

Maria Aurenhammer (Ed.)

SCULPTURE IN ROMAN ASIA MINOR

Proceedings of the International Conference at Selçuk,
1st–3rd October 2013



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CONTENT

Introduction <i>Maria Aurenhammer</i>	9
 I THE PROVINCE AND ROME	
The Imagery of the ›Parthian Monument‹ at Ephesos: Provincial Rhetoric for a New Dynasty <i>Stephan Faust</i>	17
Tradition and Innovation: Imperial Representation from an Eastern Perspective <i>Alice Landskron</i>	31
Roman Imperial Art between Official Policy and Local Perception <i>Kai Töpfer</i>	43
The Seated Zeus in Imperial Asia Minor. Function and Significance <i>Stavros Vlivos</i>	57
Gladiator-Themed Artefacts in the Side Museum <i>Adem Yurtsever</i>	67
 II SCULPTURES IN THEIR LOCAL CONTEXT	
Alte Funde – neue Gedanken: Side, sogenanntes Gebäude M <i>Hüseyin Sabri Alanyalı</i>	81
Sculpture in the Context of the Ploutonion in Hierapolis <i>Francesco D'Andria</i>	89
Four Relief-Pedestals from Patara <i>Serap Erkoç – Mustafa Koçak</i>	103
Heroes in Asia. Memorable Heroes and their Place in the Cityscape <i>Eva Mortensen</i>	115
Sculptural Programs of Specific Residential Units of Terrace House 1 and 2 in Ephesos <i>Elisabeth Rathmayr</i>	129
The Frieze of the Temple of Dionysos at Teos <i>Michaela Fuchs</i>	147

	The Erotes and Satyr Frieze of the Theatre at Ephesos – seen in the Context of Ephesian, Asian and Metropolitan Sculpture <i>Maria Aurenhammer – Georg A. Plattner</i>	161
	Two Reliefs and Four Emperors from Tripolis ad Maeandrum <i>Bahadır Duman</i>	175
	Der »Knabe mit der Fuchsgans« und Ephesos. Retrospektiver Bezug und römische Betrachter <i>Benjamin Will</i>	183
III	CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR: PORTRAITS	
	Two Republican Portraits from Western Asia Minor <i>Suhal Sağlan</i>	197
	A Portrait Sculpture of Augustus from Alabanda in Caria <i>Bariş Yener – Emin Yener</i>	209
	The Emperor Claudius in Western Asia. Portraits, Statues, and Inscriptions <i>Frank Hildebrandt</i>	219
	Lucius Verus: New Dionysos and <i>Domitor Orientis</i> <i>David Ojeda</i>	
	Eine Statue des Balbinus aus Soloi Pompeiopolis in Kilikien. Identifikation und Interpretation <i>Elif Tül Tulunay</i>	237
IV	CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR: SARCOPHAGI, OSSUARIES, AND RELIEF ALTARS	
	Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Visibility and Invisibility of Asiatic Sarcophagi <i>Ilaria Romeo</i>	249
	Funerary Containers from Roman Sardis <i>Annetta Alexandridis</i>	265
	Ostotheken und Sarkophage des Ephesos-Typs in den Museen von Tire und Ödemiş <i>Bekir Tuluk</i>	281
	Relief Altars from the Island of Lesbos. A Preliminary Report <i>Ioannis Kourtzellis – Thalia Kyriakopoulou</i>	303
V	CATEGORIES OF ROMAN SCULPTURE IN ASIA MINOR: RELIEFS	
	A Niche with Nymphs from Kulu in Galatia <i>Ergün Laflı – Eva Christof</i>	319

VI THE LONG LIVES OF ROMAN MONUMENTS AND SCULPTURES, AND LATE ANTIQUE STATUES

The Long Lives of Roman Statues: Public Monuments in Late Antique Aphrodisias <i>R. R. R. Smith</i>	331
Three Bouleuteria from Roman and Late Antique Aphrodisias <i>Christopher H. Hallett – Ursula Quatember</i>	353
A Reworked Group of Emperor Statues from the Theatre of Perge <i>Buket Akçay-Güven</i>	365
<i>Carpe Spolia</i> . The Reuse of Public Sculpture in the Late Roman Collection <i>Christina Videbech</i>	377
Die Letzten ihrer Art. Archäologische und kulturgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Persistenz und Ende des ›Statue Habit‹ in Kleinasien im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. <i>Martin Kovacs</i>	395

VII NEW AND HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED FINDS FROM VARIOUS SITES

Sculptures in the Ancient City of Bithynium-Claudiopolis <i>Sultan Sezin Sezer</i>	419
Sculptures from Tabae/Kale-i Tavas <i>Fatma Bağdatlı Cam</i>	431
Roman Sculpture in Eresos (Lesbos) <i>Evridiki-Evdokia Leka</i>	441
Addresses of Contributors	459

MICHAELA FUCHS

THE FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF DIONYSOS AT TEOS*

ABSTRACT

In all likelihood, the Temple of Dionysos at Teos is to be identified with the structure built by the influential Hellenistic architect Hermogenes and mentioned by Vitruvius. Its construction is linked to the decision taken by the Ionio-Hellespotic *technitai* to establish itself at Teos. However, the epigraphical evidence argues against a much-discussed assumption directly crediting the Dionysian society of artists with commissioning the temple. Rather, the edifice was a communal sanctuary administrated without the *koinon*'s involvement. Notwithstanding that, the latter's presence will have lent inspiration to the building project. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the local planners used the format of the frieze of the temple to assert that, owing to the guild's move to the city, the cultivation of the arts at Teos had acquired prominent status. It is important to note in this regard that the frieze did not exclusively thematize the thiasos enacted for the glorification of the god. The muses interspersed throughout the frieze, and the artistic disciplines they stand for, are, in a general sense, visualizations of the city's cultural aspirations. Thus, imagery showing Dionysian revelry became interwoven with indications of the elevated standard of artistic refinement now dominating at Teos. But there is more. Through the inclusion of a scene depicting an offering before an archaic image of a goddess cradling a child (Leukothea), legends referring to the city's foundation and the venerable cults attached to them were made visible.

ÖZET

Teos Dionysos Tapınağı'nın Frizi

Büyük bir ihtimalle, Teos Dionysos Tapınağı Hellenistik dönemin etkin mimari Hermogenes'in yaptığı ve Vitruvius'un sözünü ettiği yapı olarak tanımlanabilir. Yapının inşası İonia-Hellespontos *technitai*'nin Teos'da yerleşme kararına bağlanmıştır. Ancak epigrafik bulgular, çok tartışılan tapınağın yaptırılmasının doğrudan Dionysos Derneği sanatçılarına atfedilmesi varsayımına karşı kanıtlar ortaya koymaktadır. Yapı, daha çok *koinon*'un katılımı olmadan yönetilen ortak bir kutsal alandı. Buna rağmen birliğin buradaki varlığı yapı projesine ilham vermiş olmalıdır. Bu saptama, yerel planlamacıların tapınağın frizini, tapınağın yapımının ve Teos'daki kültürün tanınmış bir hale gelmesinin bu loncanın şehre gelmesi sayesinde olduğunu iddia etmek için kullanmalarıyla desteklenir. Bu bağlamda, frizin konusunu sadece tanrının yüceltilmesi için yapılan *thiasos*dan oluşmadığının belirtilmesi önemlidir. Frizin farklı yerlerinde bulunan Muslar ve onların temsil ettiği sanatsal disiplinler, genel anlamda bu şehrin kültürel özlemlerinin göselleştirilmeleridir. Böylece Dionysos şenliklerini gösteren tasvirleri, artık Teos'da hakim olan sanatsal incelikteki yüksek standartlar ile kaynaşmıştır. Ancak burada daha fazlası söz konusudur. Tanrıçayı (Leukothea) kucağında bir çocukla gösteren Arkaik bir tasvir önünde yapılan sunu sahnesinin eklenmesi ile şehrin kuruluşu ve kutsal kültler ile ilgili efsaneler görselleştirilmiştir.

In 1764/1765, an expedition led by Richard Chandler, on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti undertook a tour to Greece and Turkey¹. In 1765, the travellers also reached Teos whose remains were in a deplorable state. One was able to identify remnants of the city walls, of the theatre, and of the southern harbour, but it took an effort to identify the Temple of Dionysos mentioned in various ancient sources. Nevertheless, a number of architectural members were recorded, and a hypothetical floor plan was published in volume I of *Ionian Antiquities*².

* I am grateful to my friend, Musa Kadioğlu, whom I thank for having given me the opportunity to participate in the excavation of a site that holds a lot of promise.

¹ Chandler 1775; on Teos 134–140.

² Chandler 1769, 6–12 pl. 1–6.

During the last third of the 3rd century B.C., the paramount fame of the local Dionysian cult induced the Ionian *koinon* of the Dionysian *technitai*, or artists, to choose Teos as the focal point of their activities³. In connection with the guild's self-establishment, a new temple was erected with whose creation the then innovative architect Hermogenes⁴ was entrusted. That edifice gained fame by virtue of being mentioned in Vitruvius' »Ten Books on Architecture«. Among other things, Vitruvius emphasized that Hermogenes was worthy of the highest praise for having fixed the proportions of the *eustylos*, as exemplified in the temple of Dionysos at Teos (Vitr. 3, 3, 8).

Consequently, it is no surprise that, from the inception of research on Greek architecture in modern times on, curiosity has centered on manifest works of Hermogenes as architect and architectural theoretician. Almost 100 years after Chandler had spotted the temple at Teos, Richard Pullan, again sponsored by the Society of Dilettanti, investigated the structure, producing plans and reconstructions of the building which, however, reflected only its last phase owed to a Hadranic reconstruction⁵. Pullan's excavations lasted only from April to July 1862, but, aside from architectural fragments, brought to light several slabs of a figural frieze which – against the resistance of local authorities – found their way to England, where they were handed over to the British Museum⁶. Part of the frieze slabs not abducted were transferred to Smyrna, modern Izmir, and placed in the garden of the Archaeological Museum. When they were still at the place of their discovery, however, the reliefs had been drawn by the painter Harald Jerichau, whose sketches Gustav Hirschfeld published in 1876⁷. Photographic documentation was to follow in the 1890s for individual images (EA nos. 1345–1348).

However, at the core of research on ancient Teos there stood, abstracting from Pullan's endeavours to reconstruct the Temple of Dionysos, the ample epigraphical material which Chandler had already begun to record⁸. It was only in 1922 that Charles Picard, given the superficiality of the English excavations, stated the necessity of digging afresh at Teos so as to gain closer insights regarding the cult of Dionysos in northern Ionia⁹. It took two years of negotiation between the École Française in Athens and the Turkish government to allow those activities to begin, whose aim it was to systematically excavate Teos. Understandably, the Temple of Dionysos claimed centre stage in those endeavours. A detailed report on the first campaign in 1924 was quickly published¹⁰, while a second one, referring to the undertakings in 1925 never saw the light of day. However, excavation diaries provide evidence that further fragments of the frieze were uncovered, but these were only described in a summary manner. Prior to the French resumption of the excavations, more elements of the frieze must have been in existence either *in situ* or in the museum at Izmir, as is apparent from passing notes in the literature on our topic¹¹. Regrettably, also the finds from the excavations carried out by Y. Boysal and B. Ögün in 1962 and 1966 remained unpublished¹². At any rate, more relief slabs had come to light at the time, only two of which were published – without any comment other than that they belonged to the Temple

³ Aneziri 2003, 174–179. 375–376 D 2.

⁴ Comprehensively on Hermogenes: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990.

⁵ Pullan 1881, 38–39 pls. 22–25; 53–54; complementary information in Lethaby 1915, 12–13. 25. 28–33; cf. also below.

⁶ Pullan 1881, 38 pl. 25; Lethaby 1915, 12; Smith 1904, 416–417 no. 2570; Hahland 1950, 81–82 L 10–11 figs. 43–44; Rumscheid 1994, II 86 no. 354.6 pl. 185, 1.

⁷ Hirschfeld 1876, 23–30 pl. 5 and *Hilfstaf.* 5.

⁸ Chandler 1775, 96. 100 with reference to Chishull 1728–[1731 (?)]. Cf. Hamilton 1842, 11–20. 450–454; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880a, 47–59; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880b, 110–121; Potier – Hauvett-Besnault 1880c, 164–182; Judeich 1891, 291–299; Plassart – Picard 1913, 155–246; Demangel – Laumonier 1922, 307–355.

⁹ Picard 1922, 406; see also p. II of the preface.

¹⁰ Béquignon – Laumonier 1925, 281–321.

¹¹ Walter 1922–1924, 234–235; Demangel 1933, 404–405 with n. 1 on p. 405.

¹² Only short reports on the excavation activities themselves exist, with no mention of the finds: Boysal – Ögün 1962, 12–13; Boysal 1962, 5–7; Boysal 1965, 231–233; see, however, Mellink 1965, 146.

of Dionysos¹³. For the reconstruction of the building's frieze, however, they turned out to be of crucial importance¹⁴.

In the reliefs of the temple Dionysian activities are shown, in which the god himself participates (fig. 1)¹⁵. He is slouched on a piece of rock, holds his thyrsos staff in his right while turning his wreathed head towards a figure behind him, who is offering him, right arm raised, a bunch of grapes. Though only partly preserved, the individual portrayed can only have been Ariadne, the remainder of whose figure has fallen victim to damage at the right end of the slab. At the tip of the Dionysian cortege, a maenad playing the castanets may be seen, followed by a centaur who seems to have pounded a *tympanon* or hand-drum.

Walter Hahland was the first to occupy himself with the frieze¹⁶. Publishing his research in 1950, he connected the representations to the Tean wine miracle referred to by Diodorus. He relates that Teos was one among many places vying to be accepted as home to Dionysos¹⁷. To corroborate this claim, the Tean lore had it that »even to this day, at certain times [connected to festivities honouring the god] in their city a fountain of wine, of unusually sweet fragrance, flows of its own accord from the earth« (Diod. 3, 66, 2).

Notwithstanding the incompleteness of the scene, Hahland insisted that its topic could have only been the celebration of this viticultural miracle¹⁸. Intent on fortifying his argument, he adduced a relief of unknown origin (fig. 2), nowadays kept in the museum at Izmir¹⁹. There, in front of a cave on a bluff, Dionysos is seen reposing, his right arm resting on his head while the left one is draped in an animal skin. Behind him, a large horn of plenty is visible, another variety of which is balanced by his comrade Ariadne who, using her left hand, grasps some fruit from inside it. Within the grotto, an abundance of wine gurgles forth, allowing a youth, who is approaching from the right, to replenish his jar with the prized liquid.

However, in the frieze block from the Tean temple, cave and wine spring are absent. One can rule out that those items were once depicted to the right of Ariadne, as in the slab's surface connecting upwards and within the area of the break, dowel holes have survived²⁰, testifying to the fact that the slab ended here. Had the fount been portrayed on the subsequent plate, it would have been too far removed from the god, leading to the conclusion that the Tean frieze slab could hardly have depicted the wine miracle.

Within the thiasos that is approaching the divine couple from either side, centaurs play an important role and can even be said to be the governing theme of the frieze in general. They are incorporated into the more customary following of Dionysos and mingle peacefully with maenads, satyrs, sileni and Pan, all of whom are blissfully parading along. Thus, on one slab²¹ in a comparatively good state of preservation, a centaur proceeds towards the right. While hugging the shoulders of a youth in front of him, he sports a horn-shaped drinking vessel in his right hand and gazes back at another youth behind him, who is carrying a pointed amphora. On another slab²², two galloping centaurs can be discerned, on whose backs youthful satyrs are seated, sounding their instruments. Amongst these, the one in front is unmistakably a female due to her clearly

¹³ Akurgal 1987, 114 fig. 180 b; on the temple 92; Rumscheid 1994, 86 under no. 354.6 pl. 187, 5.

¹⁴ Cf. below.

¹⁵ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 1; Hahland 1950, 75 R 1 fig. 27; Williams Lehmann 1962, 26 fig. 53; Williams Lehmann 1969, 316 fig. 264; Webb 1996, 73 fig. 30; Strang 2007, 157 pl. 21 a.

¹⁶ Hahland 1950, 66–109.

¹⁷ For reference Otto 1933, 91–93; Merkelbach 1988, 54–57, cf. 110; Strang 2007, 140–142.

¹⁸ Hahland 1950, 85.

¹⁹ Hahland 1950, 85–87 fig. 46; Strang 2007, 157–158 pl. 21 b.

²⁰ Hahland 1950, 10 R 1.

²¹ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 1; EA 1347; Demangel 1933, 404 fig. 80; Hahland 1950, 76 R 2 fig. 28.

²² Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; EA 1345, 1; Demangel 1933, 404 fig. 81; Hahland 1950, 77 R 5 fig. 31; Williams Lehmann 1969, 251 fig. 208.

defined breasts, and the same gender may tentatively be assumed for her comrade. Here, music is the dominant theme: the she-centaur playing the castanets turns backwards towards a satyr playing the double flute, while, at the same time, her female counterpart beats a hand drum.

A similar configuration occurs on a frieze slab that came to light during the recent excavations begun by Ankara University in 2010²³. On the back of a centaur striding to the right rides a silenus whose head is shown in full frontal view. In his uplifted right hand, the latter held an object whose nature is no longer discernible. The group is preceded by a satyr who carries a pointed amphora on his shoulder and looks backwards. The second²⁴ of the two newly-discovered slabs likewise shows a centaur hurrying to the right with an animal skin tied around his neck, and there are remains of a contour that suggest the presence of a maenad.

The popular rider-and-mount-group motif is also found on another, fragmentary slab²⁵. Remarkably, however, in this instance the movement develops towards the left. What catches the eye is the back view of the sturdily built rider, whose attention is directed towards the somewhat overdimensioned kantharos, playfully extended by the subsequent centaur. In addition, remnants of a cortege moving to the left are preserved on an additional slab²⁶: following the preceding centaur whose tail can still be seen next to the break on the left, comes the group of a centaur, typically wielding a tree branch, and a youth fondly looking up, cuddling his host.

According to Hahland, those sections of the frieze which showed divergent depictions of movement, pertained to different stretches of the peristasis, but he did not offer any kind of an explicit explanation²⁷. However, it does seem logical that the frieze's cortege converged, from both the longitudinal sides of the temple towards the pronaos; meaning that the slabs oriented leftward were placed on the northern side, those oriented rightward on the southern one, both of them uniting in a scene where Dionysos must have been centrally placed (cf. fig. 3). However, a change of direction at the back corners of the peristasis is imaginable. At least, this is suggested by a corner stone discovered during the Turkish excavations of the 1960's²⁸ (fig. 4). There, on the front face of the block, a female figure is visible, whose billowing cloak testifies to her motion towards the right. Furthermore, interrupted by a corner capital, the hind part of a centaur, armed with a tree branch and moving to the left, is extant.

The humorous Bacchic activities come to a halt of sorts in the figure of a calm centaur strumming a lyre, with a tripping maenad positioned by his side²⁹. Hahland had found fault with the absence of stationary pictorial elements which, according to him, would have been helpful in overcoming »die Monotonie der sich über lange Strecken hin wiederholenden gleichförmigen Bewegungsmotive«³⁰. Realistically speaking, however, caesuras of that kind do by all means exist. Not only does the centaur just mentioned provide proof against Hahland's position; even more so do the muses who are found interspersed in the cortege.

A relief which is today badly damaged was once much better preserved when Hirschfeld had it drawn by Harald Jerichau in 1874³¹ (fig. 5). Once more, two centaurs are shown rapidly moving towards the left. The younger one plays the flutes, with a youthful satyr seated on his back. The other one, shouldering an amphora, addressed his attention to a further figure of which nothing is preserved. In between, a mossy silenus, likely busying himself with the flutes, can be seen striding along. In the midst of this cortege, oriented towards the left, a frontally depicted

²³ Unpublished.

²⁴ Unpublished.

²⁵ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 4; EA 1346, 1; Hahland 1950, 79 L 6 fig. 39.

²⁶ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 3; EA 1345, 4; Hahland 1950, 79–80 fig. 38.

²⁷ Hahland 1950, 69. 83.

²⁸ Unpublished.

²⁹ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; EA 1345, 3; Hahland 1950, 78 L 2 fig. 34.

³⁰ Hahland 1950, 84.

³¹ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; Hahland 78–80 fig. 35–36.

female in fluttering garb strumming a lyre stands out. Iconographically, her posture foreshadows representations of the muse Terpsichore in a pattern well-known from Roman sarcophagi³² (fig. 6). The muse of dance and poetry has slightly lifted up her left leg while, with the torso of her body, she turns towards the right, i.e. in the direction of the instrument which rests clenched under her left armpit. Correspondingly, her right arm is folded and directed towards the lyre.

Another muse can also be identified. Appearing on an almost completely preserved frieze slab³³ (fig. 7), she wears the garment typical of *kitharodes* while strumming the lyre. She must be Erato, the muse who inspired amorous poetry. In a calm pose, her figure interrupts the rapid leftward flow of the thiasos. As is customary, she appears in a high-girded, sleeved chiton with mantle added to the back, as is also seen e.g. on a sarcophagus in Aphrodisias³⁴ (fig. 8). No trace, however, is left of the ribbon which helped her stabilize her heavy musical instrument.

The centaurs' dominance in the Dionysiac procession is not quite as surprising as is that of the muses. Hahland had failed to recognize them as such. The person strumming the *kithara* he mistook for a male, while calling the muse who is most likely Terpsichore simply a »musician playing the lyre«; this identification was also applied to a female musician recorded on a now lost fragment³⁵. In any case, the presence of the muses becomes clear, when one considers the specific sort of events which, in the last third of the 3rd century B.C., affected the city of Teos. As mentioned initially, this was the time when the Ionio-Hellespontian *technitai* made the city their centre of activities, as is attested in what is known as the »*ktematónia* inscription«³⁶. Given that the inscription contains a statement to the effect that the town was to donate a piece of property to the company, researchers repeatedly assumed that, therefore, the preserved Temple of Dionysos ought to have been located on that particular plot of land where it served as the guild's sanctuary³⁷. However, there are a number of considerations that argue against this assumption, one being that the concept of »a piece of property« is hard to reconcile with the very small stretch of territory surrounding the ruins of the known Tean temple³⁸. Its remains are to be attributed to the city's main cult location where, owing to the initiative not of the *technitai*, but of the local authorities, in the years 204–202 B.C. portrait statues of king Antiochos III and his sister Laodike had been set up, labelling them as σύνναοι θεοί. In any case, there can be no doubt that the *technitai*'s presence at Teos sped up the erection of the temple in existence³⁹ for whose construction the vanguard architect Hermogenes could be won. One bears in mind that not only did the traditional Tean cult of Dionysos gain by the artists' presence, but so did the town as a whole when seen as a cultural centre. It is to this constellation that the commissioners of the Hermogenean temple point to by way of its relief decoration. The planners of the temple's decoration did not shy away from emphasizing that, owing to the *koinon*'s move, the arts, by virtue of musicians and actors, had undergone a considerable boost. It follows that the presence of the muses in the frieze underscores the city's claim to cultural fame.

Consequently, the Tean frieze was not exclusively dedicated to myths and matters to do with Dionysos, allegorically making reference to rites dedicated to the god on his festive occasion. Scenes that refer to cultic activities are interspersed with others referencing the cultural potential

³² See e.g. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung inv. I 171: Wegner 1966, 88–89 pls. 8 a; 9 a. b; 10–12; 14 a; 137 a. b (with literature).

³³ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 4; EA 1348; Demangel 1933, 405 fig. 83; Hahland 1950, 77 L 1 fig. 33; Akurgal 1987, 114 fig. 180 a.

³⁴ Aphrodisias, Museum: Wegner 1966, 10–11 pls. 83 b; 85 a. b.

³⁵ Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 9; Walter 1922–1924, Beibl. 235; Hahland 1950, R 6 fig. 32.

³⁶ Aneziri 2003, 174–179; 375–376 D 2 (with literature); cf. Strang 2007, 250–259.

³⁷ Hahland 1950, 90–97; Stampolides 1987, 197–206; cf. N. Stampolides in: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990, 115–116; with regard to the following cf. Aneziri 2003, 174–179.

³⁸ Yaylali 1976, 116–120.

³⁹ Aneziri 2003, 178.

of the city. This being so, two reliefs now in the Tarih Sanat Müzesi⁴⁰ (fig. 9), both in quite a reasonable state of preservation, shed an interesting side light. They depict an act of offering in front of a female goddess. These slabs were, routinely and on grounds of their seemingly enigmatic themes that did not appear to fit in with the bacchanalian cortege, kept separate from those fragments which were confidently attributed to the Tean frieze. However, their role cannot be underestimated for the understanding of the Tean frieze as a whole. It must be remarked, though, that the early excavators had a better understanding of the complexion of things: quite simply the two reliefs in question are a precise match to the remainder of the slabs⁴¹. Moreover, their inventory numbers are consistent with those of the other frieze plates. It appears that both of the reliefs were initially, in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum, correctly united with the rest of the frieze slabs – until a later date when this connection was no longer recognised.

As part of the original sequence, there appeared a lit altar and an image of a female deity dressed in a thin chiton and mantle covering her right arm and falling freely down the figure's back. However, the garment is not pulled up to cover the head. Rather, the veil rests on her shoulders and is superimposed on a cap worn underneath. This particular mode of applying a veil⁴², from Hellenistic times on, is commonly found on grave reliefs, images of priestesses, and sundry portrait statues⁴³ stemming, for the most part, from southern Asia Minor. From either side a number of figures approach the cult image with, in both cases, a man accompanied by a flute-blowing maiden. To the right, two women join in, carrying a robe obviously intended to embellish the cult image. Once this is understood, the object held by the leader of the cortege is no longer hard to explain. It can only have been a vessel filled with pleasantly scented oil⁴⁴, seeing that it was common practice for the head priest to anoint the sacred image in the process of performing sacred rites⁴⁵.

So who does the cult image represent? The object which the goddess is carrying on her left arm has for quite some time resisted interpretation. A miniature version of a lion was proposed, supposedly symbolizing the »Macht der großen Herrin der Tiere« (*Potnia theron*), as well as a kid held by Aphrodite Pandemos⁴⁶. However, in spite of all the damage the relief has undergone, an identification as an animal has to be ruled out: the posture and group composition simply do not fit. It seems much more appropriate to see this as a child which the goddess held against the left part of her chest, comparable to depictions of Aphrodite and the boy Eros⁴⁷.

At this point, mythology comes to our aid. A man by the name of Athamas⁴⁸, who according to legend was a hero and also the king of Thessalian or Boeotian Orchomenos, was credited with the founding of Teos. This is unquestionably related to the migration of the Dorians as reflected in oral tradition. Strabo (14, 1, 3) and Pausanias (7, 3, 6) provide records of colonized cities, according to which Teos was inhabited by Minyans from Orchomenos, who had arrived jointly with Athamas.

⁴⁰ inv. 185. 186: EA 1349; Drexel 1921, 45–50 pl. 9, 3; Langlotz 1961, 123–124 pl. 26, 3–4; Möbius 1962, 287; Fleischer 1978–1980, 66 fig. 3; Fleischer 1973, 115.

⁴¹ The height measures 60.5 cm, thus corresponding exactly to the other slabs' measurements, abstracting from the crowning element of the egg-and-dart absent from these two slabs. As to the measurements cf. also Hahland 1950, 69. The marble used is identical in all cases.

⁴² On this cf. R. Känel in: Berger 1990, 283–299 no. 245; see also Känel 1989, 123–124 pl. 14; cf. already Langlotz 1961, 122–124 with a somewhat different interpretation.

⁴³ Cf. e.g. İnan – Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, 249–250 no. 228 pls. 161, 2. 3; 162; 256 no. 234 pl. 167, 1. 2.

⁴⁴ Already taken into consideration by Langlotz 1961, 123, according to whom the vessel's content was earmarked for religious rites.

⁴⁵ Detailed information on the practice of anointing divine images in Hock 1905, 51–52, on dressing them Hock 1905, 53–59; cf. Funke 1981, 688–693; Frateantonio 1999, 903.

⁴⁶ Langlotz 1961, 123. On Aphrodite Pandemos carrying a he-goat in her arm cf. Simon 1969, 250–252 fig. 243; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 16 no. 65 with fig.; cf. Delivorrias et al. 1984, 98–100.

⁴⁷ Delivorrias et al. 1984, 119 no. 1233 with fig.

⁴⁸ On Athamas cf. Escher 1896, 1929–1933; Schwanzar 1984, 950–953; cf. Strang 2007, 45.

Interestingly, Athamas, who was wed to Ino⁴⁹, a sister of Theban Semele, called as his own a palace where, according to one of the mythical traditions, the infant Dionysos was handed over by Hermes into the care of the royal house⁵⁰ (cf. Apollod. 3, 28). Only a few vase paintings reflect this version of the story. On a Faliscan stamnos preserved in the Villa Giulia⁵¹, Hermes, holding a child in his arm, approaches a ruler figure with a sceptre, behind whom a female is visible, likewise enthroned and holding a sceptre. Consequently, the two of them are to be interpreted as Athamas and Ino. We encounter them again on an Attic hydria housed in a private Athenian collection⁵², where they are seen receiving the newborn against the background of palatial architecture.

It must be emphasized that taking care of boyish Dionysos was the central topic of the myth involving Ino – and the one, moreover, that was to determine her later literary fame. Sadly, Hera's anger brought insanity to Ino, who saw no other recourse than to hurl herself into the sea. Fortunately, Poseidon and the nymphs welcomed her amongst their coterie, deciding to call her by a new name: Leukothea – the shimmering goddess of waving floods⁵³.

Apparently, the cult of Leukothea was quite important at Teos⁵⁴. The month of Leukatheón was named for her – marking the inception of the New Year, when officials were admitted into office⁵⁵. But, for the ephebes, the date also marked their introduction into civilian rights⁵⁶ – doubtless another reason for festive emotions and behaviours. The significant aspect of all this, and specifically with regard to our frieze, is that at the same point in time the games of the Leukatheia were celebrated⁵⁷. The upper echelons of the city, in addition to receiving libations, were wined and dined and almost buried under proclamations of honour and respect⁵⁸. However, the honouring of Leukothea was the task, and a special one too, of the priest serving the cult of Poseidon – who also supervised the correct enactment of the concomitant games. For all of that, the Tarih Sanat slabs now provide singularly well-preserved evidence.

With confidence we may state that the reliefs depict the opening of the games. The rigorous appearance of the female idol standing centrally, must doubtless be interpreted as indicative of the longevity of the cult of the goddess⁵⁹. The clearly visible navel of the figure she cradles leaves no doubt of its human nature. Consequently, it can be none other than the young Dionysos. From the right, the responsible priest approaches, extending a vessel containing ointments; his followers are female cultic servants presenting the newly-woven garment. Flute players accompany the scene, and likewise a man holding a long torch, with which the fire on top of the altar will be lit.

The question regarding the frieze's date is closely connected to the ascription of the temple itself to Hermogenes. R. P. Pullan believed that the temple he had discovered could not possibly be the *eustylos* as mentioned in Vitruvius⁶⁰. Instead, the differences in craftsmanship that he observed while analysing the various sections of the building led him to believe that the temple was the result of Roman restructuring. He found supporting evidence for his supposition in an inscription

⁴⁹ On Ino cf. Farnell 1921, 35–47; Eitrem 1925, 2293–2306; Nercessian 1990, 657–661; see also Schwanzar 1984; Strang 2007, 143–145.

⁵⁰ Cf. Schwanzar 1984, 950; Gasparri 1986, 417; cf. Strang 2007, 143–145.

⁵¹ Fuhrmann 1950/1951, 113 fig. 5; 127–128; Schwanzar 1984, 951 no. 3.

⁵² Oakley 1982, 44–47 pl. 8; Schwanzar 1984, 951 no. 1.

⁵³ On Leukothea cf. Eitrem 1925; Bremmer 1999, 110. According to Hyginus (fab. 2) she received the name by the will of Dionysos.

⁵⁴ Cf. Graf 1985, 405–407; Strang 2007, 144–145.

⁵⁵ Demangel – Laumonier 1922, 307–319 no. 1. 2 = SEG II 579. 580; Herrmann 1965, 37–38 lines 30–38. 57. 65–67; Graf 1985, 406; Strang 2007, 126. 160.

⁵⁶ Herrmann 1965, 38 lines 38–44. 67; Graf 1985, 406; Strang 2007, 161.

⁵⁷ CIG 3066, 25; Herrmann 1965, 37 lines 16–17. 57–58: against the reconstruction of the inscription as referring to a feast honouring Poseidon Graf 1985, 406 n. 17; cf. also Strang 2007, 125–126. 144–145. 160.

⁵⁸ CIG 3065. 3066; Herrmann 1965, 37 lines 9–24. 57–60.

⁵⁹ Langlotz 1961, 124 felt reminded of Anatolian votives of the 6th and 5th c., cf. Langlotz 1961, pl. 26, 2.

⁶⁰ Pullan 1881, 39.

from the architrave of the temple⁶¹ – an inscription which was further clarified by the excavations carried out by the French in the 1920s⁶². For its reconstruction see figure 10⁶³.

The title of Panionios, which is also documented in Ephesos and Miletos⁶⁴, must pertain to the last years of Hadrian's reign. Clearly, it was coined in imitation of the emperor's honorific title as Panhellenios, which was bestowed upon him on the occasion of the founding of the Panhellenion at Athens in 131/132 A.D.

On the other hand, the inscription does not allow us to conclude that the temple was, in its entirety, only founded during the Hadrianic age. We must also consider restorations following one of the many seismic disasters which shook Asia Minor and Teos at more or less regular intervals. Interestingly enough, Hirschfeld, in publishing his first sketches, already drew attention to similarities between the Tean frieze and slabs from the temple at Magnesia⁶⁵ – likewise ascribed to Hermogenes⁶⁶. Following the same line of reasoning, and considering facts to be gleaned from the historical tradition, he dated the Tean frieze to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. In spite of Hirschfeld's proposal, the date remained open, permitting Hahland to preface his ruminations on the temple's frieze by stating that, up to his time, the reliefs had not yet found a fixed place in Hellenism⁶⁷. Hahland's observations regarding the slabs preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Izmir, however, provided evidence derived from dowel holes that the reliefs in question must have been employed twofold. For this reason, Hahland came to the conclusion that the frieze was reemployed and partly repaired under Hadrian⁶⁸.

In fact, a number of relief slabs do exist that visibly depart stylistically from the bulk of what else is preserved. The two blocks removed by Pullan and now in the British Museum⁶⁹ are to be numbered among them. It appears that we are faced with two matching blocks, consequently representing the most coherent part of the Dionysian cortege. There, male and female centaurs are represented, with riders on their backs; they are preceded by a female basket carrier, and a dancing maenad also participates. Renewed investigations would be required to determine whether Hahland was right to surmise that these slabs were reworked in imperial times⁷⁰. Contrary to that, it seems safe to assume a Hadrianic origin for one relief already detected by Chandler⁷¹, as well as for two others uncovered during the Turkish excavations of the 1960s⁷². There, too, the subject is the Bacchanalia, even if the precise content of the more damaged relief is difficult to determine.

The better preserved slab⁷³ (fig. 11) is a rectangular member with a pillar marking the transition to the lateral section. If the assumption is correct that the cortege proceeded from each long side towards the front of the temple⁷⁴, this slab should be assigned to the corner turning towards the temple's main side. Thus, returning to the corner-block mentioned above (fig. 4), its logical placement would then be the southwestern corner on the back of the building (fig. 3).

In sum, the Dionysiac frieze of the Tean temple seems in no way to have been restricted to the worship of the divinity and the thiasos enacted in his honour. By including the muses, the

⁶¹ Pullan 1881, 38; Lethaby 1915, 29; Hirschfeld 1876, 29.

⁶² Demangel – Laumonier, 1922, 330–331 no. 10; Béquignon – Laumonier 1925, 309–310 no. 4–5.

⁶³ Reconstruction by Robert 1943, 86–89.

⁶⁴ Robert 1943, 88–89.

⁶⁵ Hirschfeld 1976, 29.

⁶⁶ *Vitr.* 3, 2, 6; cf. M. Kreeb in: Hoepfner – Schwandner 1990, 109–110; 104–109; Rumscheid 1994, 25–28; Webb 1996, 89–92.

⁶⁷ Hahland 1950, 66.

⁶⁸ Hahland 1950, 74–75. 87. 91–97. 105–106.

⁶⁹ Cf. above n. 6.

⁷⁰ Hahland 1950, 81–82 n. 39.

⁷¹ Cf. above n. 21.

⁷² Cf. above n. 13.

⁷³ Akurgal 1987, fig. 180 b (left).

⁷⁴ Cf. above.

city's high educational standards were celebrated, courteously acknowledging the merits of the Dionysian guild. Of central importance are two fascinating reliefs which are today in the Tarih Sanat Museum (fig. 9). To repeat: based on their subject matter, these slabs were erroneously excluded from the remainder of the more easily legible frieze of the temple, in spite of the slabs' measurements and the fact that they received sequential object numbers when they were found. Decisive for the understanding of the frieze's composition in its entirety is the depiction of an offering dedicated to a female cult image of archaic appearance, which of necessity must be identified as Leukothea. Nevertheless, I hope to have demonstrated that the inclusion of this scene is crucial for understanding not only the temple's meaning, but also the early Hellenistic history of the city of Teos itself.

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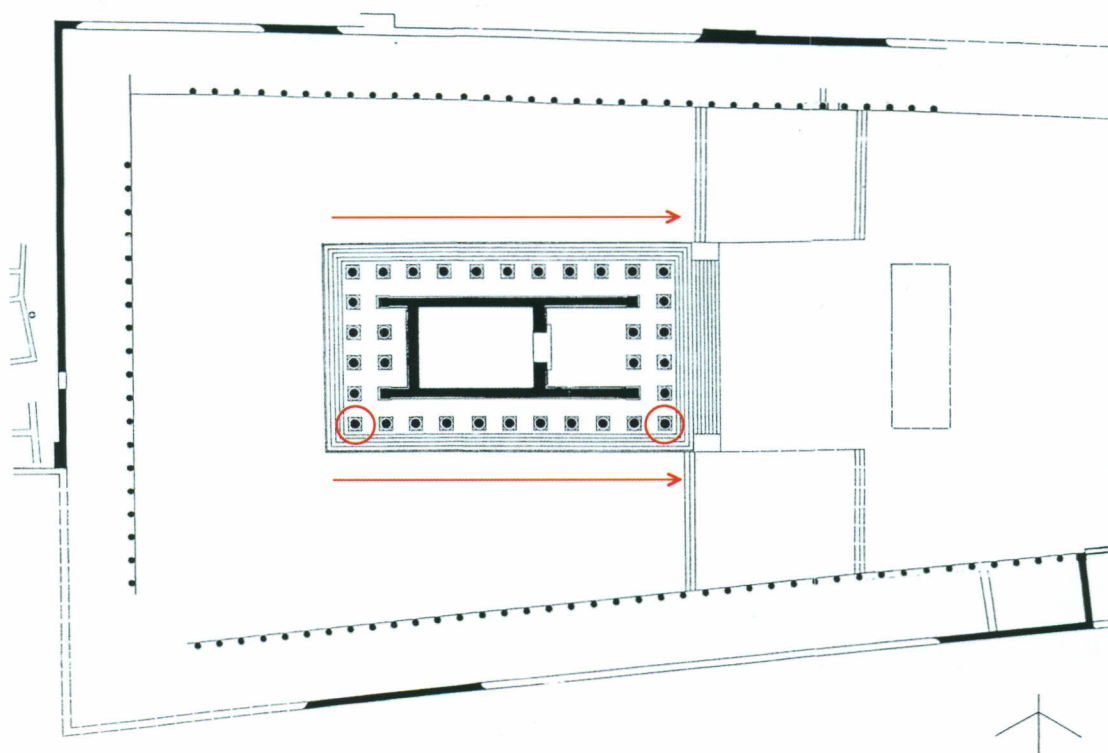
References of figures: Fig. 1: DAI-IST-Inv. 12.415; fig. 2: DAI-IST-679; fig. 3: Author, based on the plan by Duran M. Uz, 1987; fig. 4: Photo Musa Kadioğlu; fig. 5: after Hirschfeld 1876, *Hilfstaf.* 5, 2; fig. 6: after Wegner 1966, pl. 9 b; fig. 7: DAI-IST-4527x; fig. 8: <www.artofmaking.ac.uk/explore/sources/918/PR305_04_15> (24. 10. 2016); fig. 9: after EA 1349; fig. 10: after Robert 1943, 88; fig. 11: DAI-IST-Inv. 115.151.



1 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 175: Dionysian cortege and slouched Dionysos



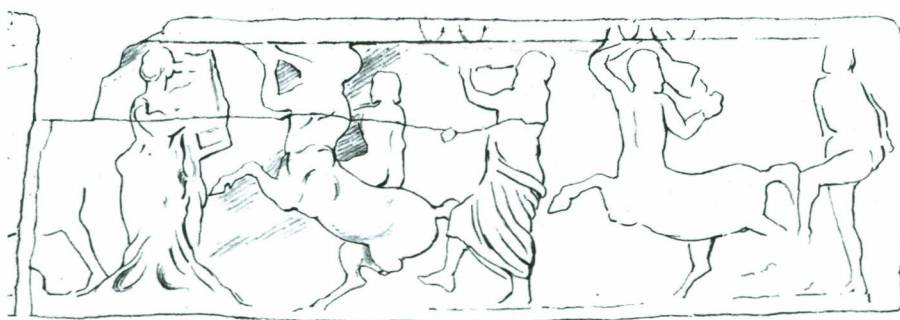
2 Relief, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 241: wine miracle



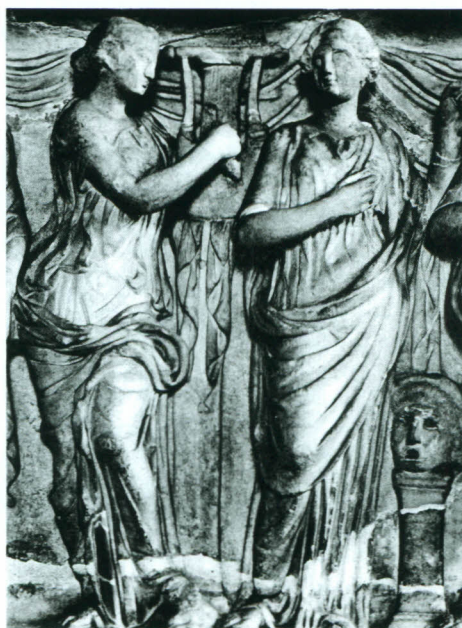
- 3 Precinct of the temple of Dionysos, based on the plan by Duran M. Uz, 1987, with orientation of the friezes indicated



- 4 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 3539: Dionysian cortege



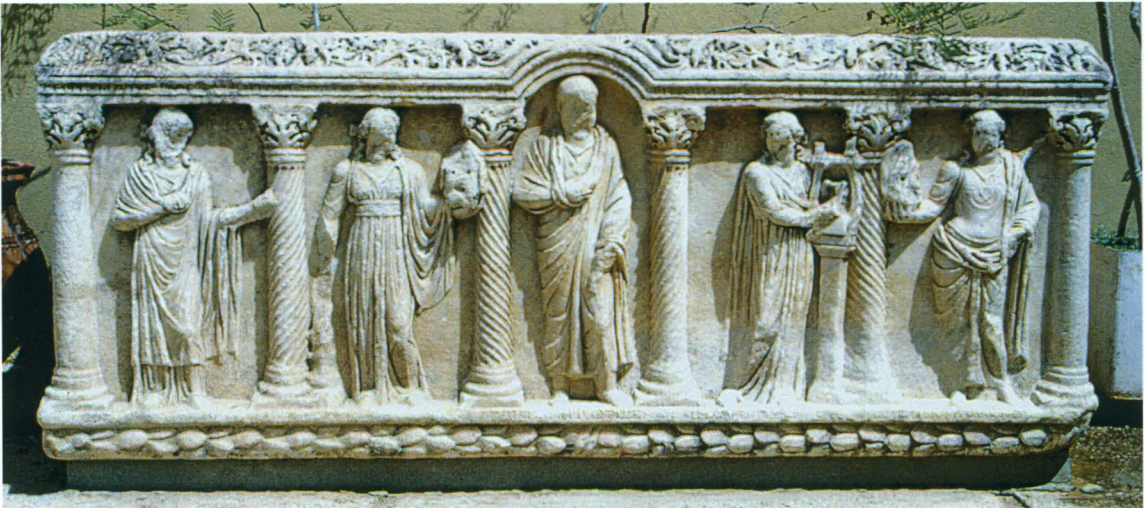
5 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 176: Dionysian cortege and Terpsichore



6 Sarcophagus, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Antikensammlung inv. I 171



7 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Archaeological Museum inv. 184: Dionysian cortege and Erato



8 Sarcophagus, Aphrodisias, Museum



9 Offering dedicated to a female cult image, Izmir, Tarih Sanat Museum inv.185. 186

A	B ¹	C	D	E	F ²					
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩ	[ρ Καῖσαρ]	ΘΕΟΥΤΡ	[α] ΙΑΝ	ΟΥΠΑ	[ρθιχοῦ υἱ]	ΟΣ ΘΕΟ	[ῶ Νέρου]	Α Υ	[ἱωνός]-	
ΠΑΝ	[ι] ΩΝΙΟ	[ς ἀρχιερεῦ]	ΣΜΕΓΙ	[σ] ΤΟΣ	ΔΗΜ	[αρχιτεχῆς ἐξου]	ΣΙΑΣ	[τὸ ., ὑπατ]	ΟΣΤ	[δ.] -
							E N			

10 Hadrianic dedicatory inscription



11 Dionysian frieze, Izmir, Tarih Sanat Museum