purposes as well. This aspect of significant travel is really critical if pilgrimage is to be distinguished from other religious activities at all.

The categories of pilgrimage identified by Elsner and Rutherford could be established thanks largely to abundant textual and epigraphic evidence that includes the motivations of the travellers. Whereas the textual evidence for religious practices in the western provinces is very limited, the archaeological

1. On the problem of definitions see Elsner-Rutherford 2005, pp. 4-7, and, in the context of a western sanctuary site, Gray 1999, pp. 101-105. My thanks to Prof. Carolyn Higbie and Erin Warford of the University at Buffalo, as well as the anonymous reviewers, for their insightful comments on the earlier versions of this article.
2. Elsner-Rutherford 2005, pp. 12-30.

evidence is remarkably strong. In Britain, Gaul and Germany, the most common form of a sacred site was the provincial or “Romano-Celtic” style temple complex. Though classical Roman podium temples were also constructed in major cities of the Roman west, they are greatly outnumbered by provincial temple forms that presumably had their roots in wooden structures of the Iron Age. By the end of the first century A.D., most of the stone temples in Rome’s western provinces took the form of the so-called Romano-Celtic temple (German: “Umgangstempel” French: “temple gallo-romain”). The type consisted of a square tower (the *cella*) surrounded on all sides by a *porticus*, that was probably used for religious processions and the display of votive offerings. Numerous variations of the type exist, including simple square *cellae* without a *porticus*, as well as round and hexagonal structures with or without a *pronaos* or *porticus*.<sup>3</sup> Romano-Celtic temples have been found within major cities, small settlements and alone in the countryside. These temples were often surrounded by a precinct (*temenos*) wall, and stood either alone or in clustered groups, associated with a number of profane and non-temple structures that made up the entire complex.

This article considers evidence for pilgrimage from Romano-Celtic temple complexes in general, but for the sake of consistency draws on four specific examples, taken almost at random from the entire corpus: Nettleton (Wiltshire, U.K.), Hochscheid (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany), Fontes Sequanae (Côte d’Or, France) and Thun-Allmendingen (Bern, Switzerland). All four sites were likely to have been sacred places in the Iron Age, but the surviving evidence is almost exclusively Roman, with the main period of occupation between the first century A.D. and the end of the third to the mid fourth centuries A.D. The first three sites have been described specifically as pilgrimage sanctuaries, while the last, although it shares striking similarities with the others, has not.<sup>4</sup> The octagonal temple to Apollo at Nettleton, excavated between 1956 and 1971, was the most important building in a small settlement of a few dozen houses on the Fosse Way (see Introduction, FIG. 6). An inscribed altar and bronze plaque suggest that the temple was dedicated to Apollo, who bore the Celtic epithet of Cunomaglus.<sup>5</sup> Hochscheid, located on the Hunsrück, was excavated between 1962-4 as a teaching excavation (FIG. 1). A major natural feature of the site was a freshwater spring that emerged in a Romano-Celtic style temple. Three inscribed dedications from the site are all to Apollo and, in one instance, his Celtic consort Sirona. The sculptural finds from the site include an impressive relief carving of Sirona, and two statues

3. Fauduet 2010, pp. 99-120; Derks 1998, pp. 145-158.

4. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, p. 288.

5. Wedlake 1982, pp. 135-136, no. 1; p. 143, no. 1, fig. 61 and frontispiece.

of Apollo Citharoedus.<sup>6</sup> Most of the spring sanctuary at Fontes Sequanae was excavated in irregular campaigns in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The site is perhaps the worst documented of these examples in terms of stratigraphy, but the spectacular finds it produced, and their relationship to pilgrimage, are extremely significant. The principal goddess worshipped at the site was the nymph Sequana, whose spring emerged in a Romano-Celtic temple at the site, and was channelled through a series of three terraces (FIG. 2).<sup>7</sup> The fourth site to be considered is Thun-Allmendingen, which was excavated in several campaigns from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1980s, but has been the subject of a superb recent monograph. It consists of a walled enclosure containing seven square cellae, and four 'residential' structures. Inscriptions and figural representations from the site attest to the worship of Jupiter, Diana, the Alpes, the Matres/Matronae, Minerva, Annona (?), Mercury and Neptune.<sup>8</sup>

## Iron Age Pilgrimage

Though it will not be discussed in detail here, it should be noted that a case for the existence of religious travel can probably be made for the Celtic and Germanic inhabitants of the western provinces prior to the arrival of the Romans. Julius Caesar noted that the chief holy men of the Celts, the druids, assembled to elect a supreme druid in the territory of the Carnutes, and that those who wished to study druidism seriously travelled to Britain, whence the order supposedly originated.<sup>9</sup> Pomponius Mela described the island of Sena (modern Sein, Finistère), that contained nine virgin women who could predict the future, transform themselves into animals, cure incurable diseases, and both control and predict the weather for sailors who visited them.<sup>10</sup> In both cases we are given the impression of sacred centres of inter-regional renown. Quite apart from these textual references, the very fact that many Roman temple sites, such as the four temples to be examined here, have revealed archaeological evidence for pre-Roman activity strongly suggests a degree of continuity. The Iron Age site of Villeneuve-Saint-Germain in Aisne has been interpreted as a temporary ritual enclosure, used by large groups of visitors from the same tribal area for sporadic ritual feasting and

6. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 55-56 and 148, pl. 40-41 and 51 and 55.

7. The best summary of the excavations are to be found in Deyts 1983, pp. 17-69, supplemented by Deyts 1994 and Aldhouse-Green 1999. All three works focus on the sculptural finds. A general overview can be found in Provost *et al.* 2009, vol. 3 pp. 120-136.

8. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009.

9. Caes. B.G. 6.13.

10. Pomponius Mela 3.48.

other activities.<sup>11</sup> Here, as at other Iron Age sanctuary sites, one should probably imagine the inhabitants of small settlements and villages travelling to the site to participate in regular communal ritual activity. Like other aspects of Romano-Celtic religion, pilgrimage combined elements of both native and Roman tradition. With this note that a pre-Roman tradition of ritual travel likely existed, we may now focus on the evidence for pilgrimage in the Roman period itself.

## The Locations of Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage

If travel is to be considered a key element in a definition of pilgrimage in antiquity, then the location of temple sites and their relationship to roads and known settlements is of central importance in determining whether or not they were used as pilgrimage destinations. Though it is possible to have a pilgrimage site within a large city, or near to one, any visitor to an isolated temple would immediately fulfil the travel requirement of pilgrimage. But isolation is a particularly dangerous quality to identify in the archaeological record, as it is based on negative indicators that could prove false. Because they were monumental structures, the impact of temples on the archaeological record is greater than that of residential buildings, which are often left unexcavated or unobserved. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the tendency has been to excavate obvious and monumental structures first, even within urban settings, and this habit has left the archaeology of houses and settlements very much in its infancy. It is quite possible that many of the temples we now consider to be isolated were actually associated with undiscovered or unexplored settlements.

The temple to Apollo at Nettleton was the central building of a small settlement on the Fosse Way, a major Roman highway running between Exeter, in the southwest, and Lincoln in the northeast.<sup>12</sup> The site is located at a point where the road crosses the Broadmead Brook, some 15 kilometres north of Bath (another important 'pilgrimage' site) and 31 km southwest of Cirencester (Corinium). A spring directly across the Broadmead Brook may have been the focus of pre-Roman ritual activity.<sup>13</sup>

11. Peyre 2000.

12. Wedlake 1982, pp. 1-6.

13. Wedlake 1982, p. 99.

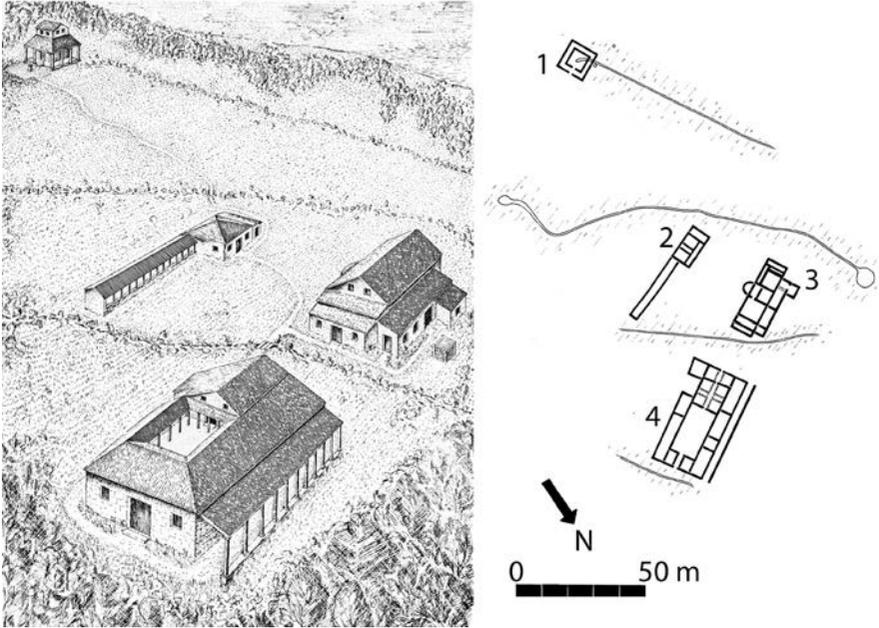


FIG. 1 Plan and Reconstruction of Hochscheid. 1) Romano-Celtic Temple 2) residential structure with gallery 3) bath house 4) hostel (Adapted from Weisgerber 1975, pl. 1 and 3).

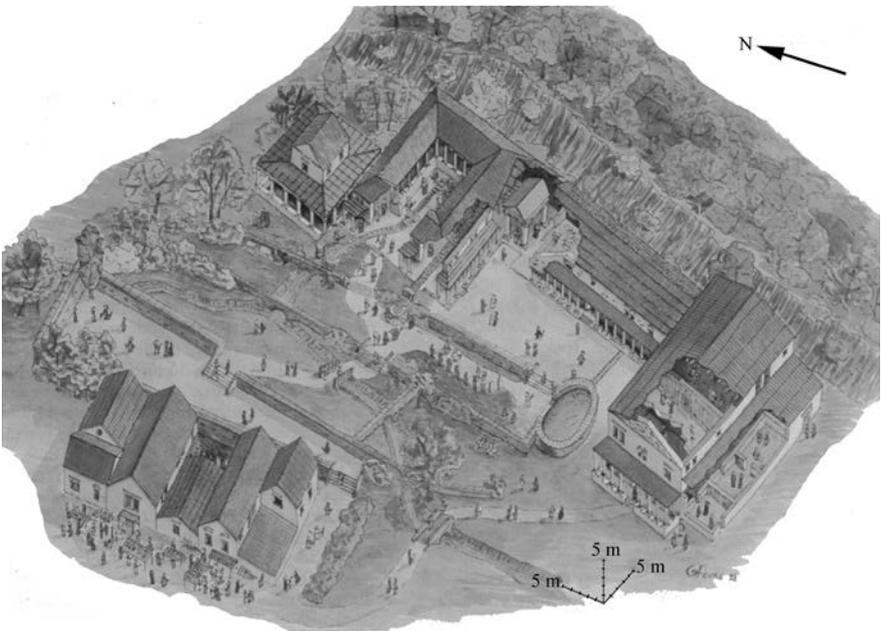


FIG. 2 Reconstruction of Fontes Sequanae. (Adapted from an illustration by Gilles Fevre, Musée de Dijon, as published in Provost *et al.* 2009, vol. 3, p. 125, fig. 240).

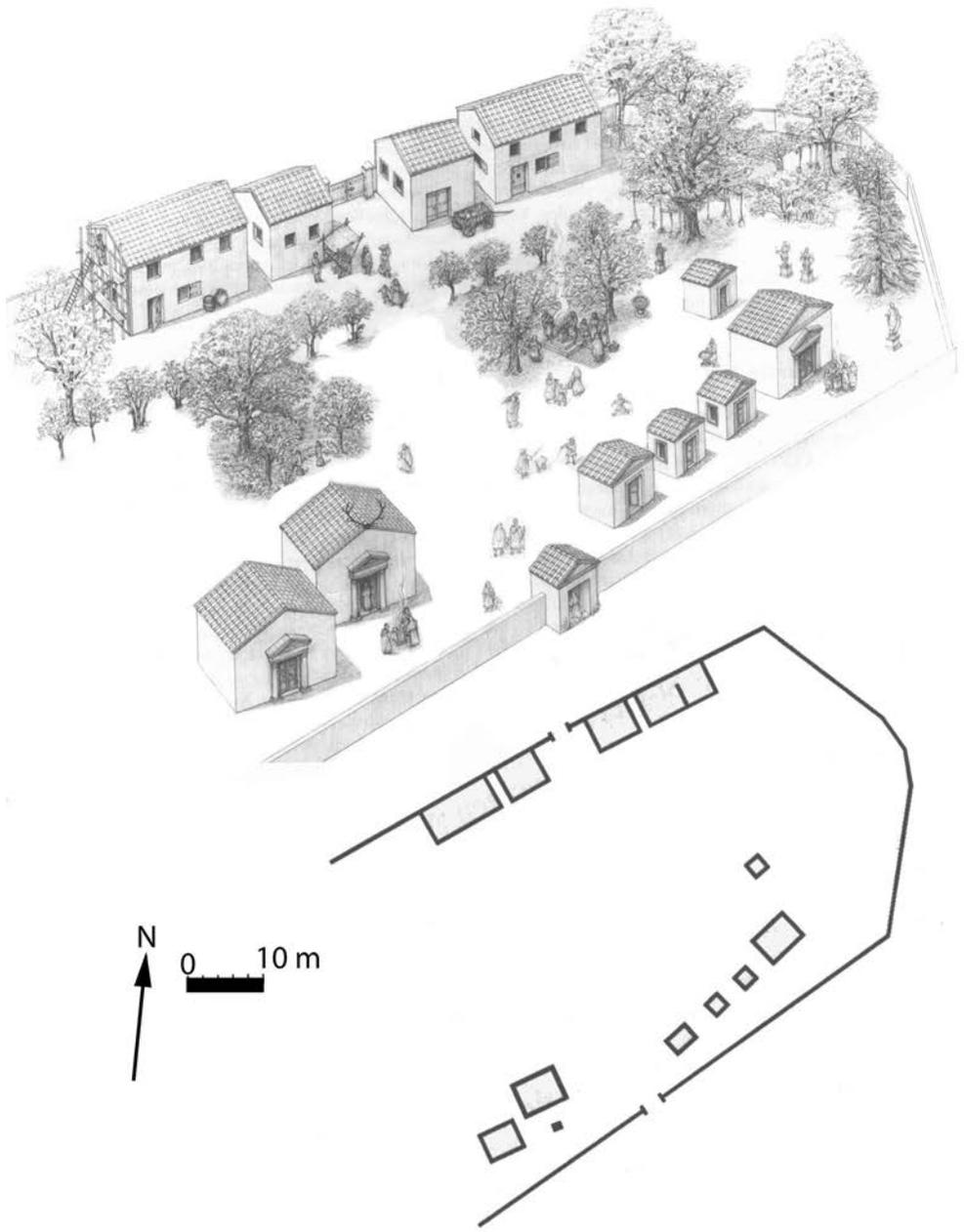


FIG. 3 Simplified Plan and Reconstruction of Thun-Allmendingen (Adapted from Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, fig. 6/10).

The situation at Thun-Allmendingen was not dissimilar to that of Nettleton, with the nearest significant Roman settlement being Thun itself, some 5 km away on the north end of Lake Thun. Roman Thun was an important hub for travel, as it was a day's journey from the more important *vicus* at Bern-Engelhalbinsel, where shipping along the Aare River northwards could begin, and where the major routes for crossing the Alps to the south set out. It is effectively positioned at a transitional point between the northern lowlands and the Alps.<sup>14</sup> The sanctuary site cannot have been too far removed from these highways heading towards the Alp passes. The fact that the Alps personified were venerated at Thun-Allmendingen suggests that the mountain routes were very much on the minds of its visitors.

The locations of the sanctuaries at Hochscheid and Fontes Sequanae are strikingly different from those at Thun-Allmendingen and Nettleton. Hochscheid sits on the exposed north side of the Idarwald, one of the hills of the Hunsrück chain, at an elevation of 645 m. The climate of the site must be considered harsh, especially in the winter, owing both to the elevation and the exposure to wind.<sup>15</sup> The nearest Roman settlement was Wederath (*Belginum*), some 5 km away, a town that sat on the major highway running between Trier and Bingen. A side road cutting across the Idarwald and into the Hunsrück was probably used to access the site, but would likely have been blocked by snow in the winter.<sup>16</sup>

None of the major publications of Fontes Sequanae attempt to describe its location in relation to contemporary settlements or roads.<sup>17</sup> Fortunately, the recently published and superbly detailed volumes of the *Carte Archéologique de la Gaule* for the Côte d'Or allow us to place it. The sanctuary is some 15 km in a direct line to the south east of Alesia, but it is almost 10 km to the east of the major highways connecting Alesia and Sombernon, and a similar distance to the supposed Roman road that connected Autun and Langres. The nearest significant Roman road was an offshoot of the Alesia-Sombernon highway that ran 4 km to the south of the sanctuary and led to Dijon or Mâlain.<sup>18</sup> In short, Fontes Sequanae was hardly a destination that was directly 'on the way' to anywhere. The nearest Roman settlement, known principally from aerial photographs, is 2 km to the west at Blessey-Salmaise, and consists of 40 or so houses. Though this site was certainly permanent,

14. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pp. 257-281.

15. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 7-8.

16. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 113-114

17. Gray 1999, p. 102 describes it simply as 'isolated.'

18. Provost *et al.* 2009, vol. 1. pp. 292-298.

and occupied from the first to early fourth centuries, it has been described primarily as “un camp destiné à recevoir des pèlerins qui se rendaient au temple de la Dea Sequana.”<sup>19</sup> Apart from this village, Sombernon and Mâlain are both approximately 20 km as the crow flies from Fontes Sequanae, while Dijon itself is nearly 30 km distant.

At all four sites, freshwater springs seem to play an important role in the choice of location, and healing was probably one function of all four. It need not, however, have been the exclusive function, as the multiple *cellae* at Thun-Allmendingen suggest. Nor are the locations of these four sanctuaries entirely representative of the entire region. In general, provincial temple complexes in Rome's western provinces can be found in the middle of major cities and directly in front of them on the roads leading into them, as well as in the countryside and in smaller settlements. Fauduet has noted that countryside temples were rarely placed directly on major roads, but were frequently placed on hillsides where they could be seen from them.<sup>20</sup> The reasons for the placement of the sanctuary may have been primarily dictated by natural phenomena such as the presence of springs, by prehistoric tradition, or reasons that leave no mark in the archaeological record such as the site of a manifestation of a divinity, the location of mythological events, etc. A few Romano-Celtic temples, such as the two at Avenches En Chaplix, were constructed near Roman and prehistoric tumuli or, as at Heidelberg Heiligenberg, at the locations of long abandoned Iron Age *oppida*.<sup>21</sup> A number of sanctuaries sat on the border between different *civitates* and tribal areas, such as the sanctuary at Bois du Flavier, near Mouzon in the French Ardennes, that was located directly on the border between the territory of the Remi and the Treveri.<sup>22</sup> At sanctuaries situated at such politically charged locations, one might imagine delegations from different tribal groups converging at particular festivals along similar lines to Greek amphictonies. The rare connections between *tumuli*, *oppida* and Romano-Celtic temples recall the Homeric tourism of Greece and Asia Minor practised by the likes of Pausanias and Aelius Aristides. Presumably western temples retained a similar mythological explanation of the features adjacent to them that was of interest to visitors.

As a rule of thumb, one can assume a rate of travel of 20 Roman miles per day in Roman antiquity, equating to 29 km. The figure, derived from Roman legal

19. Provost *et al.* 2009, vol. 2, p. 91.

20. Fauduet 2010, pp. 43-44.

21. Fauduet 2010, p. 49. On Avenches En Chaplix see Castella-Flutsch 1990; on Heidelberg Heiligenberg see von Moers-Messmer 1987.

22. Lefevre 1986, pp. 93-96; Kiernan 2009, pp. 47-51.

sources, should probably be considered a maximum rather than a minimum distance.<sup>23</sup> Sitting directly on the Fosse Way, Nettleton was approximately half a day's travel between Bath and Cirencester, and must have made a natural stopping point. Thun-Allmendingen may also have been a kind of staging post for travellers moving to and from the Alps, but it was a few hours from Roman Thun. As such, the town's inhabitants could visit and leave the site within a single day, though there is evidence (see below) that visitors stayed the night as well. Because of its elevation and out-of-the-way setting, the trip to Hochscheid would have been a longer and more arduous journey for the inhabitants of Wederath, though in theory they could have visited it within the space of a day. In the summer months, it too may have been visited by travellers on the side road that crosses the Idarwald, but it would have been a decided detour from any major route. The same point is even more applicable for Fontes Sequanae, which would have been a full day's journey or more from the nearest big cities, and a major detour from any of the main highways.

What sort of distance is required then to define a sanctuary visit as a pilgrimage? One anthropological model of pilgrimage points to the movement of communities outside their normal built environments to draw out and emphasize their shared social identity.<sup>24</sup> Such a scenario is certainly plausible for Thun-Allmendingen or Hochscheid, if they were used for the celebration of festivals involving entire communities. Both were far enough removed from their associated settlements to provide a different setting for ritual, but near enough that they could be reached by large groups travelling on foot in a reasonably short time.

Given the healing element evident at many western sanctuary sites, one should perhaps also think of their locations in terms of the quarantine of sick individuals, or in the necessity of removing them from their usual environment for both their psychological and physical well-being. The mechanism of contagion was not understood in antiquity, but it was certainly known that diseases could be transmitted from one individual to another.<sup>25</sup> Healthy individuals fled cities at times of epidemic, but the evidence for forcible or even voluntary quarantine is elusive.<sup>26</sup> The isolation of lepers is perhaps the

23. Salway 2001, p. 32.

24. Brown 1982, pp. 42-43, drawing on Turner 1974.

25. Thucydides (2.51) observed how plague spread from its victims to those who cared for them during the great plague in Athens of 430 BC

26. Herodian (1.12) records how Commodus left Rome for Laurentum during a plague. On flight from Constantinople during the great plague of A.D. 541-2, see Stathakopoulos 2004, pp. 146-147. Nutton 2000, pp. 71-72 notes the social difficulties inherent in the administration of public health measures, such as quarantine.

most obvious, if extreme, example.<sup>27</sup> Leprosy is thought to have been comparatively rare in the Roman west, though it became a major problem in the medieval period when lepers would travel to and be cared for in isolated hospices at Christian pilgrimage sites.<sup>28</sup> The placement of the temples of Asclepius and Salus outside of cities, as was the case of the temple of Asclepius on the Tiber Island at Rome, was intended to provide the sick visitors with a healthier air and water.<sup>29</sup> In this respect, it should be noted that no Roman equivalent of the hospital is known, except in the form of the *valetudinaria* of military camps.<sup>30</sup> This strategy of placement of healing sanctuaries simultaneously protected the healthy population, while removing the sick individual from potentially harmful conditions of ancient city life, and providing a different, restful and potentially stress free environment.

If the removal of the community from its regular built environment, or the removal of the sick to an isolated and healthy location, were the main reasons for a pilgrimage, then even travelling a fairly short distances could be sufficient to achieve the desired effect. But shorter-distance travel could also be one stage in a much longer journey. In the medieval period, pilgrimage could involve travel along specific networks of local sites to reach an interregional end goal. For example, itineraries of medieval pilgrimage routes record the stopping points between Winchester, with its shrine of St. Swithun, and Canterbury, where the important St. Thomas Becket was venerated. Canterbury was also visited by pilgrims from London, such as those described gathering at Southwark in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Pilgrimage routes from Iceland and Scandinavia to Rome are known from a number of texts, and pilgrims travelling to Santiago di Compostela from western Europe frequently collected at Tours, where they would visit the relics of St. Martin.<sup>31</sup> Did such a system of pilgrimage itineraries exist in the Roman world as well, with connected networks of sanctuaries hosting a variety of travellers and pilgrims? What role did the visibility of the temple in relation to major roads play? There is still much to be considered in exploring the relationship between roads, temples and settlements in the west.

27. Leviticus 13 sets out the conditions of isolation used in the process of identifying lepers. The same approach was described by the fifth century A.D. north African medical writer Caelius Aurelianus (*Chronic Diseases*, 4.13), who disapproved of it, though he recognised its function in protecting the uninfected. Columella (6.5.1) notes that sick cattle should be segregated from diseased ones.
28. Jackson 1988, pp. 183-184; Hopper 2002, pp. 124 and 129
29. *Vitr.* 1.2.7, *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 286D
30. Jackson 1988, p. 65.
31. Stopford 1994, pp. 63-65; Hopper 2002, pp. 88-109; Gray 1999, p. 103. On Icelandic and Scandinavian itineraries see Springer 1950.

## Pilgrimage and the Non-Temple Buildings of Western Sanctuary Complexes

Upon reaching a temple site in the west, after either a short or long journey, travelling singly, in groups, or as entire communities, temple visitors would have participated in a variety of rituals at the temple complex. Some of these, we may safely assume, involved the actual temple housing an image of the deity being worshipped, but other structures at sanctuary complexes point to other ritual activities and to the amenities available for the mundane needs of the pilgrims.

### THEATRES AND AMPHITHEATRES

Though the four sites under consideration here are not amongst them, many Romano-Celtic sanctuary complexes are closely associated with or are architecturally linked to theatres and amphitheatres. This is the case in larger cities, such as Augusta Raurica, where one would naturally expect to find a theatre or amphitheatre anyway, but is also evident in some smaller settlements, where alongside temples, and baths, the theatre/amphitheatre was one of the most prominent structures of the settlement.<sup>32</sup> Presumably these buildings were used on ritual occasions by large numbers of sanctuary visitors to view sacred performances – dancing, singing, dramatic productions, gladiatorial combats, etc. The size of the theatres and amphitheatres in relation to the size of local settlements is another potential indicator for pilgrimage activity. The temple complex of Apollo at Grand included an amphitheatre capable of seating some 17,000 visitors, far more than can reasonably have lived in the immediate vicinity of the site.<sup>33</sup> Presumably it was expected that the theatres and amphitheatres built in connection with temples were meant to be filled, and the sites must have expected regular and large influxes of visitors. Were seats filled by visitors from numerous small towns, villages and farms within a limited catchment area, or should we envisage spectators travelling several days to take part?

### BATHS

At many sites, including our four examples, a sacred spring was a focus of ritual activity from which pilgrims could drink healing waters or bathe in them. Such activities necessitated various structural features that have left a mark

32. Fauduet 2010, pp. 58-60.

33. Bertaux 1993, p. 25; Frézouls 1982, pp. 177-234.

on the archaeology of sanctuary sites. The sacred spring at Fontes Sequanae emerged in a U-shaped peristyle building just south of a Romano-Celtic temple on the uppermost terrace of the site. From there it was channelled to significant points within the site, passing through an oval bathing pool in which pilgrims could immerse themselves (FIG. 2).<sup>34</sup> Similarly, at Hochscheid, the springhead of what is now the Koppelbach filled a square basin in the very centre of the site's Romano-Celtic temple with sparkling water (FIG. 1.1).<sup>35</sup> Where and how the spring water was channelled out of the temple is not known, but the water from this spring, or from one of other streams that flowed through the site, was used to supply a bath house a little more than 100 m to the north of the temple (FIG. 1.3). The form of the bathhouse follows a decidedly Roman pattern, with a hypocaust system and identifiable *apodyterium*, *frigidarium*, *tepidarium* and *caldarium*. But the large size of the *caldarium* suggests that its primary function was for pilgrims to sit in the healing waters for prolonged periods, giving the building more in common with other healing spas than regular functional bathhouses in towns or military camps.<sup>36</sup> At Thun-Allmendingen, neither wells nor springheads were found, though the presence of three separate water basins suggests that water played a role in cult activity.<sup>37</sup> No bath house has been identified at Nettleton, but the area of the spring across the Broadmead Brook has not been excavated. Given the flow of travellers along the Fosse Way, it is hard not to imagine the site serving as a stopping place for them, and there is every reason to suppose that bath complexes at temple sites could serve the hygienic needs of travellers, as well as any form of sacred bathing.

#### HOUSES, HOTELS AND HOSTELS

Structures such as baths and theatres seem to straddle the realms of profane and sacred activity, providing entertainment and hygiene while simultaneously fulfilling religious needs. At all four of the sanctuaries under discussion, even the shorter distance travelled may well have necessitated spending a night at the sanctuary complex or consuming a meal, for which purely functional buildings were required. At a number of sanctuary sites, buildings have been identified that seem to have been intended to house and service the most basic needs of pilgrims.<sup>38</sup> In some instances, Romano-Celtic sanctuaries show

34. Deys 1983, pp. 28-29; Green 1999a, pp. 4-6; Provost *et al.* 2009, pp. 123-124, fig. 237.

35. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 12-14 and 79-80.

36. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 88-97.

37. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pp. 51-52.

38. See Spickermann 2003, p. 291 and Derks 1998, p. 194 for a discussion of examples not considered here.

a bipartite division of space between sacral and functional buildings, as we find to be the case at Thun-Allmendingen, Hochscheid, and possibly Fontes Sequanae. Not surprisingly, the functional structures are often neglected in excavation reports, with the main focus being the temples themselves.

At Thun-Allmendingen, profane and sacred sectors can be identified in the northern and southern halves of the site (FIG. 3). The southern (sacred) sector contains the actual temples, and yielded statuary, votive offerings, and over 1,650 coins. In the northern (profane) sector, four half timber buildings, probably connected to the *temenos* wall, contained distinctly domestic assemblages of cooking vessels, bones, tools and *fibulae*, but no votive offerings and only eight coins. The two central buildings in the northern sector (both 6 x 6 m) may have been used for light industrial activities, while the two larger buildings (both c. 11 x 6 m) were probably inhabited.<sup>39</sup> All four buildings were destroyed by fire in the late third century, and never rebuilt, even though the temples continued to be frequented.<sup>40</sup> A similar smallish residential structure has been identified at Hochscheid, consisting of a single rectangular 'house' of 8 x 15 m divided into four rooms, and connected to a 28 x 5 m long gallery or hall on its west side (FIG. 1.2). Weisgerber imagined the gallery as open on its north side and serving essentially as a *porticus* to shelter pilgrims from the rain. The structure also had evidence of light industrial activity, including metal working. Weisgerber considered, and rejected, an alternative theory that the gallery was used for the incubation of pilgrims.<sup>41</sup> The incubation theory has also been proposed for the long hall at nearby Heckenmünster and a comparable structure at Lydney Park. Similarly, the rectangular *porticus* that surrounded the podium style temples at Grand has been viewed as a hostel and functional building for pilgrims.<sup>42</sup> At least at Hochscheid, the crude nature of the long hall (it seems to have lacked a floor of any kind) supports Weisgerber's functional interpretation. The small size of the residential buildings at Thun-Allmendingen and Hochscheid would have prevented them from housing too many visitors, and they cannot be considered hostels for significant numbers of visitors.

The function of hostel proper was fulfilled by another building at Hochscheid that measured 42 x 21 m and was constructed in the first century A.D. Around the same time that the site's bath house was built (in the early 2<sup>nd</sup>

39. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pp. 202-204.

40. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, p. 219.

41. Weisgerber 1975, pp. 48-50.

42. Wheeler-Wheeler 1932, p. 49. For a discussion of comparable long halls at Heckenmünster and other sites, see Weisgerber 1975, pp. 99-100. On Grand see Bertaux 1993, p. 26.

century), the hostel was expanded. The building was entered from the west side, where one could proceed along a hallway into an internal courtyard. In the building's second phase, rooms branched off the courtyard and a *porticus* ran the length of its north side (FIG. 1.4). Depending on how the internal divisions of the frontal building were arranged, one must reckon between 10 and 15 rooms in the entire complex for the accommodation of guests, excluding the possibility that poorer visitors could sleep in the *porticus* or the courtyard on warm summer nights, and that some of the rooms in the building must have been dedicated to storage or have served purely utilitarian purposes. The long narrow rooms off the courtyard would almost certainly have been used to house multiple guests, rather than having served as private suites. At Nettleton, a quite comparable hostel stood between the Broadmead Brook and the Fosse Way (Introduction, FIG. 6, in the far left of the image). The original structure was probably built in the mid-second century A.D., but was demolished and replaced with an expanded establishment in the early third century. As at Hochscheid, the building was fronted by a rectangular reception hall to its south (33.6 x 11.3 m) that was divided into different rooms and provided access to an open courtyard off which further rooms could be accessed.<sup>43</sup> A minimum number of rooms for the building cannot be established, but its capacity was probably similar to the hostel at Hochscheid.

None of the admittedly poorly understood buildings at Fontes Sequanae has been interpreted as a hostel, though shops and potentially functional structures are present. But given that the site is the most distant from other settlements amongst the four under consideration, virtually all of the visitors to Fontes Sequanae would have required housing. As noted above, it has been proposed that pilgrims were housed at an unexcavated settlement at Blessey-Salmaise.<sup>44</sup> Presumably the small settlement at Nettleton could also have absorbed some of the visitors to the sanctuary, who did not fit into the hostel. The same is true of the many western temple sites located in or near cities and towns.

The main question surrounding both the large and small residential structures at these sites concerns the identity of their occupants. The position of Nettleton on a major highway begs the question whether these hostels housed pilgrims specifically, travellers along the Fosse Way, or whether there is even a distinction between the two. Presumably a traveller could take advantage of both the sacred and profane aspects of Nettleton while spending a night there. Smaller residential structures, such as those at

43. Wedlake 1982, p. 17 and 31.

44. Provost *et al.* 2009, vol. 2, p. 91.

Nettleton and Thun-Allmendingen, were once commonly identified as priests' houses, but as Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann rightly note, this interpretation ignores the very nature of Roman priesthoods. Most were elected or appointed officials, and were usually important members of local society. Individuals of such status would hardly have taken up permanent residence in sanctuaries far removed from the centres of civic life. Though they admit that these two buildings at Thun-Allmendingen may have occasionally housed paying guests travelling in the area, or possibly rented rooms to small groups of pilgrims, as in the Greek model of the banqueting hall, Kilcher and Schatzmann concluded that the four buildings in the north sector of the site were not primarily intended for pilgrims. They are simply too small.<sup>45</sup> The same is true of the smaller residential structures at Hochscheid and Nettleton. At both sites, these buildings probably housed caretakers and workers who maintained the site and offered services to the visitors, perhaps cooking meals and producing and selling votive offerings.

The larger residential structures at Hochscheid, Nettleton and elsewhere are quite another matter. They clearly had space for more than a few caretakers, and can be plausibly seen as *hospitalia* for travellers and pilgrims.<sup>46</sup> In this respect, they parallel structures identified as inns and hostels at the classical pilgrimage sites of the Mediterranean world. Interestingly, there too hostels appear both as square buildings with courtyards, such as the Leonidaion of Olympia or the hostel at Epidauros, or as long stoa-like structures such as the *xenon* of Nemea.<sup>47</sup> But even when filled to capacity, the western hostels can hardly have contained vast numbers of pilgrims. Ton Derks has suggested that only the most privileged visitors to a temple site – priests, delegations, the very wealthy, etc. – could have been housed in these buildings. During festivals or high points of activity, the majority of pilgrims would have been obliged either to sleep in the open or perhaps in tents.<sup>48</sup> The use of tents at western sanctuary sites may explain the seemingly large empty spaces encompassed by the *temenos* walls of some sites that are often proposed as having been filled by sacred woods. The division of space at Thun-Allmendingen and Hochscheid, however, seems to suggest a clear distinction between the houses of the gods and men. At Hochscheid, it is almost as if the temple was placed out of ear-shot of the noisy hostel and bath house.

45. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pp. 210–214.

46. The term is attested by a single inscription found not far from Hochscheid at Wasserbilling (*CIL* XIII 4208) which records the dedication of a temple and its fittings as well as *hospitalia* to Mercury and Rosmerta.

47. For a superb description of the function of these and similar places of temporary abode in the Classical Greek world see Ault 2005, esp. pp. 150–155.

48. Derks 1998, p. 194.

At other sites, such as the temple complex at Tawern, profane structures and hostels were actually placed outside the *temenos* walls.<sup>49</sup> Given this arrangement, it seems unlikely that tents would be tolerated so close to the holiest part of the sanctuary.

## Inscriptions and Votive Offerings

The most obvious place to look for evidence of pilgrims, their origins and purpose would, of course, be in the inscribed dedications they left at temple sites. But the succinct nature of Latin dedications makes them a rather disappointing source when compared to their verbose Greek counterparts. In most cases, they record little more than the name of the dedicator, the deity addressed, and a variation of the votive formula V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito). Supplementary details about the dedicators are sometimes given, but the reasons for the vow and the circumstances surrounding them are scarcely commented upon, save for the occasional formulaic remarks that dedications were ordered by the divinity '*ex iussu / imperio*' or were demanded in a vision '*ex visu*.'<sup>50</sup> The supplementary information about the identity and origins of the dedicators is not uncommon and more useful. None of the four sites discussed here yielded large quantities of inscribed dedications, but Derks has noted a variety of origins in dedications made at the Nehalennia sanctuary at Colijnsplaat in Zeeland. This site was an important launching point for crossing the English Channel. The points of origin of the dedicators include Nijmegen, Cologne, Trier, Rouen, Besançon, and Augst, but where the professions of these dedicators are also recorded, '*negotiatores*' and '*nautae*' figure prominently.<sup>51</sup> This suggests that the dedications were related to their professional travels, and not the end or intermediary result of a journey that was made primarily for religious purposes. These dedications were made rather because traders happened to be passing through, and the site represented a critical or dangerous part of the voyage in the form of the channel crossing. Presumably the same would hold true of visitors to Thun-Allmendingen or mountain pass sanctuaries such as Grand St. Bernard. If older, stricter definitions of pilgrimage are adhered to, then such business travel does not qualify as pilgrimage, but more recent studies have accepted that most travel in antiquity was likely multi-purpose. Rather than quibble about definitions, it is perhaps more useful to return to the question of networks, and whether or not a fuller

49. Faust 2002, p. 39.

50. On the form of Roman vows, see Derks 1998, pp. 215-239.

51. Derks 1998, pp. 143-144.

study of inscriptions at western sanctuary sites can reveal patterns in the movements of particular individuals and professions.

Anepigraphic votive offerings also have potential to reveal something about the origins of pilgrims. If regionally distinctive artefact types such as *fibulae*, jewellery and coins appear in temples far removed from their places of manufacture, we might expect them to have been brought by long distance travellers. On the other hand, they could just have easily reached a local owner by simple circulation, as one might expect in the case of coins from distant mints. A 62 cm high painted marble statuette of a goddess, possibly Annona, found at Thun-Allmendingen was a clearly an import, if only because marble does not occur in the western provinces. It has been suggested that the style of the piece points to a North African workshop, but this is not entirely certain.<sup>52</sup> Whatever its origins, one must wonder whether the statuette was brought across the Alps specifically to be dedicated at Thun-Allmendingen (a clearly pilgrim-like act) or was used in a secondary manner, having been originally imported either to be sold by a travelling art merchant, or for use in some other setting.

## Depictions of Pilgrims

One of the most interesting types of dedication left by pilgrims in sanctuaries consists of depictions of people who are arguably the pilgrims themselves, or parts of their bodies. The latter votives, whether in stone, wood or metal, depict the sick or diseased parts of the body for which pilgrims sought healing or expressed their thanks and testified to cures received. They are effectively no different from similar votive offerings found at Greek and Italian sanctuary sites.<sup>53</sup> It is perhaps debatable whether or not the very common representations of heads were intended as portraits of sanctuary patrons, or as anatomical votives for diseases of the head. It is certainly possible to recognise diseases of the eyes or inflammations in some examples.<sup>54</sup> But there is little doubt that full-length depictions of individuals holding offerings are pilgrims. The single richest collection of these images in the west, though certainly not the only such assemblage, comes from Fontes Sequanae, where pilgrim representations are present both in stone and, thanks to a waterlogged environment, in wood.<sup>55</sup>

52. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pp. 73-76, fig. 5/8.

53. On Greek anatomical votives see Forsén 1996.

54. Green-Newell 1999, pp. 35-43.

55. On the find circumstances of the wooden sculptures see Deyts 1983, pp. 32-61.



FIG. 4 Stone images of pilgrims from Fontes Sequanae. 1) Front and back of a child carrying a small dog and wearing a medallion. H. 60 cm 2) relief of a pilgrim carrying a bag of money. H. 77 cm (Deyts 1994, pl. 1.1 and 3.1)

Three examples of depictions of pilgrims from Fontes Sequanae must suffice for the purposes of this discussion. The first is a stone sculpture, 60 cm high, and 20 cm wide, in rough grained limestone (FIG. 4.1). It depicts a round-faced boy, with short hair, wearing a heavy cloak or coat that extends to his feet. A bunch of cloth around his neck may either be a rolled up hood or scarf. Four straps extend around the torso of the boy, crossing his hips and shoulders, and converging in the middle of his chest and back in a large medallion. In his outstretched forearms, the boy holds a small dog.<sup>56</sup> A second example consists of a stone relief 77 cm high and 35 cm wide, also in limestone, with slightly projecting edges to place the figure on it in a niche (FIG. 4.2). The adult male in the niche has short hair, and wears similar clothing to that of the boy, but lacks the medallion, and clutches a large purse of money in his left hand.<sup>57</sup> The third example is one of the wooden sculptures from Fontes Sequanae and stands 86 cm high on a square base with a width of 14 cm (FIG. 5.1).

56. Deyts 1994, p. 21, pl. 1.1, and illustration on p. 20; Green 1999b, p. 11, no. 1, fig. 5.

57. Deyts 1994, p. 23, pl. 3.1.

It depicts a female figure, wearing a long coat that opens up just above the breasts and from which her right arm emerges flat against her body. Below the cloak, which stops just below her knees, the woman wears a long tunic that falls nearly to her feet.<sup>58</sup> The elongated form of the figure, carved from a single piece of wood, is typical of the other wooden images from Fontes Sequanae.



FIG. 5 1) A wooden sculpture from Fontes Sequanae, H. 86 cm (After Deyts 1983, pl. 16.49) 2) terracotta family of Pilgrims from Thun-Allmendingen, H. 13.2 cm (After Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, pl. 8)

These three examples are by no means representative of the entire body of material from Fontes Sequanae, which varies greatly in style, quality and subject matter. Other sculptures from the site represent hands clasping offerings,

58. Deyts 1983, p. 84, no. 49, pl. 16.

swaddled infants as well as nude figures. It should be noted, however, that the Fontes Sequanae material is by no means unique. Comparable but lesser assemblages are known from other sites, including Chamalières, Chatillon-sur-Seine, Essarois and even at Alesia.<sup>59</sup> One of the more impressive small finds from Thun-Allmendingen consists of a terracotta representation of a group of seven adults and children clothed in the same hooded cloaks as the figures from Fontes Sequanae (FIG. 5.2). The group has been interpreted as a family of pilgrims, with the two large central male and female figures depicting the parents. A nearly identical group has been found in a first century A.D. cremation burial at Chalon-sur-Saône.<sup>60</sup> Either these figurines were brought to sanctuaries by pilgrims, or were sold there and sometimes taken home as souvenirs.

The animals held by the children are paralleled elsewhere in Greek and Roman art. Strikingly similar marble figures of children holding animals were uncovered at the Sanctuary of Mars Lenus in Trier, and the motif is also known in funerary art from the city of Rome.<sup>61</sup> The animals are probably best understood as pets, and are thus attributes of children, but Aldhouse-Green has also suggested a connection between the dogs and healing divinities.<sup>62</sup> The purses held by adults presumably represent monetary donations made in thanks for cures or other favours provided by the divinity. Other representations of adults show them holding round fruits, or possibly coins. If coins, then presumably their significance was comparable to that of the purses of money on other statues, if fruits, then they may have been the symbolic first fruits of agricultural activity, or simple food offerings to the goddess.<sup>63</sup>

Nude figures and swaddled infants are also known from Fontes Sequanae, and like diseased heads, they may have had a medical significance comparable to the anatomical votives, but the clothing and attributes of the other pilgrims raise a number of questions about pilgrimage in the Roman west. In the medieval period, pilgrims wore special clothes to denote their status as sacred travellers, and to ensure special rights and protection while on the road. It is tempting to see the clothes worn by the figures from Fontes Sequanae as similar ritual garb.<sup>64</sup> If these clothes were not worn for the entire

59. Green 1999c, pp. 92-100; Deyts 1994, p. 4-16.

60. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, p. 102, fig. 35 and 5/47.

61. Gose 1955, pp. 40-52, figs. 41-57. On children and animals elsewhere in Greek and Roman art see Vorster 1983, pp. 48-83.

62. Green-Wild 1999, p. 60.

63. Green 1999c, p. 60. Examples of pilgrims from Fontes Sequanae with a round object include Deyts 1994, pp. 24-25, pl. 4.1 and 4.2.

64. Aldhouse-Green 2004, pp. 47-53.

journey, then perhaps they were donned while at the site itself. This latter argument was made by de Saint-Denis in 1967 for the hooded cloak seen on the figures at Fontes Sequanae, which he interpreted as the *'bardocucullus'* mentioned by Martial, the origins of which he saw in sacred singers of the Celtic world, the bards.<sup>65</sup> In fact, the name of the Gallic cloak is unknown, and its interpretation as a strictly ritual garment is made unlikely by its frequent appearance elsewhere in provincial art, including depictions of the *genii cucullati* (cloaked geniuses) and in funerary reliefs showing scenes of daily life, such as the tomb of the Secundini at Igel.<sup>66</sup> The bizarre chest medallions worn by the depictions of children, however, are more plausible candidates for ritual clothing, unless they are some kind of Gallic variant of the Roman *bullae*. Comparable to the medallions, and worn in roughly the same place, are depictions of rings found on the sculptures of swaddled babies. Unlike the medallions, however, the rings are functional, and seem to hold the swaddling in place. An actual bronze ring from Thun-Allmendingen (dm. 5.5 cm) has been proposed as an example of the rings depicted in art.<sup>67</sup>

The social function of distinguishing clothing used in pilgrimage is discussed in the contribution of Troels Myrup Kristensen in this volume. Though the sculptures from Fontes Sequanae and other western temple sites undoubtedly depict pilgrims, it is remarkably difficult to identify ritual garments or attributes with certainty, as the parallels of the hooded cloak and children's pets in Roman funerary art show.

## The Transition to Early Christian Pilgrimage

According to an anonymous panegyricist, in the year 309, the emperor Constantine, travelling from Marseille to his capital of Trier, stopped to make offerings to the gods that he had vowed previously "where you (Constantine) had turned aside to the most beautiful temple in the whole world (*ubi deflexisses ad templum toto orbe pulcherrimum...*)".<sup>68</sup> While there, Constantine had a vision of Apollo and Victory presenting him with laurel wreaths.<sup>68</sup> This temple has been identified by Jullian as the temple of Apollo at Grand, another candidate for a western pilgrimage sanctuary.<sup>69</sup> Whether or not Jullian's identification of Grand as the site of Constantine's vision is correct, the emperor's

65. De Saint-Denis 1967, pp. 440-443. The passages in Martial are 1,53,5 and 14,121,1.

66. Wild 1985, pp. 369-376; Green-Wild 1999, pp. 65-66; Deyts 1983, pp. 132-133.

67. Martin-Kilcher and Schatzmann 2009, p. 115 admit that it could also be a belt ring.

68. Pan. Lat. VI (VII) 21.3.

69. Jullian 1926, p. 107, n. 2.

visit must count simultaneously as one of the few documented, and as one of the last pagan pilgrimages in the west. Within his own lifetime, Constantine's mother Helena, herself a native of the Roman west, would undertake one of the earliest and most celebrated Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land. A mere fifty or so years later, Martin, Bishop of Tours, would question the credentials of a supposed saint whose grave had become the focus of Christian veneration.<sup>70</sup> After Martin's own death in 397, his burial place at Tours would become a site of veneration, with a small basilica being built on top of it by his successor. Three bishops later, by the mid to late fifth century, this structure was torn down and replaced by "another larger basilica in wondrous workmanship."<sup>71</sup> Later still, Tours would become an important starting point for the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>72</sup> The beginning of Christian pilgrimage seems to have almost overlapped with the final phase of pagan pilgrimage, and it is hard not to see the two practices as related. In this respect, it is perhaps worth noting that at Nettleton, the octagonal shrine was eventually converted into a domestic structure in the fourth century A.D., while the hostel remained in use in the early medieval period. The dual, or opportunistic nature of Constantine's diversion to Grand, and the placement of Nettleton as a convenient stopping point along a highway are reminders of the potentially ambiguous and utilitarian nature of pilgrimage.

## Summary and Conclusion

This article has attempted to make a case for the existence of pilgrimage in the pagan Roman west using the material evidence from four temple sites from the region. All of the aspects considered briefly here could easily be studied much more intensively, and hopefully this paper has raised more questions than it has answered.

Each of the temple sites discussed was found to be isolated from habitation sites to some degree, necessitating short or long journey to reach it. The distance between the temples and settlements may have served to create a distinctive and irregular environment, which in the case of communal pilgrimages would have allowed the group's social identity to be emphasized. Alternatively, this distance would have isolated sick pilgrims from the healthy community and provided them with a needed change of scene as well as potentially healthier living conditions. Whatever the reason behind

70. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, 11.

71. Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 10.31. "...aedificavit aliam (basilicam) ampliorem miro opera..."

72. Hopper 2002, p. 88.

their placement, the locations of the sites compelled visitors to travel to them and thus fulfilled the one critical point in the definition of pilgrimage. It is, of course, also possible that temples in western cities received pilgrims from outside the city, but this cannot be shown on the basis of geography alone.

Some of the buildings identified at each of the four sites can only have been intended to deal with pilgrims. Large theatres, baths and hostels cared for and housed visitors. The Roman tradition of bathing in curative springs would continue into modern times in western Europe, famously at sites like Bath and Baden-Baden. Theatres and amphitheatres recall the sacred games and contests of the Mediterranean world, while the form of the *hospitalia* of western sanctuary sites are strikingly similar to those found in the Greek world. Thus the very architecture of these sites suggests that a similar sort of pilgrimage tradition was present in both the western and eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, involving groups, communities and individuals.

The epigraphic evidence for pilgrimage from the western Roman Empire is different from that of the Greek world, but nonetheless hints at comparable practices, such as dedications made on the basis of visions and dreams. At the most basic level, Latin votive inscriptions give the names and points of origin of some temple visitors, and further study might reveal patterns of travel in temple users. Uninscribed votive offerings in the west may consist of foreign objects that are potentially suggestive of travel, but also include striking depictions of the pilgrims themselves at sites like Fontes Sequanae. At least some aspects of the dress of these pilgrims, notably medallions worn by children, seem to be specific to their role as pilgrims, though the distinction between daily and ritual clothing is not easy to make.

Pilgrimage was likely practiced in the pre-Roman Iron Age and the transition from pagan to Christian pilgrimage at the end of antiquity seems to have been remarkably smooth. The graves and churches of those very saints who destroyed temples like Fontes Sequanae, Hochscheid, Nettleton and Thun-Allmendingen were themselves visited by pious Christian travellers. It is clear that pilgrimage traditions existed in the Roman west that were comparable to those of the central empire and the Greek east. These western traditions should be considered as stages in a continuous sequence rather than as an isolated phenomenon.

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# TEXTILES, TATTOOS AND THE REPRESENTATION OF PILGRIMAGE IN THE ROMAN AND EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIODS

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The point of departure for this study is how different forms of body-modification, such as clothing and tattoos, could be used to represent and commemorate the act of undertaking journeys to sacred places.<sup>1</sup> The perspective is deliberately diachronic as it simultaneously considers Roman and early Christian practices – and to a lesser degree earlier Greek practices as well. This broad chronological coverage sheds light on the social significance of sacred travel across a long historical trajectory, a central tenet of applying a term such as pilgrimage in pre-Christian contexts.<sup>2</sup> While a long-term perspective in some ways may seem crude, it serves here to reveal both similarities and differences in the social practices and ritual performances that were undertaken as part of journeys to sacred places under different historical circumstances.

The anthropologist Terence Turner has referred to the clothed (or otherwise decorated or covered) body as “social skin”, indicative of its social and performative function across different cultures.<sup>3</sup> Anthropological research has furthermore stressed how clothing and other forms of body decoration

1. The definition of pilgrimage adopted here is that of Joy McCriston 2011, p. 19: “Pilgrimage is a journey to a sacred place to participate in a system of sacred beliefs”. This paper forms one part of a larger book project, preliminarily entitled *The Archaeology of Sacred Travel – Materiality and Performance in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Pilgrimage*. An early version was presented at the Aarhus University Patristics seminar in August 2010. I would like to thank Stine Birk, Søren Handberg, John Lund and Marie Louise Nosch for reading drafts and suggesting important references and improvements.
2. See the introduction to this issue for a discussion of the advantages of such an approach to the study of pilgrimage.
3. Turner 1993.

can play vital roles in connecting human and divine worlds.<sup>4</sup> This work has been followed by an increasing interest in the clothed body in antiquity and the different ways in which clothing carried social and cultural meanings.<sup>5</sup> Greek and Roman religions indeed frequently expressed an interest in the “social skin” of their worshippers, and strict regulations of pilgrims’ bodies are attested in numerous cases.<sup>6</sup> For example, an important inscription from Epidauros, dated to the second century AD, records how pilgrims, such as the dedicator, a certain Marcus Iulius Apellas, had to cover their heads when entering the sanctuary and remain veiled for two days.<sup>7</sup> These regulations formed one part of a complex process of ritual purification of the body before the pilgrim could be cured by Asklepios.<sup>8</sup> The inscription also describes other ways in which Apellas’ body was regulated and engaged in a tightly controlled fashion; special dieting and bathing were prescribed, as was rubbing against a wall close to a place of ritual significance. Pilgrims visiting the remote cave of Zeus Idaios on Crete had to wear white as part of the ritual preparations.<sup>9</sup> Similarly in the theatre in the Asklepieion of Pergamon, worshippers also wore white, according to Aelius Aristides.<sup>10</sup> In other cases, even the pilgrims’ choice of footwear (or lack thereof) was regulated.<sup>11</sup> Wearing a particular kind of clothing emphasised the communal identity of pilgrims as devotees (powerfully manifested today in scenes of white-clad pilgrims gathering around the Kaaba during the Hajj, the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca) but it could also be used to display status and social power.

All of these examples suggest an intensive interest in Greco-Roman antiquity in the “social skin” of pilgrims. In this paper, however, I focus on a topic which has not received much attention in scholarship, namely the role that clothing and tattoos may have played after such visits to sanctuaries. In this connection, I suggest that there continued to be an awareness of the “social skin” of the pilgrims even after the journey had ended. This paper will therefore focus on these two groups of material culture as evidence of how pilgrimage could be represented and commemorated after a pilgrim returned home from a journey to a sacred place. It takes the form of an initial exploration of the

4. Schneider 2006, esp. pp. 204-205; Hermkens 2010.
5. See, for example, Sebesta-Bonfante 1994; Cleland *et al.* 2005; Edmondson and Keith 2008; Olson 2008; Lee 2009; Hackworth Petersen 2009.
6. The classic work in the Greek context is Robert Parker’s work on *miasma* (1983).
7. IG 4.955, discussed in Galli 2005, pp. 279-280. On other regulations of clothing in Greek sanctuaries, see Dillon 1997, pp. xvii, 113, 139, 161-163, 196-199.
8. The Pergamene *Lex Sacra* gives further evidence of such bodily regulations at sanctuaries of Asklepios, see Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, pp. 222-238.
9. Euripides, *The Cretans* F472; and see Dillon 1997, p. 139.
10. *Hieroi Logoi*, 4.43-44 and 2.30; and see Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, p. 192.
11. Dillon 1997, p. 162.

evidence, drawing inspiration from both ethnographic work and the study of Egyptian textiles. The topic is especially relevant in the present context – a special issue on the material culture of pilgrimage – as not only does clothing constitute an important yet frequently overlooked element of ancient material culture, but it has also been emphasised in recent years that the body itself can be discussed from the perspective of material culture.<sup>12</sup> The study also suggests that the concept of pilgrimage is not only relevant to understand fixed points in the landscape (i.e. the sacred places that were visited by pilgrims) but also as a practice that had a large catchment area and impacted several different aspects of social life in the ancient world. It is to this last issue that I shall turn first.

## There, and Back Again: Bringing Pilgrimage Home

It has frequently been observed that pilgrimage constitutes more than a journey undertaken to a sacred place and that it does not simply end once the pilgrim has departed from his or her desired destination. In many religions, pilgrimage is a transformative journey that changes the pilgrims' perception of the world as well as their status in society upon returning to their home communities.<sup>13</sup> This change of status can be expressed through language, such as in the case of Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, after which pilgrims become known as *hajji*, signalling the completion of their journey and fulfilment of one of the central pillars of Islam. In the Greek world, the effect of undertaking a sacred journey could furthermore be expressed through patronage, as in the cases of both the Athenian and Pergamene Asklepieia, which were founded by individuals who had been cured at Epidauros.<sup>14</sup> The Christian quest for relics forms a material counterpart to this change of status and is also reflected in the physical state of many monuments related to pilgrimage, which could be carved up into smaller fragments for ease of mobility, reflecting a desire to physically commemorate the completion of a pilgrimage and to hold on to the sacred experience that one had had there (FIG. 1).<sup>15</sup>

12. Sofaer 2005 (amongst the very large *corpus* of theoretical literature in this field).

13. For example, Eickelman and Piscatori 1990, p. xii, consider Muslim travel to be “a journey of the mind” and “an act of imagination.” For them, sacred travel involves both temporal and spiritual movement.

14. Paus. 2.26.8, and see Petsalis-Diomidis 2005, p. 187.

15. On the archaeology of the stylite, see Schachner 2010.



FIG. 1. The fragmentary remains of the styliite column of St. Symeon the Elder at Qalat Seman in Syria (photo: author).

Relics and other mementos were brought home where they could take on a number of different functions although these are only sparingly known to us through archaeology and the evidence in most cases is far from conclusive.<sup>16</sup> It has, for example, been suggested that a series of bronze medallions with depictions of the Heliopolitan triad may represent souvenirs from visits to their large and important sanctuary at Baalbek (FIG. 2).<sup>17</sup> Considering that these have all been found in the Bekaa valley, it may be difficult to relate them to pilgrimage activities as such, at least as understood as a practice that involves a journey over a long distance. Yet, the comparable St. Simeon terracotta tokens whose iconography distinctly links them to a major Christian

16. Frank 2008, pp. 833-834. See also Westwood 2003, p. xiii, observing in a more modern context that: "Often the objects pilgrims buy become the focus of shrines in the family home, reminders of the sacred journey and in some cases (as with from the spring at Lourdes) representing the transfer into the home of the power of the holy place visited". In the Roman context, Plut. *Sull.* 29.6 tells us that Sulla carried a golden statuette of Delphi that he had purchased at Delphi with him into battle.
17. The suggestion was first made by Seyrig 1971, p. 368, and see Hajjar 1977, 1, pp. 177-9 (nos. 158-163) and 2, pl. LIX-LX, and Elsner & Rutherford 2005, p. 27. The provenience of these medallions is unfortunately poorly documented, but they all originate from villages in the Bekaa valley and thus the immediate surroundings of Baalbek.

pilgrimage site, mostly originate from the close vicinity of Qalat Seman. This indicates a relatively limited regional usage, even though some have also been found in more distant locations.<sup>18</sup> Christian *eulogiae* of a similar nature have, for example, been excavated in the destruction level of a Byzantine shop in Scythopolis (Beth Shean).<sup>19</sup> In the same city, *eulogia* tokens, whose iconography links them to Jerusalem and Bethlehem (including the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Nativity), and which presumably were made of “sacred dust” from these holy pilgrimage sites, have been found in a large mansion.<sup>20</sup> Breaks and other traces on these tokens have been interpreted by one scholar as evidence of their “medico-magical application,”<sup>21</sup> which may give some sense of their use once brought back from a pilgrimage site.



FIG. 2. Six bronze medallions (ranging in diameter from 28 to 54 mm) in the Beirut National Museum and Louvre, showing Heliopolitan divinities (after Seyrig 1971, p. 367, fig. 6).

18. Some 250 St. Simeon terracotta tokens are known (of which 80 were said to have been found together in a glass bowl at Qalat Seman), see Vikan 2011, pp. 31-33. For the glass bowl now in the British Museum, see Buckton 1994, p. 115.

19. Agady *et al.* 2002, pp. 477-483.

20. Rahmani 1993.

21. Rahmani 1993, p. 116.

However one interprets their function, highly portable objects such as these tokens and medallions would have been very suitable for travellers and may have been used in different ways after the traveller had returned home to commemorate their journey to a sacred place. In her contribution to this volume, Heather Hunter Crawley thus focuses on the phenomenological experience of engaging with pilgrims' flasks after they had been brought 'home'. We may speculate whether other precious and portable objects, such as intaglios and finger rings, depicting deities who were worshipped in sanctuaries that were visited in sacred travel could have had a similar function, especially when considering that their iconography clearly links them to a specific sanctuary.<sup>22</sup> Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis interprets two high-quality bronze statuettes depicting Asklepios Glykon (whose cult flourished at Abonouteichos on the Black Sea coast of Turkey) as examples of such "pilgrimage souvenirs or talismans".<sup>23</sup> Apart from the personal significance of such objects, they may also have been part of larger schemes of reproduction that promoted pilgrimage sites and thereby attracted new pilgrims. Think, for example, of the widespread distribution of the image of the Ephesian Artemis, as full-scale images, smaller statuettes and terracotta figurines.<sup>24</sup> The distribution of this last category appears to have been relatively local and concentrated in Asia Minor.<sup>25</sup>

Many of the products purchased by pilgrims may very well have been perishable, such as the sacred water from the spring at Zam Zam, which is still brought back from Mecca.<sup>26</sup> Holy water is indeed something that is frequently encountered at modern pilgrimage sites – both as a commodity to be collected by pilgrims themselves and in the form of ready-made products in distinctive containers, often bearing religious iconography (see Introduction, FIG. 5). Christian reliquaries were designed to transport such substances as oil and water.<sup>27</sup> Artefacts brought home from visits to sacred places may, of course, not exclusively have been of a sacred nature; pilgrimage in many different contexts led to the establishment of important *loci* of

22. See, for example, Hajjar 1977, 1, p. 175 (nos. 154-55) and 2, pl. LVIII, for two fingerings with depictions of Jupiter Heliopolitanus found in a tomb in Coele-Syria, and Id., 1, p. 181 (no. 166) and 2, pl. LXII, for an intaglio with the same divinity from Damascus.
23. Petsalis-Diomidis 2010, p. 15.
24. Elsner 2007, pp. 235-246. The full documentation is collected in Fleischer 1973. On the replication of cult statuary, see also Gaifman 2006.
25. Elsner 2007, p. 240; Fleischer 1973, pp. 27-34.
26. Coleman and Elsner 1995, pp. 60-61.
27. Donceel-Voûte 1995.

economic exchange, such as regular market places, especially on the feast days of saints or in earlier periods the large Panhellenic festivals.<sup>28</sup>



FIG. 3. Drawings of two Menas flasks found in tombs at Panopolis (Akhmîm) in Upper Egypt (after Forrer 1893, pl. I).

Relics and other souvenirs from sacred journeys could follow pilgrims into the afterlife, as in cases where pilgrims were buried with such objects. Examples of this phenomenon have been discovered in the recent Norwegian excavations at Hierapolis, which in a re-used Roman mausoleum, uncovered five pilgrims' pewter badges, dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century and decorated with iconography relating to Rome and other pilgrimage sites in the Western Mediterranean.<sup>29</sup> The identity of the individual buried in this tomb as a pilgrim was thus represented through the grave goods. St Jacob's shells (linked to Medieval pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela) have been found in the Roman catacombs, such as those now on display in the Vatican Museums. Pilgrims' flasks depicting Menas were also discovered in large numbers in tombs at Panopolis (Akhmîm) in Egypt, further emphasising the importance

28. McCarrison 2011, p. 52 counts economic exchange as one of the key attributes of pilgrimage. See also Külzer 2010 and Bell-Dale 2011 on the Byzantine and Medieval pilgrimage businesses.

29. Brandt and Ahrens 2008.

of having undertaken a pilgrimage to Abu Mina to individuals buried in Upper Egypt (FIG. 3).<sup>30</sup>

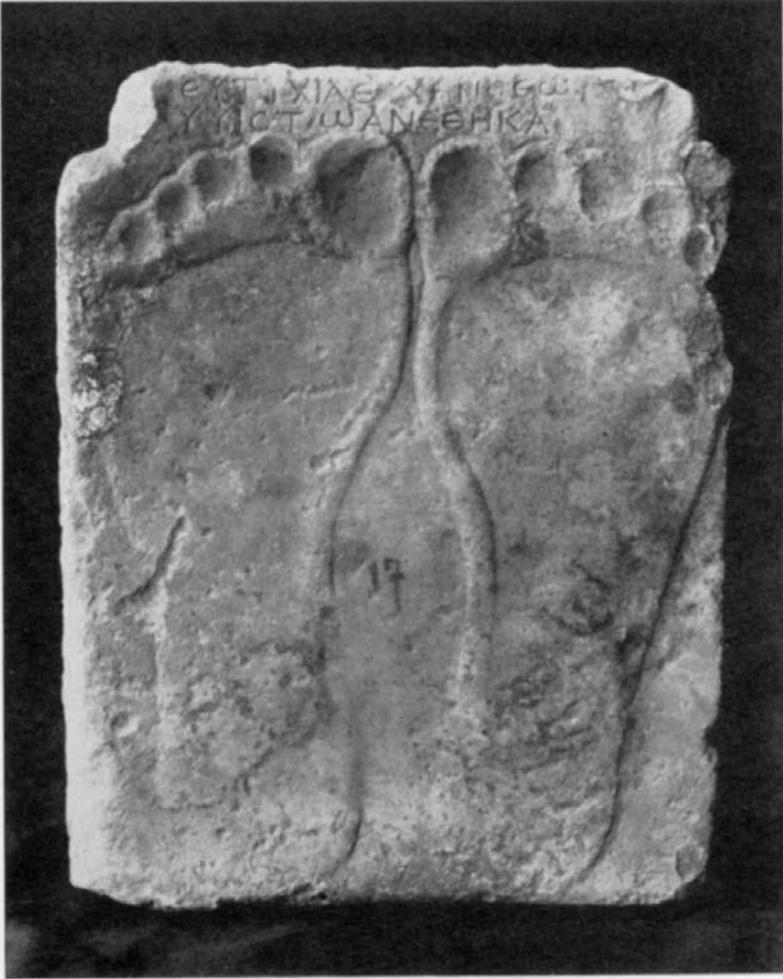


FIG. 4. Votive marble plaque set up by Eutychia to Zeus Hypsistos in the second century AD, found in the Agora of Caesar and Augustus, Athens (after Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, fig. 60).

In spite of the fact that the material evidence in most of these cases is inconclusive and quite difficult to work with, the act of undertaking a journey was

30. Forrer 1893, p. 11.

in both the Christian and Roman periods central to the pilgrims' sense of identity and the ways in which their religious imagination found material expression. This is furthermore demonstrated by the practice of depicting feet on altars and other dedicatory media.<sup>31</sup> A number of such depictions dating to the Roman period have come down to us. Their findspots range from Philae in southern Egypt to Augsburg (*Augusta Vindelicorum*) in Germany. Although some of these have been considered to be part of the practice of dedicating *ex votis* in the form of body parts, the "birds' eye" perspective distinguishes them from other examples (FIG. 4).<sup>32</sup> Their likeness to footprints in some cases also emphasises the notion of having made a journey to a sacred place and left one's physical mark (although this footprint was occasionally thought to be that of the divinity). The four silver cups, known as the Vicarello Goblets, demonstrate a different means of representing the journey, as they are decorated with near-identical itineraries that cover the route from Cadiz (*Gades*) to Rome.<sup>33</sup> The cups had been deposited in the sacred pool at the thermal sanctuary of *Aquae Apollinares* on the shores of Lake Bracciano. Dating to between 7 BC and AD 47, they were presumably dedicated to Apollo by a man who had travelled to his sanctuary from Spain and thus represent a pilgrim's votive, which emphasised the act of sacred travel through representation of the long and arduous journey that he had undertaken. The form of the cups themselves furthermore mirrors that of Roman milestones.<sup>34</sup>

## Approaching the Evidence

The above discussion has outlined the importance of representing the sacred journey through a variety of distinct media, such as pottery, medallions, silverware and relief sculpture. What about other media, such as textiles and tattoos, the main topics of study here? Did these play a role in the commemoration and representation of the experience of pilgrimage, similar to their already noted importance at the sanctuaries themselves? And if so, what was the social and religious significance of this role? To answer these questions, it

31. Dunbabin 1990, and see Takács 2005 for an overview of cases with representations with feet in honour of Isis. Revell 2009, pp. 140-141 discusses examples from Italic.
32. Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932, pp. 197-198; Van Straten 1981, p. 119, cat. 8.20 and pp. 144-145; Forsén 1996, pp. 71-72, no. 8.23.
33. Heurgon 1952; Dilke 1985, pp. 122-124. May the fact that they give the itinerary from Cadiz to Rome but were dedicated at Vicarello suggest that the site of dedication had not been chosen before arrival in Italy?
34. Bodel 2001, p. 24.

is necessary first to consider the nature of the available evidence which poses a number of significant methodological problems.

There are essentially three possible bodies of evidence through which the outlined questions can be explored. First, there are the material remains which would be an obvious path to take, if textiles had been more commonly preserved in the archaeological record. Roman and late antique textiles survive in large numbers from the Egyptian desert and to a lesser extent from Syria and Palestine, where dry conditions allow for their preservation.<sup>35</sup> Waterlogged conditions in Northern Europe have provided further finds of textiles, although not usually as elaborate as those from Egypt.<sup>36</sup> In other regions, such material evidence is meagre if not non-existent. Tattooed human bodies are even more rarely found, except for extraordinary finds in the Siberian tundra.<sup>37</sup> The vast majority of the Egyptian textile finds that today are spread across collections worldwide, estimated to total around 150,000 specimens, have come down to us without a solid archaeological context,<sup>38</sup> which raises further problems when trying to interpret them from a social rather than an art historical perspective. Despite our poor knowledge of the contexts in which they were found, their rich iconography provides numerous fascinating insights into the social life of textiles in the Roman and early Christian periods, and they constitute an enormously important body of evidence which will also be exploited in the present study.<sup>39</sup>

The second, more indirect approach is that of investigating the representation of clothing and tattoos in visual and textual sources.<sup>40</sup> Although this approach raises its own interpretive issues, it is well suited for those pilgrimage sites where we have rich epigraphic, textual or visual sources, such as Pergamon, Epidauros, and, as seen in Philip Kiernan's contribution to this issue, Fontes Sequanae and other western sites. At many other sites, we are less fortunate and do not possess such detailed information or visual

35. On textile finds from the Roman Near East, see Pfister and Bellinger 1945 (Dura-Europos), Roussin 1994 (Palestine), Schmidt-Colinet and Stauffer 2000 (Palmyra).

36. Wild 1970.

37. Rudenko's excavations of Iron Age Scythian kurgans in the Pazyryk valley unearthed a tattooed body of a male, now in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, see Rudenko 1970, pp. 110-112; Zavitukhina-Barkova 1978, p. 47. A much earlier example of a mummified human body is, of course, "Ötzi", dating to the Chalcolithic, although his tattoos are likely to have had a therapeutic rather than symbolic function (see Fleckinger 2003, pp. 41-43).

38. Thomas 2007, p. 137. See also Stauffer 1999.

39. On the significance of textile designs, see Maguire 1990 and Thomas 2002, pp. 42-43.

40. See e.g. Rebecca Krawiec's study of monastic clothing through textual sources (Krawiec 2009).

depictions. However, some ancient authors make more general remarks that also have bearing on our understanding of religious practices on a broader scale, including the role of clothing and tattooing within sanctuaries. I have already drawn on some of this evidence in the introduction to this article.

A third approach, which will play a minor role in this study, is the evidence for textile production and tattooing in sanctuaries.<sup>41</sup> Such evidence is relatively abundant in the case of textile production, not least in the Orientalizing and Archaic Greek periods in which loom weights represent a significant body of material, although it is far from clear whether such finds are dedications or the remains of actual production that took place within the sanctuaries.<sup>42</sup> Textiles were furthermore a relatively common votive gift also in the Classical period, which is attested by textual and iconographical sources.<sup>43</sup> Papyri from Roman Egypt inform us of the production of textiles within sanctuaries, although it has proven difficult to understand its nature in more detail.<sup>44</sup> Accepting that production did take place at sanctuaries, which seems to be the case, a substantial part of this production is likely to have provided votive gifts, which were dedicated in sanctuaries, or paraphernalia for other ritual uses. However, it is likely that such workshops at least to some degree could also cater to pilgrims in other ways, not least in order to provide income for the sanctuaries. Occasions for such trade were the large fairs that surrounded large religious festivals in the Greek, Roman and early Christian periods.<sup>45</sup> As previously stated, an important aspect of pilgrimage in the *longue durée* is indeed that it enabled and facilitated economic exchange, and textiles may have been one product that could have been purchased by pilgrims. This observation is important as a framework for the following argument.

41. Carr 2005, pp. 280-282 considers evidence for tattooing in Iron Age and Early Roman Britain, such as needles (useful for both sewing and tattooing).
42. On the evidence for textile production (such as loom weights, spindle whorls and *kalathoi*) and textile dedications (such as pins, belt-clasps and *fibulae*) in Hera sanctuaries, see Baumbach 2004, pp. 34-37 (Perachora), 61 (Tiryns), 91-93 (Argive Heraion), 160 (Samos). On Greek textile production, see also Barber 1991, pp. 358-383.
43. Neils 2009.
44. Wipszycka 1965, pp. 95-98.
45. Such gatherings of people are famously described by Dio Chrysostom in the case of the Isthmian festival of Poseidon (8.9, 9.5, and see Dillon 1997, p. xiii).

## Textiles, Performance, and the Representation of Pilgrimage

While Christians were generally not required to wear special clothes when visiting pilgrimage sites,<sup>46</sup> it has recently been suggested by Stephen Davis that certain groups of late antique Egyptian textiles can be connected to pilgrimage practices by means of their iconography and mimetic potential.<sup>47</sup> His suggestion builds on work by Gary Vikan who has highlighted the importance given to the Magi in Christian pilgrimage art, notably on one of the Monza bronze *ampullae* (inv. 1).<sup>48</sup> Vikan argues that the Magi as the original pilgrims became role models for later pilgrims, and that as “foreign travelers and bearers of votive gifts, pilgrims in effect *became* Magi and the goal of their pilgrimage – whether holy site or holy man – *became* Christ.”<sup>49</sup> When considering that pilgrims could even perform this role explicitly by wearing clothing decorated with scenes of the Magi, Davis asks whether “such clothing was designed with pilgrimage practices in mind, as a way that Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land visually assimilated themselves to their famous biblical predecessors?”<sup>50</sup> The example reproduced in FIG. 5, today in the British Museum, is just one of six representations of the Magi on this particular tunic, and they furthermore take the role as the protagonists in the large *orbiculi* scenes. The decoration of the garment thus constitutes a closely connected iconographic programme that is likely to have had a very particular meaning to the person who wore it. We may also speculate whether such a tunic was worn on special occasions, such as to commemorate that the wearer had undertaken a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, following in the footsteps of the Magi.<sup>51</sup>

Davis takes this point further and considers depictions of the Holy Family’s flight to Egypt in this light, including examples on fragments now in Berlin and Cairo (FIG. 6).<sup>52</sup> These textiles date to the 6-7<sup>th</sup> century, a time when Christian pilgrimage was in its formative phase at sites that were believed to

46. Frank 2008, p. 833.

47. Davis 2008, pp. 165-170.

48. Vikan 1990; 2011, pp. 59-61.

49. Vikan 1990, p. 103, emphasis original.

50. Davis 2008, p. 166.

51. Davis 2008, p. 166 observes: “Could it be that such clothing was designed with pilgrimage practice in mind, as a way that Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land visually assimilated themselves to their famous biblical predecessors?”

52. Davis 2008, pp. 166-168 discussing Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 4663 and Cairo, Coptic Museum, inv. 10517. Another textile fragment showing Mary and the Jesus child, also in Berlin (inv. 4667, see Wulff-Volbach 1926, p. 98), may belong to the former.

have been visited by the Holy Family while in Egypt.<sup>53</sup> The depiction of the Holy Family on textiles may therefore also have had a particular meaning to the wearer, perhaps related to visits to such sites as part of pilgrimages. According to Davis, the iconographic programmes could thus relate to both international and more local traditions of pilgrimage, and he suggests that “it is not inconceivable that some pilgrims visiting Holy Family sites may have donned special attire – attire that visually reflected their self-perception as persons imitating biblical models.”<sup>54</sup> Wearing such garments after the journey would furthermore have served to commemorate and further underline this aspect of the pilgrims’ self-perception.<sup>55</sup>

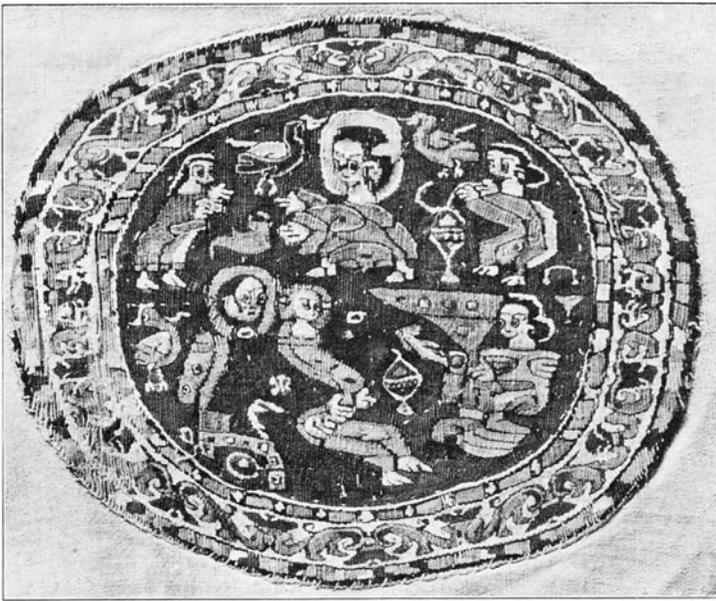


FIG. 5. Medallion from a tunic in the British Museum depicting the Adoration of the Magi, 7<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps from Panopolis (after Dalton 1901, p. 169).

What social significance would wearing such textiles with iconography relating to pilgrimage have had? How did they function as “social skin”? The effect of wearing such colourful and vivid imagery can perhaps be difficult to reconstruct in our image-saturated society. However, the performative

53. On Holy Family pilgrimage in Egypt, see Gabra 2001, especially pp. 32-123.

54. Davis 2008, pp. 166-168.

55. The performative, even mimetic function of textiles is also crucial to Vasileios Marinis’ approach to a early Christian tunic with New Testament Scenes (2007).

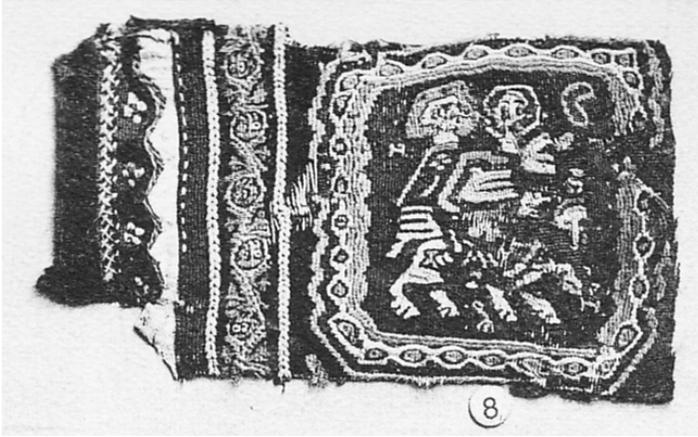


FIG. 6. Textile fragment depicting the Holy Family's flight to Egypt, from Panopolis (Akhmim), now in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. 4663, dated to the 6-7<sup>th</sup> century (after Wulff-Volbach 1926, Taf. 96,8).

significance of wearing beautifully adorned textiles is highlighted in a homily by the fourth century AD bishop Asterius of Amaseia, who describes clothing which “imitates the quality of painting and represents upon garments the forms of all kinds of living beings, and so they devise for themselves, their wives and children gay-colored dresses decorated with thousands of figures.”<sup>56</sup> Asterius did not condone this practice and goes into further detail about the appearance of those who wore such clothes: “When they come out in public dressed in this fashion, they appear like painted walls to those they meet... You may see lions and leopards, bears, bulls and dogs, forests and rocks, hunters and (in short) the whole repertory of painting that imitates nature.”<sup>57</sup> “Painted walls” is a powerful metaphor for the performative value of richly adorned textiles, and Asterius continues to describe a variety of Biblical scenes that could appear on such garments.

56. Asterius of Amaseia, *Homily 1* (PG 40.165C-168B), translation cited from Mango 1986, p. 50; also discussed in Maguire 1990, p. 220; Davis 2008, pp. 172-173.

57. Asterius of Amaseia, *Homily 1* (PG 40.165C-168B), translation cited from Mango 1986, pp. 50-51.



FIG. 7. Woolen tunic decorated with figural and ornamental scenes, Victoria & Albert Museum, dated to 6-8th century AD (after Kendrick 1922, pl. IV).

It is not difficult to understand Asterius' response if we turn to look at some of the other surviving examples of late antique textiles from Egypt, such as a tunic, now in London (FIG. 7).<sup>58</sup> This tunic of classic design with two decorated stripes (*clavi*) that run downwards from the neck is adorned with large medallion-shaped figural and ornamental scenes placed on a background of red wool. It also has scenes showing seated figures on the sleeves. Although it does not have narrative scenes, this fully preserved piece of cloth gives some sense of the "painted walls" described by Asterius and furthermore demonstrates the proper context for many figural scenes, be it medallions (*orbiculi*) or square panels (*tabulae*), which have been cut out of their original garments in many other instances and are now on display in museums in a mutilated state only. In spite of the small size of many of the figural scenes (they usually measure about 25-30 x 25-30 cm), their appearance could be increased by placing several such smaller scenes together as in FIG. 7, as well as by framing them using colourful wool as a background. Such fragments have frequently been sold to separate museums, turning their reconstruction into a veritable jigsaw puzzle.

58. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. 620. See Kendrick 1922, p. 7. The site of discovery is unrecorded, but is likely to be Panopolis (Akhmîm).



FIG. 8. Figural panel from a linen tunic, Victoria & Albert Museum. The figure is identified both iconographically and epigraphically as Hermes (after Kendrick 1920, pl. XIV).

The passage in Asterius has been discussed mostly from the perspective of the function of Christian images but its description could also apply to pre-Christian types of garments. It is indeed worth noting here that the Christian tradition of producing such figural scenes build on earlier predecessors that carried pagan motifs, such as two examples of figural panels that show Hermes and Apollo (identified by inscriptions), also in London and dated to the fourth or fifth century AD (FIG. 8).<sup>59</sup> An even more elaborate example, dated to the third or fourth century AD and now in Moscow, depicts a bearded personification of the Nile (again identified by means of an inscription), with a *cornucopia* on one side and surrounded by a border of floral wreath.<sup>60</sup> A similarly remarkable medallion depicting Ge (Earth), now in St. Petersburg, is likely to be its companion piece, and they thus form a religiously coherent iconographic programme that is linked to Egyptian cosmology.<sup>61</sup> It is furthermore important to note in this context that Greek priests also on some occasions wore mimetic clothing and attire that linked them to the divinity that they served.<sup>62</sup>

59. Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. 52 (Hermes) and 53 (Apollo). See Kendrick 1920, p. 63.  
 60. Pushkin Museum, Moscow, inv. 1,1a 5822, see Rutschowskaya 1990, p. 67, von Falck 1996, p. pp. 308-309, cat. 349. Its find spot is unknown. It entered the Goleniščev collection in 1911.  
 61. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. 11440, see Rutschowskaya 1990, p. 66, von Falck 1996, p. 307, cat. 348. Unknown findspot, purchased in 1888-89 from the V.G. Bock expedition.  
 62. Platt 2011, pp. 16-17, with further references.

Other textiles emphasise religious affiliation to a particular divinity whose cults flourished in different parts of Egypt and thus represent counterparts to the Christian examples explored by Davis. An example that is comparable to the tunic with the Magi in the British Museum (FIG. 5) is a set of fourth century medallions that all depict Dionysus in a bust-like extract, now in the Textile Museum in Washington DC (FIG. 9).<sup>63</sup> Another fragment in the Textile Museum, in this case a square ornament, also depicts Dionysus, with parallels in Paris and Brooklyn.<sup>64</sup> Dionysiac imagery was popular into Late Antiquity in Egypt (as is reflected by an abundance of surviving depictions of him on Egyptian textiles as well in contemporary literature), but it is difficult to tie his cult to one particularly important cult site that could have attracted pilgrims on a large scale.<sup>65</sup>

Textiles with other divinities, however, may be connected to particular cult sites. A fragment of a linen cloth, today in the Victoria & Albert Museum, is decorated with an ankh, which has been inscribed with the words “female servant of Apollo”, and a similar example from Panopolis is inscribed with “the female servant of Min”.<sup>66</sup> Another textile in the Victoria & Albert Museum shows a city personification (Tyche), dating to the fourth and fifth century, with the word “Panos” which may indicate a special relationship to Panopolis and Min/Pan’s large sanctuary there, already mentioned by Herodotus.<sup>67</sup> Pan had here been assimilated with the Egyptian fertility god Min who was worshipped in a Ptolemaic temple of gigantic dimensions which survived until its demolition in 1350.<sup>68</sup> The area is today built up and only limited excavation has been undertaken; our primary knowledge of the temple’s layout comes from the Arab historian Ibn Gubayr, writing in c. 1200. Great festivals were held in Min/Pan’s honour at Panopolis, and it is possible that the owners (and wearers) of textiles that are linked to his cult through iconography had participated in pilgrimages to such festivals. Panopolis was incidentally also renowned for its textile industry, which is attested by Strabo as well as archaeological examples of textiles in museums today that originate from the site.<sup>69</sup>

63. Trilling 1982, p. 52, cat. nos. 30-32. They were acquired as a set in Cairo in 1947, but their precise provenience is unknown.

64. Trilling 1982, p. 32, cat. no. 4, acquired in Cairo in 1954.

65. The classic exploration of this motif in late antique Egyptian textiles in Lenzen 1960.

66. Kendrick 1921, p. 18, cat. no. 326 (with Apollo inscription), with discussion of parallel from Akhmîm (with Min inscription).

67. The textile in question is Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. 2137-1900; Kendrick 1920, p. 62, no. 51; Durand 2009, p. 159. Herodotus mentions Panopolis in 2.91.

68. Arnold 1994, p. 164; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, p. 172.

69. Kuhlmann 1983, p. 5. Strabo mentions that the city was inhabited by linen- and stone-workers (17.1.41).

Min/Pan also had another large sanctuary at Coptos that was substantially upgraded under the Ptolemies and continued to be important in the Roman period.<sup>70</sup>



FIG. 9. Textile medallion depicting Dionysos, one of a series of at least three, The Textile Museum, Washington D.C., 71.107, acquired by George Hewitt Myers in 1947, used by permission.

70. Arnold 1994, pp. 160-161; Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, pp. 214-217.

Given that the majority of the textiles that have been found in Egypt come from funerary contexts, it is additionally a distinct possibility that they constitute funerary clothes and thus represent a similar medium for commemorating pilgrimages as part of the grave goods, not dissimilar to the rather later examples that I discussed from Hierapolis.<sup>71</sup> In the funerary context, the figural scenes with biblical images may have had an apotropaic or talismanic function, similar to many of the *eulogiae* discussed previously. Inscriptions on textiles thus frequently emphasise this aspect of protection.<sup>72</sup> As some of these clothes were used when deposited in the tombs, this interpretation does not exclude the possibility that the garments had previously been worn on social or ritual occasions.

The evidence that has been presented here is limited to Egypt and may have been part of local traditions of sacred travel that were adopted later for Christian purposes. However, ritual clothing worn for the occasion of pilgrimage may also be identified iconographically in Gaul at Fontes Sequanae (hooded cloaks and possibly also chest medallions, not unlike those discussed in a previous section).<sup>73</sup> Some of these pilgrims are even represented as standing with sacrificial gifts in their hands (see Kiernan, this volume, FIG. 4).<sup>74</sup> It is possible that further examples of textiles related to pilgrimage can be identified in the future, both iconographically and through the archaeological study of small finds. The wearing of such garments after the conclusion of a pilgrimage could have had a special significance and have been a source of pride for the wearer. As “social skin”, these textiles played a pivotal role in the performance of pilgrimage, even after such a journey had been completed, and could, as discussed, even be worn in funerary contexts.

## Tattooing and Pilgrimage

Having considered clothing, I will now turn to tattooing as an alternative form of commemorating journeys to sacred places. Obviously tattoos as physical marks would remain on the body and thus represent the journey once the pilgrim returned home. Tattoos have a high performative value and have even been considered as a means of “customizing the body”, thereby underlining personal identity.<sup>75</sup> Religious motifs continue to be popular in

71. See also Davis 2008, pp. 168-169.

72. Van der Vliet 2006, pp. 29-30; Durand 2009, p. 157.

73. See Kiernan, this volume, and comments in Aldhouse-Green 2004, pp. 47-53.

74. A similar example is depicted as Deyts 1983, pl. 72b.

75. The title of Sanders and Vail 2008.

tattoo shops today, just as tattooing is known to have been part of ancient religious practices in Israel, Egypt and Ethiopia.<sup>76</sup>

Over the last 20 years, there has been growing interest in the social, religious and artistic aspects of tattooing, although it is telling that much of this work has focused on other historical contexts than classical antiquity.<sup>77</sup> As shown by C.P. Jones in a pioneering study of the textual evidence, tattooing in the Greek and Roman periods was considered to be a barbaric practice (particularly widespread among Thracians and in Iron Age/Early Roman Britain), and it was never incorporated into mainstream religious or cultural practices.<sup>78</sup> Tattoos were in the Roman period furthermore used for penal practices, which linked them to the lower strata of society.<sup>79</sup> In some eastern cults, it also had the additional significance of signalling being a slave of the divinity (whether literally as *hierodouloi* or metaphorically), a meaning that of course was bound to its role in branding forced labourers.<sup>80</sup>

Greek and Roman attitudes towards tattooing are in marked contrast to later Christian practices in which pilgrims to Jerusalem are known to have had their arms decorated with tattoos, typically depicting relatively simple crosses of both the Greek and Latin variety.<sup>81</sup> This tradition survived at least into the mid-20th century among Coptic and other Eastern Christian communities, as evident from John Carswell's study of a collection of olive woodblocks used as part of the process of tattooing in a shop in Jerusalem and depict a variety of Christian motifs.<sup>82</sup> Although at the time that Carswell located the blocks in a coffin maker-cum-tattoo parlour, they were no longer in use, tattooing continued to be practised with more modern techniques. The customers were pilgrims who wanted to have a bodily souvenir of their visit to the Holy Land, usually placed on the upper arm or the wrist, and mostly done during Easter (FIG. 10). The motifs of these tattoos range from simple crosses, scenes with a single figure (such as Christ, a saint or an angel) or monument (such as the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre) to more elaborate narratives that depict scenes from the life of Christ (such as his crucifixion or resurrection).

76. Lightfoot 2003, p. 529.

77. Rubin 1988; Sanders and Vail 2008.

78. Jones 1987. On Thracian tattoos, see Zimmermann and Zimmermann 1981. On tattooing in Britain, see Carr 2005; 2006, pp. 85-100.

79. Jones 1987, pp. 148-149; Elm 1996, pp. 416-422.

80. Lightfoot 2003, p. 530, discussing the cult of Atargatis. See also Lightfoot 2005, p. 345 on tattoos at Hierapolis.

81. Perdrizet 1911, pp. 112-114; Jones 1987, p. 141.

82. Carswell 1958.



FIG. 10. Coptic pilgrim's tattoo placed on the upper arm (after Carswell 1958, pl. V).

The archaeological evidence for tattoos is as already noted elusive, which complicates our attempts to understand any possible religious and cultural significance that they could have had in pre-Christian times. Yet we may turn to a source such as Lucian's *De Dea Syria* which generally goes into great details about the preparation of the body in advance of a sacred experience at the major pilgrimage shrine at Hierapolis (modern Membij in Syria). Almost at the very end of the text, following a passage that describes the

different sacrifices that were undertaken in the sanctuary, Lucian notes: “All are tattooed (στίζονται), some on the wrist, others on the neck. It is because of this that all Assyrians wear tattoos (στιγματηφορέουσιν).”<sup>83</sup> This has by scholars been interpreted as evidence of religious tattooing, although it is less clear whether Lucian is describing a practice that is directly linked to pilgrimages to Hierapolis or whether he is talking about a specific ethnic trait of the Assyrians. Lucian’s claim appears to be confirmed by a Ptolemaic papyrus which describes a tattooed slave who had run away from the sanctuary at Hierapolis. Jane Lighfoot suggests that we can interpret this as part of a religious *quid pro quo*: “the temple leaves its mark on its devotees, while they leave behind a part of themselves [the first shavings of the beards of young men placed in a silver or gold casket], and their name, within it.”<sup>84</sup> The implications of this interpretation take us back to where we began, namely with the suggestion that to undertake a pilgrimage spiritually and physically alters the pilgrim. Yet we lack other evidence that indicates that this was a more widespread practice and it seems likely that tattooing in the Roman period predominantly belonged to the religious ‘fringe’.

This fringe position of tattooing in Roman religion may in turn help explain its later significance in Christianity. It has thus been hypothesised by W. Mark Gustafson that the appreciation of tattoos fundamentally changed with the rise of Christianity, as its penal associations were turned on their heads, similar to how the crucifix fundamentally changed symbolic value in the centuries after the execution of Christ.<sup>85</sup> Following Gustafson, the importance attested to tattooing in later Christian practices is as such directly linked to and can be explained by its social significance in the Greek and Roman traditions. Here we can thus observe a marked contrast between pagan and Christian ways of representing pilgrimage.

## Conclusions

The importance of undertaking pilgrimages had different cultural, social and religious implications in the Roman and early Christian contexts, but similarities and continuities can also be identified. In this paper, I have proposed, following previous work by Davis, that the decoration of Egyptian textiles is tied to their function and mimetic value, which may in turn tie them to

83. *De Dea Syria*, 59, trans. Lighfoot 2003.

84. Lighfoot 2005, p. 345.

85. Gustafson 1997. In this context, see also Burrus 2005 on Macrina’s tattoo. On the importance of *stigmata* in pagan antiquity and early Christianity, see Dölger 1911.

particular pilgrimage sites and the commemoration of journeys undertaken by individuals to these sacred places. This is suggested by both Christian and pagan tunics decorated with unified iconographic programmes, which should make us see them as part of a long tradition of using such textiles for performative purposes. The use of tattooing in Christian pilgrimage, on the other hand, stands in contrast to previous pagan religious practices and thus marks a break with pagan tradition, while at the same time being entirely dependent on the previous societal disapproval of tattooing.

How do these matters impact our understanding of pilgrimage on a more general level? The traditional focus in the study of pilgrimages has been on the journey itself. I have here tried to argue that the commemoration of such journeys may also translate into material culture, although this can be difficult to identify with certainty. Studying what pilgrims brought home with them in terms of both material and mental baggage is in many aspects still in its infancy. Traditionally, focus has been on pilgrims' *ampullae* and other forms of pottery or metalwork that were brought home from journeys to the Holy Land. However, as this study has hopefully shown, we can expect that the group of material culture that pilgrims took home with them from journeys to sacred places would have been more varied – and could also have been translated into social status and identity markers by means of their performative function.

It has repeatedly been stressed that the regulation of clothing and pilgrims' bodies had the purpose of creating the feeling of *communitas* – of levelling out differences also in terms of bodily appearance.<sup>86</sup> However, other aspects of pilgrimage are about setting one apart from communal identities, or at least attempts of heightening one's status within a community and thus confirming a particular identity. Wearing special clothing with "painted walls" would indeed distinguish a pilgrim and draw further attention to the wearer's "social skin." Regulations for special kinds of clothing and footwear would also have provided the basis for a local industry and economy of pilgrimage. The production of clothing and tattoos for commemorative purposes would as such have added further economic potential at sanctuary sites, not unlike the souvenir industry that still thrives at contemporary pilgrimage destinations.

86. Petsalis-Diomedis 2005, p. 205.

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# PILGRIMAGE MADE PORTABLE: A SENSORY ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE MONZA-BOBBIO AMPULLAE

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## Introduction

Many souvenir objects survive from the practice of holy land pilgrimage which flourished between the fourth and seventh centuries AD. We have small tokens of compacted earth stamped with images relating to the Holy Sepulchre, amulets stamped with scriptural images, clay and pewter ampullae imprinted with scriptural images and text, a painted wooden reliquary containing pieces of rock and stone labelled with the names of holy land sites, and metal jewellery reliquaries which appear to be designed to hold fragments of cross or other relics.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, due to the degradability of the original holy land substance, particularly liquids, only containers survive. Sometimes these give strong indication of their contents, other times written pilgrimage accounts are imposed as a sort of best guess, or rarely, and with varying degrees of success, chemical residue analysis is conducted.<sup>2</sup> Because souvenirs by nature are not left behind, it is rare for surviving examples to be discovered at holy land sites. What is more, because most of those in museum collections were acquired through the early twentieth century antiquities trade, and also because these objects continue to fulfil religious

1. E.g. a group of pilgrim tokens from Palestine, sixth century, British Museum 1973, 0501.1-79; amuletic pendant depicting the women at the tomb, sixth-seventh century, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, Vikan 2010, no. 44; clay ampulla depicting the tomb of Christ, sixth century, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Biddle 1999, no. 20; wooden blessings box, sixth century, Museo Sacra, Vatican City, 61883; gold ring reliquary depicting the Holy Sepulchre, sixth century, private collection, Biddle 1999, no. 21.
2. Bangert, forthcoming. In some cases, however, where earth, stone, and other souvenir substances have been discovered (including at Bobbio) they have not been considered important or aesthetic enough to warrant proper recording or cataloguing.

functions, the majority lack archaeological context. Their attribution as holy land pilgrimage objects therefore derives from iconography and labelling, cross-referenced with pilgrimage accounts, which become the primary interpretative filter for their function and meaning.

The Monza-Bobbio ampullae, a collection of sixth-century metal flasks, are perhaps our best known and most celebrated extant examples of souvenirs, and as such have been much studied.<sup>3</sup> However, recent developments in archaeology and material culture studies, which pay particular attention to the senses, are offering exciting new insights into a range of historical cultures.<sup>4</sup> A sensory approach can reveal more from an artefact directly, without necessitating mediation by textual evidence. I suggest, therefore, that sensory archaeology enables re-evaluation of the Monza-Bobbio ampullae, providing a broader understanding of their function than existing approaches allow, and in so doing I hope to open new avenues of enquiry for making sense of the phenomenon of antique pilgrimage and its material culture more broadly.

## The Monza and Bobbio Ampullae

Monza cathedral treasury in northern Italy contains around 16 ampullae, identified as holy land souvenirs by their iconography and inscriptions that often announce the contents as ‘oil of the wood of life from the holy places’, that is, olive oil that had touched the most famous relic of the *loca sancta* – the True Cross.<sup>5</sup> The set was gifted by the Lombard queen Theodolinda to the basilica of John the Baptist in the beginning of the seventh century as part of a programme to establish and legitimise her newly powerful dynasty through the foundation of churches. This set of ampullae form part of a collection for display. The monastery at Bobbio, meanwhile, was founded with the Lombards’ support by Saint Columban, an Irish monk, in the early seventh century. During excavations of the crypt in 1910 a box (now lost) was discovered in the vicinity of Columban’s tomb, containing numerous holy land relics and tokens of dust, clay, metal and wood along with fragments of 20 sixth-century metal ampullae very similar, and in some cases identical, to those from Monza. This collection was not displayed, but rather buried as an offering during the early stages of the monastery’s establishment.<sup>6</sup> Such

3. Grabar 1958; Ainalov 1961, pp. 224–248; Engemann 1973, 2002; Barag and Wilkinson 1974; Weitzmann 1974; Ousterhout 1990; Elsner 1997; Vikan 2010.
4. Skeates 2010; Day, forthcoming.
5. Trans. Elsner 1997, p.121.
6. Elsner 1997.

an action demonstrates faith in the manifest materialised sanctity of these objects, and indeed in their increased efficacy in large quantities.

The Monza and Bobbio ampullae have been collected together and published comprehensively along with detailed photographs.<sup>7</sup> The rest of the Bobbio collection, by contrast, has never been fully published.<sup>8</sup> This can be attributed to the reception of the metal ampullae as artworks rather than archaeological artefacts, a category in which the accompanying objects have little value, indeed, it is almost impossible even to ascertain what other items were found with the Bobbio ampullae, despite the equivalent importance attributed to them in their collective burial, because they have never been properly catalogued. This discrepancy between the value placed on such materials in late antique and modern contexts is obstructive to full exploration of objects that clearly were not segregated in late antiquity into the anachronistic typologies of art and archaeology as they are today. However, in light of this omission it is unsurprising to find that analysis of the ampullae focuses almost exclusively on their visual aspects. André Grabar's initial publication set the tone, with detailed iconographic analysis and a set of photographs designed to show the iconography to maximum effect; the black and white images emphasise line and form, at the expense of textural detail. Later studies took the iconographic analysis further, attempting to equate the ampullae with sixth century holy land architecture or an artistic style for the area.<sup>9</sup> The preference for two-dimensional analysis is so apparent that an equivalent ampulla in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, completely flattened and devoid of its neck to render a round picture plane, is heralded as one of the finest of its type, with acknowledgement of its damage surprisingly rare.<sup>10</sup>

More recent studies also focus on visual aspects. Jaś Elsner has discussed how iconography and inscriptions act to create metonymies of place and time.<sup>11</sup> Monza Ampulla 2 (FIG. 1) shows this most succinctly. The reverse depicts seven scenes of holy place events in little roundels, and around a singular image of adoring magi on the obverse an inscription acknowledges the contents as a blessing from the holy places of Christ. This ampulla draws together scenes, words, and in all likelihood dust, water and/or oil, from each

7. Grabar 1958.

8. At best, brief inventories of the Bobbio finds exist in Boccaccia 1994, pp.25-26 and Tosi 1983, pp.82-83.

9. Ainalov 1961, pp. 224-248; Barag and Wilkinson 1974; Weitzmann 1974.

10. Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington DC, BZ 1948.18. Despite its damage, and making no mention of it, Vikan 2010, p. 37, for example, calls it "among the finest" of such ampullae, a statement of its artistic value.

11. Elsner 1997.

of the main sites relating to Christ's life – it bottles the Holy Land of Christ in its entirety. It does so, according to Elsner, by metonymic symbols, or representations, of places, liturgy, and narrative, whether those are inscribed as images or words on the container, or are the contents within. The emphasis on exegesis reveals Elsner's semiotic model of visibility. There is scope for incorporating this sense of metonymy within broader analysis, but on its own terms it denies the objects their own materiality, turning even the ampullae contents into purely visual symbols.



FIG. 1. Ampulla from the Holy Land, pewter, sixth century, back: scenes of the *loca sancta*, Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist, Monza, 2. © Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza.

Gary Vikan has emphasised the role of touch in late antique pilgrimage art, which allows more embodiment into the function of souvenirs. However, his analysis of the Monza-Bobbio ampullae type is also very visual, paying attention exclusively to their iconography. He treats it in a more three-dimensional sense by introducing the viewer-as-pilgrim, who sees herself projected

into the iconography of the scene. The images do not just depict scripture, but incorporate aspects of contemporary pilgrimage practice as well (the Holy Sepulchre monument and adoring pilgrims are present at Scriptural events, see FIG. 1, lower roundel, FIG. 2, front), and so Vikan proposes that viewers enter into a sense of 'being there' as pilgrims at the scene.<sup>12</sup> As with Elsner, the purely visual exploration of this concept limits a sense of more fully embodied use.

Cynthia Hahn helpfully identifies a primarily theophanic function for the decoration of the ampullae and other pilgrimage souvenirs. However, she understands this function to be fulfilled through semiosis – abstract reference to an experience of place and event; indeed she even considers the *loca sancta* themselves to be symbolic matrices of ideas, their materiality irrelevant to pilgrims. In this context the ampullae become symbolic seals of Christian identity, testimony to the event of pilgrimage. Hahn thus interprets the sixth-century account of the Piacenza pilgrim filling an ampulla with oil as purely metaphorical, a curious conclusion in light of the account's bald character and lack of literary artifice.<sup>13</sup> In striving to impose a Cartesian dualist notion of immaterialist spirituality, this approach over-complicates a practice which is axiomatically materialist. Semiotic logic is circular, for if the practice of pilgrimage was about abstract spirituality, why was it a practice at all? Its material evidence requires analysis as material culture.

Archaeological study of the Monza-Bobbio ampullae is very limited, despite find contexts. Concerns about this are raised by William Anderson. He critiques the limits and flaws of isolated use of iconological analysis which over-emphasises appearance and meaning, lacks socio-political and economic considerations, and relies almost exclusively on reference to problematic literary evidence rather than assemblages and sets of data.<sup>14</sup> I suggest that sensory archaeology offers an opportunity to reconcile archaeological theory with exploration of meaning and interpretation through literature, by asking of these ampullae not 'what do they mean', but 'what do they do?' In so doing I hope to expand our current understanding of these objects, and to demonstrate how sensory experience informs society and culture, offering a legitimate tool for exploring such objects in their social and cultural context.

12. Vikan 2010.

13. Hahn 1990.

14. Anderson 2004.

## Sensory Archaeology

The sensory can initially appear to be a straightforward matter of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting and touching. However, anthropologists have demonstrated the cultural specificity of notions of the senses. Case studies can reveal the irrelevance to other cultures of the five-sense model that is so ingrained in the modern West. Many non-western cultures acknowledge senses beyond sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, and some have no words for sensation at all.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, we cannot assume to impose uncritically our culturally-constructed five sense model on historical cultures, nor to understand what is meant by familiar sensory terms in unfamiliar cultural contexts – a late antique Christian did not ‘see’ in the same way that I ‘see’.

Nor should we impose uncritically the western notion of Cartesian dualism. Embodiment, an emerging concern in archaeology, treats the body as a synthesised organ for which sensation is part of the process of ‘being in the world’, that is, of living and being human.<sup>16</sup> This is influenced by phenomenological philosophy, particularly that of Maurice Merleau-Ponty which argues that the body is central to the experience of being human.<sup>17</sup> However, one school of thought in the archaeology of embodiment sees the body purely as a discourse, constructed and mediated by culture as language. This is underscored by Cartesian dualism; it presumes, in line with Descartes’ theory, that body and mind, thought and action, are separate entities, and that language has no materiality. As a result, phenomenology is critiqued for its specificity to individual minds, as a philosophy that can only address the individual, telling us nothing about culture except where individual experience is mediated and shared through language, that is, when the body becomes a discourse.<sup>18</sup> Contrary to this dichotomy of cultural/individual I suggest that, in removing the cultural bias of assumed Cartesian dualism, phenomenological experience can indeed be social and shared, and, as a result, that it can offer a legitimate line of enquiry for understanding historical material culture, as a lens which we might term ‘cultural phenomenology’. This is a collective way of

15. Classen 1993; Howes 2003.

16. Hamilakis *et al.* 2002.

17. Merleau-Ponty 2002. I use the term ‘phenomenology’ in the sense of ‘being in the world’ as the essentially sensory experience of being, whether conscious or not (‘consciousness’ being a concept predicated upon bounded Cartesian subjectivity), and in this way my understanding departs from archaeological rather than philosophical models.

18. I have argued elsewhere against the imposition of Cartesian dualism on late antique Christianity; while Christian literature may sometimes express notions of dualism, this does not obviate a complete separation of body and soul in the Cartesian sense, and indeed many writers emphasise the interconnect between, and even fusion of, the two. Hunter-Crawley, forthcoming a.

‘being in the world’ which is formed through sensory habituation to a shared environment (as living space, urban context, landscape and climate) and cultural norms of practice, or habits (how ‘we’ eat, farm, travel, etc), and founded upon shared ideas about what sensory experience is and how it works.<sup>19</sup>

Helpful in establishing how this might be possible are agency and network theory.<sup>20</sup> Carl Knappett suggests that humans and objects exert influence on the world and each other through disorganised networks of interaction. In this sense objects are not completely inanimate. For human beings to function biologically, that is, to live, we need so-called inanimate objects, such as food and water, which exert agency by constituting part of our bodies and life processes. Likewise, thought processes do not discretely and immaterially occur inside our heads, but are enacted through our bodies and the material world around us all the time. Imagine, for example, completing a jigsaw puzzle by thought alone – we think through our bodies and objects as part of our very existence. Material culture, therefore, represents pieces of cultural networks of agency through which historical people lived. Manufactured objects are parts of ancient bodies and minds as much as bones; they can inform us about life processes and experiences on a social and cultural level. Phenomenology is central to this because ‘being in the world’ is the fundamental means by which networks of agency operate; we engage with our environments through our perceptual capacities. In this way experience is distributed rather than situated in the subjective individual, and can be understood collectively.

How can an archaeologist explore the ways in which historical people ‘lived through’ and interacted with their environment? Knappett offers further help with his concept of ‘affordances’. Affordances are the ways in which objects invite use, whether designed for such purposes or not; a seat affords sitting on, for example. As argued elsewhere, I propose development of this concept by asking more specifically what *sensory* interactions an object affords – does it make sound or have a particular smell, for example?<sup>21</sup> Sensory affordances can govern how an object is used, and therefore their investigation can reveal a set of potential ways in which a particular artefact engages or engaged in the life process of a historical culture, particularly if there is a strong bias

19. By this term I do not implicate discourse on cultural phenomenology, such as Csordas’ (1999) definition of it as the cultural context of individual experience or a phenomenology of culture, but coin it anew as a refined methodology for understanding ontological difference according to historical and cultural context – as a way of ‘making sense’ without presuming a bounded Cartesian self (cf. Henare *et al.* 2007).
20. Gell 1998; Knappett 2005.
21. Hunter-Crawley, forthcoming a.

towards certain sensations over others, for example through an enhanced capacity for sound production. An object's sensory affordances de-limit what agency it exerted, revealing a spectrum of its potential effects.

Investigating objects in this way necessitates the presumption of a particular set of sensory affordances. These will be particular to the cultural phenomenology of the historical-cultural context in which we are interested, since ways of being in the world are culturally specific and shared over a social network, rather than limited to individuals as bounded entities. In light of sensory anthropology, assuming what these sensory affordances might be is problematic; I do not, therefore, restrict my analysis to the five sense model. However, unlike sensory anthropology, nor do I wish to suggest that phenomenological experience is *entirely* culturally constructed. Scientifically speaking, all human beings are embodied, and share degrees of sensory capacities through genetic predisposition for mouth, eyes, skin, and so on. I think that it is helpful to reconcile biological and cultural understandings of the senses, not least because contemporary science challenges the five sense model in recognising kinaesthesia, interoception, and other capacities besides. The set of affordances I draw up therefore encompasses both the culturally specific ideas about sensation expressed in late antique literature (as expressions of the broader cultural phenomenology), and the full range of capacities that the sciences understand to be universal. Both can, in different ways, perhaps consciously and unconsciously, be said to have featured in the phenomenological experience of pilgrimage souvenirs.

It is helpful here to clarify certain key examples of these implied sensory affordances for our late antique Christian context. Attention to individual sense capacities is an artificial segregation – for example, is it ever possible to hear in isolation from concurrent experiences such as touch and sight? Scientifically, the term 'synaesthesia' describes a neurological condition in which sense experiences overlap (sounds have tastes, for example), but I use it to describe embodied synthesised experience in general and the ways that the senses are understood on a cultural level to interact, such as through ancient theories of tactile vision. Synaesthesia can, in this way, be shared.

Comparatively, Aristotle proposed a 'common sense' which was not an organ but rather the place where sensory inputs from the various organs synthesised to create embodied experience as synaesthesia. Through the combination of inputs in the common sense, humans sense shape, size and movement – extra qualities to the modern five sense model. This reveals the complexity and ostranenie of ancient understandings of sense; even apparently familiar

sensations were understood to operate differently. Vision was explained by extramission, the emission of rays which touch objects and bring that information back to the eye, or intromission, by which objects emitted rays that touched the eye. In both models vision was a synaesthetic blur of sight and touch.<sup>22</sup> Cultural ideas about sense, such as this, affect phenomenological experience because they negotiate our conscious experience of sensing – to understand yourself as seeing by extramission involves a different experience of vision than one mediated by a modern physiological explanation of sight as the processing of light, particularly as the former ascribes more agency to both eye and object than the latter. These theories, ancient and modern, constitute different cultural phenomenologies – ways of ‘being in the world’ according to cultural context.

Also contributing to late antique cultural phenomenology, particularly during pilgrimage, was the Christian doctrine of spiritual sense which emerged in the fourth century. This understood tiers to sensory experience by which the ‘eyes of the body’ and the ‘eyes of the soul’ were differentiated.<sup>23</sup> Spiritual sense can be equated with imagination in modern western terms, something not necessarily considered to be a legitimate form of sensation scientifically or philosophically, but evidently considered as such in late antiquity. The practical manifestations of spiritual sense in pilgrimage have been explored by Georgia Frank, among others, but principally as spiritual sight, including its tactile implications (using ‘eyes as hands’ in the experience of pilgrimage).<sup>24</sup> While literary sources may appear to prioritise spiritual seeing, and often to describe spiritual sense with words of seeing, it can be misleading not to acknowledge that the concept encompasses full-bodied experience. An example of this derives from Jerome’s *Letter 108* which famously describes his companion Paula’s spiritual vision at the site of the Nativity:

Then she entered the cave of the Saviour, and ... with the eye of faith, she saw a child wrapped in swaddling clothes, weeping in the Lord’s manger, the Magi worshipping ... and the shepherds coming by night to see this word which had come to pass, already, even then, able to speak the words which open John’s Gospel, ‘In the beginning was the Word’ and ‘The Word was made flesh’ ... Then, her joy mixed with tears, she began to say: ‘Blessed Bethlehem ...’<sup>25</sup>

22. Nelson 2000.

23. Frank 2001.

24. Frank 2000a; 2000b.

25. 10.2-3, trans. Wilkinson 1977, p. 49.

Through the 'eye of faith' Paula sees, not a tableau, but moving sequences of events involving three-dimensional embodied characters whom she can hear speaking and weeping, and Paula echoes the emotions and actions of those figures, speaking and weeping herself. This 'vision' is experienced as sight, sound, kinaesthesia, speech, tactile tears, and euphoria; it is no static image objectively and passively spectated, but a moving, theatrical and immersive experience performed concurrently both in Paula's mind (imagination) and body. I therefore suggest that spiritual sense should be implicated as a sensory affordance both in terms of being prompted by any 'bodily' sensory experience, visual or otherwise, and of being experienced as any sensation, visual or otherwise, indeed as a synaesthesia.

In reading or listening to Jerome's *Letter 108* the audience are invited to experience Paula's vision as spiritual sense. It belongs to a genre of late antique pilgrimage accounts which can be defined by an affordance for virtual or 'armchair' pilgrimage, that is, for the way in which they prompt an imagined phenomenological experience of pilgrimage. This operates as a means of sharing that experience mimetically – the audience of a pilgrimage account phenomenologically mirrors, replicates or repeats the pilgrimage described within. I will suggest that this mimetic experiential function also applies to the souvenirs of holy land pilgrimage. These objects, like pilgrimage accounts, enabled the repetition of the particular experiences of 'being there' in the Holy Land – they enabled mimesis of pilgrimage, and they did so by means of their sensory affordances. I now turn, therefore, to a sensory archaeological analysis of the Monza-Bobbio ampullae.

## The Monza and Bobbio Ampullae – A Sensory Analysis

Of the c. 36 ampullae, the 20 from Bobbio are substantially more fragmentary. They offer snatches of inscribed scenes and words, their general shape and size, but not a full sense of the whole object. Due to their burial conditions the metal of many is patinated and somewhat degraded. The Monza 16 mostly retain both their sides and their approximate shape (none have been flattened like the Dumbarton Oaks example), though with the adaptation of casing for security, and the stamped decoration is in many cases intact and easily visible. No examples retain their original stoppers, which were probably wooden. This type of ampulla has been dated to the late sixth century, that is, to the same period (or shortly after) in which the pilgrim from Piacenza conducted and recorded his holy land travels. Piacenza is in fact within 80 kilometres of Monza, and 50 of Bobbio, in northern Italy.

The concurrence of date and the mention of oil ampullae from the True Cross in the account are what have led most prominently to the frequent imposition of the text over the material evidence. Grabar even suggests that the Piacenza pilgrim could have been involved in the collection of these ampullae.<sup>26</sup> This is indeed possible, but it is unlikely that one individual would have collected the entire set of 36, and so the words of one pilgrim should not take precedence over material analysis of the objects. Grabar assumed the ampullae to be made of silver, but later analysis has found them to be pewter, an alloy of tin and lead.<sup>27</sup> The main bodies of the ampullae have diameters ranging approximately 4-7cm, and as they are stamped from the same set of moulds, the sizes are reasonably uniform. The use of stamps or moulds, and pewter, suggests inexpensive mass-production, though their preservation indicates the very high value placed upon them.<sup>28</sup>

Grabar identifies a series of iconographies repeated within the set: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, Christ's baptism, Christ walking on water, and doubting Thomas.<sup>29</sup> In most cases one scene is depicted on each side, one of which is circled by an inscription (often missing from the fragmentary Bobbio collection) – most commonly 'blessing from the holy places', 'oil of the wood of life' or a variant, and occasionally 'my Lord, my God' (Monza 9), 'Emmanuel, God is with us' (Monza 6) or 'Resurrection' (Monza 2).<sup>30</sup> Where the neck survives it is almost always imprinted with a cross under an arched garland.

Pewter affords a sheen not as bright, but not unlike, that of silver, and it is likely that it was selected for this quality.<sup>31</sup> The embossed images and text of the ampullae, therefore, afford an experience of light and texture, or light reflective three-dimensionality. I have argued elsewhere that tactile shine could manifest miraculous light as divine presence, because God was equated with light and precious metals were understood to emit divine light.<sup>32</sup> The images imprinted on the ampullae are, in this way, made of divine light. They also afford visual-tactile experience of the divine by inscribing the appearance of the holy event as contemporary holy place – the events of the past, when Christ was present on earth in a human body, occur within the architecture

26. Grabar 1958, p. 32.

27. Grabar 1958, p. 11; Ainilov 1961, p. 226; Elsner 1997, p. 129, no. 25.

28. Cormack and Vassilaki 2008, p. 384.

29. Grabar 1958, pp. 52-62.

30. Translated by the author.

31. Pilgrims who received and used the ampullae may have thought the metal to be silver, indeed, as noted above, it afforded this impression even to twentieth century scholars.

32. Hunter-Crawley, forthcoming b.

of the contemporary pilgrimage sites, such as the Holy Sepulchre, and in being inscribed re-occur, or are repeated, ad infinitum. Through extramission this event and place, which loops present ritual with past event, shone its tactile rays directly into the pilgrim's eye via the shining stamped metal; a vision which could then prompt further elaboration in the imagination. Like the virtual pilgrimage of written accounts, this inscription of holy place afforded imagined phenomenological experience of holy time and place in the eyes of faith. That the decoration also incorporates pilgrims and their acts of veneration means that the vision prompted could also incorporate the pilgrim's action in the holy site at the holy event. With each encounter of the object, the act of worship at the site of a holy event could be relived as mnemonic phenomenological experience. Embodied experience in the Holy Land could thus be 'downloaded' into the souvenir object, awaiting reactivation every time the pilgrim's senses re-encountered the ampulla.

Elsner understands the embossed text of the ampullae to function purely as labels for the contents.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, the matter of fact, or 'statement', nature of the words implies that this is the case to a modern viewer accustomed to a specific culture of labelling. Identification may go some way towards explaining the words' function, but they also afford much more powerful effects. The variant inscriptions, 'my Lord, my God' and 'Emmanuel, God is with us', in particular question this interpretation. These are not straightforward descriptions of contents, instead they express the presence of divinity in relation to the object; 'God is with us' in the act of reading the statement – to read it is to materialise that truth, to make it present. The inscription and reading of divine names had a long Roman tradition of realising divine presence (that is, the agent described), and played an important role in so-called magical practices, particularly amulets.<sup>34</sup> The imprint of these statements into these objects affords materialisation of sacred beings and places as words in conjunction with the experience of the images, fabric and content of the ampullae; it allowed them to be touched by hand, voice and ear – to be converted to embodied sound, and to be felt by skin; it allowed them to be made present to the senses. Just as the images afforded experience of event, place and action, so the words afforded the material presence of the word of life, the holy places, and divinity itself, in the eyes of faith.

The ampullae afford noise in other ways too. They prompt the speech and sound of many narratives – of the scriptural stories, of *loca sancta*, of the pilgrim's travels, of the experience of 'being there' – all of which might

33. Elsner 1997.

34. Dauterman-Maguire *et al.* 1989, pp. 16-18.

materialise these things in the imaginations of listeners. Once the experience of divinity had been revealed through pilgrimage to the pilgrim proper, souvenirs like these ampullae, and like written accounts, afforded the sharing of their discoveries with others, as sensory experience. In this way, the affordances of souvenirs for materialising divine presence were not limited to the pilgrims who had collected them, but were available also to those they encountered and shared the objects with. For this reason, in all probability, the Monza and Bobbio ampullae were assembled together and have survived to the present day, as archives of re-liveable pilgrimage.

The objects themselves can also make sound. This affordance is necessarily more reconstructive because of their degradation and lack of contents, but as thin, hollow flasks of pewter, to make any contact would produce a slight clinking or ringing metallic sound. This would change according to the quantity (or even absence) of contents, and depend on whereabouts the object was struck, affording degrees of sharper and duller sound. That bells in Roman culture could be understood to make apotropaic sounds affords the same quality to any experience of ringing or clinking metal that sounds bell-like, because it can be mistaken for a bell sound.<sup>35</sup> Protective power is a material manifestation of divine favour, and thus the overall power of these objects may further have been reinforced through their potential to make metallic sound.

Sound could be understood in Late Antiquity to shine, synaesthetically, in the same manner as light shines.<sup>36</sup> A shining metallic ringing sound therefore goes hand in hand with the light reflective quality of the vessel's fabric. Shininess and tactility likewise collaborate, indeed the metal invites such interaction, for through handling the raised parts of the decoration would be buffed to gleaming and smoothness. Indeed, in photographs of the Monza ampullae the decoration's raised edges do seem to catch the camera flash more brilliantly than their more dully gleaming background (FIG. 1). Though this may be the effect of post-late-antique handling, a similar pattern does seem apparent with dust tokens, another type of souvenir, indicating a common affordance.<sup>37</sup> These objects invite see-touch, and doing so can make divine light more manifest.

The size and shape of the ampullae strongly affords resting in the palm or clutching in the hand (the smaller ampullae a child's hand and the larger

35. See, for example, John Chrysostom, *Homilies on 1 Corinthians* XII.7.

36. The Greek adjective 'lampra', for example, refers both to reflection of 'shining' light, and reflection of 'ringing' sound – a synaesthetic appreciation.

37. E.g. clay pilgrim tokens from Palestine, sixth century, British Museum, PE 1973, 0501.50-52.

an adult's). Doing so might obscure sight of the object, but would heighten other sensations – the texture of the decoration, contrasts of smooth and rough, the inflated roundness of the main body, its interruption at the neck, the sharpness of the join at the sides, the coolness of the metal, the weight and pressure of a small round object. Aspects of these sensations would shift as the contents of the flask moved inside (particularly if liquid), causing a cooler temperature, changes in pressure, balance and weight. The neck, while allowing a stopper to be inserted into the ampulla, also affords attachment to string or chain for suspension, particularly around the neck. Under or over clothes, similar tactile sensations might be afforded, as weight and pressure on the body, texture and temperature on the skin. While shaped as an inflated disc, depth-wise the ampullae are not completely round, which makes wearing the objects among clothes all the more possible. The overall design of the ampullae, including its portable size, strongly affords wearing or carrying close to the body – it is thoroughly three-dimensional, particularly with decoration over all exterior surfaces. What it makes very difficult, as modern museum exhibitions have found, is static display – this is an object that demands kinaesthetic experience.

The shape of the ampullae also affords amuletic or apotropaic power because, unlike the irregular pear shapes of comparable clay ampullae, it is circular. Concentric circles, as Henry Maguire has shown, were a common apotropaic motif in Late Antiquity.<sup>38</sup> Concentricity is emphasised throughout, as each scene is imprinted and contained within a roundel, and imprinted text is circular, stoppered with a shining embossed cross. Partitioning each section of decoration are concentric lines – circles within circles within the circle of the flask's shape (FIG. 2). This apotropaic motif is clearly emphasised in all of these ampullae as a tactile and visual feature of their overall affordances.

Most difficult to access for sensory analysis are the qualities of the lost contents of the Monza and Bobbio ampullae. I have mentioned the temperature and other tactile affordances of oil moving around inside the flask. Such interaction between container and contents creates a more dynamic and kinaesthetic whole object, indeed, gives it more presence as something with its own agency, even life. Inevitably, however, the two would become separated, leaving the empty shell more immobile without its fluid, ephemeral heartbeat. The reason for this was that the contents, in being more fluid, afforded more intimate experience of divine blessing and presence – they afforded absorption by skin, or other surface (if liquid), and, like the Eucharist, ingestion.

38. Dauterman-Maguire *et al.* 1989, pp. 5-7.

The bodily incorporation of such holy substances is well attested in Saints' Lives, and is also evident in the partial use of dust tokens.<sup>39</sup> Whether oil, dust or water, the contents of an ampulla from Monza or Bobbio afforded smell, taste, sight, touch, taste, temperature, pressure, kinaesthesia – the full body experience. They could be absorbed fully into the body to manifest divine power from the inside out, interoceptively. This was why such materials were so eagerly sought by the sick, for healing was a process that could be understood to take place from the inside out.<sup>40</sup>



FIG. 2. Ampulla from the Holy Land, pewter, sixth century, front: crucifixion and the women at the tomb, back: cross and apostles, Treasury of the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist, Monza, 13. © Museo e Tesoro del Duomo di Monza.

Returning to the idea of collaboration between contents and container, it is interesting to note that containment in a metallic vessel, particularly for long periods of time, would invest oil, water or dust with the smell and taste of metal. That such an experience could be afforded cautions against an assumption that the two were entirely separable in affordance, experience or function. Together, ampulla and contents manifested the Holy Land in a portable object, and afforded the presence of divinity through its special sensory access points learned by pilgrims in the places of scripture, and transferable to non-pilgrims

39. Pentcheva 2010, p. 39, no. 17.

40. Vikan 2010, p. 53, describes how dust tokens could be understood to function as cure-all pills.

through its use and experience. The unity of the two is most apparent in the fact that at Bobbio ampullae and contents were buried as a complete whole – as relics, seeping divine power into the foundations of the monastery’s architecture and infusing it as a whole space, as a hierotopy, alongside the bones of its saintly founder, Columban. In their seventh-century burial these ampullae became something new; no longer requiring sensory experience to become activated, their power was automatically manifest through conjunction with numerous other souvenirs in a collection – by becoming part of a greater whole of collected pilgrimage experiences.<sup>41</sup>

## Mimesis and Infinite Materiality

While the term ‘souvenir’ has modern baggage, it nonetheless acknowledges the mnemonic function of these objects as prompts not just for remembering an experience, but for visiting or re-visiting the *loca sancta* (sou-venir).<sup>42</sup> These objects were not figurative or symbolic representations, they *were* pieces of the Holy Land, constituted of its very substances and experiences; not just memory repositories, but the Holy Land made mobile. They enabled the *loca sancta* to be transported to pilgrims’ homelands, and they did so through a particular form of material mimesis experienced sensorally.

Vikan has argued for an understanding of power transferred through touch, passing from original site or relic (as piece of the original, or something which has touched it, e.g. oil dribbled over the True Cross), to container and to body, and indeed to anything else it touches as a contagion. This is a sort of ‘Chinese whispers’ model of material transferability in which something of the original is passed on with each relay of touch but which can degrade in strength and authenticity as it goes.<sup>43</sup> What I suggest instead is more of a ‘key cutting’ model of transferability, in which the strength of power does not diminish, rather objects function to *reveal* divine power which is by nature infinite, and is repeatedly activated by phenomenological experience rather than transmitted as a contagion.

41. On hierotopy, see further Lidov 2006.

42. On the terminology of souvenirs and pilgrimage, see further Wharton 2006.

43. Vikan 2010. He argues that such contagion did not degrade in power and was infinite, however, his main source material, *Saints’ Lives*, clearly shows that contagion stops at the human body – no blessing is ever transferred beyond the body of an ordinary Christian. Oil may become empowered with sanctity through contact with the True Cross, but the pilgrim’s body is only blessed by it, it does not likewise become a relic itself. If his model of contagion simply through touch were truly infinite, this would not be the case.

Certain worldly things provided 'keys' to accessing divine power, opening tiny windows in the fabric of earthly existence through which shone divinity. These keys were activated through sensory experience and ritual enactment. They could be objects – pieces of earth touched by Christ's earthly presence; or what we would term images – shapes, pictures and spatial relationships, which when repeated offered the same opportunity for revelation (images were copied, soil was continually introduced into Christ's tomb for pilgrims to take away). The 'original' in this context is not a finite thing (such as the True Cross), but a 'type' (the cross as 'symbolon') which is revealed to the pilgrim as a key to revealing divine presence through the ritual practice of pilgrimage. The type and the power it is capable of revealing is, in this way, infinite. Holy land visits were less about accessing superior efficacy of holy materials, and more about acquiring the key to unlock the divine potential inherent in the material world. This is a pre-modern model of materiality in which material things can be infinite, hence pilgrims did not query the unlimited supply of dust from Christ's tomb, or show concern at the lack of originality in the constantly replaced oil burning there, because these things are inconsequential to a sense of infinite materiality; repetition only reinforces or renews the presence of divinity.<sup>44</sup> Hence also the bones of a saint, no less than Christ's cross, or Jerusalem's dew, could offer equally efficacious healing power.<sup>45</sup> Mimesis in pilgrimage, therefore, is not about producing copies of an original, which continually degrade in power, but about recurrences of a revealed 'type', infinite in divine power.

This power is less locative than Vikan's contagion, and also Peter Brown's well-known model of relics as empowered by 'praesentia', the present-absence of the divine person, resident in the objects themselves.<sup>46</sup> The paradoxical nature of 'praesentia', and its associated 'potentia', the ideal political agency of the divine person, only become relevant if divinity is capable of being bounded – a concept which derives from the Cartesian notion of the bounded self. Within our model of network distribution, divinity cannot be limited in place or time but is infinite, and infinitely revealed and revealable within the material world. What is infinite cannot be absent, only known or not known. In modern analogy, electricity flows through circuits continuously, but we only know it is there when we use appliances. Divine presence is not contained by objects, but revealed through their correct ritual practice or sensory engagement, which is learned in particular locations. Once

44. Cf. the proposed economy of blessings in Caner 2006.

45. Hunt 1982, p. 135, agrees that "the wood of the cross, although especially esteemed, had no monopoly of such potency."

46. Brown 1981.

learned, the character of that revelation is changeless, because divinity is infinite; without ritual practice and material objects, it is unknowable.<sup>47</sup>

The role of souvenirs in this context is to concretise continuous revelation of the type or key, which is equally present in the dust or oil within a container as in the images stamped upon it. Souvenirs therefore do not just act as mnemonic devices for the pilgrim who collected them, but offer a concrete means of sharing their revelation about accessing and materialising divine power with those who had not 'been there'. Like written accounts of pilgrimage, souvenir objects offered opportunity for mimetic virtual pilgrimage. In this way, containers, even without their contents, can still be very informative about pilgrimage practice, experience and materiality.

Certain conclusions, then, can be drawn about the potential use and function of the Monza-Bobbio ampullae. Through sensory interaction they offered, in Elsner's terms, a metonymic experience of the Holy Land as sacred place and sacred time, indeed as an experiential hierotopy. This was particularly effected through pieces of the Holy Land as types or keys to divine presence, whether as image, text, dust, oil, manna, or other substance. Building on Bissera Pentcheva's concept of stamps and seals, we might even then say that these qualities were imbued in the object (container and contents as totality) through the act of stamping shapes into metal and sealing it as holy matter – a process of materialisation. What was impressed – knowable divine presence – could be activated through sensory experience of the object.<sup>48</sup> In collaboration, contents and container could act as a single dynamic object which created a meeting place for user and Holy Land through sensory experience as a metonymic prompt to the imagined experience of 'being there'. In the same way as written pilgrimage accounts, this could be useful to pilgrims, as a mnemonic of their own experience, or to non-pilgrims, as a mnemonic of somebody else's, made accessible to them through the sharing of the

47. While concerned with saint cult rather than holy land pilgrimage, Brown's (1981) model of pilgrimage, as movement of individuals *to* 'praesentia', rather than relic translation, the movement *of* 'praesentia', is also worth mentioning, because it, too, relies on a notion of bounded divinity. Within the model presented here, pilgrimage can be understood differently as a process of learning ritual enactment of material 'keys' through the sensory reorientation of 'being there' in the holy land. In line with Weyl Carr's (2003) observations about byzantine pilgrimage, I suggest that travel is less integral to late antique holy land pilgrimage than the act of 'being' and 'doing there'.
48. Indeed, Aristotle understood sense impressions to imprint upon the mind as seals in wax (*De Anima* 12.2.1). Through its sensory experience the presence of divinity is thus infinitely replicable, transferring from object to body and, if then re-inscribed, back into object. This has implications for the later iconophile view of the icon-artisan as a vessel of divine inspiration rather than subjective creator.

souvenir as phenomenologically accessible object. This souvenir could act as a technology for materialising divine presence, as place, time and event, through mimesis. It looped time, bringing the sacred past present, and transported place, materialising sacred place 'here'. In this way, Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land could take the experience of pilgrimage away with them.

## Further Implications

I hope to have provided an insight into the potential new outcomes that can arise from even well-studied examples of antique material culture when sensory methodology is applied. However, this analysis has been partial and suggestive, rather than definitive, and there are further ways in which it could be developed. For example, evidence for how objects were used can add a lot to our picture. The find spot for the Bobbio ampullae shows that they were taken away from the Holy Land by pilgrims, but there is also evidence that other ampulla types were left in situ at pilgrimage sites, such as at Abu Mena in Egypt.<sup>49</sup> This indicates that the desire to take away these objects was not universal, and cautions us against seeking singularity in how these objects are and were understood to function. Perhaps deposited examples were used on site, for healing or other blessing purposes, and the containers became useless without their contents and having served their purpose were discarded. Perhaps this was a form of votive exchange in which, like the burial of the Bobbio ampullae as a request and receipt of divine blessing, once contents had conferred their blessing their container could evolve into a votive thanks offering that manifested the agency of the donor in the *loca sancta* regardless of sensory activation. Or perhaps this is evidence of non-Christian or non-ritual use of these objects. Ultimately, I have argued that souvenirs can be defined by the uses they afford, rather than by iconography or object typology, and in this way we must allow for the affordance of souvenir objects for alternative, perhaps non-ritual and perhaps non-Christian, uses within their lifetimes.

Other objects can be newly identified as pilgrimage souvenirs through evidence of use and their affordances. For example, a gold ring, shaped as the Holy Sepulchre and with a niche for a small visible and touchable object, affords mimetic experience of being at the tomb through its shape and affordance for containing a small relic from that location, and thus may be identified as a souvenir rather than purely as an aesthetic item of jewellery

49. Maraval 1985, p. 212.

which might prompt contemplation of a symbolic concept.<sup>50</sup> Identification of pilgrimage souvenirs through their sensory affordances allows collective and comparative exploration of such objects, whether Christian or not.

This approach furthermore can be extrapolated beyond artefacts to encompass whole sites, not just as visual experiences (which is how they are predominantly treated) but as prompts for fully-embodied practice, as ritual spaces and technologies of divine manifestation.

In many ways, the set of sensory affordances here implicated is relevant not only to late antique Christianity but also throughout the Roman period. The evolution of Christianity was a slow process that took place over hundreds of years, and its ritual practices segued in many ways with those which were considered 'pagan'. Indeed, the two go hand in hand; ritual practice is in large part predicated upon a culture's phenomenology, and phenomenology can provide the rationale for ritual action. For cultural phenomenology fundamentally to shift is a huge and complex process that, I suggest, can only take place over substantial periods of time, or by sudden jarring change in a culture's environment, perhaps through technological change (like the printing press or internet), disastrous event (such as an earthquake), or relocation (migration). Christianity's shift was not environmental but ideological, and the phenomenological basis of its ritual practice thus could not help but be entrenched in Roman culture. In this way, Christian pilgrimage can be understood as one point on a continuous spectrum of antique religious practice which also incorporated 'pagan' pilgrimage. Indeed, approaching Christian and non-Christian material evidence collectively via this methodology could enable in depth exploration of continuities and changes in ritual practice in the Roman period, suggesting fruitful potential in its further application.

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# SACRED MOVEMENT TO LABRAUNDA - AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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## Introduction

The phenomenon of Christian sacred movement, ‘pilgrimage’, is often portrayed as a long and arduous journey made by the pious individual to a particularly sacred site.<sup>2</sup> Preserved late antique and medieval textual sources offer the modern scholar a selected glimpse into the long voyage, the struggles and endeavours of the pilgrim, as well as the magnificence of the final destination – the *locus sanctus*.

The material aspect of Christian pilgrimage has often, due to methodological difficulties, been limited to the study of a few selected find-categories such as pilgrim flasks or tokens bearing the name of a saint or a pilgrimage site. “The archaeology of the pilgrim flask” is therefore partly again the study of ‘texts’, where the parchment has been substituted with terracotta. The late

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2. In this article I will generally use ‘sacred movement’ instead of ‘pilgrimage’ because of the latter word’s general connotations to the modern ‘world religions’, an association that makes it problematic to apply to Antique, pre-Christian sacred movement; cf. the discussion by Scott Scullion on ‘pilgrimage’ and Greek paganism; Scullion 2005, pp. 111-130.

antique phase at the Karian sanctuary of Labraunda, in south-western Anatolia (FIG. 1), offers nothing of the kind: neither informative textual sources nor pilgrimage flasks. In fact, not even the name of the site is known after the third century AD. Still, the remains of late antique material culture imply that the site had a throughput of peoples that visited Labraunda for both spiritual and economical reasons. It is not suggested that Labraunda was a religious centre that attracted pious people from afar; on the contrary, the catchment area remained, as it had always been – the region of Karia.<sup>3</sup>



FIG. 1. Map of Karia (O. Henry).

Sacred movement within a confined geographical area such as Karia prompts questions about regional ‘pilgrimage’ *contra* long-distance voyages. Some scholars consider domestic and long-distance, trans-regional pilgrimage essentially as similar phenomena and argue that it is the relative distance between the home of the pilgrim and the *locus sanctus* that is important if we want to understand culturally and religiously significant journeys as a social phenomenon. Some scholars of medieval pilgrimage in Scandinavia have in fact wanted to recognize the importance of local, small-scale sites, as they essentially are regional counterparts to major, distant pilgrimage centres.<sup>4</sup> Elsner and Rutherford also address the issue of regional pilgrimage, but this

3. Ruggieri 2009, p. 216.

4. Andersson 1989, pp. 11-12.

time in Classical Greece. They observe that even the relatively nearby sanctuaries (sites of pilgrimage), at a distance of one to two days, required a longer journey than people would normally make in the course of their lives.<sup>5</sup> The economical basis for major pilgrimage centres and the smaller indigenous counterparts was, of course, very different. This forced the regional *loci* to better adapt to the options that are available in order to sustain active which in turn triggered a symptomatic repetitive cycle where the *locus* constantly changed from essentially a sacred centre into a trade *emporium* and back again; and often, *loci* constitute hybrids of the two.

The 'repetitive cycle' can be illustrated in the case of sacred movement to the *pankarion* of Labraunda. The site started as a small open air sanctuary situated on a fertile mountainside between the two ancient cities of Mylasa (Milas) and Alinda (Karpuzlu). As will be further addressed below, Labraunda was in the Classical period connected with the two neighbouring cities by a major paved road in order to bring building material to the site. The construction of the Sacred Way created an infrastructural artery that connected the coastal area with the Karian interior. It is argued that in late antiquity, Labraunda had developed into a permanent settlement that after the *terminus* of the pagan cult continued to exist due to the presence of the road and the trade opportunities that arose from the constant movement that passed by the site.

The process of Christianization seems, however, to have started rather early at Labraunda, where two churches were constructed next to the Mylasa-Alinda road, outside the pagan sacred precinct, already in the first quarter of the fifth century.<sup>6</sup> So why was this ancient *pankarion* transformed so early into a Christian *locus*? The answer may be found in the hybrid nature of movement to Labraunda; the church early on realised the value of conveying ideological rhetoric at the important trade *emporium*, that perhaps less than a hundred years earlier had still been a pagan sanctuary. The construction of two (or perhaps three) churches in this confined area re-established the old sanctuary within the new, regional sacred topography of Christianity. This newly-founded sacred centre became over time more, or at least equally important as the *emporium*, and the circle had again been closed. The religious importance can be verified by the fact that Labraunda still in the mid-nineteenth century was a place for yearly festive gatherings within

5. Elsner and Rutherford 2005, p. 18.

6. A third church, presumably late antique, has recently been surveyed in the area, which may increase the number of ecclesiastical establishments at the site.

the Greek Christian community of Milas.<sup>7</sup> This implies that Labraunda's sacred qualities as a Christian place of worship only grew over time. In the post-Byzantine period the site seems to have lost its permanent settlement and *emporium* function; Labraunda was then only used for keeping animals during the summer months.

In Labraunda's hybrid space of cult and trade, there is a natural difficulty in establishing *which* material remains should be seen as evidence of sacred movement. This question does not have a given answer, and only a few inferences will be presented in this paper. There is, however, a methodological importance in attempting to find such patterns since regional centres of 'pilgrimage' probably were very common during late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Obvious evidence of 'pilgrimage' centres such as *ampullae*, *unguentaria*, tokens or inscriptions are missing at many small-scale *loci*, and it is therefore much needed to publish all material remains of these sites in order to enable future quantitative analyses. I hope that this paper can contribute to such work. Only through empirical studies of the available sample can we form new understandings of the material culture of sacred movement. Hopefully, the study of small-scale, regional *loci* can also highlight material remains that have been overlooked at larger sites where the obvious evidence is given most attention.

Phenomena that generally surround sacred journeys are, for example, (monumental) sacred architecture, lodging areas, roads built or maintained for the special purpose of 'pilgrimage', small-finds (votive gifts or personal belongings). Yet, at a place like Labraunda, which also was a permanent settlement in Late Antiquity, it is hard to draw clear divisions between what was constructed and purchased by the inhabitants of the site and what was brought by pious visitors. In the case of Labraunda, I believe that particularly a study of the churches; their location, architecture and small-finds can bring new data into the discourse. This information may also contribute to our knowledge of other regional *loci* of western Anatolia.

7. The French epigrapher Philippe Le Bas (1794-1860), who visited Labraunda in 1844, wrote that the Greeks, i.e. Christians, in Mylasa still travelled up to Labraunda for a few days during the summer to enjoy themselves. Le Bas does not, however, specifically mention if this was a feast with religious connotations; Hellström 2011a, p. 39.

## Labraunda from the Archaic period to the mid-fourth century AD

The extra-urban sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos at Labraunda is strategically located on a peak high up in the Latmos Mountains at an altitude of 650-750 m above sea level (FIG. 2-3).<sup>8</sup> The sanctuary was situated alongside an important passage, which connected the Mylasa plain (and the coast) with the Karian inland and the cities of Alinda and Alabanda.<sup>9</sup> Labraunda likely originated as a modest open-air sanctuary, possibly moulded from a revered, symbolic interplay between an impressive rock-formation and an abundant spring.<sup>10</sup> The rich access to water makes the area unusually lush,<sup>11</sup> which may have established Labraunda as a sanctuary with connotations of fertility.<sup>12</sup> The earliest datable finds found at the site derive from the mid-seventh century BC, but the formalization of the cult may be much older.<sup>13</sup> Architectural remains from the Archaic period have been recorded, and the initial construction of the Temple of Zeus may be placed at the end of the sixth century.<sup>14</sup>

The major formalization of Labraunda took place under the powerful Hekatomnid satraps of the fourth century BC. They changed the modest sanctuary into an architectural landscape displaying their own power.<sup>15</sup> Lars Karlsson, the director of the Labraunda excavations, has recently proposed that Hekatomnos (satrap of Karia between 392-377 BC) may even have established Labraunda as a *paradeisos* in accordance with the established Achaemenid practise.

8. Labraunda could be considered an extra-urban sanctuary in the sense that it was not directly geographically connected to a *polis*. Herodotos, for instance, defines Labraunda as a sacred precinct (ἱερόν); Hdt. 5.119, but the sanctuary was at least associated from the Hellenistic period with an independent *syngeneia* (*I. Labraunda* 11-12) that struggled for autonomous governance against the neighbouring city of Mylasa. The Macedonian dynast Phillip V finally ended the dispute in 219 BC by acknowledging the city's claim over Labraunda; cf. the discussion on the status of Labraunda in *Labraunda* III:2, p. 195; Hellström 2009, p. 268. Despite the loss of autonomy, a community remained in connection with the sanctuary. This is attested by Strabo's identification of Labraunda as a village (κώμη); Strabo 14.659. The settlement also remained in the Imperial period and the inscription *I. Labraunda* 61 shows that there still were inhabitants on the sacred land during the early third century AD.
9. Karlsson 2011, p. 247.
10. Karlsson 2010a, pp. 47-62.
11. It has even been suggested that the name Labraunda etymologically derives from the Hittite word *laparsa*, which is identified as the name of a plant; Neumann 1988, pp. 183-191.
12. Karlsson 2010a, pp. 58-61.
13. Hellström 2007, p. 17.
14. *Ibid.* p. 111.
15. Hellström 1996, pp. 133-138.



FIG. 2. The ruins of Labraunda seen from a distance (L. Karlsson).

The shrine staged a religious festival once a year, with an increased popularity under the Hekatomnids. The festival was consequently prolonged by the dynast Maussollos, perhaps from one day to four.<sup>16</sup> At this time, specific architectural backdrops were also created for the ritual banqueting, such as *stoai* and *androne*s.<sup>17</sup> An elaborate man-made landscape was created, which

16. There are different opinions about Crampa's reconstructions of the fragmentary inscriptions (*I. Labraunda* 53 and 54A); cf. Hellström 2011b, pp. 149-150.

17. Hellström 2011b, p. 150.

formed a trail of closed-off terraces and processional staircases from the Propylaea in the south-east, towards the higher levels of the sanctuary; and to its centre and main attraction — the Temple of Zeus (FIG. 4).

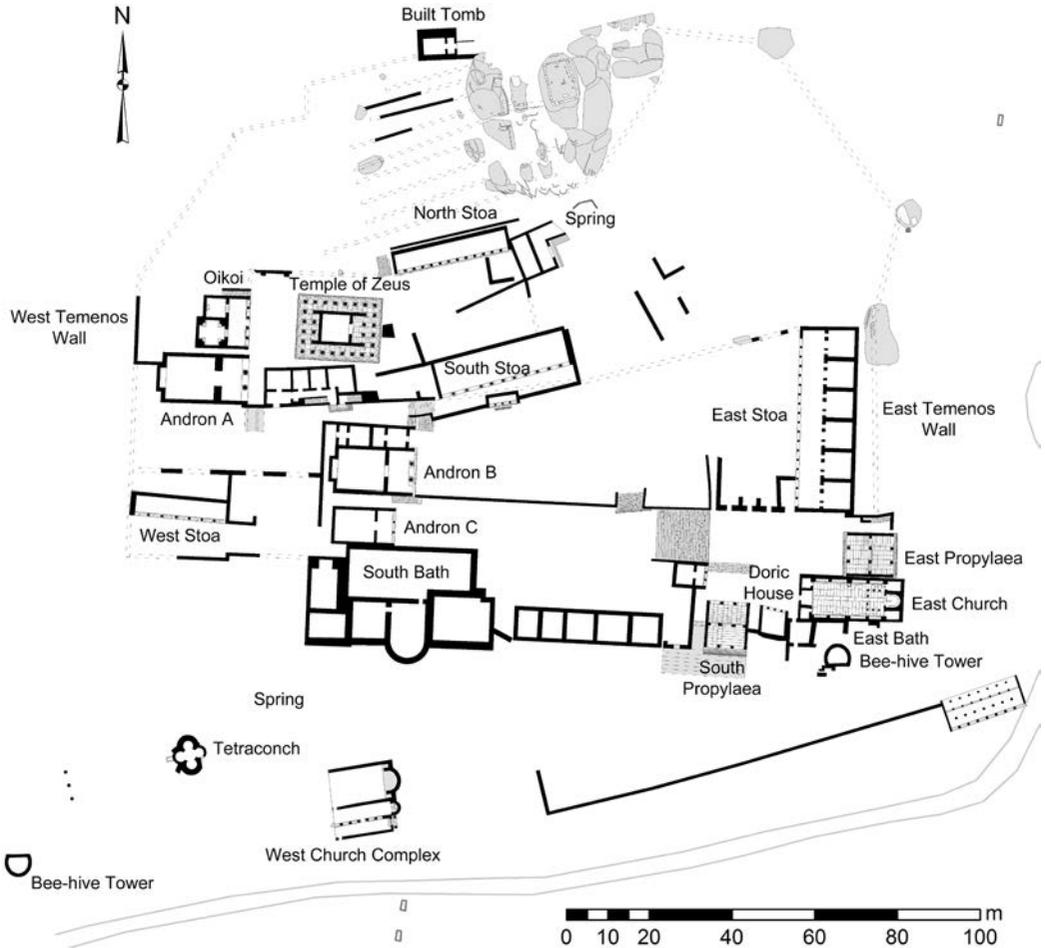


FIG. 3. Site plan of Labraunda (J. Blid).

Also under the Hekatomnids, the passage between Labraunda and Mylasa (modern Milas) was paved with large blocks of gneiss. The pavement was originally made to facilitate the transportation of heavy marbles up to the sanctuary.<sup>18</sup> This c. 14 km long road was henceforth also used for sacred

18. Hellström 2007, p. 145.

processions between Mylasa and Labraunda, which is described by Strabo.<sup>19</sup> The road ended by the South Propylaea of the sanctuary (FIG. 3) but recent surveys have shown that a comparable paved road also exists east of Labraunda, thus probably leading towards Alinda (c. 16 km away).<sup>20</sup> The stylistic similarities may indicate a common date of construction. No less than forty-two fountain-houses were also built along these roads in order to provide travellers and animals water and recreation during a hot day's travel over the mountains.<sup>21</sup> Labraunda was apart from its important religious rôle as the *pankarion* also presumably the main place of rest and overnight accommodation *en route* between Mylasa-Alinda/Alabanda.<sup>22</sup>

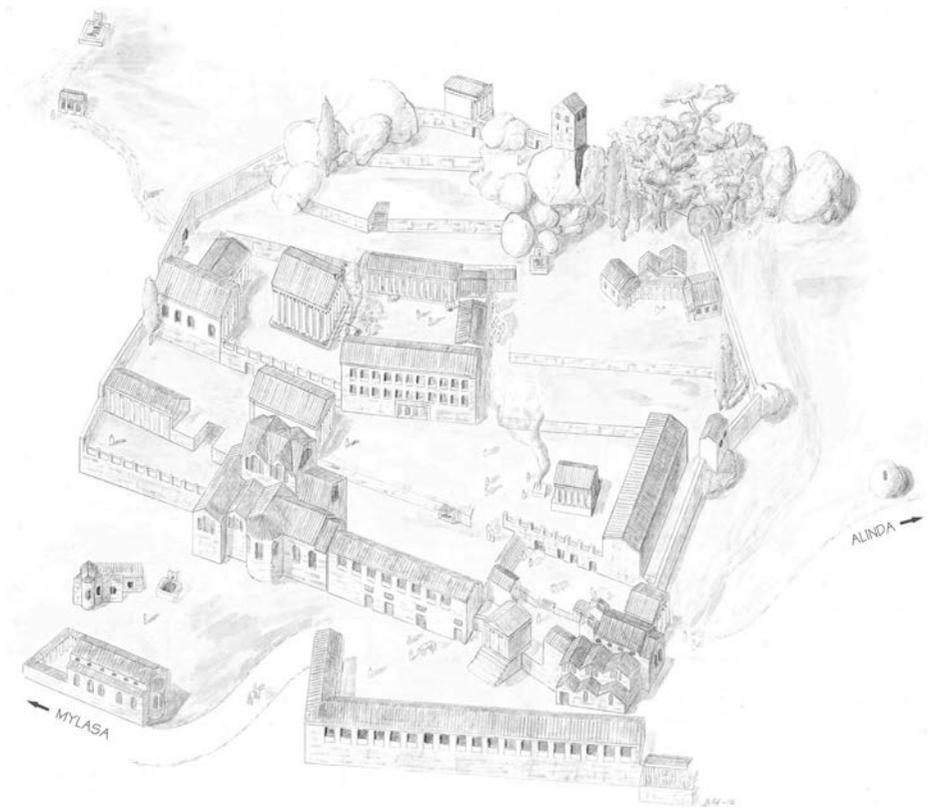


FIG. 4. The layout of the sanctuary during the Roman period with additional Late-Antique buildings (J. Blid).

19. Strabo 14.659.

20. Hellström 2007, p. 81; Hellström 2009, p. 270.

21. Baran 2011, p. 51.

22. *Labraunda* III:2, p. 194.

The construction of monumental architecture at the sanctuary appears to have decreased during the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic activity and rebuilding of the Classical fortifications around Labraunda show the continuous importance of controlling the route between Mylasa and the interior.<sup>23</sup> There are also several Hellenistic tombs located in the vicinity of the sanctuary.<sup>24</sup>

In the early Imperial period Labraunda once more gained major popularity, beginning with the renewed Augustan interest in the ancient cults. The sacred festival was resumed and the increased activity at the site is attested by a large bath establishment (the East Bath),<sup>25</sup> inscriptions, various small finds and monumental architecture encompassing the Temple Terrace. An intricate system of terracotta conduits distributed water to all parts of the *hieron*. Among the distinguished individuals who made major donations at the site, a majority seems to have been priests or ex-priests.<sup>26</sup> In the mid-first century AD a certain Klaudios Menelaos dedicated the East Bath, and the ex-priest Poleites dedicated the North Stoa on the Temple Terrace during the reign of Trajan.<sup>27</sup> Another priest named Titus Flavius Neon dedicated a roof of a *stoa* and a new *apodyterion* of the East Bath, possibly in the period of the Emperor Hadrian.<sup>28</sup> Less elevated members of society are also attested during the Imperial period through more modest dedications.<sup>29</sup>

Pontus Hellström has argued that Labraunda served as a ‘memory theatre’ during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, when, for example, a dedicatory inscription of the late Classical dynast Idrieus was falsified on a Hekatomnid fountain-house (without an original inscription) to better assimilate with the ancient environment of the sanctuary.<sup>30</sup> Several Roman copies of Classical decrees and letters were also displayed within the sanctuary, probably to emphasize the prestige and venerable past of the site.

Labraunda seems to have been renowned among Greco-Roman intellectuals for a number of different features. Herodotos mentions a great and holy grove of plane-trees (...μέγα τε καὶ ἅγιον ἄλσος πλατανίστων),<sup>31</sup> and Plu-

23. Karlsson 2010b, pp. 78-80; Karlsson 2011, p. 224.

24. Henry 2011; Henry and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2011, p. 194.

25. *Labraunda* III:2, p. 197.

26. The priest's office seems to have been appointed annually during the Roman Imperial period; *Labraunda* III:2, p. 196.

27. *Labraunda* III:2, pp. 18-24 (*I. Labraunda* 20 & 23).

28. *Ibid.* (*I. Labraunda* 21-22).

29. Cf. Blid 2010, pp. 92-94.

30. Hellström 2009, p. 279.

31. Hdt. 5.119.

tarch tells the story about how the axe of the slain Amazon queen, Hippolyte, ended up in the hand of the cult statue of Zeus Labraundos.<sup>32</sup> Pliny the elder mentions a spring (fons) of Jupiter at Labraunda, where eels ate out of the hand, and even wore earrings.<sup>33</sup> Pliny's account is paralleled in the second century by Aelian, who mentions a spring (κρήνη) with transparent water where fish have golden necklaces and earrings also of gold.<sup>34</sup> The possibility of an *ichthyomancy* (a fish oracle) at Labraunda has been raised, and discussed, by several scholars.<sup>35</sup> The idea is convincing, and it is clear that the fish were attributed sacred qualities, considering that Pliny explicitly placed them at the spring of Jupiter Labrayndus, i.e. not in any spring within the sanctuary (still today there are several).<sup>36</sup> An oracular function associated with these fish would moreover correlate with a general renaissance of oracles in Anatolia during the Imperial period, which has been highlighted by Johannes Nollé.<sup>37</sup> Ramsay MacMullen has furthermore explained the Roman practise of having sacred fish and birds at sanctuaries as a "wonder or a curiosity, which drew people to strange places of worship".<sup>38</sup> Seen from a larger perspective, such a phenomenon as sacred animals consequently generated a "wonder" (a sacred zoo), which effectively generated religious marketing for both local and non-regional cults. It also formalized a sacred display for this indigenous divinity and sanctuary.

32. Plut. *The Greek Questions* 45; *Moralia* 301F-302A, transl. F.C. Babbitt, Loeb Class. Library.
33. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 32.16; transl. W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Class. Library.
34. Aelian, *On Animals*, 12.30; transl. A.D. Scholfield, Loeb Class. Library
35. Aubriet 2009, pp. 674-675; Hellström 2007, p. 38; *Labraunda* III:2, p. 194; Laumonier 1958, p. 59. This type of oracle, which includes observing the behaviour of snake-shaped fish (eels) in a basin, may originate in the Anatolian Bronze Age: similar cult practices are already mentioned in Hittite cuneiform sources; Lefevre-Novaro-Mouton 2008, pp. 7-52.
36. Cf. Pliny's account for the fish oracle at Myra in neighbouring Lykia; Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 32.17.
37. The revival of certain oracles can be explained as a way for the elite of Roman society to consolidate their authority against the new, powerful influence of Christianity; cf. Nollé 2007, pp. 288-293.
38. MacMullen 1981, p. 35.

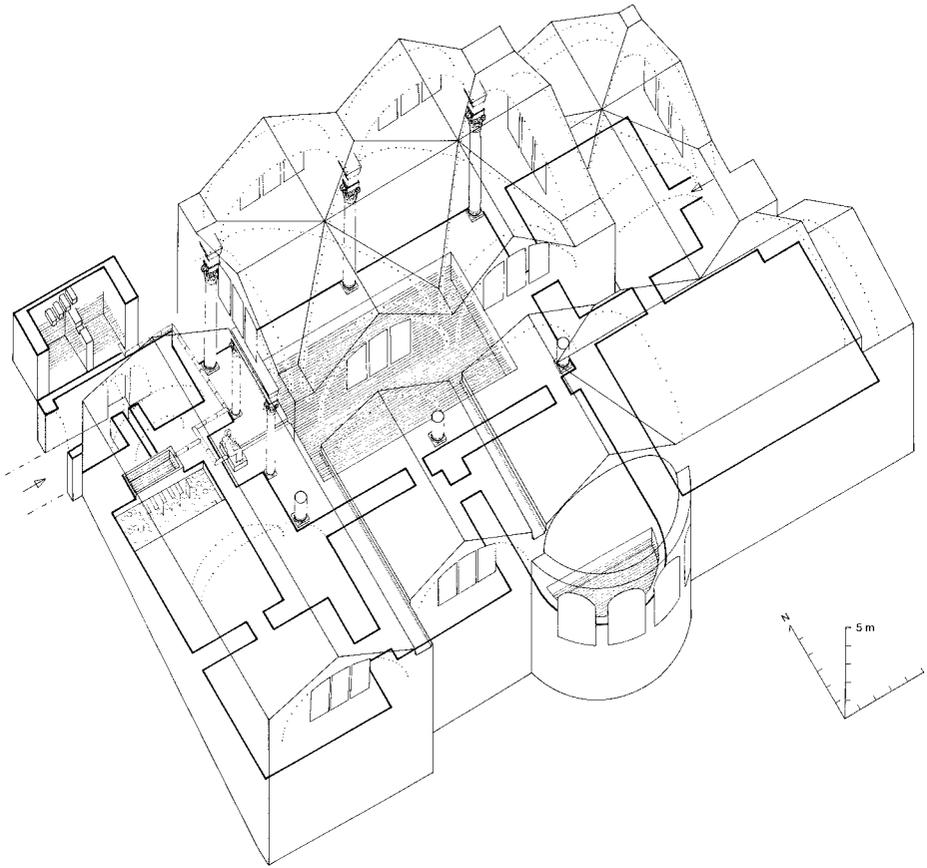


FIG. 5. The South Bath (J. Blid).

It is not known when the cult of Zeus at Labraunda ended. It is, however, clear that the settlement at the site mentioned by Strabo and preserved inscriptions, was still much visited in the third and fourth centuries. The number of coins recovered at the site increases during the first half of the fourth century AD, especially the reigns of Constantine I and Constantius II, and we find imported lamps and fine wares among the ceramic material. The importance of the site at this time is also indicated by the construction of monumental architecture. The most extensive project was the construction of the so-called South Bath,<sup>39</sup> which constitutes the largest building complex

39. This dating proposal is based on a number of early fourth-century coins found in the northern section of the bath, and the construction technique employed in the walls, which is in parts similar to that of the Tetraconch (see below).

inside the *hieron* (FIG. 5). It appears to have been placed directly on top of the south-western section of the Classical *temenos* wall, measuring c. 1200 m<sup>2</sup>.

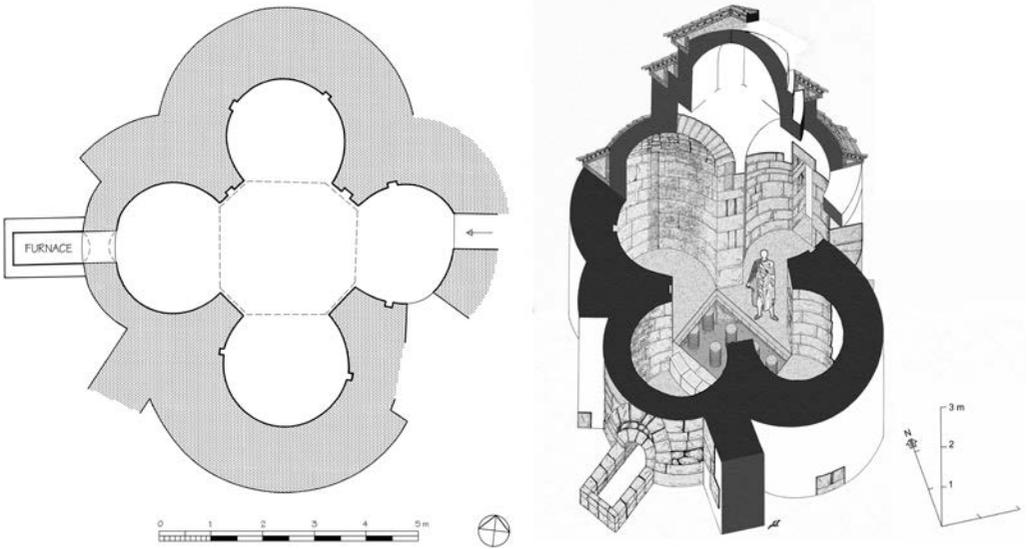


FIG. 6. Plan and isometric rendering of the Tetraconch (J. Blid).

A second building complex of the early fourth century, which includes a partly standing *tetraconch* structure, was found in 2007 during a survey in the vicinity of an Antique fountain-house just to the south of the South Bath (FIG. 6-7). The Tetraconch has become an important case study in the late antique history of Labraunda, due to the well-preserved stratigraphy and the rich archaeological material found here during the excavations of 2008-2009. The results from this excavation can furthermore be applied to similar finds from Labraunda that were excavated in the 1940s and 1950s, when stratigraphy was not usually recorded.<sup>40</sup>

40. The notebooks of the early excavations tend to focus more on the archaeological finds *per se* rather than their stratigraphic contexts; cf. *Labraunda* I:3, pp. 7-8.



FIG. 7. The northern conch of the Tetraconch (J. Blid).

The excavations revealed that the Tetraconch initially was constructed as part of a bath suite connected with a private residence. This building complex appears to have radiated from the Tetraconch both eastwards and westwards, thus occupying a large part of the terrace surrounding the building. A stylistic analysis of the Tetraconch forms an interesting contextual outline given that the ground plan was still a new and fashionable architectural feature at the time of its construction; doubtlessly signalling a distinguished and august proprietor, a leading member of society. The four-leaf clover form was at the time an élite style found at palaces/villas closely connected to the ruling class of the Roman society.<sup>41</sup> The closest regional parallel to the Tetraconch seems to be a later bath section<sup>42</sup> inside a residence at Ephesos.<sup>43</sup> Clive Foss' hypothesis of this being the early fourth century residence of the governor of Asia can perhaps be ruled out due to the altered chronology that

41. Several different configurations of the *tetraconch* plan are well attested within palaces and residences from the time of the Tetrarchy. Examples can be seen at the Palace of Galerius at Gamzigrad (Srejovic 1983, pp. 193-194); at the Palace of Diocletian in Spalato (Wilkes 1986, fig. 9:1d.) and in Villa Numisia Procula at Tor Marancia in Rome (De Franceschini 2005, pp. 202-203 and fig. 72.1 'Room 9').
42. Fifth-sixth century AD; Steskal 2010, p. 583.
43. Ladstätter-Pülz 2007, p. 405. Foss referred to this building as the Governor's Palace; Foss 1979, p. 49.

has been presented from new archaeological investigations. Yet, Foss' treatment of this architectural style, within that assumed chronological context, remains convincing, and I would like to suggest a similar line of argument for the Tetraconch residence. The socio-economic context for the sophisticated architectural plan points towards an influential proprietor such as a civic persona, for example, a governor. The Tetraconch residence may, for instance, have functioned as an occasional retreat for the provincial governor, stationed at Aphrodisias, perhaps to be utilized during Labraunda's annual sacred festival. Chronologically, the construction may coincide with the early fourth century establishment of Karia as a separate province.<sup>44</sup> From this perspective, the Tetraconch residence could be seen as a manifestation of a regional governor's extended authority. The architecture of the Tetraconch *per se* may imply that Labraunda was still an esteemed sanctuary in the early fourth century.

The third quarter of the fourth century demonstrates stagnation in the Tetraconch area. Rich fifth- and sixth-century deposits of pottery indicate nonetheless a resettlement, and the Tetraconch was rebuilt during these centuries and ceased to be used as a bath. It has not been possible to determine the new function of the building but the utilization of the Tetraconch's second phase did not last for long. During the second part of the sixth century the building was again reshaped and given a more industrial character, perhaps serving as a lime kiln. Scarce signs of activity are again attested during the eighth and ninth centuries after which the superstructure of the building seems to have collapsed.

Even if the construction of the Tetraconch may suggest that the cult of Zeus was still active in the early fourth century there is, as mentioned, no decisive proof of its final abandonment. It seems as Labraunda in the fourth century was above all a vital *emporium*, and not primarily a sanctuary. From the first quarter of the fifth century the process of Christianisation was in full swing at the site, which is evident from the construction of at least two churches. It is likely that Labraunda was one of several settlements in the region where similar manifestations of power contemporaneously took place. By the time of the Third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus in 431, most of Labraunda's neighbouring cities were represented.<sup>45</sup>

44. Roueché 1989, pp. 16, 21, 66-67, 319-320.

45. E.g. Alabanda, Alinda, Herakleia and Iasos; Ruggieri 2005, p. 40.

## Constructing a Christian Topography: The East Church Complex

A useful way of seeing the Christianisation process at Labraunda is in line with William Caraher's studies of social and ritual space in Late Antiquity.<sup>46</sup> In Caraher's view, churches could be constructed by the early Christian institution to convey a message of authority at certain strategic locations.<sup>47</sup> In the case of Labraunda, it is clear that all churches were constructed outside the ancient *temenos*, next to the Sacred Way. The churches thus communicated directly to peoples that travelled via Labraunda, and in creating a 'curtain' of Christian churches, blocking of the old pagan sanctuary, the church had clearly manifested itself as the new spiritual authority.

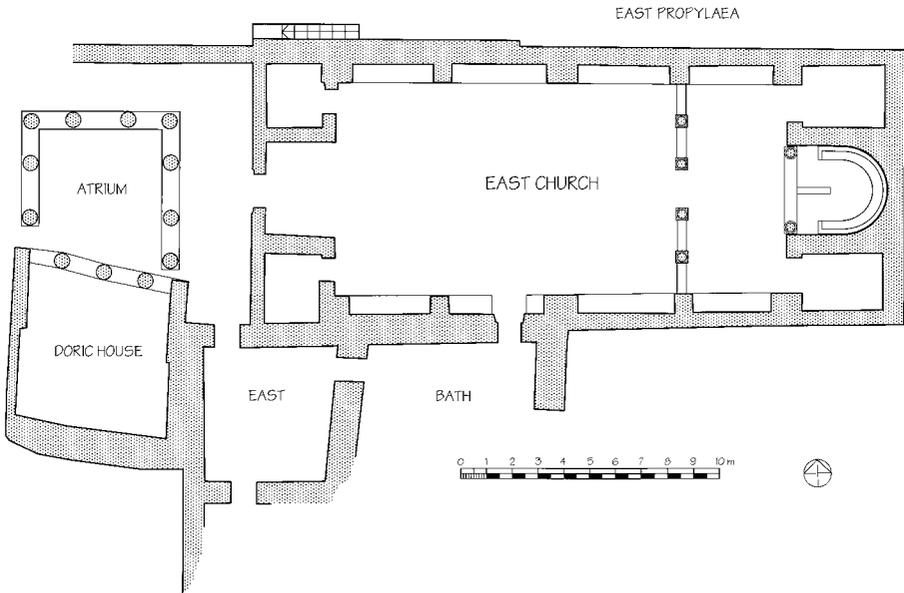


FIG. 8. Restored plan of the East Church Complex (J. Blid).

One of the first Christian manifestations at Labraunda was the construction of the so-called East Church in the area between the East and South Propylaea, probably just where the Classical *temenos* wall had earlier stood (FIG. 8-10). The placing of churches in the vicinity of gateways to earlier

46. Caraher 2008a-c.

47. Caraher 2008c.

pagan sanctuaries seems to be a pattern recognized also from other sites. At Epidaurus, in the Peloponnesos, a major basilica was erected close to the *propylaea* about AD 400.<sup>48</sup> Closer to Labraunda, at the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina, a church has been unearthed immediately to the south of the gateway during the excavations of the last few years. The chronology of this church is not yet published.



FIG. 9. Restored elevation of the Entrance Area of the sanctuary, seen towards the east (J. Blid).

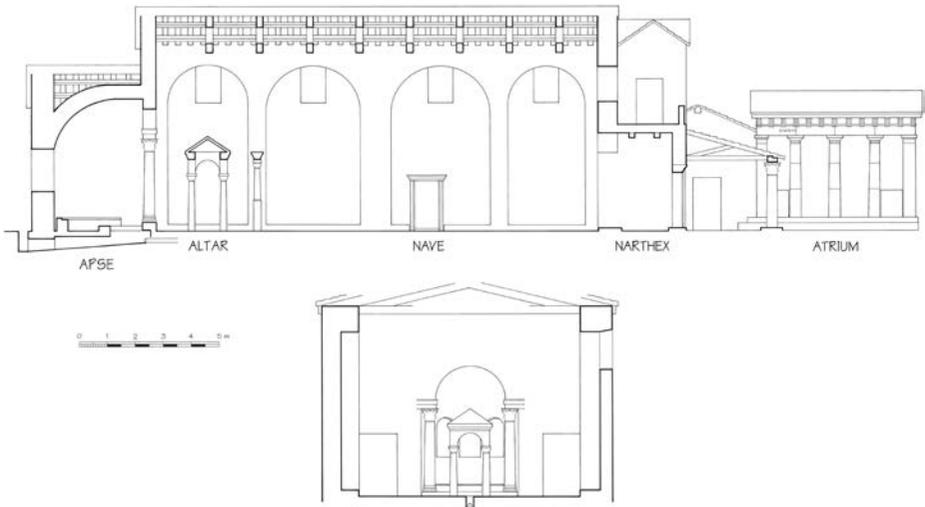


FIG. 10. Restored section of the East Church. Top, towards the south; below, towards the east (J. Blid).

48. Krautheimer 1986, p. 119.

The East Church was according to the general custom oriented on an east-west axis, measuring 25 m in length and about 10 m in exterior width. The church does not preserve any inner freestanding supports, thus it contains only a single, *c.* 7.9 m wide nave, divided into four bays by 10 engaged piers. Column bases with sockets for intercolumnar barriers have been found in the vicinity, and the possibility that the church originally was divided into three aisles therefore cannot be excluded. It seems most likely that a pitched wooden roof covered the church, while the apse conch was constructed from brick. The clerestory was most likely inserted into the lateral arches in the walls of the nave, probably only on the southern side, and additional windows in the eastern wall lit up the apse. The East Church ends in a tripartite sanctuary where the apse is enclosed by a straight eastern wall. Similar arrangements are known from several other late antique churches in Karia, for example, Aphrodisias,<sup>49</sup> Iasos,<sup>50</sup> Myndos,<sup>51</sup> and at the aforementioned church at Lagina,<sup>52</sup> which stylistically corresponds to the other examples mentioned. Although this architectural theme is generally less common along the shores of the Aegean than in south-eastern Anatolia and Syria, Karia does obviously stand out from the neighbouring regions of Ionia and Lykia.<sup>53</sup>

The easy access to water at Labraunda was also employed for a liturgical installation inside the apse of the East Church. A narrow channel was excavated in the centre of the apse in 2005-2007, and can be compared to similar examples known from other late antique churches around the eastern Mediterranean. Such installations are usually identified as receptacles for wastewater used to wash sacred objects, a so-called *thalassa* or *thalassidion*, which is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *piscina*. The *thalassa* often features a circular opening, like a wellhead, which debauches into a reservoir (*bothros*) or drain (in Latin called a *sacrarium*), such examples are known from, for example, Jerash and Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup> A circular wellhead has also been found just east of the remains of the *ciborium* inside the sanctuary of the cathedral at Karian Aphrodisias, close to Labraunda.<sup>55</sup> These openings can also be orthogonal in shape, which is seen at, for example, Kourion on Cyprus,<sup>56</sup> and possibly also in connection with the altar at the Basilica of St. John at Ephesos.<sup>57</sup> At the Cathedral of

49. Hebert 2000, pl. 17.

50. Serin 2004, fig. 155.

51. Ruggieri 2005, pl. II/ix.

52. The church by the Propylaea, not yet published.

53. A few examples from Lykia have been published by Severin and Grossmann 2003.

54. Pallas 1952, pp. 66-73.

55. Hebert 2000, p. 43.

56. Megaw 2007, pp. 5-6, 166.

57. Pallas 1952, p. 68.

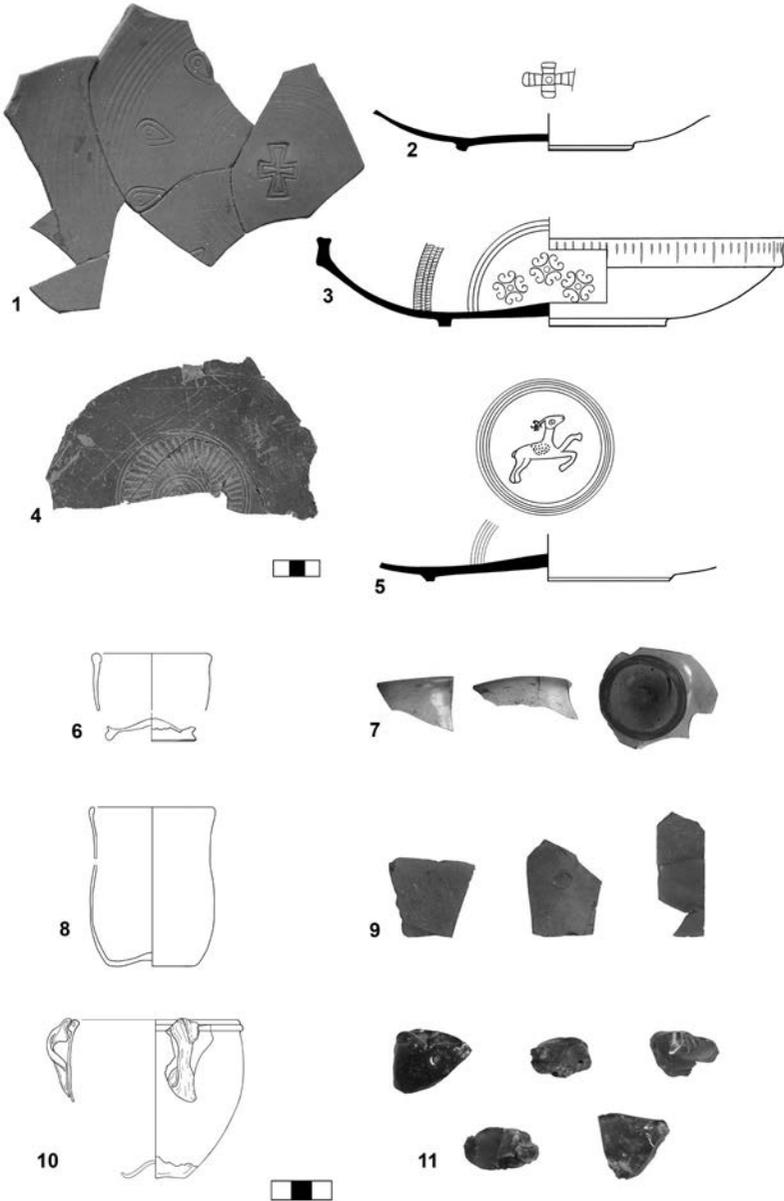


FIG. 11. (1) PRSW found in the vicinity of the East Church in 1951 (P. Hellström). (2-3, 5) PRSW found in the Tetraconch (J. Blid). (4) Regional red slipped ware from the Tetraconch (J. Blid). All pottery is rendered in the same scale. (6-7) Glass from the *thalassa* of the East Church (J. Blid). (8) Beaker found in the Tetraconch (J. Blid). (9) Window glass from the West Church (J. Blid), (10) Glass lamp found in the West Church (J. Blid). (11) Chunks of raw glass found in the West Church (J. Blid). All glass is rendered in the same scale.

Xanthos, in the neighbouring region of Lykia, a similar system has been excavated. Two water conduits approach the sanctuary both from the north and south,<sup>58</sup> thus providing direct access to water at the altar, the liturgical epicentre.

During the recent excavation, almost 200 glass fragments, belonging to c. 40 different vessels, have been found inside the *thalassa* of the East Church. Most fragments seem to come from small cups (beakers),<sup>59</sup> but some may also belong to glass lamps (FIG. 11:6-7). The glass can be placed into four different categories of colour: yellowish, greenish, bluish and translucent white, and it was most probably produced locally (see below). Another fortunate find, which provided a chronometric date for the *thalassa*, was a pig jawbone found in the construction fill surrounding the terracotta conduit, which channelled water into the installation. The jawbone has been <sup>14</sup>C-dated to 340-425 Cal.AD,<sup>60</sup> which interestingly seems to correspond chronologically with some of the diagnostic glass fragments. Fortunately, the jawbone was well-sealed under marble revetment slabs situated directly on the chord of the apse, thus convincingly suggesting that it belongs to the same phase as the conduit, with the reservation that the pig may have died long before its jawbone ended up in this trench. Another small find that is contemporary with the glass and jawbone is a so-called crossbow fibula in bronze, which was excavated close to the apse in 1953 (FIG. 12:1).<sup>61</sup> The fibula was discovered completely intact and decorated with small concentric circle-motifs.<sup>62</sup>

As mentioned above, the *thalassa* was used for cleaning sacred objects, such as liturgical vessels. It was also used to channel the wastewater into a reservoir or drain. The channel inside the apse of the East Church could well be attributed to this function, given the location within the sanctuary and the obvious drainage character of the channel. But, could the broken glass, found inside, in any way be connected to the liturgy of the church? Daniel Keller and Jeanette Lindblom recently concluded that the liturgical vessels used in late antiquity were not only made from precious materials but also from glass, even though the archaeological evidence of this practice is

58. Cf. Froidevaux-Raynaud 2005, fig. 7.

59. Despina Ignatiadou, at the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, originally proposed this identification, which Jennifer Price at Durham University, with whom I spoke at a glass conference in Mainz in January 2008, further supported.

60. 1665 ± 35BP, Ua-37990.

61. The fibula type can be dated to the period c. 330-410 AD, but later examples have been found in tombs from the eastern Mediterranean, dated as late as the first half of the sixth century; Pröttel 1988, pp. 359, 362-364, fig. 4a (*Zwiebelknopffibeln* Typ 3/4, cat.no. C:7).

62. Cf. Keller 1971, pp. 38-41, cat.no. 4A, pl. 40:4 (*Kreisauwendekor*).



FIG. 12. (1) Bronze fibula found in the East Church in 1953. (2) AE coin of emperor Arcadius, found at the West Church (J. Blid). (3-4). AE coins of emperor Maurikios found at the East Church in 1953. (5) *I. Labraunda* 81(J. Crampa). (6) Graffito from the vicinity of the East Church found in 1950 (J. Blid after I. Dahlén).

scarce.<sup>63</sup> According to Keller and Lindblom, the use of glass vessels could have arisen from two unrelated causes: either due to a difficult economic situation, or to "...echo the demonstration of generosity of certain saints who gave away their silver vessels and used glass vessels instead." One such person was the bishop Exsuperius of Tolosa, who is mentioned in a letter written by St. Jerome between 406 and 410.<sup>64</sup> Keller and Lindblom also highlight two interesting passages by Jacob of Edessa and Michael of Damietta, who both rule out "... the reuse or sale of broken chalices used in the liturgy and broken glass flasks used for Holy Oil". Instead, both Jacob and Michael, the latter referring here to the prescriptions of Gregory of Nyssa, recommend that such broken vessels should be buried. Here Keller and Lindblom refer to the glass deposit of goblets, bottles and fragments from glass lamps that were found in a baptismal font at Nir Gallim.<sup>65</sup>

If we accept that this archaeological evidence indicates the practise of depositing broken liturgical glass vessels within the sacred precinct, which is mentioned in ancient texts, the glass finds inside the East Church at Labraunda are given a contextual framework. The character of the findspot and the material are no doubt two vital parameters that have to be taken into consideration. The *locus*, a carefully constructed water source, and drainage, situated in the most sacred part of the church, form the setting. The glass fragments found inside the channel are not chalices/goblets but rather beakers, cups used for drinking, while some fragments likely belong to lamps of the *polykandela* type.

These beakers were most likely produced locally by the workshop, from which wasters were found by the West Church Complex in 2010 (FIG. 11:11). This can be seen from the low quality, which is not characteristic of glass made in larger, urban ateliers. Thus, the fragments from the East Church are not as luxurious as the goblets found at Nir Gallim, and they represent local manufacture. But since the majority are drinking cups that were found deposited under the apse of the church, they could likely have been used during the liturgy, but perhaps not for the Eucharistic rite. These beaker-fragments might hypothetically represent vessels that broke while being cleaned in the *thalassa*, and were immediately deposited in the channel.

Continued Christian worship can be traced at a small Byzantine chapel that was built into the East Church after that the late antique church violently fell

63. Keller-Lindblom 2008, pp. 333-334.

64. *ibid.*

65. Originally published by Gorin-Rosen 2002.

into ruins sometime during the early Middle Ages.<sup>66</sup> The chapel was situated in the north-western area of the earlier nave, measuring about 6 x 8 m (FIG. 13). The archaeologists that excavated the chapel in 1953 did not record any small finds that could provide a reliable chronology.

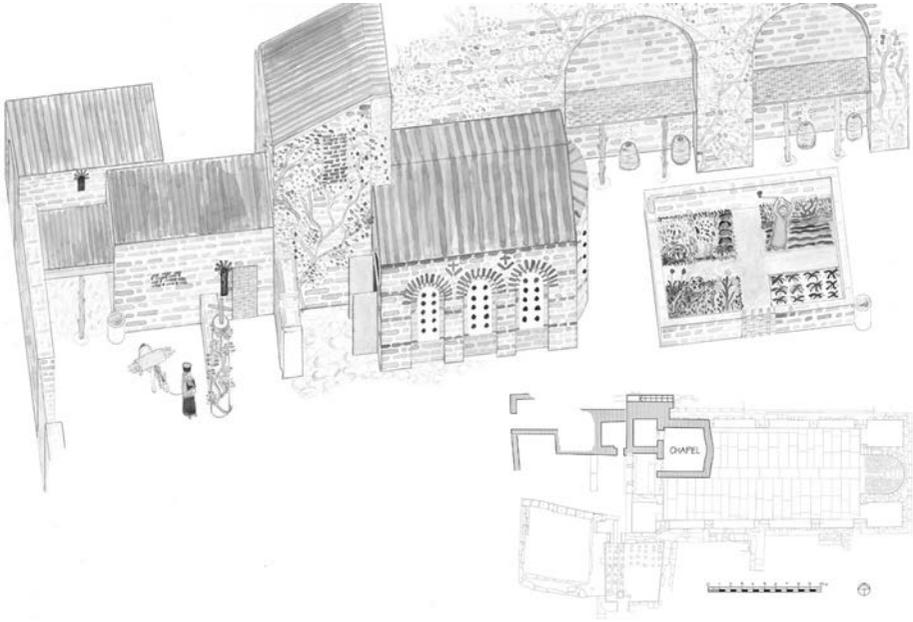


FIG. 13. Plan and isometric rendering of the Middle Byzantine occupation inside the East Church (J. Blid).

Much more is known today about medieval Labraunda. Considerable quantities of Byzantine pottery and architectural remains have been excavated in recent years both in connection to the West Church and on the Akropolis, above the *hieron*. Lars Karlsson has also proposed a medieval refortification of the Classical Akropolis, which must have brought a revival to the site.<sup>67</sup>

## The West Church and Other Buildings

Between 2009-2011, the remains of a second church, the West Church, were partly excavated directly south-east of the Tetraconch and alongside the ancient Sacred Way (FIG. 14:2). Various occupations had continuously succeeded each other in this area throughout Labraunda's long history. The foundations

66. *Labraunda* I:2, p. 114.

67. Karlsson 2011, pp. 233-250.

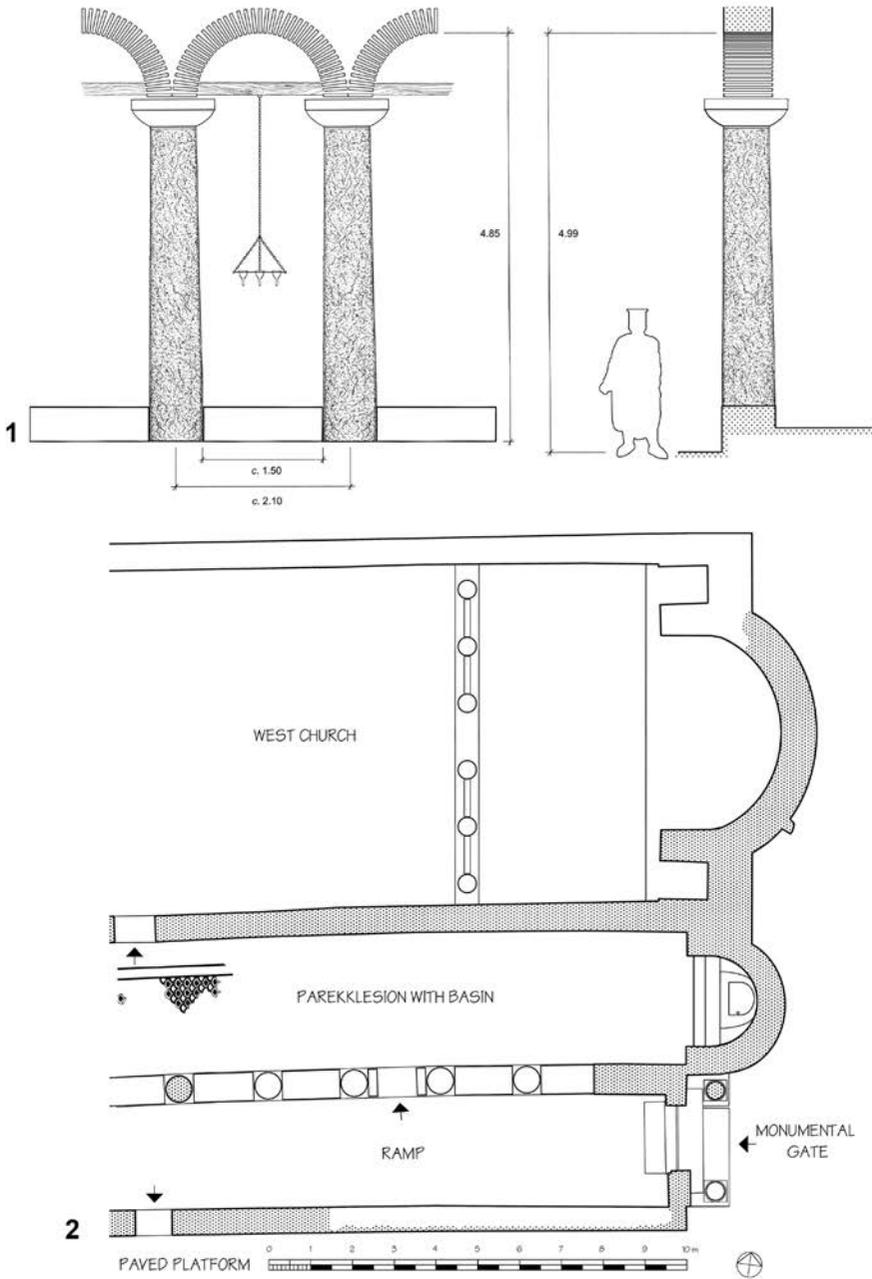


FIG. 14. (1) Restored elevation and section of northern colonnade inside the West Church (J. Blid). (2) Restored plan of the West Church (J. Blid).

were laid here in the late Classical period when it seems that a *stoa* was built flanking the processional road, leading from Mylasa to Labraunda. This area, situated in the vicinity of the monumental South Propylaea of the sanctuary, was surely a crowded space where *stoai*, of commercial nature, must have been much needed. Ceramic evidence and <sup>14</sup>C-dates from the West Church Complex confirm a continuous use of the stoa up to the third or fourth century AD. In the first quarter of the fifth century, the then ruined *stoa* was rebuilt into a *parekklesion* of the contemporary West Church, which lies further to the north. The colonnade was mended by reusing columns from other buildings in Labraunda and a concrete foundation was constructed on both sides of the stylobate. This architectural development, where an extant portico was rebuilt into a Christian basilica, has been recorded at various sites around the Mediterranean.<sup>68</sup>

The architectural disposition of the *parekklesion* can partly be reconstructed from the excavated finds. The colonnades between aisles and nave carried brick arcades (FIG. 14:1), and at the eastern end was a water basin constructed inside a projecting apse. We can therefore again observe a water installation within the sacred space of a late antique church at Labraunda. The main church to the north was a wooden-roofed hall church with a large projecting apse towards the east. The church had windows along the walls of the nave, with both stained and translucent windowpanes (FIG. 11:9) that illuminated the interior space. Additionally, glass lamps were used to lighten up the church (FIG. 11:10). The West Church was equipped with liturgical furniture made in the regional manner. A *templon* with marble closure slabs divided the sanctuary from the nave (FIG. 15:1) and several fragments of an *ambon* have also been found (FIG. 15:2).

Remains of glass manufacture were excavated in 2010 in connection with the West Church. The connection between church and glass workshop is moreover analogous to the situation at a similar production centre that has been identified near the late antique church inside the ancient Letoon, in the neighbouring region of Lykia.<sup>69</sup> Perhaps a local glass atelier was needed in Labraunda to provide the churches with lamps and vessels for liturgical use. This is furthermore the likely production area of the glass that was excavated inside the East Church.

68. See e.g. the Asklepieion in Athens: Travlos 1971, figs. 171 and 172; the Gymnasium Church at Assos: Arslan and Böhlendorf-Arslan 2010, pp. 142-143; and the early Christian basilica inside a Roman villa complex at Kastro Tigani on Samos: *Samos XIV*, Taf. 1.

69. Foss 1994, p. 13.



A later re-occupation during the Middle Ages was also recorded inside the main church, similarly to the East Church. The medieval walls, which are of the characteristic Latmos type,<sup>70</sup> signal renewed Byzantine interest, and considering the sporadic occupation in the Tetraconch during the Dark Ages it seems that the area may have been continuously settled from antiquity into the Middle Ages.

Not only churches are represented in the late antique building and renovation activities at Labraunda. At the time of the construction of the churches, several older buildings were redecorated with the same type of mosaics that have been found in the *parekklesion* of the West Church (FIG. 16). One of these was the so-called Doric House, which was originally built by the Hekatomnid dynast Idrieus either as a treasury or fountain-house.<sup>71</sup> In the fifth century AD the Doric House was rebuilt into a *phiale*, a fountain for sacred ablutions, in connection to the East Church. The nearby East Bath, which had partly been replaced by the East Church, had some preserved rooms in connection with the church refurbished (FIG. 16: 1). Early Christian churches built in connection to older bath establishments are not without parallels in the eastern Mediterranean. Macedonia hosts several extant examples, for example, at Thessalonike, Philippi and Herakleia Lynkestis. The reason seems to be the water-pipe systems connected to the *thermae*.<sup>72</sup> These pipe-systems were reconnected to supply baptisteries and *hagiasmata*. This seems, however, to have been done while the baths were still in use. It has also been suggested that these bath-establishments may have been privatized and maintained by the clergy.<sup>73</sup> An indication for the use of a similar practice in Anatolia would be the many preserved baths directly connected to monasteries and churches,<sup>74</sup> for example, the Byzantine Basilica at Priene,<sup>75</sup> and the sixth-century Kaplıcalar-Basilica at Hierapolis in Phrygia.<sup>76</sup> Another interesting example can be seen in the imperial metropolis of Constantinople where the northern church in the Kyriotissa Monastery complex, the present Kalenderhane Camii, was constructed in the third quarter of the sixth century on the site of an earlier fifth-century bath.<sup>77</sup>

70. This construction technique employs re-cut rectangular marble blocks while the joints between the blocks are filled up with bricks; cf. Ousterhout 1999, p. 177; Peschlow 1996, p. 74, Abb. 98.

71. *I. Labraunda* 18-19; *Labraunda* I:2, p. 98; Hellström 2007, p. 74; Hellström 2009, pp. 270-271.

72. Hattersley-Smith 1996, p. 236.

73. *Ibid.*; see also Magdalino 1990, pp. 165-188.

74. Nielsen 1990, p. 99.

75. Phase 1, possibly early fifth century; Westphalen 2000, pp. 275, 277-278.

76. Ferrero 1988, p. 130.

77. Striker-Doğan 1997, p. 8.

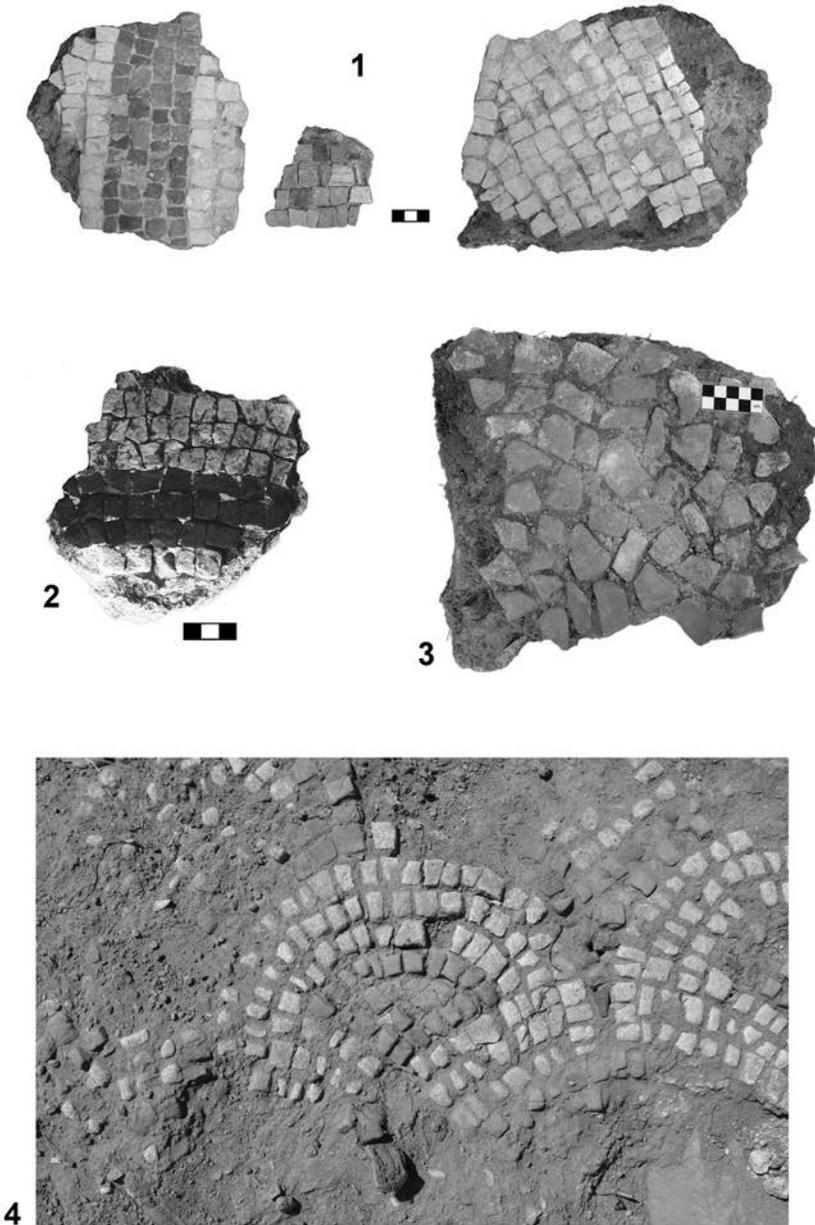


FIG. 16. (1) Mosaics from the East Bath (J. Blid). (2) Mosaic from the eastern annex of Andron B (P. Hellström). (3) Middle Byzantine mosaic (?) from the East Bath. (4) Mosaic *in situ* at the northern aisle of the West Church (J. Blid).

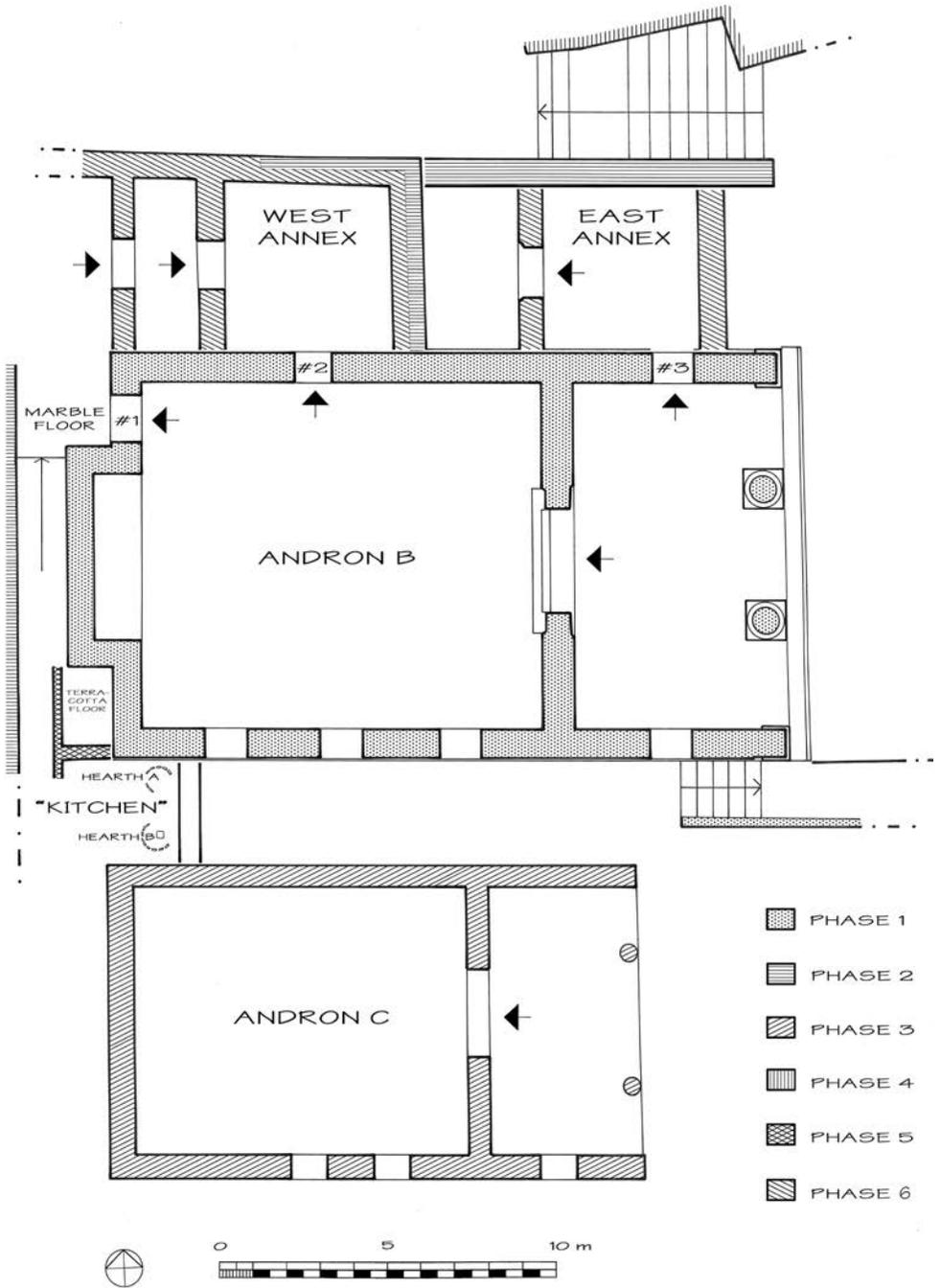


FIG. 17. Plan of the Andron B area (J. Blid).

Another building complex that was significant for the late antique redevelopment of Labraunda, is the Classical banqueting hall Andron B, which had adjacent exterior annexes built probably in the fifth century (FIG. 16:2; 17). Andron B itself seems also to have undergone serious restoration, given that the pottery excavated within the building shows continuous signs of activity during the fifth and sixth centuries. There is furthermore a late antique floor layer constructed from large ashlar blocks stratigraphically related to the ceramic material.

The annexes encircled Andron B both on the northern and western sides, which is evident from secondary sockets for wooden roof beams cut along the exterior walls of the building. In the East Annex, which is aligned with the porch of Andron B, mosaics of the aforementioned fifth-century type have been recorded (FIG. 16:2; 17). The mosaics can chronologically connect the annexes with the aforementioned churches of Labraunda. Furthermore, the annexes mark the first known major construction within the old sacred precinct since the early fourth century, and while integrating the ancient *andron* into the complex, there was much space created for extra accommodation. It is suggested that the annexes and the restoration of Andron B may be connected to the establishment of the churches, which is based on the similar mosaic decoration. If the church institution initiated the construction of the later additions to Andron B during the fifth century, these annexes may have served as living quarters for the clergy but also as a hostel (*xenodochium*) for visitors.

## Late antique continuity: The evidence of small finds

Not only architecture and mosaic decoration stand witness to the late antique upsurge at Labraunda. Small finds also indicate continued busy activity at the site at least until the early seventh century. A vast quantity of coarse wares shows signs of domestic activities but there are also imports, which more strongly emphasize the fortunate economic situation at Labraunda, especially during the fifth and sixth centuries. Such imported pottery with apparent Christian symbols, like the cross, occurs from the second half of the fifth century at the East Church Complex, the West Church, and at the Tetraconch (FIG. 11: 1-2). The appreciation of this type of motifs in the vicinity of the churches can therefore easily be explained.<sup>78</sup> The ceramic material from the fifth- and sixth-century layers of the Tetraconch represents some

78. Ceramic vessels with Christian symbols do not, however, necessarily mean that only Christians purchased these goods; Lund 2001, p. 205.

thirty-six well-preserved dishes and bowls, all clearly imports of red slipped fine wares (African Red Slip and Phocaeen Red Slip Ware). Another dozen of unclassified red slipped wares are assumed to come from regional workshops (e.g. FIG. 11:4). There are unfortunately few comprehensive studies of late antique pottery from this region, which makes it hard to pinpoint specific production centres. It seems, however, that most of the labelled 'unclassified red slip wares' are of such low quality that they make unlikely imports. Dishes of Phocaeen Red Slip Ware (PRS)<sup>79</sup> represent the single largest group of late Roman fine-wares,<sup>80</sup> and the largest part of this pottery belongs to Hayes' Form 3 (FIG. 11:2-3, 5).<sup>81</sup> Hellström has previously published seven similar fragments from Labraunda that were excavated between 1948-1960.<sup>82</sup> The excavation notebooks of the 1950s show that even more dishes of PRS were excavated in and around the East Church, but the material was apparently not kept for publication. The earliest examples of PRS, found at the Tetraconch, date to the first half of the fifth century, which are also analogous with the recorded examples of African Red Slip Ware (ARS). Similar finds of PRS and ARS have also been made at the West Church and the East Church.

Coins have also thrown light on the economic situation at Labraunda during the period in question. Bronze coins from the reign of emperor Arcadius were found both at the East Church and the West Church Complex (e.g. FIG. 12:2). They all represent loose finds and no hoards have to my knowledge ever been recorded at Labraunda. The coin use seems to have decreased after c. 410 AD but during the sixth century it increased again. A bronze *folles* minted at Constantinople in AD 555/56 was found in the centre of the apse of the East Church. During the 590s coins do again come into use and at the East Church: four bronze *folles* and half-*folles* were excavated at the apse and vestibule (narthex) in 1953 (FIG. 12:3-4). The fact that most coin-finds have been concentrated at churches may not be fully representative for the site as a whole, considering that the churches are the only extensively excavated buildings at Labraunda dating to late antiquity.

79. Hayes 1972, pp. 323-370: 'Late Roman C Ware'.

80. This goes for Labraunda in general, *Labraunda* II:1, p. 74, cat. nos 330-336; this was also the case at an excavation of a late Roman villa at nearby Halikarnassos; Lind Hansen 2003, pp. 198-199.

81. Hayes 1972, pp. 329-338.

82. *Labraunda* II:1, p. 74.

## Christian graffiti

Architecture, pottery and coins may transmit a measure of activity, economic exchanges and even aesthetic preferences, but there are also material remains more directly associated with the common people that visited the sanctuary. One such find category is the graffiti that have been discovered in the vicinity of the East Church. These possible votive-carvings, which are featured on pottery sherds and marbles, mainly comprise the image of the Christian cross.<sup>83</sup> Nine crosses, all together, have been found cut onto reused gneiss and marble blocks and column shafts and bases, and more crosses, and even the name of Christ, have been found incised on excavated pottery.<sup>84</sup> One particularly interesting cruciform inscription (*I. Labraunda* 81) was found on a gneiss ashlar block in the wall of the East Church (FIG. 12:5). The inscription consists of a small Greek cross in the centre surrounded by two larger Latin crosses. Two elaborately cut letters,  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$ , flank the lower cross. Carvings of the cross, and the letters  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$ , are of course very common within the artistic vocabulary of late antiquity, which makes a more precise dating difficult. The composition of the lower cross, flanked by  $\alpha$  and  $\omega$  is, however, rather similar to stamped motifs on late antique red slipped wares and lamps, which are common in Labraunda during the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>85</sup>

Another find which hypothetically may depict a scene of everyday life at Labraunda is an incised tile fragment that was found north-west of the East Church in 1950 (FIG. 12:6). The focal point of the image is again the Christian cross, inscribed into a *mandorla*. To the left stands a figure wearing a pointed hat, possibly a member of the clergy. The body is tightly draped, which is indicated by several diagonal lines drawn over the lower part of the torso. The figure's arms are raised, conceivably in an adorant position. The upper part of the motif depicts an umbrella-shaped tree (?) and two, four-legged animals. The animal depicted at the top of the image is probably equine. It has long ears or mane, and it is equipped with saddlery and harness. The second animal is smaller and has a different type of ears; it perhaps represents a sheep or a dog. The stylized nature of the motif was in the archaeological notebook, rather sarcastically, interpreted as the work of a child. This author does not share this view. On the contrary, this scene renders a rather vivacious *veduta* (of Labraunda?), set in late antiquity or possibly during the Middle Ages. It opens a window in time and transmits a landscape that was

83. For relevant comparanda cf. Vikan 2010, pp. 71-73.

84. *Labraunda* II:1, cat. nos. 239, 407.

85. Hayes 1972, figs. 54: 289a-d, 78:65g, 66h; Ennabli 1976, cat. nos. 1045-1046, pl. 56; Abadie-Reynal and Sodini 1992, cat. no. CF132, fig. 9.

once experienced by the ancient visitor — featuring trees, animals, religious symbols and a representative of the cult activity which was conducted here.

## The religious topography of the *locus*: Continuity and change

Let us return to the remains of Roman material culture at Labraunda presented above, and begin by surveying the sanctuary's topographical location and how it enabled and affected the archaeological remains. The location of Labraunda is quite typical for an ancient sanctuary. It had a liminal position between the cities Mylasa and Alinda, but served as a sanctuary for all Karians. Similar to, for example, Delphi, we find the sanctuary situated on the seemingly inaccessible summit of a high mountain. To provide the sanctuary with building material, including several tons of marble, must have been arduous and for the modern observer it seems like an incomprehensible effort. In late antique Anatolia we can again observe similar patterns at early Christian *loci* such as Alahan Monastir in Isauria and at the complex of St. Symeon the Younger outside Antioch. Despite the enormous effort of supplying the ancient Graeco-Roman sanctuaries with building material, these sites shared one common advantage: they were situated alongside, or in the vicinity of, major routes that connected the coastal plains with the hinterland. In the case of Labraunda, the Hekatomnids established an efficient infrastructure to the sanctuary (and beyond) through the construction of the Sacred Way in the fourth century BC. This turned out to be an enterprise that would serve for numerous generations, and the Classical Sacred Way continued to be a vital passage between Milas and Karpuzlu (Alinda) until 1960 when it was replaced by a new road. Still today parts lie hidden under modern asphalt. Fortifications and refortification in connection with the Sacred Way in the Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine periods also recall the military importance of the route up until the Ottoman conquest of the region.

Preserved inscriptions excavated at Labraunda show that the Sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos was a rich landowner during its pagan heyday.<sup>86</sup> Labraunda was in possession of much land from which resources could be extracted to finance the religious festivals. The activity at Labraunda also gave rise to a small settlement that housed the keepers of the sanctuary: the

86. *Labraunda* III:2, p. 195.

priest-collegium and their families. In the early Imperial period the small settlement of the priests had grown into the size of a village (κώμη).

Due to the lack of inscriptions we do not know about the site's economic situation in late antiquity in terms of possessions of land and domestic animals (we do not even know the name of the site or to which saints the churches were dedicated). But the rich fifth-sixth century ceramic material that has been excavated, for example, at the Tetraconch implies in my view that Labraunda at this time served as a trade *emporium*.

The diversity of Labraunda, with both a religious and commercial appeal may explain the archaeological find sequence. The aforementioned pottery finds from the Tetraconch indicate the trade routes of different wares and thus varying forms of movement to Labraunda. The major part of the table wares were represented by long distance imports; ARS from modern Tunisia, and PRS from Phokaia further north in Anatolia. These are doubtlessly goods that reached Labraunda from the coast, i.e. from the port of Mylasa, brought to the site along the ancient Sacred Way, eventually bound for the inland market. The remaining table wares found at the Tetraconch consisted mainly of red slipped regional interpretations of ARS and PRS. These were probably the products of inland workshops, perhaps from Alinda or Alabanda, aimed for the coastal market, likely as cheaper alternatives to the more expensive imports. Labraunda's location thus turned the site into an important transit point for commodities, and both exclusive imports and regional wares apparently had Labraunda as their final destination.

Considering that Labraunda had several churches and lavish lodging areas at this time, it seems plausible that the site also held the see of a *chorepiscopus*, who would have served as the head of the nearby region's sacred topography. Perhaps there was also a *xenodochium* here, supervised by the church.<sup>87</sup> There is furthermore the possibility of a monastic community stationed at the site considering that the Latmos Mountains are known to have hosted many medieval monasteries.<sup>88</sup>

The practises surrounding the cult at Labraunda show clear discontinuity between the pagan and Christian periods. One such important aspect at the site was the burial practises. The rock cut Classical and Hellenistic tombs that surround Labraunda had been used and reused for centuries but according to Olivier Henry, who is now working on a publication on these tombs, late

87. Cf. Hunt 1982, p. 63.

88. Peschlow 1996, pp. 71-86.

antique and medieval material is missing among the grave goods. It seems therefore that the Christians did not want to reuse older (pagan) tombs, but there is nothing to confirm that the burials were drawn closer to their sacred *loci*, the churches. No burials have been recorded at the churches of Labraunda, and in general there seems to be few tombs found *inside* the late antique churches of Karia.<sup>89</sup> Instead, there appears to be a later medieval burial practise. At the ancient, neighbouring city of Iasos, the two *necropoleis* in the vicinity of the Basilicas of the Acropolis and Agora mainly belong to the Middle Ages, or at least not earlier than the sixth century.<sup>90</sup> Another *necropolis* was also found, encircling a small Middle Byzantine chapel at Gencik Tepe, which was excavated close to Milas in 1938.<sup>91</sup> Also here, all the graves appear to be post-antique. Perhaps the Christian burials of the medieval period are yet to be found at Labraunda somewhere in the vicinity of the Middle Byzantine chapels. Where the late antique tombs are located remains unanswered.

## Conclusion

As initially stated, it appears that sacred movement to Labraunda in the Imperial period was motivated by three specific factors: (1) the religious festival that lasted for several days; (2) the exotic attractions with 'sacred' fish and the mythical double axe of Zeus Labraundos; (3) a historical awareness of the sanctuary's glorious past, thus an attraction related to nostalgia and regional identity. These conclusions are based on inscriptions excavated at Labraunda and on preserved ancient textual sources. As we move into late antiquity, which has been the main focus of this study, there was no longer any political or religious authority that cared for dedications and laws to be cut in stone and placed at Labraunda. The only useful post-antique literary account, known to the author, is given by Philippe Le Bas who visited Labraunda in 1844 and wrote that the Greeks, i.e. Christians, in Milas still travelled up to Labraunda for a few days during the summer to enjoy themselves. This may imply a vague continuity of the ancient religious festival but of course within a Christian context, for example, the celebration of a saint's day. Apart from this short passage we have to rely entirely on non-textual material culture. What can then be concluded from this evidence is the following: (1) the number and location of the late antique churches show that the Church institution considered Labraunda to be a strategic point to

89. E.g. in the Cathedral at Aphrodisias only two Late-Antique tombs have been recorded; Hebert 2000, p. 64.

90. Serin 2004, p. 99, 147.

91. Säve-Söderbergh and Hellström 1997, p. 93, fig. 11.

display Christian authority; this presumably gave the site an esteemed place within the sacred topography of the region; (2) the accommodation areas at Andron B, which are contemporary with the churches, could be connected to the church's building programme at Labraunda. These compartments had the spatial capacity to lodge peoples visiting the sanctuary; perhaps serving as a *xenodochium*; (3) fifth and sixth century goods, architecture, mosaics etc. show continuous activity and economic prosperity at the site throughout antiquity and into the Byzantine Middle Ages.

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# MEDIEVAL PILGRIMAGE TO CORINTH AND SOUTHERN GREECE

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Among the thousands of visitors who today travel annually to southern Greece are Christian pilgrims, who visit Patras, Corinth or Athens to follow in the footsteps of St Andrew, St Paul and other notable founders of the early Church. These travellers seek salvation, healing or other blessings from first-hand observation, ritual, and prayer at sites connected with figures of Early Christianity by the Bible or hagiography. Protestant pilgrims gather at the Areopagus in Athens, where a modern bronze plaque commemorates St Paul's sermon of *Acts* 17, or under the pine trees at the excavated Agora of Ancient Corinth, beside the modern Panagia Church (Church of the Dormition of the Virgin) with its pillar bearing an excerpt from St Paul's letters to the Corinthians (Figs. 1-3). Orthodox services were held in the middle of the 20th century at the excavated Bema in the Corinthian Agora, and modern Orthodox pilgrims also often visit monasteries in Greece, like the partly-ruined Voulkano Monastery near ancient Messene (modern Mavromati) on August 15, the feast of the Dormition of the Virgin, or early modern churches like Agioi Anargyroi just above the village of Ancient Corinth.

This sort of modern Christian pilgrimage in southern Greece has developed only since the 19th century, however, following the growth and diversification of mass-market tourism, widespread archaeological excavation of ancient monuments, and the production of targeted guidebooks, tours, souvenirs and icons. Cultural tourism in Greece, including Christian pilgrimage, is closely linked with central aspects of the Hellenic national identity, including Orthodox Christianity and the guardianship of monuments of Classical Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Modern Christian pilgrimage to Greece of Protestants, Catholics and Orthodox alike takes place in the context of an overwhelmingly

1. Stroulia-Sutton 2010; Hamilakis 2007; Kourelis 2004; Eisner 1991, with Leontis 1997 review article; Swinglehurst 1982.

Orthodox Christian Greek populace, who also engage in local short-range pilgrimage themselves, and mingle at transit hubs like Corinth with groups of evangelical Protestants from the American Midwest, or Korean Baptists.

Christian pilgrimage to Greece, though, is also a phenomenon with a continuous history of some two millennia, since the first travellers came to Corinth to hear the letters of St Paul read aloud in the houses of those who had actually met him. The primary focus of Christian pilgrimage was always Jerusalem, and the halo of holy sites of Jewish and Christian lore to its north and south.<sup>2</sup> Rome, and then Constantinople, came to be the other major *foci* of Christian religious travel, along with tombs, pillars and other monuments all across the expanding *oikoumene*. Christian pilgrims of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (through the Crusades) generated written testimonials and travelogues, and left a record in material culture and architecture across Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. Some pilgrims traveled great distances, but the majority visiting any particular site outside the Holy Land most often came from the immediate area to experience the blessing of a specific holy place.<sup>3</sup> These visitors bought, deposited and also often collected souvenirs as they visited churches, martyria and hostels alongside roads or harbors. Local people advertised their sites and cities through elaborate, and often expensive, construction projects, and they supplied the souvenir votives: *evlogiae*, *ampullae* or medallions; myrrh, dust, relics or holy water; and services of hospitality, hagiography and the remission of sins.

Yet while the Peloponnesus always lay along travel and trade routes between western Europe and the Holy Land, and most pilgrims had some basic knowledge of the role played by Greek cities in the formation of Christianity, cities like Patras, Corinth or Athens gave up their relics early, generated few prominent saints, and suffered from barbarian invasion and political instability throughout much of the early to high Middle Ages (Early to Middle Byzantine era). Most Medieval pilgrims in southern Greece were likely local Orthodox Christians who left little trace in the archaeological record, or foreigners who made a few casual observations while on their way to somewhere else. However, a few well-funded, and often long-lived, Metropolitan bishops did attract pilgrim attention to their sees, along with local or imperial Byzantine authorities, and Holy men and women. These people all constructed and maintained churches, martyria and other pilgrimage sites in southern Greece between the 6th and 12th centuries, along with travel infrastructure like ports, inter-city roads, and *xenodocheia*. Martyrs

2. Limor and Stroumsa 2006; Bitton-Ashkelony 2005; Ellis and Kidner 2004; Wilkinson 1977.
3. Vikan 2010, p. 8; Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997, p. 19; Montserrat 1998, p. 274.

like St Andrew and Quadratus drew both western European and Byzantine pilgrims from outside of the Peloponnese, while Patras, Corinth and Athens attracted particular attention through their appearance in the apocryphal Acts of St Andrew, the Epistles of Paul and the book of *Acts*. Though a city like Corinth could certainly never compete with the Holy Land as a pilgrimage destination, this paper considers the textual and material evidence for the marketing that local Patraeans, Corinthians and Athenians undertook in order to attract Christian travellers and pilgrims over the seven Medieval centuries from Late Antiquity through the First Crusade.

To begin with those from farthest afield: to reach the Holy Land, western and northern European pilgrims had to pass either through or around the peninsula of ancient Greece, whether by land or by sea. Precise itineraries traveled by pilgrims shifted only slightly from the days of St Jerome up to the First Crusade, as the basic geography and weather underlying the navigation routes, harbors and roads between Italy and the Levantine coast remained largely the same. By land, there was the Balkan route, from the head of the Adriatic along the Danube's headwaters through Sofia (ancient Serdica) to Constantinople, or across the Adriatic Sea at its narrowest point from Bari, Brindisi or Otranto to Dyrrachium (modern Durres), then eastwards along the Via Egnatia through Thessaloniki into Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> The shrine of St Demetrius in Thessaloniki was the most notable Medieval pilgrim destination in what is now the nation state of Greece, but both shrine and city have a different history from southern Greece, largely due to proximity to Constantinople.<sup>5</sup> The most common pilgrimage route, however, was to travel eastwards almost entirely by sea, from any Italian port. Whether the ship passed Sicily, or headed straight across the Adriatic Sea, the first port of call was usually the island harbors of Corfu and Cephallonia, then south around the treacherous Capes Tainaron and Malea (the Medieval Cape St. Angelo), and eastwards through the Cyclades above Crete to Kos, Rhodes, Cyprus and the Syrian coast. This seaborne route passed straight around Greece, and through the Greek islands, but rarely gave pilgrims a place or reason to stop.

Typical of this seaborne route is the early 8th-century Englishman Willibald, who found nothing of interest in 'Slavinia', as he called southern Greece, in his travels between the tomb-shrine of lava-averting St Agatha at Catania

4. For Late Antique and Medieval routes of travel between the western and eastern Mediterranean and on to the Holy Land see McCormick 2001, pp. 501-569; Hunt 1982. Once travellers gained Constantinople, the land route continued southeast through Ancyra (modern Ankara) to Tarsus in Cilicia, and then through Antioch on down the Levantine coast to Jerusalem.
5. Skedros 1999; Bakirtzis 1988.

in eastern Sicily, and the shrine of St John and the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus (see Pülz, this volume). Willibald's account comes in the record of kinswoman Hugeburc of Heidenheim, who notes that:

Sailing from Syracuse, they crossed the Adriatic and reached the city of Monembasia, in the land of Slavina, and from there they sailed to Chios, leaving Corinth on the port side. Sailing on from there, they passed Samos and sped on towards Asia, to the city of Ephesus, which stands about a mile from the sea. Then they went on foot to the spot where the Seven Sleepers lie at rest (and) the tomb of St. John, the Evangelist, which is situated in a beautiful spot near Ephesus.<sup>6</sup>

Many, perhaps most, Holy Land pilgrims took a similar 'there and back again' route by sea around the southern end of the Peloponnesus, perhaps with a 'shopping' stop on the mainland of Greece at Monemvasia's fine port, the source of sweet 'Malmsey' wines.<sup>7</sup>

Only a few western or eastern pilgrim accounts record the combination of sea and land travel which would take a visitor to the Peloponnesus, usually crossing the Isthmus, and sailing on the Gulf of Corinth past Patras and Corinth. Gregory the Dekapolite, an Orthodox monk, traveled from Thessaloniki to Corinth ca. 831-833, and there took ship for Reggio on his way to Rome.<sup>8</sup> The pilgrim Saewulf, an Englishman like Willibald, made the reverse trip from southern Italy (Apulia) on his way to the Holy Land in summer, 1102. His account, preserved in one manuscript in Cambridge, records a rare intentional visit by a group of western pilgrims to southern Greece. After he reached Robert Guiscard's new harbor on northeast Cephallonia, modern Fiskardo, on the first of August, 1102, Saewulf narrated his month-long passage eastwards across Greece thus:

Afterwards from there at a distance we approached Polipolis (perhaps the port later called Glarentza, below Chlemoutsi Castle), then indeed we came to the important island (sic) Patras, into which city we entered

6. Translation from Talbot 1954, p. 160. From Hampshire in the south of England, Willibald travelled to the Holy Land in the years 723-729; this account comes from his outward voyage of 723-724, as recorded in his *hodoeporicon* or travelogue, which was written up by his kinswoman Hugeburc of Heidenheim in 778.
7. Shakespeare mentions Malmsey or Monemvasiot wine 3 times in his extant plays: *Love's Labour's Lost* 5.2.240, 2 *Henry IV* 2.1.36, *Richard III* 1.4.153 (in this last play, assassins are sent by Richard to drown his brother the Duke of Clarence in a butt of Malmsey wine).
8. Ignatius Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Decapolitae*, BHG 711, summarized in McCormick 2001, pp. 199-201, 531.

in order to pray to the blessed Andrew the apostle, who was martyred there and buried, but afterwards translated to Constantinople. From Patras, we came to Corinth on the vigil of St. Laurence (August 9th), where blessed Paul the apostle preached the word of god and to whose people he wrote a letter. There we endured many hardships (*multa passi sumus contraria*). From there indeed we went across the gulf to the port of Hosta (Livadostron, ancient Kreusis), and thus on foot, some indeed on donkeys, we travelled in two days to Thebes, which city is popularly called Stivas. Then on the next day we came to Nigrepontus (Chalcis, on Euboea) on the vigil of St. Bartholomew the apostle (August 23rd). There moreover we bought passage on another ship. Furthermore Athens, where apostle Paul preached, is distant by two days from the coast of Corinth, (and) where blessed Dionysius (the Areopagite) was born and educated and later by blessed Paul converted to the Lord. A church is there of the Blessed Virgin Maria, in which is oil in a lamp always burning but never running out. Afterwards we came to the island which is called Petalion (at the southern tip of Euboea), then to Andros....<sup>9</sup>

Saewulf then continued on eastwards across the Aegean sea, stopping at many of the Cycladic islands, and finally reached the Holy Land. His brief description of his pilgrimage to Patras and Corinth is noteworthy, however, as is his information on the noteworthy sights of Athens as known in 1102. Only at Patras does he mention what he and his group actually did as pilgrims: they went into the city and prayed there, because St Andrew was martyred and buried there, in that place. There are no details of his activity at Corinth, and it is unclear if he went to Athens. If he went there, he noticed the marvel of the lamp in the Parthenon; if he did not actually go there, perhaps he heard the story in Chalcis. At each of the three cities, Patras, Corinth and Athens, other texts and archaeological evidence are needed to get further details of pilgrimage up to 1102.

The western port city of Patras was ideally positioned for pilgrim visits from the west, whether passing up the Gulf of Corinth, or continuing south to round the Peloponnese. Patras had a significant role in early Christian texts, as the site of the seaside crucifixion of St Andrew, 'first-called' (*protokletos*) Galilean fisherman turned fisher-of-men in the Gospels, brother of Simon Peter, and converter of the Scythians. Though Andrew's adventures around the Black Sea and near Constantinople proved most popular in Christian literature, his link to Patras was always present there, despite the loss of his relics, through several versions of his apocryphal Acts.<sup>10</sup> In both Medieval

9. For Saewulf's Latin account see Huygens 1994, pp. 59-60.

10. Bremmer 2000; Prieur 1989; Flamion 1911.

Greek and Latin versions, Andrew was said to have spiritually seduced the wife of the Achaian proconsul Aegeates (or Aegeas) in Patras through his preaching there, and suffered martyrdom against the will of the local people, forcing the guilty Aegeas to commit suicide by casting himself down from his high praetorium (shades of King Aegeus of Athens). From Jerome and Gregory of Nazianzus onwards, St Andrew was always placed in Patras at the end of his life and travels, and his tomb shrine was certainly honoured there, and said to emit miracle-working manna on his feast day of November 30.<sup>11</sup>

Some six hundred years after Jerome wrote, Saewulf specifies that his party of pilgrims went *deliberately* into the city of Patras to pray to St Andrew, and apparently found some facilities there at which to do so. He also knew, or was told by locals, that Andrew's relics had long before been taken to Constantinople. There they had been placed in the Church of the Holy Apostles, adjacent to relics of Timothy and Luke, and near the bones of John Chrysostom.<sup>12</sup> Pilgrim flasks with a stamped image of a man and the legend 'Andrew' probably derive from Patras, where they would have been filled from the tomb-manna, or with water from the ancient oracular spring by the modern church of St Andrew on the harbour.<sup>13</sup> Patras was raised to the status of a Metropolitan bishopric alongside Corinth on the strength of its connection with St Andrew, and churches and shrines in honour of St Andrew must have been built in Late Antiquity by the harbour and in the city, though few traces of these survive today.<sup>14</sup> That the people of Patras also employed the stories of St Andrew to glorify their city and attract pilgrims is clear not only from the pilgrim flasks but also from local miracles attributed to St Andrew in the 9<sup>th</sup>- or 10<sup>th</sup>-century *Chronicle of Monemvasia*, which may have been composed by Arethas of Patras, and certainly gives the city's connection with St Andrew special attention.<sup>15</sup> Patras continued to prosper as an urban center throughout the Middle Ages, in part by promoting its connections with St Andrew to visitors from near and far, like Saewulf, as well as to Italian traders from port cities across the Adriatic (most notably from Reggio di Calabria, Gregory's 9th-century destination).

11. Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs* 30, in Van Dam 1988.
12. See Woods 1991 for the translation of the relics of Andrew to Constantinople. The head of St Andrew was returned by Pope Paul VI to the church at Patras in 1966.
13. Vikan 2010, pp. 35, 42; Curcic and St. Clair 1986, no. 149.
14. See Saradi-Mendelovici 1980; Laurent 1963; Dvornik 1958, pp. 208-222.
15. For the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* see Turlej 1998; Dujcevic 1976; Lemerle 1963. I thank Kieran Hendrick for these references. St Andrew's continued protection of Medieval Patras also appears in the 10th-century *de administrando imperio* 49-50 of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

On the other side of Greece, Medieval Athens seems to have made the most of St Paul's visit, but also 'rebranded' many Classical monuments into new Christian sites for pilgrimage. Medieval Athens was still centered around the Acropolis and the Areopagus of Paul's preaching, with the Parthenon serving as its Cathedral church from at least the 7th century onwards, and noteworthy to Saewulf as a Church of the Virgin Mary (*Theotokos* to the locals). A number of pilgrim accounts make reference to noteworthy things to see in the Christian Parthenon, particularly the ever-burning lamp, a golden dove given by the emperor Basil the Bulgar-Slayer, and the gates brought from Troy.<sup>16</sup> Thus ancient monuments and artifacts attracted attention even when they had no clear Christian significance, even outside of Constantinople. The Athenian ever-burning lamp may even be connected with the ancient lamp in the Erechtheion which Pausanias (1.26.7) says Callimachus made for Athena to burn a year at a time without filling. Churches inside the Hephaesteum, the Erechtheion and other converted temples also drew pilgrims to Athens, alongside newer constructions like the church and spring atop the Asklepieion, probably dedicated to St Andrew, and the church of St Dionysius the Areopagite, dedicated to that local Holy man just north of the Areopagus.<sup>17</sup>

Michael Choniates, acerbic bishop of Athens from 1182 to 1205, complained about rapacious visits from the civil governor based at Thebes in order to attend the Parthenon-church, but he also notes more positive local benefactions, foreign visitors, and the great glory the building gave to its bishop and city.<sup>18</sup> The Latin account of Niccolò da Martoni's *Pilgrimage Book*, though strictly speaking beyond my scope, adds more scenes and stories of the Parthenon-church from 1395, mixing Classical elements with an icon of St Luke, a bible of Constantine's mother Helena, and a graffito of St Dionysius the Areopagite himself. In Patras, Niccolò also saw frescoes depicting the sack of Troy at the palace of the Catholic archbishop.<sup>19</sup> Before Niccolò, and Saewulf's mix of the Pauline and marvelous about Athens, others who came looking for Paul's Areopagus found the church of St Dionysius the Areopagite and other Christian shrines just adjacent, and the wonders of the Parthenon as a church above.

While Medieval Patras had the martyrdom of St Andrew, and Athens had the visit of St Paul, his supposed convert St Dionysius the Areopagite, and a host of Christianised Classical monuments, Corinth is best known today among

16. Pollini 2007; Ousterhout 2005.

17. Conversion of temples: Frantz 1965. Asklepieion church: Karivieri 1995; Creaghan and Raubitschek 1947, p. 29.

18. Kaldellis 2009; Kolovou 2001; Setton 1946.

19. See Shawcross 2003, p. 136 (13th or 14th century frescoes); Le Grand 1895, p. 661.

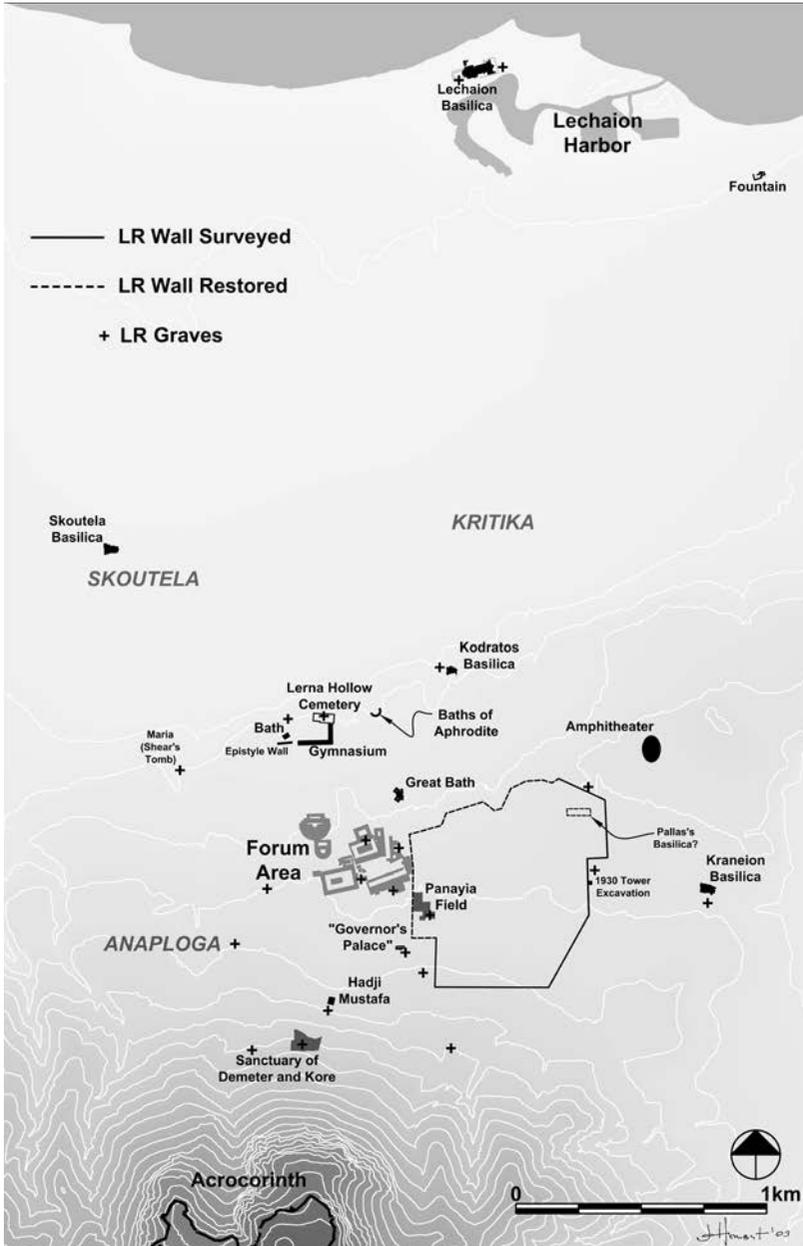


FIG. 1. Corinth in Late Antiquity (courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

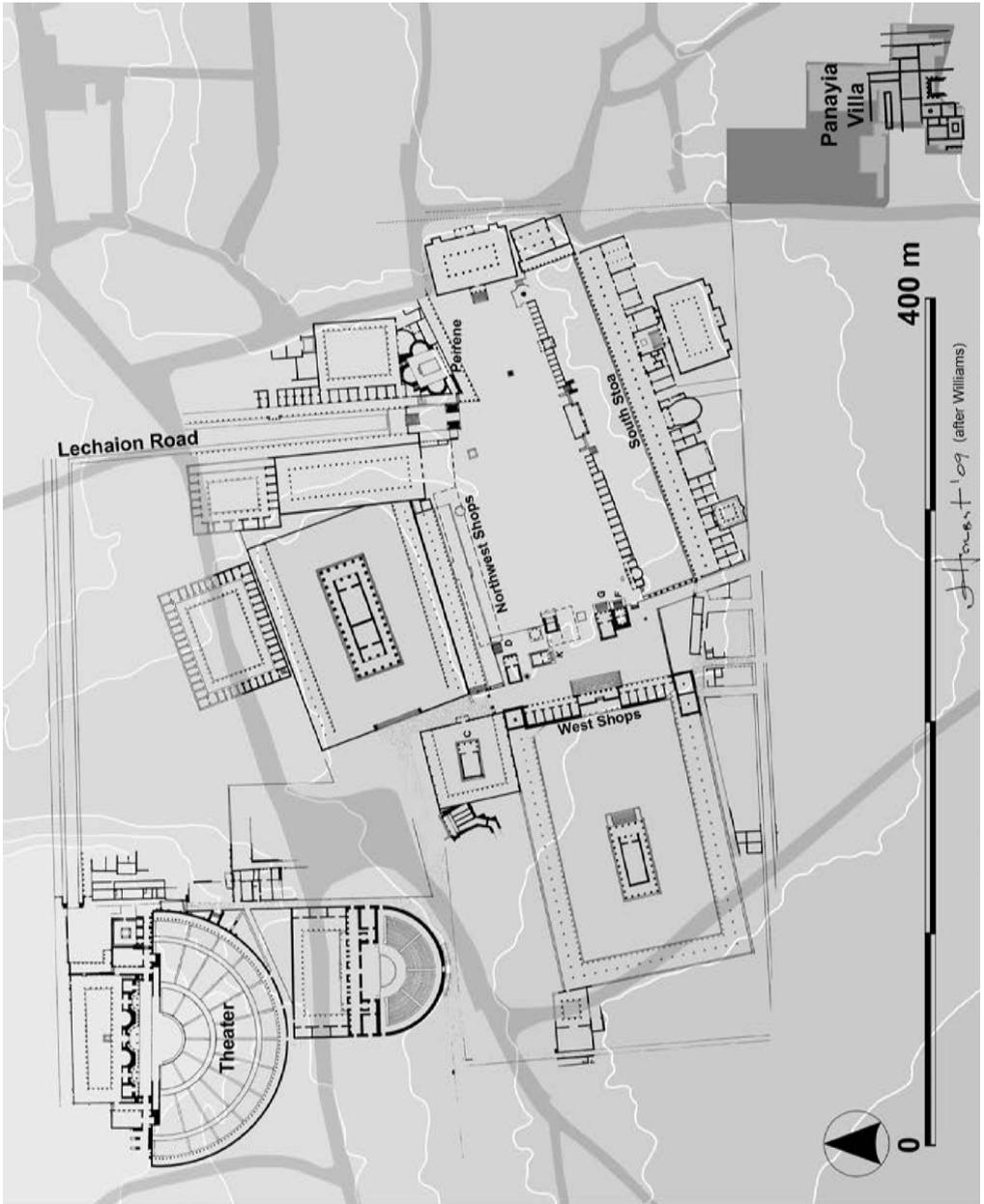


FIG. 2. Central Area (Agora) of Late Antique Corinth (courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



FIG. 3. Modern Church of Ancient Corinth, with Inscription of St. Paul's Letter (photo by author).

non-scholarly travelers for monuments connected with the 1st-century visit and letters of St Paul (Figs. 1-3). At the modern village church of the Panagia (Church of the Dormition of the Virgin), today's pilgrims see a modern pillar inscribed with a famous excerpt on love from Paul's letters to the Corinthians (1Cor 13:4-13), praising love in several modern languages and in the original *koine* Greek (FIG. 3). An intricate web of ancient and modern texts and monuments come together at contemporary Corinth, in the tales of tour guides, the imagination of pilgrims, and the marks that modern Pauline pilgrimage leaves on the landscape. The modern Christian pilgrim establishes a link with the apostle Paul and his early converts by visiting Corinth in person, a link sought and treasured, costing money and time, but producing spiritual benefit and supporting local services from postcards to tavernas. Witness to modern local devotion to Paul is his monumental modern church just south of the village center, featuring a neo-Byzantine mosaic panel with the deeds of St Paul outside, a dedication to Paul from Vasilike Gkila for her parents, another inscribed marble stele with 1Corinthians 13:1-13 on love, and a stele with further excerpts from Paul's letters to Corinth and the book of Acts.

Archaeologists have long sought ancient material connections to Paul’s visit at Corinth, in the ongoing excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Athens Archaeological Society, and the Greek Archaeological Service. The material culture of 1st-century Corinth exposed by these excavations has also become the object of New Testament scholarship, and modern local and foreign pilgrimage, though no monuments can be unequivocally connected with Paul’s letters, or the account of his visit to Corinth in *Acts*.<sup>20</sup>

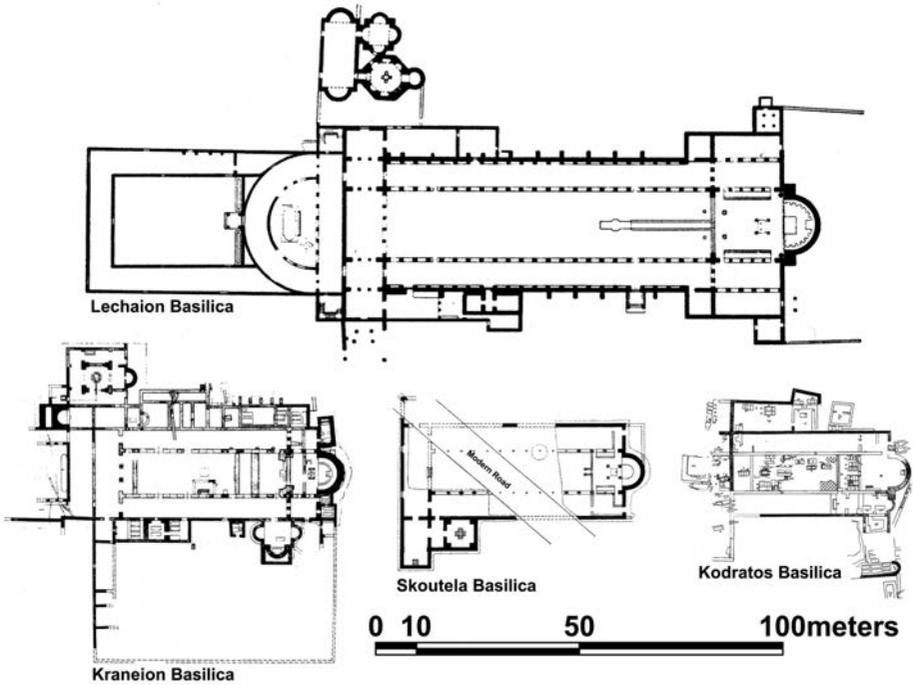


FIG. 4. Basilica churches of Corinth (courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

The Pauline epistles and the book of *Acts* were both taken up with the rest of Christian scripture by a few Corinthian Christians in the centuries after Paul’s visit, and probably by a majority of Corinthians only in the 5th and 6th centuries.<sup>21</sup> However, local cults of Corinthian martyrs, like Sts Leonidas and Quadratus, also formed in the 3rd and 4th centuries, and may have been more significant to Medieval Corinthians or pilgrims from the Peloponnesus than St Paul. Ancient awareness of Paul’s ministry at Corinth appears in episcopal

20. Goodrich 2011; Murphy-O’Connor 2002; Broneer 1976; 1962; 1951; McDonald 1942.  
 21. For the Christianization of Corinth see Brown 2008; Sanders 2005; Rothaus 2000.

letters, commentaries on his epistles, and inscriptions. The excavated churches at Corinth were all placed along major communication routes in and out of the city, so travellers to Medieval Corinth approaching from north or east arrived first of all at sites of Christian worship. Corinthians constructed both concrete buildings and local legends over many centuries, perpetuating the memory of St Paul's visit as well as the cults of local martyrs for religious, civic and economic purposes beyond the strictly local.<sup>22</sup> The tangible results of their efforts shed new light on the 'dark ages' of Late Antique and Medieval Byzantine Corinth, between the widespread Christianization of the city in the 6th century and Saewulf's 'many hardships' in the city of St Paul in August of 1102. Possible traces of the Pauline legacy come in the ruins of the Bema or Speaker's Platform in the Agora, where a small Byzantine chapel was built; in inscriptions mentioning Paul; and in texts by outsiders like Saewulf who show awareness of Corinth's connection with St Paul.<sup>23</sup>



FIG. 5. Kraneion Basilica (photo by author).

22. Pallas (1957) tells a contemporary popular legend behind the name of the neighborhood of Anaploga from St Paul 'catching his breath' there after being rolled down Acrocorinth in a barrel by Corinthians "displeased by his preaching," in Landon's words (1994, p. 164, n. 280); Landon also gives an alternate story of Williams that Paul was escaping a demon in the barrel.
23. For 'Dark Age' Corinth see Brown 2010; Sanders 2004.

After the letters of Paul, and then Clement of Rome, to the Corinthians, it was John Chrysostom who first corresponded with a nascent Christian hierarchy in Corinth, writing to the city's bishop Alexander around the year 400, and connecting Paul to contemporary Corinth by calling Corinth the 'first city of Greece' of his own era in his homily on Paul's *Letter to the Corinthians*.<sup>24</sup> Later in this same homily, Chrysostom also judged Paul similar, yet superior to, the philosopher Diogenes the Cynic, who spent much of his life at Corinth, as he would have known. The grave of Diogenes the Cynic, on the eastern approach to Corinth, was marked by a Parian marble *trapeza* bearing a dog in relief, and an epitaph. Though not a Christian monument, it may have been pointed out to visitors to Corinth throughout the Middle Ages, as the tombstone itself was last seen in Venice in 1675, where it was likely taken, from Corinth, probably in the 12th to 14th centuries along with other inscriptions and relics.<sup>25</sup> In the Middle Ages, it was the Kraneion or Cenchreae Gate Basilica which was the first building that pilgrims approaching Corinth from the Isthmus or the eastern port of Cenchreae would have seen (Figs. 4-5).<sup>26</sup> Though ruined today, this church survived into Corinth's Byzantine and Venetian era, constantly acquiring new graves, and serving, like pagan shrines and tombs beforehand, as a marker of the eastern border of Corinth, the road to Cenchreae and the passage between the worlds of the living and dead.

This was also the route over which Paul left Corinth through Cenchreae in *Acts*, and at least two churches were built at the port of Cenchreae in Late Antiquity to greet or farewell visitors, and service the port community.<sup>27</sup> A second unexcavated church on the Cenchreae-Corinth road near the

24. John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in 1 Cor.* (*Homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*) Argument 1-2 (PG 61, 9), ed. Schaff 1898.
25. The biographer of Diogenes the Cynic, Diogenes Laërtius (6.78), described how Diogenes frequented the Gymnasium of Corinth on the eastern side of the city, the Kraneion (or Skull-place) near the Gate to the Isthmus, Cenchreae and the eastern approaches to Corinth. See for Diogenes' tomb Pausanias 2.2.4; *Palatine Anthology* 7.64; Hansen 1990; Häusle 1989.
26. Carpenter 1929, pp. 345-60; Shelley 1943; Scranton 1957 (*Corinth XVI*), p. 7; Pallas 1970 (1972); 1972 (1974); 1976 (1978); 1977 (1980); 1990. The triconch mausoleum is convincingly interpreted as a family mausoleum and not a martyrium by Snively 1984, pp. 117-24. Though Rothaus 2000, p. 98 says (n. 25) that Snively argues unsuccessfully that "the Kraneion basilica was not a martyrium," she was just discussing the triconch tomb not the whole basilica. He also still has it built early 6th and "damaged and abandoned" mid-6th, assumedly by Pallas' earthquake of 550/1, which likely did no damage to Corinth. In any case the basilica was used long into the Byzantine era, as there are traces of Gothic-style modifications. Date of construction of the church in the first half of the 6th century established by Pallas 1970 (1972), pp. 109-10, and reaffirmed in his subsequent reports and posthumous final summary (Pallas 1990).
27. Rife 2010, pp. 423-431.

Kraneion Basilica, Pallas' Church (from its discoverer), or the Amphitheater Church, included two large centrally-planned linked structures, likely a Martyrium or Baptistery with attached church.<sup>28</sup> This church predated the 5th or 6th-century Late Roman Wall, which makes an eastward jog to keep it inside the circuit.<sup>29</sup> A fragment of column found nearby bears three barely legible lines of text: *Paulou*, of Paul, and the typically Late Antique title *lamprotatos*, most brilliant, Latin *clarissimus*, which might belong to St Paul, a local official, or, most likely, a Corinthian bishop.<sup>30</sup>

The Corinthian bishop Photius sent the deacons Dionysius and Callinicus to the Fifth Church Council in Constantinople in 553, and he is the first Corinthian bishop attested archaeologically at Corinth, as his name was found on an invocation inscribed on a column discovered at Corinth itself, on the citadel of Acrocorinth; there a small church was built in the 6th or 7th century, which may have been Photius' effort at unseating Aphrodite, Corinth's patron goddess, from that site, and replacing her with a Christian saint.<sup>31</sup> The church atop Acrocorinth fell into ruins in the Middle Ages, but was replaced by the shrine of a Turkish Holy man by the time of Evliya Çelebi's visit in 1668.<sup>32</sup> As late as the 680s, Corinthian bishops traveled frequently to act as emissaries between the Pope in Rome and the Patriarch in Constantinople, so Corinth as a city was still in touch with the Church hierarchy abroad, and had an active local clergy, even after Slavic and Arab raids began in the 7th century.<sup>33</sup> It was in this era - the 7th and 8th centuries - that several small churches were built around the old Agora, at the center of ancient Corinth.

28. This church was discovered by Pallas 1959; 1990, p. 764; it is mentioned with reference to him by Scranton and generally called Pallas' church (1957, p. 9). Rothaus 2000, p. 95, however, chose instead to call it the Amphitheater Church; with Tim Gregory, he observed late 5th, 6th and 7th century pottery, two impost capitals, and an inscription turned in to the Corinth museum (I-1990-3). Was this building a martyrium? If so, to whom was it dedicated? Compare the Octagon Church in Philippi, or, in Thessaloniki, the Rotunda of St George, perhaps a mausoleum or a temple, converted into a church, Galerius' Palace Octagon, probably an audience hall, and the Octagon church by the Vardar west gate, perhaps a martyrium church dedicated to St Nestor: Grabar 1972; Mango 1993a; 1993b; Spieser 1984, p. 117; 2001; Hattersley-Smith 1996, pp. 135-9, 163-5; Nasrallah 2005; Nasrallah *et al.* 2010.
29. Gregory 1979; Sanders and Boyd 2008.
30. Corinth inscription I-1044; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), no. 509; *CIG* 8824.
31. Corinth inscription I-2508; Pallas and Dantis 1977 (1979), 68-69, no. 7; *SEG* 29 302, dated 536-553.
32. MacKay 1968.
33. Stephanos of Corinth appears at the 6th ecumenical council of 680 as a representative of the Pope; another bishop of Corinth features in 689 on an embassy of the Patriarch to Rome (Bon 1951, pp. 103-104). No Archbishop of Corinth is recorded at the 787 7th ecumenical council, but this may be because of their attitude on icons rather than their nonexistence.



FIG. 6. Bema of the Agora of Ancient Corinth, converted to a Byzantine church (photo by author).

Besides churches in the fountain court of the ancient Peirene spring, and over the northeast corner of the Apollo Temple, a church was placed squarely atop the Bema, the Roman Speaker's platform, which is today venerated as a likely site of Paul's trial before the Proconsul of Achaia Gallio (FIG. 6).<sup>34</sup> The small church atop the Bema was dated by its sculpture and coins to the 9th or 10th century, and sits on top of a spot where Medieval Corinthians too might have expected Paul to have faced the proconsul of Achaia they had read about in *Acts*. An inscription in honor of St Paul was found just to the east; Kent translated it as follows, and suggested it came from the Bema church, which was thus dedicated to St Paul: "If anyone of all the [dwellers] of the earth be not prepared for the Day of Judgment, [let him have] trust in Paul. [The ---] church of [Saint] Paul."<sup>35</sup> If this church dedicated to Paul was

34. Robinson 2011 (Peirene); Robinson 1976 (Temple Hill).

35. Corinth Inscription I-2260; Kent 1966 (*Corinth* VIII.3), pp. 211-212, no. 728; Scranton 1951 (*Corinth* I.3), p. 132. The inscription is a white marble slab fragment, and was found on the east side of the Julian Basilica in 1948, north of the old Panagia church. It has been dated to the 9th-10th century on the basis of the lettering.

not the chapel atop the Bema, which is the closest excavated to date, then it likely occupied the heights east of the Agora between the modern and medieval Panagia Churches (where a mosque stood in Ottoman Corinth).

Finally, it may be significant that five of 18 manuscripts of a French prose adaptation of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*, a Medieval epic poem about the sack of Troy, bear a postscript claiming that the original of the text came 'from the Cathedral of St Paul in Corinth'.<sup>36</sup> This prose adaptation was written in the second half of the 13th century, maybe in the Peloponnesus (and thus likely under the auspices of the scholar-diplomat William of Moerbeke, bishop of Corinth from 1277 until his death, ca. 1286). It also has an introduction favorable to Corinth ('...the Morea, where the noble city of Corinth is to be found'), while the epilogue claims that the original book kept at Corinth in the cathedral was in Greek, translated into Latin and then French by the anonymous author. The majority of the content is derived from Benoît's 12th-century French poem, however, which itself comes from the ancient texts of Dares and Dictys; it is unclear if a Greek original even ever existed. Shawcross (2009) argues that this 'specific Greek origin' was a trope for other French texts like *Le Roman de Landomata*, and even for the French translation of the *Chronicle of Morea*. Adding to the complexity is a Greek translation of the *Roman de Troie*, from a separate tradition to that used for the French *mise en prose* 'from the Cathedral of St Paul at Corinth.' This Greek translation, in verse, was certainly made in the Peloponnesus too, between 1320 and 1390.<sup>37</sup> The evidence for the reception of St Paul in Medieval Corinth is thus slight, but both local and international, from Late Antiquity to the eve of the Turkish conquest of the Peloponnesus.

Yet there were other saints drawing pilgrims to Medieval Corinth, who may have been more important to medieval Corinthians or to other Greek pilgrims than Paul. Only two Corinthian saints seem to have achieved long-lasting notoriety in the wider church. Most well known was Leonidas and his seven (or more) female followers, originally honored on April 16 for their execution by the procurator Venustus (ca. 240 AD).<sup>38</sup> Four versions of their martyrdom exist, ranging in date from the 5th to the 10th centuries,

36. Shawcross 2003, pp. 137-138; Constans and Faral 1922 (for original introduction of the *mise en prose*); Meyer 1885 (for the epilogue). For William of Moerbeke see Wilson 1967; Sanders forthcoming.

37. Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys 1996, also discussed in Shawcross 2003; 2009.

38. Halkin 1953 postulates that Leonidas of Corinth was conflated with the bishop of Athens of the same name and feast day on April 15th in the 13th century.

of unclear relation to one another.<sup>39</sup> Leonidas and his virgin companions are said to have fasted, prayed, and preached in Corinth; they were then arrested, separated, interrogated and asked to sacrifice. Once they had given fairly stock philosophical Christian answers, and refused, Leonidas was tortured then hung, while the ladies were flogged, chained, weighted down with rocks and dropped in the Gulf of Corinth. Upon washing up at the western port of Lechaion, all were then buried by fellow Christians together under a shrine, which then displayed healing powers. This healing shrine has been persuasively associated with the 6th-century Lechaion Basilica, which stood from the 6th to 7th centuries on the sand spit between Corinth's northern Lechaion harbor and the Gulf of Corinth, and had a baptistery which probably continued as a site of pilgrimage into the Middle Ages, as well as a later chapel built in the sanctuary of the ruined basilica (Figs. 4, 7).

By far the largest Christian church ever built at Corinth (or indeed in the Peloponnese), the Lechaion Basilica had two atria, and small rooms (perhaps shops) on the western end, adding up to 180 meters of church complex. The inner atrium also has a large fountain, and the extensive baptistery is attached to the north aisle, on the Gulf side of the church.<sup>40</sup> Rooms with apsidal dining areas south of the inner atrium likely represent the Corinthian bishops' quarters of the 6th, 7th and perhaps 8th centuries. After the construction of this complex, visitors approaching Corinth from the west and the Gulf could certainly not avoid encountering this church when arriving by sea.

39. See Limberis 2005, pp. 450-452 and Delehaye 1933, p. 262 for the dates. The versions are: Mss Patmos 254, ed. Halkin 1971; *Acta Sanctorum* April 16, 2.399-402 (*de SS. Callisto, Charisio, Leonide, Christiana, Galla, Theodora, Lota, Tertia, Caristo, item Chariessa, Nice, Gallena, Nunechia, Basilissa, Cali. Martyribus Corinthi in Achaia*); *Menologion* in PG 117.405; *Parvum Romanum*, ed. Quentin 1969, p. 330, Florus of Lyons recension (*apud Corinthum, Calisti et Carisi, cum alius septum, omnium in mare mensorum*).
40. Pallas 1961; 1962; 1963; 1965a; 1965b; 1966; 1967; 1970; 1990. Pallas 1964, p. 141 is the last new plan of the Lechaion Basilica published by its excavator, and the last coin dates, 450-460 for the church, 518-527 for the atrium. See also Krautheimer 1986, pp. 131-134; Rothaus 2000, pp. 96-97; Sanders 2003.



FIG. 7. Lechaion Basilica (photo by author).

Pallas, the excavator of the church, suggested it was dedicated to Leonidas and the seven virgins or deaconesses martyred at Corinth, because of its seaside location. Sanders suggests it was finished in 522-530 by Justinian as part of his restoration of Corinth after an earthquake.<sup>41</sup> It was used into the early 7th century, as collapsed elements of the apse overlie the tomb of the presbyter Thomas, whose grave goods date to ca. 600.<sup>42</sup> The column capitals, of the 'Theodosian' fine-toothed acanthus type, appear to be original products of an imperial workshop which supplied the Studios Basilica in Constantinople (453/4), the Acheiropoieitos Basilica in Thessaloniki, and Basilica B at Philippi, and which were widely imitated in the early 6th century by local stonemasons too.<sup>43</sup> Given these details it seems certain that it was the seat of the Archbishop of Corinth, Metropolitan of all southern Greece; as the only excavated church at Corinth not in a cemetery, it also

41. Sanders 2003; 2004.

42. Pallas 1961, pp. 177-8, pl. 72b.

43. For these later 5th to early 6th century Imperial column capitals, and their early 6th century imitations, see Sodini 1984, 226-9; Mango 1993c (Studios Basilica); Hattersley-Smith 1996, pp. 60-2, 146-7, 160.

provides intriguing glimpses of Christian liturgy in the 6th century. Certainly the scale of the baptistery and font, with subsidiary chambers, and the atrium fountains, show a special interest in supplying water. Such a large basilica located in an urban environment could have given pilgrims baptism in the same spot where Leonidas had had his second baptism of martyrdom by drowning.<sup>44</sup> Pilgrims also might attend the preaching of homilies, celebration of the Eucharist, singing of hymns, choral odes and *kontakia* (like those of Romanos), celebration of local and foreign saints with readings from their miracle stories and veneration of their relics, and other regular feasts, along with healing or problem-solving of other kinds, incubation, veneration of icons and processions.



FIG. 8. Quadratus Basilica (photo by author).

Finally, when pilgrims passed by the Lechaion basilica, or in later centuries the baptistery complex and smaller sanctuary-church at the Lechaion harbour, and went up to Corinth by the western route, they found another large

44. I thank the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion, drawn from a late version of Leonidas' *Vita*.

basilica church just in front of the city itself. This, the Quadratus Basilica, was constructed in the early 6th century, most likely to honour the local martyr Quadratus with a church and healing spring, near the ruins of the ancient Asklepieion (Figs. 4, 8). The Corinthian mountain-sage and martyr Quadratus was beheaded along with several others on March 10, 258, but taught a student who also became a martyr, and contributed to a Middle Byzantine cult known outside Corinth.<sup>45</sup> The spring above the basilica flows out of a cavern, the current size and shape of which probably date from the Byzantine era, to supply farmers, funerary rites and thirsty travellers.<sup>46</sup> The Quadratus Basilica has no atrium, but masses of graves fill the nave, aisles, adjacent chambers to north and south, and a later narthex.<sup>47</sup> A large tower by the west side of the church is also Medieval, and served as a bell-tower or watch-tower over the road approaching from Lechaion, from which it would have formed a clear landmark on the north side of Corinth.<sup>48</sup>

The name of the church was assigned on the basis of an inscription honoring St Quadratus on a marble lintel reused in a grave within the Basilica, which Stikas assigned to an earlier architectural phase.<sup>49</sup> He associated this inscription and hence the dedication of the Basilica with the martyrs St Quadratus (also Codratus, Greek *Kodratos*) and his five or more companions, decapitated at Corinth under Valerian.<sup>50</sup> March 10 is the date of their martyrdom, and their feast as celebrated in Byzantine Corinth, at the beginning of the sailing season, near the spring equinox. There is also an inscription from Sicyon just west of Corinth for St Quadratus, which may belong to a list of locally honoured saints.<sup>51</sup> Between the 9th and 11th centuries, the healing spring and

45. Halkin 1957 (*BHG* 3rd ed.), volume 1, p. 119; *Acta Sanctorum de Sanctis Martyribus Codrato, Dionysio, Cypriano, Anecto, Paulo, Crescente, Corinthi in Peloponneso* 10 March, 4-11 (2nd ed., pp. 696-700, 3rd ed., pp. 895-8); *Menologion* in *PG* 117.345-8, for March 10. He is confused with 3 other Quadrati according to Grégoire (1950, 158-60), who also argues that the Decian martyr Isocrates in Pseudo-Pionius *Life of Polycarp* may be Quadratus of Corinth, though there is an Athenian apologist of this name in Eusebius *HE* 4.3, and he is an Athenian bishop in Jerome *de vir. illust.* 19-20. See also *Parvum Romanum*, ed. Quentin 1969, p. 428, which has Quadratus on May 26, and the Carthaginian Martyrology, ed. Lietzmann 1911, p. 5, which has Quadratus on Aug. 20. The *Menologion* story is given in Limberis 2005, p. 453; that of his student in Engels 1990, p. 119.
46. Landon 1994, pp. 207-218, no. 12, "Spring of Ayios Kodratos."
47. Stikas 1964; 1965; 1966; Daux 1963; Pallas 1977, pp. 156-163; 1981, pp. 105-108; 1990, pp. 778-779; Rothaus 2000, p. 97.
48. Stikas 1965, p. 478; Pallas 1977, p. 161.
49. Stikas 1965, pp. 478-479, fig. 12, and 1966, p. 64, pl. 49:c.
50. Halkin 1957 (*BHG* 3rd ed.), vol. 1, p. 119; *Acta Sanctorum* 10 March, 4-11 (2nd ed., pp. 696-700 and 3rd ed., pp. 895-898); see the 10th century *Menologion* of Basil in *PG* 117.345-8, for March 10.
51. *SEG* 41.271. For Quadratus in inscriptions see also *EAH* 1962, p. 85; *BE* 1964, no. 177.

adjoining basilica are attested as attracting Orthodox pilgrims to Corinth, probably to the excavated church.<sup>52</sup> The spring was certainly already there in Late Antiquity, and though the literary and archaeological evidence for its use as a healing shrine is Byzantine, these practices may have begun during Late Antiquity. Outside of Corinth, Christian healing shrines tended to arise near springs, and near or on sites of pre-Christian healing, many of which were previously overseen by Asklepios, as at Corinth.<sup>53</sup> At some point during the Venetian or Ottoman era, however, Corinth's Quadratus basilica fell into ruins, and a new burial church was built just to the south, today's Agia Anna.

Therefore the northern side of Corinth and the lower city terrace likely retained its status as a center of healing cult throughout Late Antiquity. The polytheistic cults, especially the Asklepieion, were replaced; their buildings were incorporated into fortification walls, and their land was covered with Christian graves. The main road descending the terrace towards Lechaion did not shift; a traveller or pilgrim from the northern harbor found the new Quadratus Basilica squarely on his way up to the city, with refreshing water which gained added importance from its association with a local saint. Thus a religious building still marked the passage between the city and the rural space of the plain, for pilgrims both local or foreign.

The Cathedral of Corinth in Late Antiquity was almost certainly at Lechaion, from its size alone, rather than at the other excavated cemetery basilicas on roads into town. The evidence is tenuous, but elsewhere bishops were more often the patrons of the former, and non-clergy the latter. In modern Greece, services are held at the former weekly and during festivals, while the latter only see activity during services for the dead. Besides services, though, Corinth's 6th-century churches must also have acted as nodes for processions, and the celebration of *panegyreis*, Christian festivals featuring markets and communal open-air eating, including that in late June in honour of Sts Peter and Paul, the main festival in Ancient Corinth today.<sup>54</sup> In the Middle Ages, the Cathedral must have shifted into the area of the village, adjacent to the ancient Agora. For further archaeological evidence for pilgrims to Byzantine Corinth, however, we must await further discoveries.

52. Joseph the Hymnographer, in the 9th century, is the first to mention the basilica and cult; Nikephoros Gregoras *PG* 149:504-520 is the last source to mention it, and the latest coins from the excavations dated to the reign of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180).

53. Vikan 2010, pp. 29-30; Sanders 2005, pp. 430-437; Rüttiman 1987.

54. For Byzantine festivals see Vryonis 1981.

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# ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIAN PILGRIMAGE IN EPHEBUS

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## Introduction

For many centuries Ephesus (FIG. 1), with its patron goddess Artemis and her temples, had been one of the most important pilgrimage centres of the pagan Graeco-Roman world.<sup>1</sup> Its international reputation as a religious centre was only lost in the course of the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD in the light of the gradual victory of Christianity over the old gods. Already in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, the first disputes between paganism and Christianity took place, but the events concerning Paul (*Acts* 19, 23-40), for example, had no impact on the fame of the great patron goddess and the Temple of Artemis. Considering the notoriety and the religious historical significance of this event, the lack of a specific worship of the apostle by the local Christian community in the following centuries is astounding. However, which saint could fulfil the difficult task of succeeding the great mother goddess Artemis and prevent a cultic vacuum resulting in economic losses at Ephesus?<sup>2</sup> Numerous saints and martyrs known from literary sources<sup>3</sup> offer themselves; especially John, Mary and the Seven Sleepers shall be mentioned here.

At first it seems obvious to think of Mary as the successor of Artemis. As the Mother of God she could have replaced the pagan mother goddess. However,

1. Kötting 1980, pp. 32-57; Knibbe 1995, pp. 141-155; Muss 2008 with several bibliographical references.
2. Cf. for example St. Thecla as cultic successor of Sarpedon in Meriamlık or St. Cosmas and St. Damian, who replaced Asclepius in Aigaiai. Hellenkemper 1995, pp. 259-260 with bibliographical references.
3. See especially Pillinger 2005; Foss 1979, pp. 33-36, 84-85.

the literary sources cannot support this assumption.<sup>4</sup> It is in fact noticeable that Artemis is only seldom referred to in patristic literature and not a single link to Mary has been established.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, no similarities to the Ephesian patron goddess can be found in the early Byzantine iconography of Mary, which was rather influenced by the depiction of the goddess Isis with the boy Horus. Also the fact that for the entire Byzantine period no special adoration of the Virgin Mary as well as no special cultic place in the former *Metropolis Asiae* is known for her, speaks against a cultic succession of Artemis by Mary. This apparent absence stands in a conspicuous contrast to the adoration of Virgin Mary in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and to the local tradition, according to which Mary came to Ephesus together with John. Hereby one always drew upon the notion reaching back to early Christianity that the Ephesian John and the apostle, who at the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem was appointed Asia Minor as his missionary area, were one and the same.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, precise evidence that would verify the presence of the Mother of God in Ephesus does not exist. Only in a letter from the council fathers<sup>7</sup> to Constantinople John the Theologian and the *Theotokos* are mentioned; unfortunately the verb is missing so that it remains unclear if they lived or died or owned a church etc. in Ephesus. A special veneration or even the presence of Mary in Ephesus can therefore not be concluded from the mentioned source. The same is valid for the choice of the city as the venue of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ecumenical Council in 431 AD. In Theodosius II's letter of invitation the possible presence of Mary in Ephesus is not mentioned, but rather the favoured geographical situation of the city and the infrastructure.<sup>8</sup> So, while no evidence for a stay of the *Theotokos* or special adoration can be found in early Byzantine sources, such records cumulate in mid-Byzantine times: from the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards especially high church dignitaries of the Syrian-Orthodox church link Mary to Ephesus.<sup>9</sup> All other sources, however, attest to a concentration on the adoration of John from the 4<sup>th</sup> century to late Byzantine times. Some examples can be mentioned in chronological order: the pilgrims Egeria/Aetheria,<sup>10</sup> Emperor Theodosius II,<sup>11</sup> an anchorite from

4. See Pülz 2008, pp. 67-75 and Pülz 2010b, pp. 72-73 with further literature.

5. Hieron. proleg. in epist. ad Eph. and Min. Fel. Oct. 22, 5 mention Artemis because of her multiple breasts.

6. Eus. *HE* III, 23 and 31. For the much discussed question of the Ephesian John cf. Karwiese 1995, pp. 94-98 and especially Günther 1995, pp. 88-123.

7. Cyr. Alex. *Ep.* 24. Limberis 1995, p. 327, footnotes 13-14.

8. Harreither 2002, p. 83.

9. See Pülz and Ladstätter 2006, pp. 74-75.

10. Aeth. 23, 10 (*CSEL* 39, 70 Z. 30-71).

11. Georg. Cedr. I 602 (*PG* 121, 656).

Palestine,<sup>12</sup> the Anglo-Saxon Bishop Willibald,<sup>13</sup> Emperor Constantine VI,<sup>14</sup> and the Russian Abbot Daniel.<sup>15</sup> In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, the burial place of John still remained the goal of pilgrims, even if, in the course of its ambiguous fate, the church lost its liturgical function and had various other usages (e.g. as a shopping centre, a mosque or a stone quarry).<sup>16</sup>

In summary, analysis of the literary sources shows that John and his burial church (but not Mary) clearly stood at the centre of Christian pilgrimages to Ephesus. The exceptional importance of this apostle can also be seen in the fact that, among all attested saints and martyrs from Ephesus, direct controversies with the pagan goddess and her temples are only transmitted in his case. For example, the apocryphal *Acta Ioannis* describes targeted destructions of votive gifts, statues and parts of the Artemision, which John obtained solely through his prayers.<sup>17</sup>

Next to the all-important John, records can also be found that mention the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers with the graves of the seven young men, as well as the memorial of St. Timotheus on the Panayırdağ as the goal of pilgrimages.<sup>18</sup> According to the *Acta Timothei*, the bishop was buried on the Pion (= Panayırdağ) after his martyrdom.<sup>19</sup> However, this memorial building has not yet been located, and without an archaeological examination the interpretation of the large central building (with four about equally long cross arms) directly to the east of the Vedius Gymnasium as Timotheus' memorial must remain hypothetical.<sup>20</sup>

To be mentioned as well are mid- and late Byzantine buildings, such as an oratory of St. Marina on the street to Smyrna and three monasteries on Mount Galesion to the north of Ephesus. Just as with the memorial of Timotheus, however, their function as pilgrimage centres can only be deduced from written sources, while archaeological evidence has so far been missing. In contrast, the situation of the so-called St. Luke's Tomb and the so-called St. Paul's Grotto is exactly the other way around, since

12. Ioh. Mosch. prat. 180 (*PG* 87/3, 3052).

13. Willibald, *Itinerarium* (T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, 20).

14. Theoph. chron. 6287 (ad annum = 794/95 n. Chr.).

15. Wilson 1895, pp. 5-6.

16. Deyks 1851, p. 24. Cf. Wohlers-Scharf 1995, pp. 18-19.

17. *Acta Ioannis* 37-44; Foss 1979, pp. 34-35.

18. Theod. terr. sanct. 26 (*CCL* 175, 123).

19. On Timotheus cf. Keil 1934; Foss 1979, pp. 33.128.

20. Cf. the ground plan of the church (geophysical measurements of 2010), Daim 2011, p. 181 fig. 4. See Ladstätter and Pülz, 2007, pp. 408-409 for the most important references on the numerous early Christian churches and chapels in and around Ephesus.

their interpretation as a pilgrimage site is solely based on archaeological features respectively epigraphic evidence.

On the other hand the Sütülü Panaya, the Kavaklı Panaya and especially the House of Mary (= Meryemana) can without doubt be called pilgrimage sites. However, the cultic significance of these monuments obviously dates to modern times and can only be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

But how can the bishop's church (no. 95 on FIG. 1) of Ephesus be classified? According to the analysis of the written sources mentioned above, the famous Church of Mary had apparently never been a pilgrimage site.<sup>21</sup> Obvious archaeological evidence and characteristics that would mark the building as a special pilgrimage church are missing as well. What characterizes a building or a site as the goal of a pilgrimage? Does apparent evidence, apart from written sources and inscriptions, exist that would signify a monument or a place as a pilgrimage site? Is it possible to distinguish between a pilgrimage site and a site that has another primary function but is also visited by pilgrims? The latter category could apply for the Church of Mary. One can certainly assume that the church as the cathedral of the city as well as in remembrance of the Council of 431 was often visited. Obviously many pilgrims were among the numerous visitors, but in the written sources there is not a single reference that these pilgrims came to Ephesus solely because of the Church of Mary. Furthermore, no special object of veneration (e.g. a grave or relics) as the goal of religious worship whose fame would have led religious visitors from afar to Ephesus is transmitted.

Can churches *per se* be recognized as pilgrimage sites, even if the written sources remain silent? In this case one can only rely on the evidence of the material culture. Special indicators for a pilgrimage site are in most cases the notable size as well as the building concept of the entire complex, which can vary strongly due to the number of pilgrims, the topographical situation, the financial possibilities, etc. Especially in regard to the building concept certain constellations can be determined that often appear in the context of pilgrimage sites, including the combination with a monastery, the existence of baptismal structures, fortifications, the enhancement of the entrance (e.g. monumentally designed staircase and/or gate), the exceptional size of the church, the presentation of the objects of veneration, accessibility, the luxurious décor, logistic installations such as cisterns, *xenodocheia* and stables,

21. On the basilica cf. Karwiese 1989; on the chronology see Pülz 2010a, pp. 134-135 footnote 881.

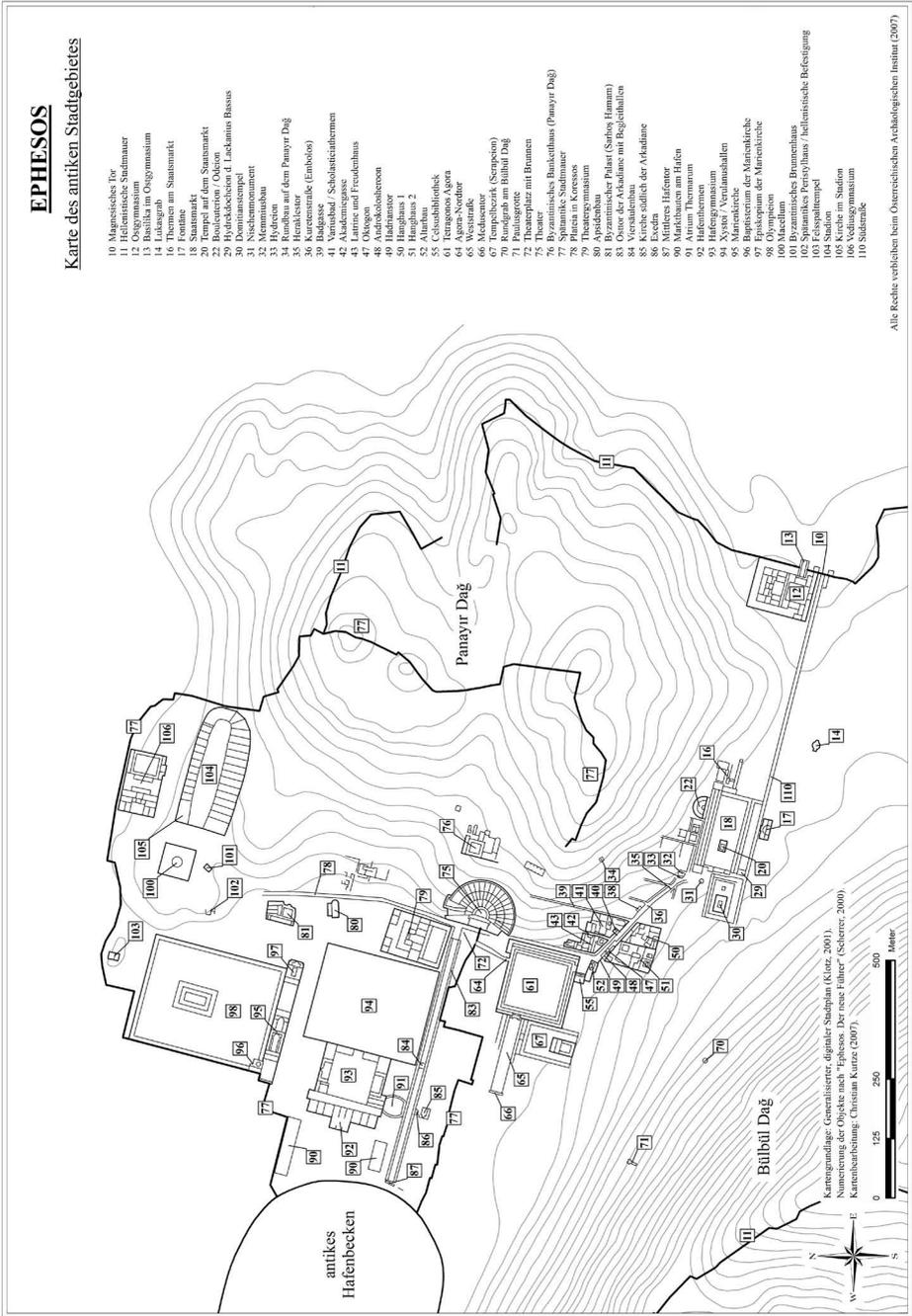


FIG. 1. City map of Ephesus (S. Klotz and C. Kurtze, © ÖAI).

etc.<sup>22</sup> These are all important indicators that are, however, not necessarily prerequisites for all pilgrimage sites. Often a few or more of these mentioned characteristics can be missing. Next to the literary and epigraphic sources as well as the architectural remains and constructed spaces, the numerous finds (e.g. pilgrimage flasks, tokens, etc.) can help to identify a building complex as a pilgrimage site.

## The Basilica of St. John, *manna* and pilgrims' ampoules

For centuries, the Basilica of St. John, located on the Ayasoluk in direct sighting distance to the Artemision, was the most important pilgrimage site in Ephesus.<sup>23</sup> Already in pre-Constantinian times a small memorial in the form of a *tetrapylon* had been erected above several chambers that were connected by short corridors. On the east side an apse was added and the intercolumniations were closed with walls in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. When exactly the 19.5 by 18.5 m memorial was replaced by an 80 m long basilica is not known (presumably at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup>/beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries). Procopius reports that in the 6<sup>th</sup> century the church was decrepit and also too small (for the requirements of a pilgrimage centre?) so that Emperor Justinian I ordered its demolition and total reconstruction. It should be at least comparable with the Justinianic Apostle church in Constantinople.<sup>24</sup> The monumental basilica, measuring 130 by 70 m (including the atrium), acquired its international reputation not only because of its grand architecture and decoration or because of the worshipped grave under the domed crossing of the church - which by the way is not verified by an inscription, but can merely be deduced from local tradition. The highly significant value of the church and its fame as an international pilgrimage site was surely not only due to the grave of the saint. Rather, the so-called dust miracle of John (verified already for the 4<sup>th</sup> century) seems to have been the most important factor.<sup>25</sup> According to the apocryphal *Acta Ioannis*,<sup>26</sup> John did not die but

22. Christern 1976, pp. 277-288.

23. On the building history see Hörmann 1951; Restle 1971, pp. 180-192; Foss 1979, pp. 87-92, 125-127, 135-136, 144-148. On the importance as a pilgrimage site see Kötting 1980, pp. 172-178.

24. Proc. *Aed.* V 1, 4-6. On the presumption that the new construction was already ordered by Justin I, cf. Restle 1971, pp. 190 and Büyükkolancı 1995, p. 602.

25. Even Augustine († 431), Bishop of Hippo Regius in Numidia mentioned this miracle, Aug. in Ev. Ioh. tr. 124, 2.

26. On the *Acta Ioannis* and the dust miracle cf. Gessel 1990, pp. 108-113 and Foss 2002, pp. 140-141. The *Acta Ioannis* were first mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea († 339/340), Eus. *HE* III 25, 6.

merely fell asleep in his grave. As proof, his breath would raise the surrounding dust on a regular basis.

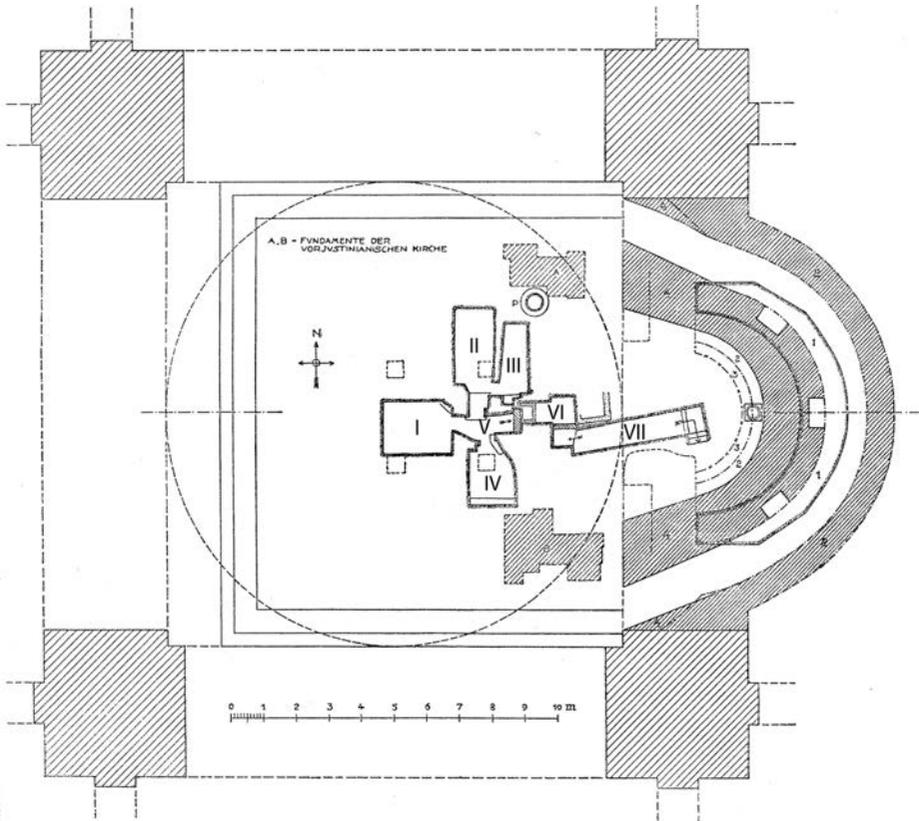


FIG. 2 Basilica of St. John, map of the grave chambers under the area of the altar (H. Hörmann 1951, p. 198, fig. 55).

Is it possible to archaeologically verify and retrace this miracle that has often been recounted in literary sources over the course of several centuries and also the accompanying liturgy?<sup>27</sup> In fact, the *in situ* situation of the area around and below the altar (FIG. 2) allows for an at least theoretical reconstruction of the course of events. In chamber VI is a masonry air shaft, which established a connection between the chamber system and the altar room. Its existence and its function can be explained by the dust miracle: it seems probable that the dust in room VI was artificially raised so that it could move upwards through the air shaft and exit directly behind the *ciborium* of the altar (FIG. 3). One has

27. Pülz 2010a, pp. 120-122; Pülz 2010b, pp. 78-82.

to mention, however, that the entirety of dust needed for filling the ampoules could not have come out of the air shaft. On the one hand it would have been technically impossible to transport the required amount into the altar room solely by 'raising the dust'. On the other hand not enough dust could have accumulated in the area of the tomb within a year. Therefore it seems plausible to recognize the shaft as an appliance with which the miracle was artificially imitated, while the dust distributed to the pilgrims was collected at another, today unknown, place.<sup>28</sup> According to Gregory of Tours,<sup>29</sup> this dust, which was named *manna* by the believers, had great medicinal powers and was given to the attendant pilgrims as *eulogion*. Medieval sources refer to the great variety of physical and mental ailments which could be healed with the miraculous dust. The Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner,<sup>30</sup> for example, reports in the course of his detailed description of the miracle that the dust ascended into the altar room through a marble plate with nine holes. In combination with water or wine, this *manna* was supposed to be very helpful against illnesses with fever, problems during giving birth and gallstones, but also helped during sea storms and the accompanying distresses.

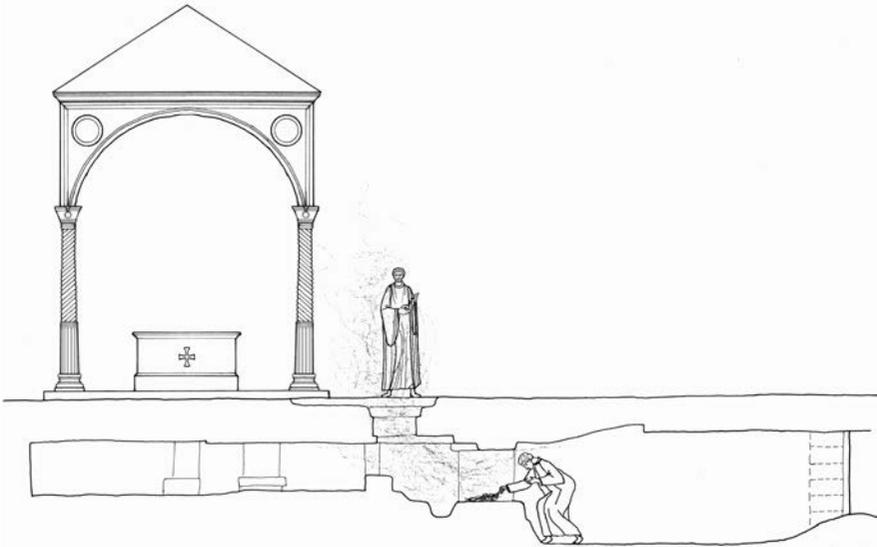


FIG. 3. Basilica of St. John, dust miracle, suggested reconstruction (drawing by N. Pieper, © ÖAW).

28. In contrast however the description of the miracle by Sym. Metaphrastes (*PG* 117, 441): «The dust issued from the tomb, and no matter, how much the priests distributed, an inexhaustible supply kept rising forth». Foss 1979, pp. 126-127.

29. Greg. *Tur. mart.* I 30 (*MGH Script. rer. Mer.* I 505).

30. R. Muntaner, *Chronicle* cap. 206; Foss 1979, p. 127.

The containers in which this *manna* was collected were probably preserved as a kind of ampoule, which – because of their increased appearance in Asia Minor – are called ‘Pilgrim flasks (ampoules) of Asia Minor’ in the scientific literature. However, this assumption cannot be verified, since precise clues concerning the contents of the ampoules, e.g. in the form of inscriptions, are missing.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, the attribution of these small flasks to Ephesus is beyond doubt, because material-analytical examinations as well as décor-typological comparisons with local lamps clearly identify them as Ephesian productions of the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries AD.<sup>32</sup> Regular finds of these flasks also in Western Mediterranean areas and the Black Sea region give evidence of a circulation in the entire early Byzantine *oikoumene* and of the international reputation of the Ephesian pilgrimage site on the Ayasoluk hill in Selçuk.<sup>33</sup>

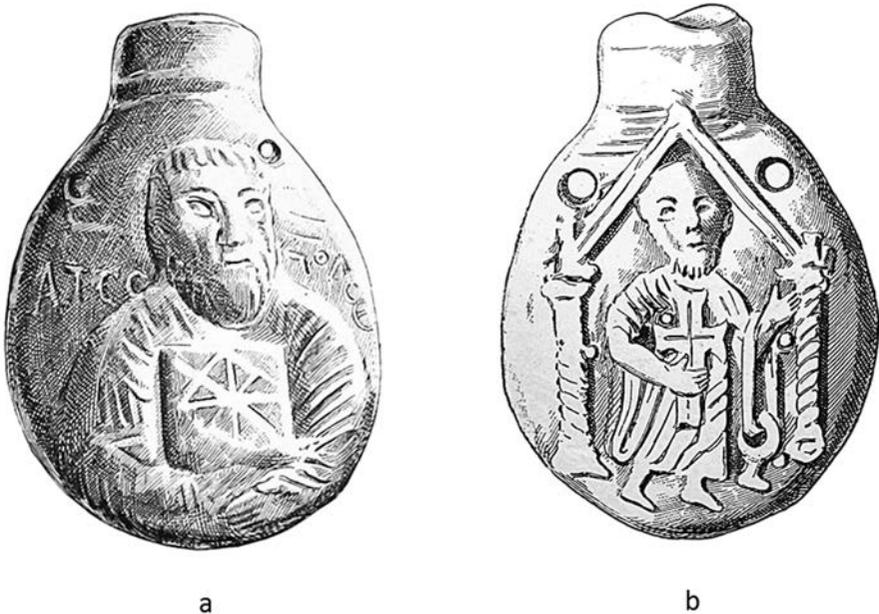


FIG. 4. Ampoules with Andrew (a) resp. Peter (b), drawing (Leclercq 1907, 1734-1735 figs. 454-455).

31. Cf. the inscriptions ΕΛΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΥΛΑΟΥ ΖΩΗΣ on several pilgrimage flasks from the Holy Land, Kötzsche-Breitenbruch 1984, pp. 232-233 and Engemann 1973, pp. 8-10.
32. Ladstätter, 2010a, p. 507; Duncan-Flowers 1990, pp. 125-139; Vikan 1991, p. 78.
33. The place name Ayasoluk, incidentally, cannot be derived from the dust miracle (Turkish ‘aya’ = holy and ‘soluk’ = breath, whiff), but is rather a corruption of John’s sobriquet (Hagios Theologos), cf. e.g. Pillinger 2005, p. 238 and Hopfgartner 1962, p. 102. Totally beside the point and without any validity is the attempt to find the word Luke hidden in Ayasoluk: «Eine andere Deutung findet den Namen des hl. Lukas, dessen Grab in der Gegend gezeigt wird, in Ajasoluk wieder», see Nießen 1906, p. 327, footnote 1.

The flasks were generally between 4 and 8 cm high and were put together by two model halves.<sup>34</sup> Holes pierced into the side of the narrow bottle neck allowed a strap to be pulled through, in order to carry it around the neck or to affix it to the belt. All known examples have relief decoration on both sides, whereby in contrast to the pilgrim flasks of St. Menas or those from Palestine<sup>35</sup> no direct connection to a certain saint or a certain (biblical) event can be detected. Therefore, concise depictions with an immediate reference to the mentioned dust miracle do not exist.<sup>36</sup> John himself does not seem to be the most favoured motive on the ampoules. Even though numerous depictions of saints can be found, they can very seldom be linked with a known saint. This observation is especially based on the missing inscriptions and other significant attributes. Three ampoules in the Louvre<sup>37</sup>, however, probably made from the same model, prove that exceptions exist. On these are inscriptions which mention the apostle Andrew (FIG. 4a), whose bust is shown in a three-quarter view on both sides of the flask. The long oval head of the saint has thick hair, depicted by notches, as well as a full beard. As in almost all other character portraits, the eyes are depicted with circle-round hallmarks. The long-sleeved dress is draped in many folds. The arms are in front of the chest, whereby the right hand is holding a rectangular book (codex?) with a (Andrew's) cross on the cover. On both sides of the head is the carved inscription: ΑΠΙΟC ΤΟΛΟC (apostle) and on the reverse Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΑΝΔΡΕΑC (St. Andrew). The inscription is not part of the model but was secondarily carved into the still unfired clay.

Also of note is an ampoule from Sardis<sup>38</sup> which on one side shows a bearded figure with a long dress standing under an arch. The person seems to be holding a flat object decorated with concentric circles in the front of his chest with both hands. Several comparisons from almost the same model exist for this image which, in spite of the missing inscriptions, can in general be named 'saints'.<sup>39</sup> Only the example from Sardis has a precise denomination, since the inscription ΑΓΗΙΕ ΙΟΑΝΝΗ ΒΑ(ΠΤΙCΤΑ) (St. John the Baptist) is inscribed beside the figure. On the other side of the ampoule is a female figure with a small child inside a border of pearls, which can probably be interpreted as Mary with the infant Jesus. However, it is not the inscription

34. In general see Metzger 1981, pp. 17-23, 41-54, figs. 82-131.

35. Witt 2000; Grabar 1998; Kötzsche-Breitenbruch 1985, pp. 229-246; Engemann 1973, pp. 5-27.

36. See, however, the votive gifts and pilgrimage souvenirs that stood in relationship with the Artemis cult; Kötting 1980, p. 48 and *Acts* 19, 23-27.

37. Metzger 1981, 49, Kat.-Nr. 123-125; Leclercq 1907, 1734, fig. 454. Comparable piece of Sardis in Hanfmann 1966, pp. 16-17 with fig. 13.

38. Greenewalt and Rautman 1998, p. 486 and fig. 13.

39. Metzger 1981, Kat.-Nr. 104-112.

BOEIΘE T(O)YC EEN(O)YC (have mercy on the foreigners) that leads to this result, but rather the numerous iconographic parallels.



FIG. 5. Ampoule with a Saint under an arch (Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2010, p. 195 fig. 395).

It is not acceptable to identify all other male saints which are depicted in a similar way (FIG. 5), standing in or under an arch, as St. John the Baptist, just because of the specific nomination of the saint on the ampoule from Sardis. Moreover, it seems possible that the depictions of the saints on the models of the flasks were at first deliberately non-specific;<sup>40</sup> targeted allocations could be made through inscriptions at a later date, according to individual

40. In contrast Залеская 1986, pp. 182-190; Zalesskaya 1999, pp. 355-359 with precise links to John the Theologian, Polykarp, Antipas, Timotheos etc.

wishes. This would also explain why, for example, the depictions of the apostle Andrew did not match the usual iconographical type (with wild hair).<sup>41</sup>

The standing saint under an arch was often combined with standing, mostly non-bearded figures on the other side of the ampoule.<sup>42</sup> The coiled veils (?) around the head of the figures imply that they were depictions of females. They are not holding a child, however (which would lead to an interpretation as Mary), but rather the same, mostly oval object decorated with concentric circles as the male figures on the other side. One has to wait for the results of further studies before one can clarify whether the combination of a saint, e.g. John (the Theologian) with Mary on these ampoules is intentional.

The majority of the other images of saints (often holding a codex in front of their chest) cannot be identified more precisely, and the attributions that have been proposed in the literature remain very hypothetical, for example, those ampoules that on the front side show a bearded figure with a long dress holding a codex and standing between palm trees. On the other side of the flask is in each case a sitting male figure writing in a book.<sup>43</sup> Based on comparison with the images, for example, in the Rabbula Gospels, an interpretation as an evangelist<sup>44</sup> seems possible, but an interpretation as John and Prochorus is just as plausible.<sup>45</sup> Due to iconographical considerations (different beards and hair), an interpretation as Peter and Paul is conceivable as well.<sup>46</sup> That the first mentioned was depicted on ampoules of Asia Minor is proven by at least one example (FIG. 4b), showing a male figure with a cross and a key standing under an arch.<sup>47</sup>

According to today's state of knowledge, the interpretation of arched architecture and an inserted door, in which a male figure in a long tunica is standing, as Lazarus or as a rendition of the Ephesian memoria of John is by no means secure.<sup>48</sup> In reference to the pilgrimage ampoules from the Palestine, an interpretation as the depiction of the Holy Sepulchre (with the unusual rendition of the resurrected one) is occasionally ventilated. The motive on

41. See Pillinger 1994.

42. E.g. Metzger 1981, Kat.-Nr. 104, 106, 107, 108, 112.

43. Metzger 1981, pp. 45-46, Kat.-Nr. 113-115.

44. Robert 1984, p. 461, Fig. 5 and p. 462, footnote 25; Duncan-Flowers 1990, p. 127.

45. Zalesskaya 1999, p. 355.

46. Metzger 1981, p. 20.

47. Leclercq 1907, 1735, fig. 455; Metzger 1981, p. 46, Kat.-Nr. 116.

48. Metzger 1981, p. 21, 48, Kat.-Nr. 120-121; Witt 1998, p. 104, Kat.-Nr. 102; Witt 2001, p. 198, Kat.-Nr. 1.77.1; Залесская 1986 p. 185 and fig. 4.1.

the other side of the ampoule, a round altar with cross underneath a columned architecture (*ciborium?*), would match this interpretation.



FIG. 6. Ampoule with the adoration of the three magi (Kunsthistorisches Museum/Vienna, ANSA\_V\_2581\_1 © KHM).

Also to be mentioned are several depictions of female and male riders on horses (donkeys?)<sup>49</sup>, as well as the motif of a ship with three persons.<sup>50</sup> Their reference to the bible and the interpretation as 'Flight into Egypt', 'Entry into Jerusalem' and 'Calming of the Sea Storm through Christ' are not assured, but in light of numerous iconographical parallels on other image-carriers they suggest themselves. Biblical allusions can also be found on an ampoule with the depiction of the enthroned Mother of God with child and the three

49. Metzger 1981, pp. 18-19, Kat.-Nr. 98-103; Robert 1984, pp. 462-467.

50. Čurčić 1986, Kat.-Nr. 151; Metzger 1981, p. 20, Kat.-Nr. 118.

magi<sup>51</sup> (FIG. 6) as well as on a flask showing a male figure between two predators (Daniel?).<sup>52</sup>

In summary, on the ampoules known from Ephesus there seems to be no images which clearly refer to the Ephesian pilgrimage centre. The ampoules rather show holy persons, who cannot be named precisely, as well as depictions of biblical scenes. However, reference to the *peregrinatio* seems to be present. That does not mean that the depicted persons on animals or on a ship represent pilgrims. The riders are rather a reminder of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem or of the flight into Egypt, the ship of the calming of the sea. Or as Vikan<sup>53</sup> convincingly argued and accurately formulated: “by sea one sailed with Christ, by land one rode with Christ”. Similar things can also be said for the non-biblical motifs. To be highlighted is, for example, the depiction on the other side of the ship motif, showing a saint under an arch. He is holding a book in his hands as well as an anchor (?), which would identify him as the patron saint of the seafarers (St. Phocas).<sup>54</sup> The above mentioned ampoule from Sardis also belongs to this context; with its inscription “have mercy on the foreigners” a clear relation to the pilgrims is secured. But also the ampoules with symbolic motifs (e.g. crosses of different forms<sup>55</sup> and rosettes<sup>56</sup>) should with soteriological connotations possibly bestow blessings and comfort upon the pilgrims for their trips (paths of life?) and protect them from harm.

In which containers was the Ephesian *manna* filled and given to the pilgrims as *eulogion* after the local production of the Ephesian ampoules ended? A demand for flasks has to be assumed even after the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, especially since several literary sources comment on the dust miracle and indicate its obviously continuing importance until mid- and late Byzantine times. Evidence of the currency of the dust miracle also in the Middle Ages can be seen on the *ciborium* of the altar of the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Here, the marble capitals have small flasks instead of the usual abacus rosette. The form of these flasks is not the same like that of the ‘Pilgrim flasks (ampoules) of Asia Minor’. In fact the flasks of the capitals have a shape quite similar to the considerably larger Roman ‘field bottles’.<sup>57</sup>

51. Ladstätter 2010b, p. 265, Kat.-Nr. 273.

52. Metzger 1981, p. 20, 46, Kat.-Nr. 117; Witt 1998, pp. 102-104, Kat.-Nr. 101.

53. Vikan 1991, pp. 78 and 84-85.

54. Metzger 1981, p. 20. Cf. the eulogies from Chersonesos, Jašaeva 2010, p. 480, fig. 4. An interpretation of the saint as an apostle with a container with incense is also ventilated, Witt 2001, p. 198, Kat.-Nr. 1.77.2.

55. Ladstätter 2010b, p. 265, Kat.-Nr. 272; Metzger 1981, Kat.-Nr. 130-147.

56. Metzger 1981, Kat.-Nr. 148-150.

57. Crawford 1990, figs. 258, 259, 372.



FIG. 7. Reliquary cross from Selçuk (Ephesus-Museum, Inv.Nr. 1/32/90, Photo N. Gail, © ÖAI).

It is difficult to verify the assumption that, due to the absence of specific ampoules, one often used containers which the pilgrims had brought with them. In this context one must also refer to the numerous pectoral reliquary crosses from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries that were found in Ephesus and its surroundings.<sup>58</sup> The crosses were put together with two hollow halves and could possibly have been used for storage of the Ephesian *manna*. However, no clues can be found in the literary as well as in the archaeological sources that would point to a special content of these crosses.<sup>59</sup> The various aniconic and figural decorations allow no conclusions on the contents either. A majority of the known pieces show Jesus on the cross and often the Mother of God. Different saints<sup>60</sup> were depicted as well, with a preference for saints George and John.<sup>61</sup> Several crosses show Jesus on the cross, flanked by Mary and John, whereby the inscription ΙΑΕ Ο ΥΙΟC COY / ΙΑΟΥ Η ΜΗΤΗΡ COY provides a precise biblical reference (FIG. 7).<sup>62</sup> Especially these examples would lead us to expect a reference to Ephesus<sup>63</sup> and the local tradition.<sup>64</sup> However, there is currently no evidence that would point to the existence of production sites in Ephesus.<sup>65</sup> An answer to this question would be of significant importance; the evidence of production sites in Ephesus would give proof to the ongoing need of *manna*-containers and indirectly also to the presence of pilgrims still in mid-Byzantine times. Negative evidence (*i.e.* the crosses were not produced in Ephesus) would on the other hand not be helpful. In this case, one could not determine if the crosses were brought to Ephesus by John's pilgrims (for the *manna*) or by the locals (from travelling abroad).

58. 37 examples belong to the inventory of the Ephesus-Museum in Selçuk. They are currently being examined by A.M. Pülz in the course of a research project funded by the Austrian Science Fund.
59. On the different contents see Pitarakis 2006, pp. 109-120.
60. See the list in Pitarakis 2006, p. 108.
61. On images of John on crosses cf. Pitarakis 2006, pp. 92-95.
62. John 19, 26-27. See the numerous parallels in the catalogue of Pitarakis 2006. On the second half of the cross is always Maria Kyriotissa, whereby the busts of the four evangelists can be found on the ends of the crossarms.
63. On the question of the presence of Mary in Ephesus cf. Pülz 2006, pp. 71-76.
64. The fact that among the 14 examples found in the Basilica of St. John not a single one depicts John is not surprising. Here one shall be reminded of the image repertory of the so-called pilgrim flasks of Asia Minor which already showed that even in this case a specific reference to John is missing. Cf. in contrast. «Il est, en outre, très singulier de remarquer l'absence de la figure se saint Jean dans le repertoire iconographique des croix-reliquaires retrouvées dans sans martyrium». Pitarakis 2006, p. 128.
65. Until today it has not been possible to answer the question of the production sites precisely. Next to Constantinople a row of urban and monasterian workshops, especially in Anatolia, but also in Greece and the Black Sea region are assumed. Cf. Pitarakis 2006, pp. 168-177.

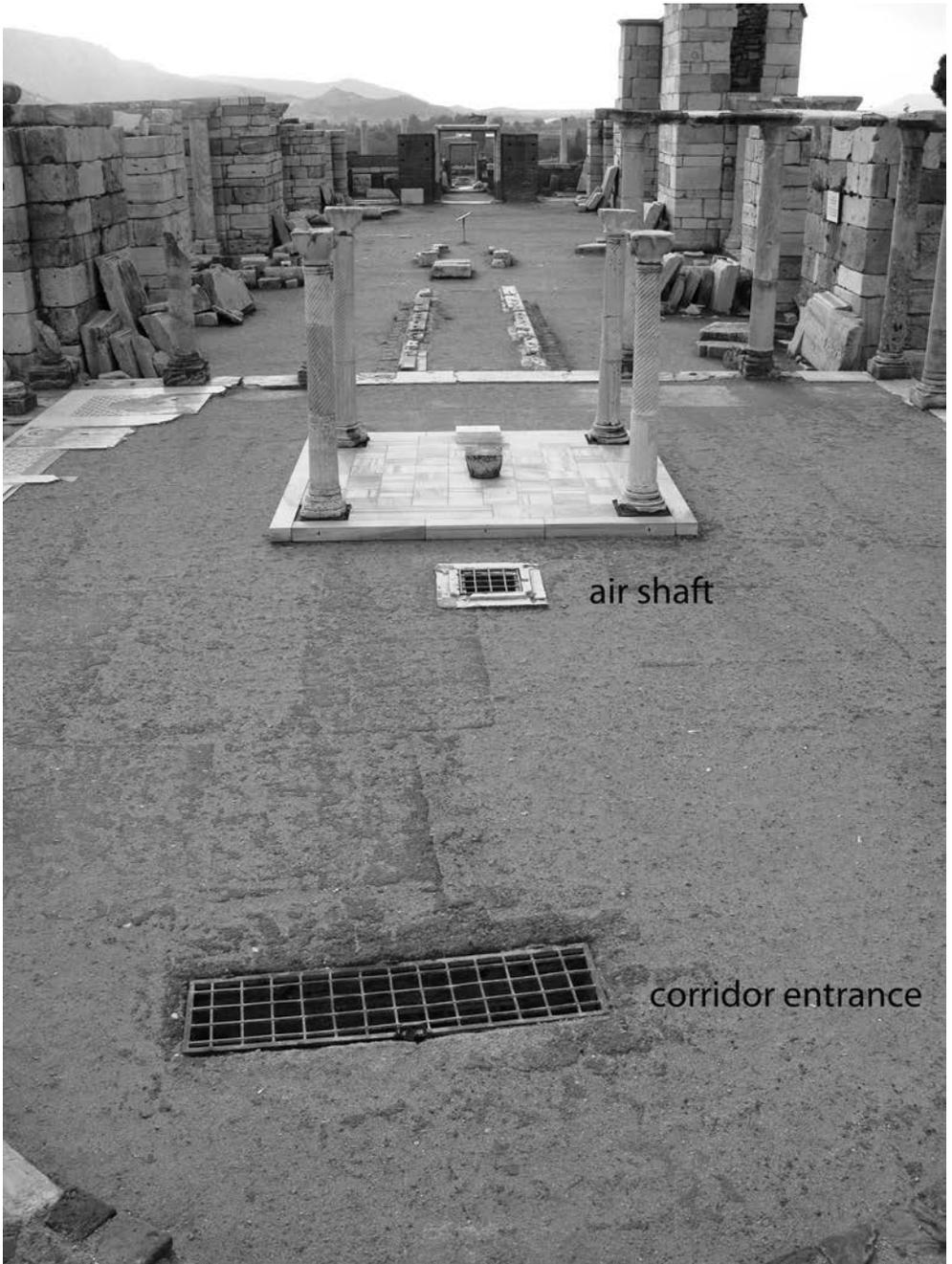


FIG. 8. Basilica of St. John, presbytery with entrance to the corridor and the air shaft (Photo A. Pülz, © ÖAW).

Today one cannot answer the question whether the pilgrims received a further *eulogion* in St. John's basilica in the form of 'holy water'. On the northern corner of the grave a *pithos* set into the ground was found (cf. FIG. 2, character P), which must have been totally covered by the pavement of the floor. Because of the existence of a water supply and a drain, the excavators assumed an installation in which, due to the closeness to John's tomb, water with special healing powers was supplied.<sup>66</sup> Could this be the liquid with which, according to R. Muntaner, one could mix the dry dust in order to consume it? Concerning the dust miracle, one can finally state that the rooms under the altar must have been of central importance for the liturgical function of the entire complex. The cramped nature of the rooms and the entrance, which was situated in the area of the presbytery, however, show that the chamber system could not be visited by the pilgrims but only by the clergy (FIG. 8).

The Basilica of St. John did not only have the attraction of the dust miracle, though.<sup>67</sup> The written sources also mention as important relics a piece of the true cross, a shirt that had been woven for John by the Mother of God, an exemplar of the Book of Revelation of St. John as well as a reddish stone block, on which Joseph of Arimathia had washed the body of Christ after he had been taken from the cross.<sup>68</sup> The abundance of relics and the resulting international reputation of the basilica as a pilgrimage site were surely also responsible for the continuous growth of the treasures of the church. For their storage a *Skeuphylakion*<sup>69</sup> (treasure house) was built on the north side of the basilica in the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Apart from the mentioned sources and the church itself, do characteristics in the immediate surroundings exist that point to an interpretation of the Basilica of St. John as a pilgrimage centre?<sup>70</sup> In comparison to the most important pilgrimage sites of early Byzantine times, this building obviously had all the essential features that seem to have characterized pilgrimage sites in the entire empire.<sup>71</sup> As examples one should mention the massive walls protecting the site from predatory attacks, the monumentally designed entrance gate (the

66. Kötting 1980, p. 177.

67. In Byzantine times, dust was by the way a favoured *eulogion*. In this context one should mention the two Stylites Simeon the Elder († 459) and Simeon the Younger († 592). In these cases, dust was also used for the calming of the sea and the protection of the seafarers. Vikan 1991, p. 75 with further literature.

68. R. Muntaner, *Chronicle* cap. 234. Foss 1979, pp. 125-126 and 144-145.

69. Büyükkolancı 1982.

70. See also Joh. Mosch. *prat. spir.* (PG 87, 3, 3052) who mentioned Ephesus as an important pilgrimage site, next to Meriamlık (St. Thecla) and Euchaïta (St. Theodorus).

71. Christern 1976, pp. 277-288 and Pülz 2010a, pp. 123-125 with further bibliographical references.

so-called Gate of Persecution) as well as the baptismal complex usually extant in pilgrimage churches and the combination of the church with a monastery. But also the large water demand needed at a pilgrimage centre seems to have been available on the Ayasuluk, since there is a large underground cistern on the southern forecourt of the basilica as well as another one in the southeast corner of the fortification walls.<sup>72</sup> Only of the necessary service buildings, such as stables, the housing of the clergy or *xenodocheia*, no building remains have been preserved. Even though several secondary buildings were excavated in the area to the southeast of the basilica, the findings, so far only published in preliminary reports, do not allow to make precise statements regarding their chronological placement or their function.<sup>73</sup> It is however obvious that due to their size these rooms cannot have been *xenodocheia* or stables.<sup>74</sup> These small buildings, in which numerous *pithoi* embedded in the floor were preserved, can rather be interpreted as former shops.<sup>75</sup> These are to be expected in the direct vicinity of the pilgrimage church, since the written sources mention a 'John's Market', which was granted a tax reduction of a hundred pounds of gold by Emperor Constantine VI in the course of his visit to Ephesus in 795 AD. This considerable sum implies «that the town was a major regional center and the site of extensive commercial activity».<sup>76</sup> Due to lack of space this city was probably not situated inside but rather outside of the fortified walls (in the area of modern day Selçuk). However, so far no representative remains from this town have been detected.<sup>77</sup>

In summary it can be stated that, according to the literary sources, the Basilica of St. John remained without doubt a central pilgrimage site during the entire Middle Ages and also after the end of the Byzantine rule in Ephesus (1304). This leading position was, however, at times threatened<sup>78</sup> by the Stylite Lazarus (968-1054 AD),<sup>79</sup> whose great popularity attracted many followers

72. On the cistern to the south of the church cf. Thiel 2005, p. 92 and Tab. XLVIII; the large water reservoir in the southeastern corner of fortification wall has been examined systematically by M. Büyükkolancı since 2010 and has not been published yet. This cistern seems to have been supplied by the Sirinçe aqueduct from the 6<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Wiplinger 2010, pp. 600-611).
73. Thiel 2005, pp. 93-98; Foss 1979, pp. 136-137.
74. No information on the area to the north of the basilica can be given, because today only extensive bedrock exists there.
75. The majority of the buildings however, seem to date to the mid- to late Byzantine era, Thiel 2005, pp.97-98.
76. Foss 1979, 110. On the economic dimension of pilgrimage sites, see Külzer 2010a.
77. One of the few exceptions is a probably early Byzantine bath in direct vicinity of the Byzantine aqueduct, see Wiplinger 2010, p. 609. For the settlement, see Reekmans 1980, pp. 339-341.
78. Külzer 2010b, p. 534.
79. Greenfield 2000; Carile 1999, pp. 142-144.

and also led to the foundation of three monasteries (of the Saviour, of the Virgin and of the Holy Resurrection). According to the written sources, distinct pilgrimage activities can only be attested for the time of the Stylite. The believers mainly hoped to receive for their visit «... advice, spiritual or material help, and so forth, as well as Lazarus' responses and words of comfort or wisdom». <sup>80</sup> Miracles of healing by the saint are, in contrast, only seldom mentioned. Therefore, *eulogia* in the form of pilgrimage ampoules or tokens of some sort to be used as a phylactery were obviously not important and probably remained the exception. At least once a year, however, blessed oil seems to have played a role in the course of the celebrations in remembrance of the awakening of the biblical Lazarus (cf. John 11). <sup>81</sup> Whether this oil was given to the visitors, and if so, in which containers, cannot be determined due to the absence of archaeological evidence. One must await the results of future research in the monasteries of Mount Galesion, which have only been undertaken recently during a short survey in 2006. <sup>82</sup> Regarding the visitors, one must note that despite the notoriety of the saint «all over the Byzantine world from Bulgaria to the Middle East», they probably came from the near surroundings of Ephesus. «...or else they were people who happened to be passing through the port of Phygela or the city of Ephesos for some other reason, perhaps often as pilgrims to the basilica of St. John and the other notable sites in the vicinity». <sup>83</sup>

## The Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers

Next to the Basilica of St. John, the second internationally known pilgrimage site in the city was the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers (FIG. 9). <sup>84</sup> According to the legend seven young men were locked into a cave because of their Christian belief during the Decian persecution of the Christians. <sup>85</sup> After about 200 years they supposedly awakened again for a short time, in order to affirm to Emperor Theodosius II (408-450 AD) the secret of bodily resurrection.

80. Greenfield 2002, pp. 217, 224, 226.

81. *Vita Lazarini* 76. Cf. Greenfield 2002, p. 218.

82. Aydın 2007.

83. Greenfield 2002, pp. 222-223 and 235.

84. Foss 1979, p. 43: «... the sanctity of the Tomb of the Seven Sleepers ... became an important object of pilgrimage and favored spot of burial in Late Antiquity. ». On the complex cf. Miltner 1937; Restle 1971, pp. 192-198 and Pillinger 2001.

85. Greg. Tur. mart. 1, 94 (*MGH Script. rer. Mer.* 1 550-552); On the legend and the different approaches concerning its origin and the time of origin, Pillinger 2001, pp. 28-30.

Above the cave, in which they were buried shortly thereafter, the Emperor had a church erected out of reverence.<sup>86</sup>



FIG. 9. Reconstruction of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, view from the northeast (© M. Koob, TU Darmstadt).

The religious significance of the monument already in early Byzantine times is indicated by the written sources, even if they only generally mention visits for prayer and no further details about what happened at the site. To be named are for example the pilgrim Theodosius (6<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>87</sup>, the Anglo-Saxon Bishop Willibald<sup>88</sup>, Emperor Constantine VI (both in the 8<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>89</sup> and the Russian Abbot Daniel (12<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>90</sup>

But can this interpretation as a pilgrimage site derived from literary evidence also be identified at the cemetery itself or maybe from the finds? The latter question can easily be answered, because the pilgrims received no special *eulogia* (such as salutary oil or water etc.) connected with the cult of the seven sleepers during their visit. Therefore no containers such as those

86. Georg. Cedr. I 602 (*PG* 121, 656). Foss 1979, p. 42: «Emperor Theodosius II is said to have visited the scene of the miracle shortly after it occurred, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Ephesus when he is supposed to have prayed to Saint John to find out who would succeed him».

87. Theod. terr. sanct. 26 (*CCL* 175, 123).

88. Willibald, *Itinerarium* (T. Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, 20).

89. Theoph. chron. 6287 (ad annum = 794/95 n. Chr.).

90. Wilson 1895, pp. 5-6.

known for the *manna* of the Basilica of St. John (so-called pilgrim flasks of Asia Minor) were found during the archaeological excavations.

In regard to the architectural concept of the complex one has to say that the majority of the characteristic features of a pilgrimage site mentioned above cannot be identified here. On the other hand one can recognize features at the graves of the seven sleepers underneath the church that point to a special position in the cemetery. The graves were not set into the church floor from above but were designed as grave chambers on both sides of an underground corridor. The entrance to this corridor was especially accentuated by a portal that allowed comfortable access and facilitated convenient movement in this catacomb. However, just as in the Basilica of St. John, the corridor with a maximum height of just 1.5 m made only crouched movement possible. In contrast to the situation in the Basilica of St. John, one has to mention that in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers the visitors apparently were not *a priori* excluded from worship directly at the graves. While on the Ayasoluk the entrance was in the area of the presbytery and therefore not accessible for pilgrims, in the case of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers it was located on the outer, northern side of the church. With this, the church itself seems to have remained unaffected by the activities in the catacomb concerning the cult and adoration.

The vaulted ceiling of the corridor was formerly decorated with a row of radiate crosses encrusted with gems. A preserved painted figure with a nimbus, youthful and beardless, on the side wall suggests that the seven sleepers were depicted between the entrances into the chambers.<sup>91</sup>

The frescoes of the monumentally designed entrance into the catacomb with various depictions of saints and the Ascension of Christ deserve a special mention.<sup>92</sup> These frescoes all date to a time between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and thereby underline the notoriety of the catacomb at least in the mid- and late Byzantine period. Furthermore, several Armenian, Greek and Latin inscriptions and graffiti verify that the catacomb must also have been known as a pilgrimage site in post-Byzantine times.<sup>93</sup> It is remarkable that the Latin inscriptions from Western Europe (e.g. from Italy and Spain) are restricted to the names of the visitors, whereby it remains unclear if they were actually pilgrims or only visitors which came to Hagios Theologos/Ayasoluk as traveling salesmen.<sup>94</sup>

91. Zimmermann 2010, p. 653.

92. Zimmermann 2010, figs. 33-37.

93. Miltner 1937, pp. 206-210. The most recent inscriptions date to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

94. Foss 2002, p. 146.

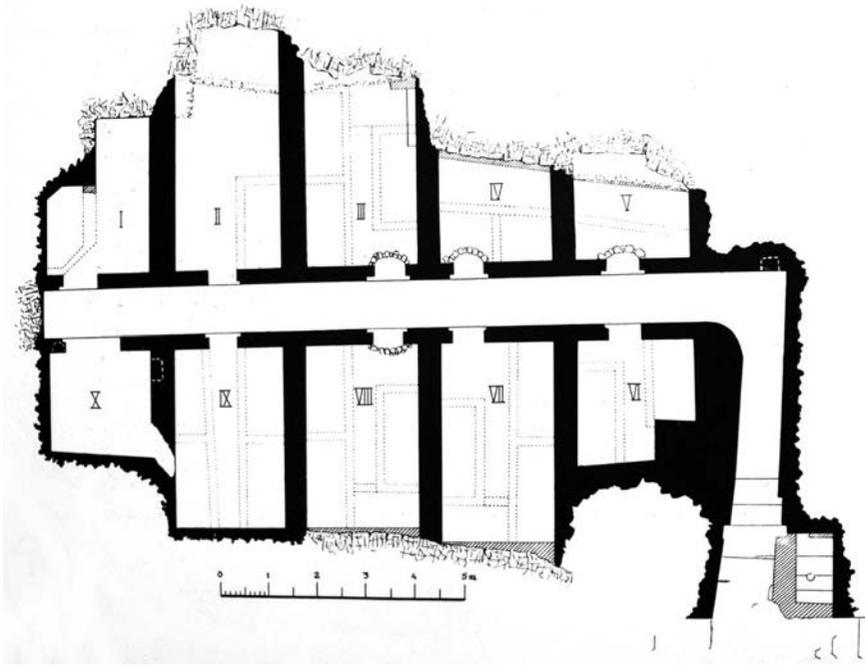


FIG. 10. Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, plan of corridor of the catacomb (Miltner 1937, p. 28, fig. 20).

In summary, one can say that the literary sources suggest that the cemetery was an important pilgrimage site during the entire Byzantine period. However, there is no indication of special décor or inscriptions by pilgrims from early Byzantine times. One has to await further studies before one can clarify if this situation solely is due to today's state of preservation.<sup>95</sup> Did the early Byzantine layers in the corridor entirely fall off the walls,<sup>96</sup> while in other areas of the cemetery paintings from the Roman Imperial period are preserved? Or maybe there was no special décor in the early Byzantine period? In this case, the exceptional design of the complex and the accessibility of the tombs would – in addition to the written sources – point to a special veneration of the Seven Sleepers in early Byzantine times. Maybe the concave walls built into in the entrances of the grave chambers with free-standing or masonry sarcophagi should be understood as related to veneration directly

95. The monument is currently being researched by N. Zimmermann. In his studies the development of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers from a burial complex of the Roman Imperial period to an international Christian pilgrimage site is being traced.

96. So far it has not been examined if the preserved medieval frescoes are lying over an older decor.

at the grave chambers (FIG. 10). However, one has to further study if these walls as well as the entrance portal are not part of a medieval building phase.

Archaeological evidence for a special veneration of the other martyrs and saints in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, mentioned in the written sources, has incidentally not been found. An exception is a masonry grave on the western wall of the entrance portal into the catacomb. F. Miltner claims this to be the sepulchre of Mary Magdalene, while N. Zimmermann interprets a niche in the transverse entrance hall of the cemetery as the former grave of the saint.<sup>97</sup> Above this niche a fresco with the image of Mary Hodegetria has been preserved, next to which a red dressed woman with a *maphorion* and a *nimbus* was conserved.<sup>98</sup>



FIG. 11. Muslim women fixing napkins in front of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers (Photo A. Pülz, © ÖAW).

97. Miltner 1937, p. 31 and Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2010, pp. 205-207.

98. An interpretation as St. Marina (friendly advice from V. Tsamakda/Mainz) would also be possible; an oratory on the route to Smyrna from the 10<sup>th</sup> century is dedicated to her as well.

Finally it can be said that no secure information exists about the fate of the complex during the centuries of the Ottoman Empire, even though the legend of the seven sleepers is also part of the Koran (18<sup>th</sup> sura) and is therefore the only Christian story in the Koran that is neither mentioned in the Bible nor in the Biblical Apocrypha. Accordingly, Christian as well as Muslim pilgrims are visiting the ruins with the graves of the seven sleepers in present times and affix small pieces of cloth and napkins with intercessions written on them to the modern fence or the bushes nearby (FIG. 11).<sup>99</sup>

## St. Luke's Tomb and St. Paul's Grotto

Apart from the Basilica of St. John and the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers, two further monuments in Ephesus that seem to have been pilgrimage sites already in early Byzantine times can be named. In contrast to the two pilgrimage centres of the city, the interpretation of the so-called St. Luke's Tomb and the so-called St. Paul's Grotto as pilgrimage sites is not based on literary sources, but solely on the archaeological features like on building typological considerations and on the epigraphic evidence.

The so-called St. Luke's Tomb near the State Agora of Ephesus was formerly a *monopteros* fountain built in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, which was remodeled into a church in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>100</sup> It was a central-plan building on the c. 2 m high socle of the former fountain and could be entered by three staircases on the northern, southern and western sides. A particularity is the stone staircase that forms a direct connection between this sanctuary and a lower church that was installed in the socle. This crypt (FIG. 12) could also be entered from two entrances on ground level, lying on opposite sides. With this, however, the so-called St. Luke's Tomb clearly is different from the two secure pilgrimage sites of the city, where the crypts could only be reached by a single entrance. In contrast, the so-called St. Luke's Tomb provided a passage through the richly decorated crypt with frescoes, whereby one did not even have to duck, but, due to the height of the room of about 2.5 m, one could walk upright. Several parallels provide evidence that the building concept of the so-called St. Luke's Tomb is not a peculiarity of the Ephesian building, but a widely-used building type for pilgrimage churches like in Bethlehem (Church of the Nativity) and in

99. On the importance of the seven sleepers in the Islam cf. Kandler 1994. In the Koran the localization of the legend is not specified, therefore Islamic seven sleepers emerged at different places, e.g. also in the Cappadocian Arabissos (Eshabkeh/ Yediler).

100. Pülz 2010a and Pülz 2010b, pp. 90-93.

Jerusalem (Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Eleona), in Abu Mina, in Meriamlik (Church of St. Thecla) or in Constantinople (Church of St. Polyeuctus). Clues regarding the possible object of veneration in the crypt of the monument as well as precise information on the architectural design of the direct vicinity of the building are missing, however, therefore further statements are not possible and the interpretation as a pilgrimage site must remain hypothetical.

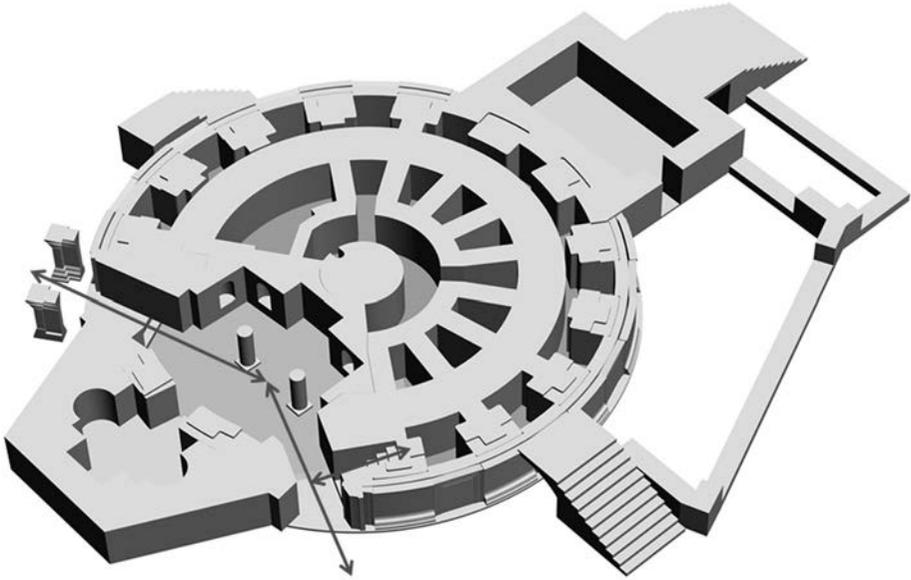


FIG. 12. St. Luke's Tomb, 3D-ground plan (Pülz 2010a, Table 53.3).

The so-called St. Paul's Grotto on the northern slope of the Bülbüldağ is a ca. 15 m long cave church with a presbytery-like expansion on the southern end (FIG. 13).<sup>101</sup> For the problem at hand, the significance of the so-called St. Paul's Grotto as a pilgrimage site already in early Byzantine times, the exceptional paintings are not as important as the numerous graffiti written on the freshly applied plaster of the corridor walls, demonstrating many different invocations.<sup>102</sup> However, one cannot at present verify if the content of the inscriptions really give information on the presence of pilgrims.<sup>103</sup> Also,

101. Pillinger 2008, with bibliographical references and Pülz 2010b, pp. 93-96.

102. Pillinger 2010.

103. One can hope that the research on the graffiti (H. Taeuber) will also provide clarity on the former dedication of the monument; the modern name 'St. Paul's Grotto' is based on only a few graffiti with invocations to the apostle, Miltner 1956, p. 57.

further studies concerning the superimposed room in front of the cave and its function, but especially on the surroundings of the complex and the inter-urban integration are necessary in order to draw more precise conclusions on the liturgical importance of the monument in early Byzantine times.



FIG. 13. St. Paul's Grotto, interior view of the corridor of the cave (Photo N. Gail, © ÖAI).

Precise information is available that proves that the complex was at least a pilgrimage site in recent times.<sup>104</sup> It is, for example, proven that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Greek Orthodox Christian community of the nearby village of Şirince went on a pilgrimage to the grotto every year. After her arrival in Ephesus, the Mother of God, in accordance with the above mentioned local tradition, had hidden from the pagans in the grotto. Therefore the grotto was also called Kryphi Panagia/Ghizli Panaya (= the hidden Panhagia), whereby the fresco depicting the enthroned Mother of God flanked by saints probably stood in the centre of adoration. Traces of carbon, especially on the surrounding walls, give evidence of often lit oil lamps or candles. But also the numerous inscriptions by visitors with a specified year (*e.g.* Michalis 1890) on the frescoes and on the white chalk colour, with which the paintings were covered at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, verify the presence of worshippers

104. Pülz 2010b, pp. 95-96; Pülz 2008, pp. 71-72; Nießen 1906, pp. 369-372.

up to the time of the Greco-Turkish war (1919-1922). The results of the epigraphic research have to be awaited, however, in order to determine whether only believers from the vicinity or also pilgrims from other countries perpetuated themselves.

## The House of Mary and other modern pilgrimage sites

The most important and most famous Ephesian pilgrimage site of modern times is not the so-called St. Paul's Grotto, but rather the place where the Mother of God supposedly lived and finally passed away. This place, called Panagya Kapulı (= the Panhagia at the Gate) resp. Monastiri üç Kapı (= Monastery at the Three Gates) to the south of Ephesus was also visited by the Christians from Şirince in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, every year on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August (Assumption of Mary, Koimesis).<sup>105</sup> The catalyst for the intensive pilgrimages to Panagya Kapulı (the name Meryemana is first mentioned in 1950) since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were not these annual pilgrimages, but rather the visions of the stigmatized nun Anna Katharina Emmerich († 1824), because they enabled the identification of the ruins of the church as the house of Mary (1891). In fact, the supposed house is situated under the heavily restored late Byzantine chapel (FIG. 14), where first archaeological examinations were carried out at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. During this research a fireplace, interpreted as the hearth of the Mother of God, was uncovered, of which the remains of ash and carbon quickly turned out to be miraculous.<sup>106</sup> Today, the pilgrim mainly concentrates on visiting the small church, takes fresh water from a spring (FIG. 15), which supposedly has special healing powers, and leaves – just as at the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers – an intercession on a piece of paper or tissue. The significant increase of pilgrimage groups in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is based on a deepened Marian devotion, which especially can be observed in the Catholic Church from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>107</sup> Meryemana is also an important pilgrimage site for Muslims, who worship Mary as the mother of Isa and grant her a high religious status.<sup>108</sup> For that reason, some of the relevant texts in the Koran concerning Mary, which had first been affixed in the chapel on the southern side of the church, are now arranged on the south side of the church.

105. Pülz and Ladstätter 2006 with further references.

106. Nießen 1906, p. 378.

107. Cf. the visions e.g. in Lourdes and Fatima respectively the two dogmas of the Catholic Church (*Immaculata Conceptio*, 1854 and *Assumptio Mariae*, 1950).

108. Sura 19, which carries the name Mary (Maryam).



FIG. 14. Meryemana, late Byzantine church (Photo A. Pülz, © ÖAW).

Another pilgrimage site which the Christians visit annually and has only been documented for the modern era is a small, probably post-Byzantine church called Kavaklı Panaya (= the Panhagia at the Poplars).<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, a cave system on a cliff exists at the street leading to Şirince, today known as Sütlü Panaya/Süt ini/Süt Kayası, resp. Galaktiki Panagia (= milky Panhagia/milky cliff). It is a complex system of corridors<sup>110</sup> with a hall-like chamber measuring 8-10 by 20 m, with ceilings up to 8 m high, in which numerous graffiti have been preserved.<sup>111</sup> Unfortunately, no research has been undertaken until today so that no statements can be made in regard to the age and contents of these inscriptions. Only the sparse surface finds (glazed ceramic fragments) provide a vague dating of the entire complex to the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. Remains of paintings in the entrance area point to this time as well. Highlighted are the image of an enthroned Christ with a cross nimbus and a golden dress as well as a probable image of Mary visiting Elisabeth (Lc. 1,39).<sup>112</sup> The notoriety of the complex in recent modern times is based on a local tradition, which also seems to be responsible for

109. Nießen 1906, p. 370 and table VI 2.

110. Pülz 2010b, pp. 99-101.

111. Atalay 1983.

112. Zimmermann and Ladstätter 2010, p. 209, fig. 421; p. 210, fig. 422.

the folkloric versions of the name. Accordingly, the milky water dripping from the stalactites in the cave was capable of helping those women who, due to a sparse milk flow, had problems with breast feeding their babies. A similar effect was also obtained by placing small stones from the cave on the breast. A rope hanging in the cave, in order to climb up the wall and to reach adequate sinter areas, and small split-up fragments of calcite at the entrance (FIG. 16) prove that this healing power is obviously known until today. How long this tradition reaches into the past can at present not be answered, like the question of whether a causal connection exists with the depiction of the two pregnant women at the entrance of the cave. One has to await future examinations in order to correctly assess the significance of the complex, of which the entrance area was architectonically designed and equipped with a water reservoir carved into the cliff.



FIG. 15. Meryemana, tapping point for the salutary water (Photo A. Pülz, © ÖAW).



FIG. 16. Sütlü Panaya, split-up calcite in the entrance to the cave (Photo A. Pülz, © ÖAW).

## Conclusion

To summarize, it can be stated that Ephesus had been a Christian pilgrimage centre of international reputation since the early Byzantine era and obviously remained one until the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. The central pilgrimage site was the basilica built over the grave of St. John, who, according to the literary sources, also seemed to have fulfilled the difficult task of the cultic succession of the city goddess Artemis. Apart from this – and for the seven young men and their place of worship in the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers – sources for martyrs and saints known for Ephesus are very sparse. Only two further buildings, the so-called St. Luke's Tomb and the so-called St. Paul's Grotto, can be named that can also possibly be linked to pilgrimages. While for the post-Byzantine era, *i.e.* the period of the Ottoman Empire, hardly any evidence for pilgrimage activities exist in the former *Metropolis Asiae*, more and more literary reports are available in recent modern times which indicate the blossoming of a new pilgrimage era in the area of Ephesus from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

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# RESPONSE: MATERIALIZING THE STUDY OF LATE ANTIQUE PILGRIMAGE

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The present collection of articles focuses on the material culture of late antique pilgrimage, but before turning to the essays themselves it will be helpful to come to terms with what a “materialized” perspective means in the first place. How does it differ from traditional approaches? What is at stake and what do we stand to learn? Useful is the statement published in 2010 by the editors of the journal *Material Religion*: “Materializing the study of religion... begins with the assumption that things, their use, their valuation, and their appeal are not something *added* to a religion, but rather inextricable from it...”<sup>1</sup> Central to this framework is the inherent and necessary role of places and things in religious studies. Accordingly, the definition of religion is not to be limited to dogma or abstract spirituality. Instead, as the *Material Religion* statement continues, “a religion is inseparable from a matrix or network of components that consist of people, divine beings or forces, institutions, things, places, and communities.”<sup>2</sup> In other words, the materialized perspective stresses that religion is a *social* phenomenon. It is built and structured through relationships between people, individually and collectively, and between them and the divine. Importantly, such an approach acknowledges that these relationships happen with and through the material world in the form of buildings, monuments, books, images, relics, garments, vessels, water, food, etc.

A materialized perspective thus aims to shed light on what things and places *do*. It recognizes that the material world is not simply a set of passive props or empty background, but is activated through people’s interaction, bodily and cognitively, with it. Things and places are seen and touched, imagined and remembered, represented and communicated, altered and destroyed. And it

1. Meyer *et al.* 2010, p. 209, emphasis original.
2. Ibid.

is through such processes, such forms of use and perception, that they shape the conditions for human experience, worldviews, and social relations. It is clear then, that we have a lot to gain by paying attention to things. Analysis of how they are treated, valued, experienced, shared, and represented sheds light on the mechanisms that drive religious belief, expression, community formation, and change.



FIG. 1. Statue of the Virgin Mary, Meryemana, Ephesus (photo: author).

“Materializing” the study of pilgrimage thus means looking to the insights offered by the analysis of interactions between physical things/places and social actors, including institutions, individuals, communities and the divine. Consider, for example, the roles of material culture in the way pilgrimage takes place at the site of Meryemana, the House of Our Lady of Ephesus in Turkey.<sup>3</sup> The site is today recognized as a holy by Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Muslims alike.<sup>4</sup> A statue of the Virgin (FIG. 1) concretizes and gives visual form to the sacred figure who is believed by many to have spent the last years of her life on earth residing here. The figure’s iconography links her to innumerable familiar images of the Virgin as heavenly queen, as gentle mother, as beneficent intercessor. The dated plaque on the pedestal beneath her feet historicizes the statue’s creation and by extension invites connection of the experience of modern Marian veneration at this site to that of generations past. The statue is also integral to the spatial experience of the pilgrimage movement to and though the holy site: a monumental version of the sculpture (FIG. 2) signposts the beginning of visitors’ ascent from the bustling town of Selçuk up through the undeveloped, mountainous landscape of the so-called Nightingale Hill to the pilgrimage site, while the nineteenth-century sculpture seen in figure 1 punctuates the pedestrian path leading from the car park to the shrine itself. Visitors regularly respond to this sculpture’s position and intimate scale with gestures of direct physical contact and their own image making (FIG. 3). The photographs they take provide a reproducible record of their personal presence at the site, a means of enacting and structuring social relationships with fellow travelers, and a medium of communicating information about the place with those unable to make the journey.

Of course, the statue is but a single discrete object in the physical landscape of the site. Other elements include structures both modern and reconstructed atop archaeological foundations and the decorations adorning their surfaces; altars and liturgical furnishings (FIG. 4); pathways, fences and signage both didactic and commemorative; collection boxes, candles and panels of ephemeral prayers and votive offerings (FIG. 5); installations for the hydration of people and plants; kiosks selling devotional objects and mass-produced site-specific souvenirs; and the clothing, footwear, accessories, and head coverings carried or worn by religious personnel and visitors of different ages, nationalities, genders, social statuses and faiths. Furthermore, reproductions

3. Histories and descriptions of the site can be found in Abraham 2008 and Deutsch 1965; see also Pülz in this volume, pp. 1-2 and 13.
4. Abraham 2008, pp. 24-6 and 37-47; tourism coverage includes, for example, Spencer 2006.

of the site's material culture, such as the copy of the painting of Our Lady of Ephesus rendered in mosaic in an oratory dedicated to her at the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington DC and the replica of the entire house structure constructed in Jamaica, Vermont, extend the devotional reach of her cult beyond the geographical specificity of the holy place in Turkey.<sup>5</sup> Each of these material features impacts visitors' experience of the place and helps structure relationships to the Virgin as well as to other visitors past and present. They comprise the building blocks through which meaning—about the site, about the past, and about one's actions of travel, devotion, and consumption—is generated, articulated, and disseminated.



FIG. 2. Statue of the Virgin Mary at base of road to Meryemana, Ephesus (photo: author).

5. The oratory in the crypt in Washington DC with the mosaic image of Our Lady of Ephesus was dedicated in 2003. The image is based on the vision of the Virgin experienced by an American Catholic, Elizabeth Fraser, at Ephesus in 1959; for a description of the vision (with a fascinating comparison between the apparition and the statue then seen standing on the altar), see Deutsch 1965, pp. 127-129 and the longer description of the events surrounding the vision as related by Fraser's daughter, "Our Ephesus Story," Mary Fraser Tarinelli, [http://ourladyofephesushouseofprayer.org/ephesus\\_story.html](http://ourladyofephesushouseofprayer.org/ephesus_story.html), accessed August 26, 2012. Our Lady of Ephesus House of Prayer in Jamaica, Vermont was founded in 1994 and the replica structure was built in 2002: "Our Lady of Ephesus," <http://ourladyofephesushouseofprayer.org/index.html>, accessed August 26, 2012.

As the modern case-study of Meryemana illustrates, things alone, as isolated or deracinated objects or physical site features, do not somehow intrinsically convey information about the workings of the relationships with which they are so bound up. If we had encountered the statue of the Virgin (FIG. 1) on a collector's shelf or in a museum vitrine absent historical or cultural information about it we could analyze its physical properties (form, style, iconography, workmanship, etc.), but we would be hard pressed to say much about how it *worked* religiously—for example as a prelude to experiencing the Virgin's house, as an interactive devotional and social object, as a historical marker and institutional validation. This is because material things, whether they are books, pictures, vessels, or buildings, do not reveal the mechanics of religion in and of themselves. Rather, they have the potential to do so in the ways they are used and experienced: by whom, in what settings and circumstances, under what conditions. It is thus by investigating objects *in light of their spatial, temporal, and performative contexts* that we can gain insight into their roles in shaping religious beliefs, identities, and relationships.



FIG. 3. Visitors taking photos with the statue of the Virgin Mary, Meryemana, Ephesus (photo: author).

The same holds true for the physical environment of pilgrimage in the historical past. And there is the rub for historians since they can deploy but few of the methodological tools available to scholars of contemporary religious material culture. Whereas scholars of modern religious phenomena, such as the pilgrimage to Ephesus's Meryemana, are able to observe patterns of ritual practice first hand, to situate individual objects within richly detailed topographic and cultural frameworks, to identify key human "players" (e.g. the makers, handlers, viewers, wearers, or possessors of objects), and even to discuss with these various figures their thoughts, experiences, and attitudes, when the objects of our study are no longer in active religious use, when our aim is to understand the mechanics of religion in the distant past, we are left with a reduced toolbox. Yet close attention to archaeological data together with relevant textual sources can furnish precious contextualizing clues. At the same time, it is critical to remember that materializing the study of ancient religion demands more than collating and describing artifacts or reconstructing layouts and chronologies of ritual sites. Rather it requires building on these empirical data to investigate the roles of physical objects and places in shaping understanding, experience, identities, and relationships. Indeed, the case studies gathered in the present volume help us see that "materializing" the study of late antique pilgrimage provokes a host of productive insights, about the experience of the traveler, about the intertwining of religious, social, and economic actions of individuals and groups, and about the change of sacred geographies over time.

One important shift in perspective advocated here comes from considering sacred places in terms of the embodied positions of historical actors. Troels Myrup Kristensen's evocation of the shifting vistas and vantage points as visitors move through the site of Aya Tekla offers an excellent example.<sup>6</sup> A conventional plan of the site's features might communicate spatial relationships between individual features but it fails to convey a sense of how the visitor's experience changes as he/she moves through the site. Drawing attention to the three-dimensionality of the topography of the rock-cut entrance route ("Introduction," FIG. 2) and inserting an imaginary human-scale actor within this landscape opens up an entirely different appreciation of the site's dynamics. Imagine passing along the constricted rock-cut passageway before the holy shrine of St. Thekla, the goal of our journey, comes into view, and we can begin to appreciate the site's dramatic and emotional manipulation of scale, light and shadow, obscurity and revelation. The deep-sided passageway forces a particular relationship with the landscape by dwarfing the visitor,

6. Myrup Kristensen, introductory paper, this volume, pp. 70-71. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.3>

restricting her perception of the surroundings, and thereby focusing attention on the directionality of travel, the road, and the anticipation of what is to be met around the bend. What one sees and senses, and therefore understands, about the shrine changes as one moves through its different spaces. New buildings and features are revealed when one reaches certain positions while others are occluded from view and in the process connections between different functional and social spaces are established or distanced.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the site is not static—it changes as the pilgrim (or clergy member, or merchant) moves through, inhabits different positions, and participates in different activities (we might compare, for example, a visitor's degree of focus and attention traveling along the road to what she might experience during communal liturgical celebrations in the basilica church or while performing private devotions at the subterranean shrine below).



FIG. 4. Chapel interior, Meryemana, Ephesus (photo: author).

7. On sight lines between altars and saints' memorials in late antiquity, see Yasin 2012.

Moreover, as Kristensen observes, the elevated site of Aya Tekla was also visible from afar, both from the neighboring town of Silifke and from the sea.<sup>8</sup> A similar point is made by Philip Kiernan in his study of the countryside temples of the western Roman provinces which were frequently situated on hillsides where they presented a striking view from major thoroughfares.<sup>9</sup> Jesper Blid's description of the mountainous topography around the sanctuary of Zeus Labraundos in south-west Anatolia likewise highlights the extensive interventions made to accommodate the construction and visitation of the sanctuary, including paved roads from the two nearest towns and at least forty-two(!) fountain-houses along these routes.<sup>10</sup> The connections and vantage points afforded between sites, and between them and roadways, remind us of the importance of considering holy places not only as independent, self-contained microcosms but as nodes along a web of communication routes and ritual centers within larger fabrics of rural or urban landscapes.

Among the present essays, Amelia Robertson Brown's investigation of the pilgrimage centers of Southern Greece and Corinth is notable for explicitly situating her study sites within a framework of broader pilgrimage networks and travel patterns. If we want to understand the impression any particular shrine could have had on a traveler it is instructive to consider where it would have fallen in the arc of his journey—was it the first exposure to a new land, as Patras on the northwestern coast of the Peloponnesos would have been for many arriving by sea from the west?<sup>11</sup> Did one stay there en route to or from the heady experience of witnessing the biblical sites of the Holy Land? Was it a relatively isolated offshoot from the more heavily beaten pilgrimage path or ensconced within a closely packed constellation of desirable sites that could both draw on common narratives of sanctity or compete for prominence and distinction? Brown points out, for example, that medieval pilgrims to Corinth may have observed the ancient marble tomb of Diogenes the Cynic upon entering the city from the east before encountering the impressive Christian basilica of the Kraneion at the Cenchreaen Gate.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, she draws attention to the account of the early-twelfth-century English pilgrim Saewulf who notes that Corinth and Athens, a mere two days travel apart, together offered the medieval traveler access to central episodes of the life of the Apostle Paul.<sup>13</sup>

8. Myrup Kristensen, introductory paper, this volume, pp. 69-71. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.3>
9. Kiernan, this volume, pp. 86-87. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.4>
10. Blid, this volume, pp. 163-164. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.7>
11. Brown, this volume, p. 201. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.8>
12. Brown, this volume, p. 209.
13. Brown, this volume, pp. 200-201.

Such evidence encourages us to push beyond reconstructing the variety of historical routes taken and towards a more rigorous examination of the implications of the connections and interactions between sites in the pilgrims' experience and to investigate what might be learned from studying them in concert. In the case of the grave of Diogenes, for example, how might witnessing Corinth's Classical ruins inflect a medieval Christian visitor's understanding of the past and the place of Christian history and topography? We might also ask how the cult sites of local martyrs and saints (such as those of Leonidas and Kodratos at Corinth) relate in the "international" visitors' experience to the pan-Christian prominence of sites associated with biblical events and heroes from Moses, to Jesus, to Paul and other apostles. More broadly, how do the diverse contemporary political, economic, and cultural situations encountered in different stages of a journey affect travelers' relationship to the sites, the past, and others encountered on their trip? And, importantly, how do all of these factors shift over time as buildings are altered, revived, or abandoned and as objects are revered, exchanged, or lost (an issue to which I will return)?



FIG. 5. Offering panels, Meryemana, Ephesus (photo: author).

It is clear that there is promise in working to develop a more nuanced model for understanding the relationships *between* sacred sites, and I would suggest

that the same holds for the relationship between diverse cults venerated within an individual town or even single structure. Though the Basilica of St. John, for example, may have been the most prominent and lavish church in sixth-century Ephesus, Andreas Pülz's gazetteer of other holy sites that attracted visitors in and around the city highlights the complexity of the local Christian sacred topography. The same can be said for Brown's survey of Corinthian holy places and indeed can be found in any number of other well-documented late antique cities. Scholars frequently write of competition between cults for status and visitors,<sup>14</sup> but we can also ask how, in practical as well as symbolic terms, the different cults played off of or benefited from their intertwined histories and topographies. I wonder, for example, whether the line of sight afforded between St. John's and the so-called Cave of the Seven Sleepers at Ephesus could have served to link the two extramural sites more firmly in the eyes of travelers and inhabitants than we have yet appreciated (FIG. 6). The increasingly common phenomenon of individual churches possessing diverse collections of relics likewise points to the need to refine our conceptualization of sacred centers.<sup>15</sup> These sanctuaries are not static sites whose historical pedigrees provide the sole attraction for religious visitors. They transform over time. They are shaped by and contribute to the shaping of social, political, and religious relationships between individuals and communities, as the acquisition of additional relics and the appeal they held for pilgrims attest.

In addition to drawing our attention to the physical, bodily experience of pilgrims and the connectedness of sacred topographies, the studies in this volume also rightly emphasize the importance of contextualizing the religious dimension of pilgrimage sites and objects in light of economic factors. A number of the essays point out the wide variety of types of activities that pilgrimage sites accommodated, from baths and lodging to entertainment and mercantile activity.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, such intriguing juxtapositions of, say, hostels, bathing establishments, and worship center, or pottery production area and shrine, push us to question further what the evidence can tell us about how different activities were organized and negotiated. How, for example, was the impact and meaning of the religious encounter of pilgrimage (witnessing and communicating with the divine through ritual, prayer, offerings, etc.) framed and structured through the larger panoply of spaces, objects, and activities of the journey?

14. E.g. Pülz, this volume, pp. 243-244. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1116/HEROM.1.9>

15. The examples of St. John's at Ephesus and the Parthenon Church in Athens appear in Pülz, this volume, p. 242, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1116/HEROM.1.9>; Brown, this volume, p. 203, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1116/HEROM.1.8>

16. E.g. Kiernan, this volume, pp. 90-95. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1116/HEROM.1.4>

In this vein, some particularly thought-provoking findings arise from the reports here of production and consumption patterns tied to specific holy places. Blid, for example, notes the recent excavation of an atelier for glass manufacture associated with the West Church at Labraunda, thought to be producing vessels and lamps for local use.<sup>17</sup> More clearly directly tied to pilgrimage activity are the small late antique terracotta flasks such as those whose production is associated with shrines at Abu Mina and Ephseos.<sup>18</sup> Such cases beg the question of the relationship between the church and the organization and finances of craft manufacture. Though scholars rarely articulate the issue in explicitly economic terms, we would be justified in doing so. Recent research has pointed out, for example, that in addition to the well-known and widely distributed St. Menas flasks, less iconographically distinctive ceramics, including female statuettes, horse-and-rider figurines, jugs and head-shaped flasks, were also being produced contemporaneously from local clay at the Abu Mina shrine, though their distribution appears to be limited to the relatively local area around Mareotis and Alexandria.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, recent analysis of find spots of Anatolian ampullae has revealed that they occur in nearly equal proportions in domestic and religious (including funerary) contexts.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, given such compelling evidence, there is a real opportunity for future research to forge into new territory by coupling analysis of material culture production and distribution with a rigorous critical perspective on issues such as the movement and social transformation of objects; relationships between commodity manufacture, control, legitimacy, and authority; and associations between local, regional, and wider geographical and cultural spheres of contact.

Both Heather Hunter-Crawley's and Troels Myrup Kristensen's essays engage with another productive theoretical avenue, namely, the capacity of portable objects to evoke and communicate memory. Kristensen's discussion prompts us to consider what religious-themed tattoos or clothing that depicted Magi or iconography related to a specific cult, which he speculates may have been acquired during a pilgrim's travels, would have signified when they were worn and viewed back home. The answer, he posits, is that the same objects would have functioned very differently at different moments. Unlike special

17. Blid, this volume, p. 180. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.7>

18. E.g. Kristensen, this volume, pp. 113-114, <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.5>; Pülz, this volume, pp. 231-240. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11116/HEROM.1.9>

19. Bangert, 2010, pp. 306-11.

20. Of the nearly 50 examples with published find spots, William Anderson tallies 6 from secure funerary contexts, at least 14 from "religious sites" (which could include graves), 16 from domestic buildings (interestingly, he reports that these appear to be high status residences) and the rest from commercial or other public spaces (2004, pp. 84-88).

bodily attire adopted during the pilgrimage, which, like the bodily proscriptions attested at Asklepios sanctuaries, could have enforced a commonality of experience, lowered visible signs of social distinction, and assimilated the individual pilgrim into the larger group of devotees,<sup>21</sup> after the journey, wearing a distinctively decorated cloak or tattoo would have set the individual apart. In this reading, the pilgrim's journey is evoked less to conjure up its memory than to deploy it as status marker.



FIG. 6. View from the Cave of the Seven Sleepers site towards the Basilica of St. John (within the medieval citadel of Ayasuluk, background center), Ephesus. (photo: author).

Hunter-Crawley's interpretation of the famous collections of metal ampullae in Monza and Bobbio, artifacts whose displaced nature as objects taken away from their holy-place point of origin is more secure, also turns on their ability to evoke the journey taken. Her analysis concentrates on the materiality of the objects themselves, and in describing the potential sensory experiences that they could have provoked for those who held or wore them she proposes a novel reading. She suggests that more than commemorating the journey achieved or reminding users of the events of the Holy Land that were depicted in the images on their surfaces, the ampullae renewed the very experience of the encounter with the holy by evoking its bodily sensations.

21. Petsalis-Diomedes 2005, pp. 198-206.

Moreover, through the terms of sensory engagement they elicited, the objects also permitted those who had not made the journey to partake in a version of the phenomenological effects of the sacred encounter. Hunter-Crawley commendably encourages us to think about the multi-sensory experience of ancient objects, so many of which for their original users (unlike us) were not confined to a visual experience alone but were instead haptic and engaging.

Yet, as with any reception-oriented analysis, it is important to temper our sense of an imagined past user's responses with historical specificity as much as possible. This brings me to the issue of time and change. Earlier I described the sanctuary of Aya Tekla as shifting and mutable as a visitor experienced it under different circumstances and from different vantage points. Similarly, it is important to recognize that just as the movement of the visitor brings about the changes in the perception of a site, so too do alterations to the material fabric or surrounding context of a place or object alter what it means and does. As an extreme example, recall the thought experiment of imagining the statue from Meryemana shown in figure 1 on display in a museum rather than experienced *in situ* at an active pilgrimage shrine. Many ancient artifacts are, like the nineteenth-century statue in this fictive scenario, silent about the material conditions of their use or display. Even fewer allow us to tease out changes made in these conditions over time. In the case of the Holy Land ampullae, however, we are in the relatively rare position of knowing something about their viewer/user context at least by the early seventh century. Those housed in Monza were, as Hunter-Crawley reminds us, given as a set to the Basilica of John the Baptist by the Lombard queen Theodolinda. Similarly, the collection in Bobbio was a Lombard royal gift to a church, buried along with other Holy Land relics near the founder-saint's tomb in the early history of the early-seventh-century monastery of St. Columban. Since in neither case were the ampullae autonomous, individual objects and, given that both sets have remained together as parts of sacred collections down to our own day (one maintained in the treasury, the other deposited underground), it is worthwhile considering how the circumstances of their access and display would have affected perceptions and receptions of them.<sup>22</sup> Where, for example, under what circumstances, and by whom could they have been viewed, touched, or worn (an especially pressing question for the buried Bobbio objects)? What difference does it make if the user/viewer is an anonymous pilgrim, or a Lombard queen, or an Italian clergyman? And, bearing in mind the social aspect of a materialized approach to religion described at the beginning of the present essay, what do we make

22. The status of the flasks within their respective collections is closely examined by Elsner 1997, pp. 118-23.

of the roles of these objects in brokering relationships between the historical actors involved: Jesus, Mary, the other holy figures depicted or named on the vessels, the queen Theodolinda, the Monza ecclesiastics, their lay community, St. Columban, the monastic inhabitants, etc.?

The issues of historicity, continuity, and transformation in religious practice and places underlie the essays gathered in this issue as they do this response. At the beginning of this essay I used a modern pilgrimage site to illustrate a range of questions and relationships that the study of material culture can help illuminate. In response to previous scholarship, Kristensen's introduction together with a number of the individual contributions is also rightfully cautious about the potential dangers of the anachronistic application of heavily Christianity-loaded terms such as "pilgrimage" to Greco-Roman material. Indeed, carefully selected terminological choices help us clarify, better understand, and more cogently articulate the contours of the ancient evidence as well as make cross-cultural and diachronic comparisons. It is also important, however, not to lose sight of the central aims of our historical inquiry: understanding something of the phenomenon that 1. responded to desire for divine intervention or satisfied some sense of curiosity or cultural expectation, 2. motivated significant numbers of people to action that reached beyond their regular, daily life patterns, and 3. transformed religious, political, and economic geographies of the late Roman and medieval worlds, the effects of which are still very much with us today. One way to help us stay attentive to this goal is to continuously bear in mind the figures—whether anonymous or identifiable, flesh-and-blood or intangible beings—behind the valuation, activation, and reception of ancient material culture. In short, material culture is central to social-religious relationships, and it is those relationships that animate and allow us to understand the roles of things in different historical and cultural circumstances.

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# INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

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Hayes 1972, pp. 33-35.

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