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Yorgos BROKALAKIS, *Introducing new gods and new domestic cult practices: on Lar statuettes and bronze figurine assemblages from Roman Greece and Asia Minor*

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INTRODUCING NEW GODS AND NEW DOMESTIC CULT PRACTICES: ON LAR STATUETTES AND BRONZE FIGURINE ASSEMBLAGES FROM ROMAN GREECE AND ASIA MINOR

Yorgos Brokalakis*

Keywords: Lares, bronze statuettes, domestic cults, Greece, Asia Minor, Roman period

Parole chiave: Lare, statuette di bronzo, culti domestici, Grecia, Asia Minore, periodo romano

Abstract

The publication of a new bronze statuette kept in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion on Crete provides the opportunity to collect the testimonies of these figurines from Greece and Asia Minor and address the issues concerning the original use and the patterns of display of the statuettes, as well as the issues regarding the formation of the bronze figurines assemblages. The Lar statuettes attested, either as single finds or as part of bronze statuette groups, are not inevitably connected with the ethnic identity of the household owners. They are rather related to the personal choices made within the framework of adopting a new Roman practice; that is of gathering bronze figurines in order to designate a domestic cult place.

La pubblicazione di una nuova statuetta bronzea di Lare conservata nel Museo Archeologico di Herakleion a Creta offre l'opportunità di raccogliere le testimonianze di queste statuette dalla Grecia e dall'Asia Minore e affrontare le questioni riguardanti l'uso originale e la posizione delle statuette, nonché le questioni per quanto riguarda la formazione dei loro assemblaggi. Le statuette di Lare attestate, sia come singoli reperti che come parte di insiemi, non sono inevitabilmente connesse con l'identità etnica dei proprietari delle case; sono piuttosto correlate alle scelte personali fatte nell'ambito dell'adozione della nuova pratica romana, ossia quella della raccolta delle statuette bronzee per designare un luogo di culto domestico.

for Professor Enzo Lippolis

Introduction

The cult practices manifested through the material culture were only one of the many and varied scientific interests of prof. Enzo Lippolis. The research and studies that he conducted on sanctuaries in Greece and Magna Graecia were also aiming at reconstructing the acts involved in the handling of the artefacts excavated, in order to understand the factors of differentiation in the depositions and the various patterns immersed concerning the rituals¹.

In this paper, which is dedicated to his memory, the point of departure is a bronze Lar statuette exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion (henceforth AMH) that was purchased by the Museum and has an alleged provenance from Crete. The publication of the statuette gives the opportunity to address the issues concerning the use and display of such figurines and to comment on the forms of domestic cult practices involving statuette and figurine assemblages, searching for the actors and the motives behind them. The geographical areas of inquiry are Roman Greece and Asia Minor, since both belong to the same cultural zone.

In recent years the topic of Roman household cults has drawn scholarly attention². Especially for Roman Greece there are an accumulating number of studies, some of which focus on bronze statuettes and in particular on those of Lares³. This paper has benefited tremendously from these studies, but follows a slight different pathway regarding the interpretive models proposed for the identity of the statuettes users.

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¹ From a vast number of publications only the following ones are cited indicatively: LIPPOLIS 2009 and 2014.

² For the history and the state of the research, see briefly SANTORO 2013; SFAMENI 2014, pp. 8-31; BASSANI 2017a, pp. 19-22.

³ See indicatively BONINI 2011; SHARPE 2006, 2014, 2015 and 2017; ANELLI 2018; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019. For Roman Asia Minor, the ex-



Fig. 1. The Lar statuette from the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion.

The Lar statuette from AMH

The statuette (fig. 1), which is 10.9 cm high, is in frontal position standing on tiptoe, with the right foot is in front of the other. The right arm is missing; the extended left arm holds a shallow bowl. The hair is arranged in curls around the face with a brushed-up lock on the forehead, while at the back it is rendered as plain streaky lines. The eyes are almond-shaped, the nose straight and the mouth slightly open. The figure wears a short-sleeved tunic that reaches over the knee. A long mantle is drawn through two loops at the waist, twisted at the back and flutters to the rear on both sides along with part of the lower tunic. The boots reach mid-calf. Their ribbons are laced up in the front forming a triangle and the laces fall down each side of the ankle. At the rear there is a hole at the height of the waist.

The statuette can be identified with a Lar⁴, an important deity in Roman collective and domestic religion⁵, attested in singular form, but more frequently in dual and plural ones. This deity protected the place where the Romans lived and played a major role in their significant moments and initiatory rituals⁶. As far as the Greek name of the Lares is concerned, the available evidence provided by textual sources and inscriptions reveals that they are intended as θεοί, ἥρωες or δαίμονες, while sometimes the word Λάρητες is also used⁷. It is interesting to note that a 3rd c. A.D.

ample of the Terrace House 2 at Ephesos is the better studied one, see QUATEMBER 2005; RATHMAYR 2006; ZIMMERMANN 2020.

⁴ The use of the form *lar* is also frequent, see, for example, SHARPE 2014; FLOWER 2017.

⁵ The current research is not in favour of a “public” and “private” distinction of religion, admitting that there is a dialogue between the communal religious activities and the domestic ones, see indicatively PARKER 2015; BOWES 2015.

⁶ See indicatively ORR 1978, 1563-1569; MASTROCINQUE 2005; MASTROCINQUE, HUSS 2006; DE SANCTIS 2007; PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, pp. 39-48; BETTINI 2015, pp. 57-75; FLOWER 2017; BILIAS, GRIGOLO 2019.

⁷ MASTROCINQUE 2005; ANELLI 2018, p. 137. The sources concerning the Greek names of Lares are presented here in chronological order. The Greek inscriptions of competalistas on the island of Delos, who were responsible for the feast dedicated to Lares, dated to the first decade of the 1st c. B.C., refer to them simply as θεοί (ID 1761, 1762, 1769, but also 1745; FLOWER 2017, pp. 176-180). Varro, cited in the 4th C. A.D. Arnobius’ *Adversus nationes* (III, 41) identifies Lares as ἥρωες. Cicero in his *Timaeus* translation (38:1) dated to 45 A.D. states

that “quos Graeci δαίμονας appellant, nostri, opinor, Lares, si modo hoc recte conversum videri potest”. Dionysus of Halicarnassus in his *Antiquitates Romanae* (end of 1st c. B.C.) refers to *Compitalia*; the celebrated *Lares compitales* are mentioned as ἥρωες πρωνόπιοι or just as ἥρωες (IV, 14, 3-4). Additionally, the κατ’ οἰκίαν ἥρωες mentioned earlier in the narrative for Servius Tullius’ birth (IV 2, 3-4) is argued to refer to a *Lar familiaris*, see indicatively Giacobello 2008, pp. 38-39. Of importance is the information obtained from the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (c. 14 A.D.) that survives both in Latin and in Greek, in which the *aedem Larum* is rendered as [ναόν] ἡρώων (19); for the Greek text being a version rather than a translation of the Latin one, see COOLEY 2009, pp. 26-31. Plutarch in *Quaestiones Romanae* (276F and 277A) mentions them as Λάρητες. Moreover, in Plutarch’s essay *De fortuna Romanorum* (323C) Servius Tullius’ progenitor is mentioned as ἥρωος οἰκουρός, in a mode similar to Dionysus of Halicarnassus. In *Res Gestae* (19) θεοί κατοικίδιοι are identified as *deum Penatium*. On the other hand, in the late texts of Latin grammarians Lares are translated as θεοί κατοικίδιοι (Flavius Sospater Charisius, *Ars*, 35, I.3, and Anonymi, *Ars Bobiensis*, 27, I.14), as well as δαίμονες (*Glossaria Latina* 2, 121.17 and 265.62) or ἥρωες (*Glossaria Latina* 2, 121; 3, 290).

inscription found in the base of a bronze Lar statuette and incised in Greek letters but mixing Latin and Greek refers to the figurine as Genius⁸. Such a testimony reveals probably not so much an error, but a certain flexibility in the identification between a Lar and a Genius on behalf of the ancient dedicator; an identification that is in contrast with the rigid perception and classification of many modern researchers⁹.

Many statuettes of Lares are preserved along with their representations on wall paintings and reliefs¹⁰. Based on the surviving examples, the Lar from AMH would have held a zoomorphic *rhyton* with the right raised arm.

In general, the Lares statuettes are characterised by variation expressed in the poses, the hairstyles, the way they wear the tunic and the mantle, called *pallium*, the shoes, but also by the objects they hold¹¹. However, the traditional classification distinguishes between a static and a dancing type of Lar¹². The statuette from AMH belongs to the later type. Specifically it shares common features with an already recognised group of statuettes which wear a tunic and a flattering *pallium* around the waist, present a pyramidal structure of the hair with a central elevated lock and have a rather hollowed rear section¹³. On the other hand, the elongated dimensions and the less rigid formation of its volume distinguish the statuette from the group. Additionally, a certain plasticity is evident in the rendering of the drapery, especially in the flattering part, although in its entity the statuette seems two-dimensional. Both the right eye of the figure which is carelessly rendered, and the trapezoid forehead reveal either problems or an inattention in the handling of the matrix. The hole at the rear is not to be connected with the manufacture of the figurine, but with a later intervention, probably in the 20th c.

Statuettes with similar features are dated to the 1st c. A.D.¹⁴. Similar to the Lar from AMH are those found in the House of M. Memmius Auctus in Pompeii (VI.14.27)¹⁵, and also the one now kept in the Yale University Art Gallery¹⁶, which are both from the 1st c. A.D.

Lar figurines from Greece and Asia Minor

The Lar statuette from AMH is added to the figurines attested in Roman Greece and Asia Minor. From the later only one example is known, kept in Gaziantep Archaeological Museum, which remains unpublished¹⁷. The figurines from Greece are better known, although limited in number¹⁸. The Lar statuettes do share common features, but the variation observed in the hairstyle, their garments and footwear, along with their distinct style make each figurine unique¹⁹.

For example, the Lar from Dojran area²⁰ stands on tiptoe, wears a short tunic and boots and holds a *rhyton* in the right arm and a *patera* in the left. Furthermore, there is a band over the forehead and a long mantle draped from both shoulders that is knotted around the waist and fluttering on the sides along with the tunic²¹. The plasticity of the figure and the way the eyes are manufactured lead to a date to the 1st c. A.D.

The Lar from the Paramythia hoard found in the Roman colony of Photike²² has its weight on the left leg; the other leg is relaxed. While the figurine presents a typical gesture, it stands out due to the tied locks on the top of the head, the sandals and the complex way of wearing the garments: over the tunic which is fastened with buttons there is a long mantle that is draped from both shoulders and falls down below the cloth belt which is firmly fixed around the

⁸ Γενίω Αὐρ[...] / Φαλέρου στρα/τιώτης πραι/τωριανός, that has been translated and interpreted as: to the Genius of Aur[elius] Valerius, praetorian soldier, see *A passion for antiquities* 1994, pp. 316-318, no.164; FLOWER 2017, pp. 49-50.

⁹ On the other hand, see the interpretation in FLOWER 2017, p. 50, where a marble inscription from Ostia dated between 27 B.C. and 30 A.D. is evoked mentioning the votive offering of ten silver Lares to Jupiter Optimus Maximus; thus providing evidence that statuettes of Lares were dedicated also to other gods.

¹⁰ TRAN TAM TINH 1992; FLOWER 2017.

¹¹ It is interesting to note the observation that in some cases the variety is intentional; they were made to look different from one another, see ADAMO-MUSCETTOLA 1984, p. 26, commenting on the Lar statuettes from Pompeii, especially those of lower quality.

¹² The classification is also accompanied with the matching of the static type with *Lar familiaris* mentioned in the written sources, and of the dancing one with *Lares Compitales*; a match that is not universally accepted, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007, p. 153, note 22; GIACOBELLO 2008, pp. 92-94. Moreover the difficulty in deciphering the meaning of each type is acknowledged; see KAUFMANN-HEINI-

MANN 2007, p. 153. Additionally, there are cases which demonstrate the limits of the traditional two-folded classification, such as the Lares depicted in the altars dedicated to *Lares Augusti*, see GIACOBELLO 2008, pp. 93-94, or the Lar from Paramythia who is classified as the dancing type, "though the attitude of the body is noticeably less active than other examples", see SHARPE 2015, p. 158, fig. 1-2.

¹³ BOLLA 2007-2011, pp. 27-29, no. 5.

¹⁴ BOLLA 2012-2014, p. 13.

¹⁵ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 219, GFV26, fig. 164.

¹⁶ BRODY, HOFFMAN 2014, p. 338, no. 173, pl. 173.

¹⁷ Probably found in the city of Zeugma, see Gökay 2017, p. 200, note 26.

¹⁸ For the corpus of the Lares coming from Greece, see SHARPE 2015, in which, though, the Lar from Dojran area is not included.

¹⁹ SHARPE 2015, p. 158.

²⁰ SAVVOPOULOU 1998, p. 118, fig. 57.

²¹ The observations are made based on the published frontal photo of the statuette.

²² SHARPE 2015, p. 158, fig. 1-2; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 99-107, no. 8, pl. 9, figs. 65-68, with previous bibliography.

waist. Part of the belt is looped up and tucked on both sides flanking a central knot created by a segment of the mantle. The statuette is dated to the 2nd c. A.D. on the ground of its style²³. It is considered similar to the one from the Athenian Agora²⁴. The latter presents similar loops in the cloth belt, but it stands on tiptoe and wears boots. The Lar has been dated from the 1st to the mid 3rd c. A.D., since the poor condition of preservation does not allow a precise date.

The statuette from the National Archaeological Museum in Athens²⁵ presents quite unusual features for a Lar, such as the hairstyle, the partially raised right arm and the slipped-off the left shoulder tunic; features that fit also for an Artemis figurine. On the other hand, the decoration of the dress with *angusti clavi* and the fact that there is another Lar from Volubilis in Morocco with a slipped-off the shoulder tunic²⁶ speak in favour for the identification. Furthermore, the sandals and the supposed *situla* held on the left arm emphasise further the distinctive character of the Lar figurine from the National Archaeological Museum, which could be ascribed to the 1st or the 2nd c. A.D.

In seach for the original context: Lar statuettes, cult places and patterns of display

It is a widespread opinion based on their dimension and the nature of Lares as the protective household gods *par excellence* that bronze Lar statuettes are associated with domestic shrines. Such a view is measured and clarified by the archaeological testimonies that provide tangible information on the original use and location of the statuettes.

Lar figurines are found in cult places mostly belonging to domestic contexts, including shops, workshops and taverns, but also to street shrines²⁷. Less numerous are the examples functioning as votive offerings that come from sanctuaries²⁸.

Additionally, pictorial evidence dated to the Julio-Claudian period reveals that Lar statuettes were carried in processions or used in ceremonials. The latter are either connected with the collective imperial cult or associated with domestic rites²⁹. This evidence is related to the reformation of Compitalia, the Lares' most important festival, which occurred under Augustus³⁰. This reformation had an imprint also in the domestic cult³¹.

A large amount of archaeological evidence related to the domestic shrines -including those found in shops and workshops- is furnished by the cities near Vesuvius and especially Pompeii³². Indeed, Lares are the most frequently presented deities either among the bronze statuettes or in wall paintings³³. Along with Genius they constitute the central figures of the household cult³⁴. There is variation in the number and type of the Lar figurines included in the shrines. A pair of dancing Lares in reverse pose is a frequent find³⁵. Lares usually come together with other bronze statuettes making part of larger assemblages³⁶. These form a heterogeneous group regarding the size, quality, style and chronology of the figurines included³⁷.

²³ ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 106-107.

²⁴ SHARPE 2014, pp. 148-149, fig. 6. SHARPE 2015, pp. 158-159, fig. 3-4.

²⁵ *ADelt* B1, 53, 1998, p. 6, pl. 3δ (ΠΡΟΞΥΝΗΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ Ρ.); SHARPE 2015, p. 159, fig. 4-5.

²⁶ SHARPE 2015, p. 159 and note 6.

²⁷ For domestic cult places, see below. For the street shrines, see MAUGER 2018, pp. 90-91, reinterpreting a few Lar figurines from Augusta Raurica on the basis of the findspot. Additionally, for the Lar statuette found in the Caseggiato dei Molini in Ostia, apart from belonging to a domestic cult place, the association with the street shrine altar in the front of the building has been proposed, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 294, GF96; KARIVIERI 2020, pp. 509-510, no. 151 (BERG R.).

²⁸ The Lar statuettes from these places have been proposed: Torre di Satriano, Italy, see DE VINCENZO 2005; the cult place of Pietracupa in Castropignano area at Molise, Italy, see SARDELLA 2008, p. 174; and Son Corro in Menorca, see GUERRERO 1996, fig. in p. 51, left. Additionally, there are statuettes coming from sanctuary hoards, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 204, fig. 143b; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2002, p. 114, fig. 6.

²⁹ For the pictorial evidence, see MADIGAN 2013, pp. 3-10, where it is also argued that the statuettes carried in religious processions have an origin in domestic cults.

³⁰ Augustus simultaneously reorganised the capital's neighborhoods; in every city quarter the cult of the emperor's Genius, that is his life force, joined that of Lares and was placed under the care of the

vicomagistri, see BEARD *et alii* 1998, pp. 184-187; LOTT 2004. For *Compitalia*, see STEK 2008.

³¹ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007, p. 151; PÉREZ RUIZ 2015.

³² For the domestic cult places manifested in different forms often associated with each other (niches, miniature temples, altars, paintings, whole rooms, as well as statuettes and other artefacts) and numbers -even in the same house, see indicatively BOYCE 1937; ORR 1978, pp. 1575-1586; BASSANI 2008, pp. 23-33; LAFORGE 2009, pp. 17-47; PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, pp. 79-109; MARCHETTI 2016. For the religious topography of the houses, see also VAN ANDRINGA 2009, pp. 217-244. In particular, for the bronze statuettes, see FRÖHLICH 1991, pp. 356-358; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 184-186 and 209-226; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007.

³³ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007, p. 155, fig. 5.

³⁴ FRÖHLICH 1991; GIACOBELLO 2008; VAN ANDRINGA 2009, pp. 217-244; DURAND, VAN ANDRINGA 2021.

³⁵ For groups with a single Lar statuette, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 215, GFV9, p. 216, GFV13, p. 217, GFV19, p. 220, GFV29, p. 221, GFV30. Lares of static type rarely constitute a pair. The pair found in the House of a Flamine (V 4,3) are a unique example, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 218, GFV23.

³⁶ Exceptionally, in the so-called House of the Lararium of the River Sarnus (I 14,7) the two Lar statuettes, not appeared as paired mirror images, were found alone, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 216, GFV12, fig. 157. For Lar figurines found alone, see below note 47.

³⁷ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 185; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007, especially p. 153.

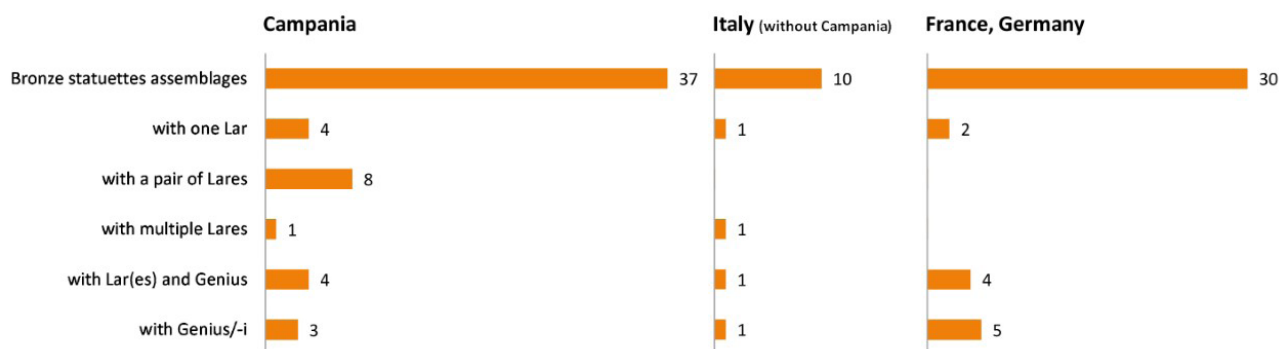


Plate 1. Bronze statuettes assemblages with Lares and Genius in Campania, Italy, France and Germany (see note 40).

The bronze statuettes were not always meant to be seen; consequently, they were not permanently exhibited in the shrines³⁸. Lares and Genius figurines neither constituted a stable and common element of a cult place equipment³⁹, nor always appeared together (plate 1: Campania)⁴⁰. Furthermore, Lar statuettes were mostly connected with the representative rooms of the house, since they are absent from the kitchen and service areas. Despite this fact, the possibility of them occasionally populating kitchen shrines cannot be discarded⁴¹.

Pompeii usually functions as a point of reference for the domestic cult places in other sites. However, lately there is a growing consciousness that the information provided there cannot be applied to the whole Roman Empire because of the specific chronological frame and cultural context⁴². It is claimed though that the practice of assembling bronze statuettes of various deities in order to form the domestic shrine as well as the cult of Lares and Genius reorganised by Augustus diffused quickly from Italy to the provinces⁴³. Particularly in the western parts of the empire there are numerous bronze statuettes assemblages that come from secondary deposits ascribed mainly to the 3rd c. A.D. with bronze figurines often dated much earlier than the find context. Despite the fact that the composition features of these assemblages are similar to the ones noted in Campania⁴⁴, Lares are not frequently represented (plate 1: France-Germany)⁴⁵. Moreover, the pattern of the symmetrical pair of Lares immersed in the Vesuvian cities seems so far invalid for the rest of Italy and the Roman provinces (plate 1)⁴⁶.

It has to be stated that Lares are not always found as part of statuette assemblages. There are testimonies of single Lar statuettes representing a domestic cult apparatus, as also happens with the single statuettes of other divinities⁴⁷.

³⁸ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 184-185; LAFORGE 2009, p. 81.

³⁹ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 185 and note 636; SHARPE 2014, p. 177.

⁴⁰ The information in plate 1 is extracted from the inventory included in KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 210-226, GFV1-47 (Campania), pp. 288-299, GF87-103 (Italy) and pp. 235-277, GF13-66 (France, Germany). The focus is on the assemblages with bronze statuettes. Consequently, the contexts that include only one bronze statuette are not considered, even when found along with other statuettes made of different material. This fact and a different interpretation of some assemblages have produced a slight deviation to the total numbers of the groups related with a domestic shrine, compare KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, fig. 136.

⁴¹ GIACOBELLO 2011, p. 85. This argument comes in contrast with the view that in the Roman *domus* the devotion to the Lares had two parallel and distinct expressions coinciding with the social division within the family; that the free members performed the cultic activity mostly in the representative rooms of the house focused on shrines of different types involving bronze statuettes, while the enslaved ones in the kitchen area focused on the painted cult places, see FRÖHLICH 1991; KRZYSZOWSKA 2002; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2007, p. 156; FLOWER 2017, pp. 48-49. For further argumentation against this opinion or for other diverse interpretations, see GIACOBELLO 2008; LAFORGE 2009, pp. 83-84; VAN ANDRINGA 2009, pp. 230-240; PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, pp. 99-100.

⁴² SANTORO 2013; FLOWER 2017, pp. 53-54; MAUGER 2018, pp. 100-101.

⁴³ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 192; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2002, p. 108.

⁴⁴ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 186-191.

⁴⁵ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 192-194 and note 671. SHARPE 2014, p. 178; BOWES 2015, p. 211. The case of Roman Swiss examples are also indicative, see Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, pp. 277-288, GF67-86. Out of the 16 groups of bronze figurines related to a domestic shrine, five of them have a Lar statuette (GF68, 72 and 77-79). In particular, out of the five household shrines found *in situ* (GF68, 70, 72, 83 and 86), two of them include a Lar (GF68 and 72). Additionally, Genius statuettes are attested only in two groups (GF79 and 81), but only in one case a Genius is associated with a Lar figurine (GF79). For the domestic shrines and cult practices in Roman Swiss, see also FUCHS 2016.

⁴⁶ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 192-194 and note 671. Hoard finds with more than one Lar statuettes are considered to have been composed from various domestic shrines, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 237, GF16, p. 275, GF64, and p. 291, GF93. Additionally the assemblage from Herculaneum with a pair of dancing Lares and a Lar of static type probably represents two different household cult places, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 185, note 637, and p. 210, GFV3.

⁴⁷ Indicatively the single Lar statuettes excavated are cited: in the House of Caecilius Iucundus (V 1,26) at Pompeii, see BOYCE 1937, p. 33, note. 1; FRÖHLICH 1991, p. 357; in the "Casa della Lettiga Capitolina" at Rome, see KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 296, GF98; in an inn in via Laurentina in Rome, see BUCCELLATO, COLETTI 2013, p. 71, no. 26. Additionally, the Lar statuettes found in

The diffusion of these cases should be further investigated. Such an endeavor is hampered, though, by the fact that for a large number of figurines concrete information regarding their archaeological context is unknown⁴⁸.

Regarding the figurines coming from Greece and Asia Minor, none of them has an accurate recorded find context⁴⁹. The archaeological evidence reveals that the Lar statuettes from the Athenian Agora and Paramythia were part of a larger group of bronze statuettes. It has been argued that the above groups derive from domestic contexts reflecting the composition of household shrines⁵⁰. The Lar statuette from the Athenian Agora excavated along with the statuettes of Aphrodite and Isis Lactans in a well between the South Stoa and Areopagus could have come from a house in the vicinity (no. 1). Moreover, the figurines from the Paramythia hoard could have populated the shrine of a luxurious villa (no. 9)⁵¹. On the other hand, the obscure conditions of its recovering and the large number of bronze statuettes that comprises including also other types of artefacts, give ground to various hypothesis. The figurines could have come from more than one house, but could also have been in a shrine of a cultic group⁵².

Taking into account the lack of information regarding the biography of the other Lar statuettes from Greece (from the Dorjan area, in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens and in AMH) it is not possible to ascribe them with certainty to a specific context, whether domestic or other. Moreover, it is impossible to deduce whether they were part of a statuette group. Therefore, the questions regarding the original context of these figurines should remain open.

Lares and statuettes assemblages: Formating domestic shrines

The discourse on Lar statuettes is usually interwoven with the discussion of bronze figurine assemblages. As is mentioned above, gathering bronze statuettes in order to designate a sacred space within a domestic context was a practice manifested under the influence of the Romans either in the western provinces or in the eastern part of the Empire⁵³. While in the Hellenistic domestic contexts from Greece and Asia Minor only the use of single bronze statuettes is attested⁵⁴, in the Roman period the presence of the bronze figurine assemblages is also manifested (no. 1-13)⁵⁵.

Taking into consideration the limited number of the bronze figurine groups, it is claimed that this form of domestic religion practice -attested in Italy and the western provinces with numerous examples- was not widely diffused in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire⁵⁶. Furthermore, it is argued that among the Greeks there was a preference or a prevailing tradition for domestic sculpture in media other than bronze⁵⁷.

Emilia Romagna in northern Italy are mentioned: the one in the domus of Palazzo Diotallevi at Rimini, see MARINI CALVANI *et alii* 2000, pp. 202-203, no. 34a (MAIOLI M.G.), and the one from vicus Vonghenza, see BERTI 2001, pp. 86-87, no. 11, fig. 4. For these contexts, see also CICALA 2007, in which single statuettes of other gods from Emilia Romagna are mentioned as well.

⁴⁸ In Roman Spain, for example, there are a small number of Lar statuettes, of which only a few have a known provenance, but without specific information for the findspot, see PORTELA FILGUEIRAS 1984, pp. 167-172; FERNÁNDEZ URIEL 2007, pp. 278-281; PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, p. 285. The only Lar figurine with concrete information for its context is the one found as part of a statuette assemblage populating the domestic shrine of Vilauba villa, see PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, p. 285, 286, fig. 136-137, 371-373, fig. 11; catálogo: pp. 152-161, no. 66.

⁴⁹ Nothing can be said for the Lar statuette in the Gaziantep Archaeological Museum, since it remains unpublished. It is not even known if the bronze Genius in the same museum was found along with the Lar statuette. For the short notice mentioning both of them, see GÖRKAY 2017, p. 200, note 26.

⁵⁰ SHARPE 2014 and 2017; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 139-155.

⁵¹ The statuettes found at Ambelokipoi hoard (no. 5) similar in dimensions and in quantity to the ones from Paramythia hoard are considered to have been the equipment of a villa as well, see ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ-ΒΟΥΣΗ 2014, pp. 9-10.

⁵² KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 187 and 191; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, p. 139 and 140.

⁵³ See above p. 163 and notes 43-44.

⁵⁴ SHARPE 2006, pp. 25-71; CADARIO 2015, pp. 54-55. Indicatively there are cited some cases from Greece which are better known: the statuette of the youth found in the House II of Eretria, see KASSAPOGLOU 1993 and 1998; SHARPE 2006, pp. 49-55, 68-69 and 183-184, no. 3, fig. 6-7; ΚΑΛΤΣΑΣ *et alii* 2010, pp. 216-219, no. 161-173 (MARTIN PRUVOT C., RIVA C., THEURILLAT T.); the statuette of Hercules from Bouphari, known also as Agios Athanasios, at Apidea (ancient Voion, Kozani), see SHARPE 2006, p. 215, no. 52, fig. 28; ΡΑΦΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2014, pp. 31-32, fig. 15a; the statuette of Poseidon from Pella, see ΜΑΚΑΡΟΝΑΣ 1960, pp. 79-80, 65a; SHARPE 2006, pp. 55-60, 69-71 and 184-186, no. 4; ΡΑΦΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2014, pp. 39-40, fig. 27. The latter is considered the example *par excellence* for the role of such artefacts in the Greek domestic cult practices. However, its date is debated, see *The search for Alexander* 1980, p. 179, no. 154, color plate 25 (SIGANIDOU M.) (Late Hellenistic period); WALTER-KARYDE 1991, p. 258 (end of 2nd c B.C.); THOMAS 1992, pp. 126-127 (before 168 B.C.); SHARPE 2006, pp. 59-60 (early 3rd c. B.C.); DESCAMPS-LEQUIME 2011, pp. 428-429, no. 268 (AKAMATIS M.L.-A.) (Late Hellenistic period), while the publication of the archaeological data of the house, including the definition of the functions of the rooms and the construction phases, is yet to be done.

⁵⁵ Simultaneously the use of single bronze statuettes continues. See, for example, the Hermes statuette from Sparta, see *ADelt* B1 55, 2000, p. 226, fig. 19, or the figurine of Asklepios excavated at Vathy on Ithaka, see *ADelt* B1 69, 2014, pp. 1904-1906, fig. 312.

⁵⁶ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 207.

⁵⁷ SHARPE 2015, p. 159.

It is difficult to comment on the diffusion of the practice based only on the available evidence. The continuous history of the settlements, the lack of documentation, the state of research, but also the material of which the statuettes are made, since bronze is recyclable, have all conditioned the quantity and knowledge on these bronze statuettes⁵⁸. It can be only claimed that the bronze figurines assemblages constitute one of the varied manifestations of the domestic cult practices attested during the Roman period⁵⁹.

As is observed in the western provinces⁶⁰, the spread of assembling bronze figurines would have been made possible by means either of the Roman army or the Italian immigrants that settled in the big cities and in the colonies, although the role of the former has been questioned for the case of Greece⁶¹. Moreover the role of the natives, especially the elite, that adopted the Roman cult customs, should not be underestimated⁶².

The research acknowledges implicitly that the ethnic identity of the household owners played a role in the formation of the domestic shrines. Based on the identity of the deities represented in the statuettes it is argued that the diffusion of Roman gods in Greek domestic religion was rare. Instead, there was a strong affiliation to traditional Greek deities⁶³, especially when these had the power to adequately protect the household as their Roman counterparts did⁶⁴. Furthermore, it is sustained that Lares are connected with Romans who kept their devotion to traditional gods and had these statuettes in their procession for generations. The fact that Lares figurines have been found in cities established as Roman colonies, such as Photike, or in cities which had a special weight for the Romans, such as Athens, has been considered a further supporting argument⁶⁵.

Despite the increasing testimonies for both figurine groups and Lar statuettes as single finds from Greece and Asia Minor, Lares are not frequently represented in the assemblages⁶⁶. It should be asked however whether Lar statuettes could be related mostly or exclusively with the Romans and whether the ethnic identity of the users actually played a role in the formation of domestic cult places. These questions are connected with the ones regarding the factors and motivation that generally determine the choices for the divinities included in the domestic shrines.

The inventories of the bronze figurines assemblages have demonstrated that there are common, but also different, choices regarding the deities represented following the different geographical-cultural zones of the Empire⁶⁷. The selection of the statuettes depended largely on the personal preferences on behalf of the household owners. The choices they made were related to their world of beliefs as well as to their personal tutelary gods and biography⁶⁸.

Among the bronze figurine assemblages from Roman Greece and Asia Minor, the most frequently presented divinities are Isis in various manifestations (no. 1, 2, 7, 8, 9 and 10), Herakles (no. 3, 4, 6 and 11), Hermes (no. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 12), Aphrodite (no. 1, 2, 5, 9 and probably 12) and Athena (no. 4, 5, 7 and 10), followed by Apollo (no. 4, 9 and 13) and Asklepios (no. 5, 7 and 8). However, it is difficult to decipher the motivation behind every figurine. In some cases the liaison of the divinities represented with the local cults is noted, as in the statuette assemblage found in a well from the Athenian Agora (no. 2)⁶⁹, in the Paramythia hoard (no. 9)⁷⁰ or in the two groups from Kos which include an Asklepios figurine (no. 7-8). The assemblages from Kos seem to follow the same pattern, since they contain both statuettes of Isis and busts of emperors⁷¹. In other examples, the archaeological evidence provides information for the special bounds with the worshiped gods. Isis Panthea, for instance, could have functioned as the protective goddess for the last residents of the Dwelling Unit 2 in the Terrace House 2 at Ephesos (no. 10), since

⁵⁸ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 207.

⁵⁹ For the variety of domestic cult practices see the note 3 above, especially SHARPE 2014, pp. 174-177. Additionally for Roman Greece, see BONINI 2006, pp. 108-111 and 114; PERSON 2012.

⁶⁰ Observations for the diffusion that have been made for the western provinces could apply also for Greece and Asia Minor, see ORR 1978, pp. 1588-1590; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 192; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2002, p. 108; SANTROT 2007, pp. 79-81.

⁶¹ The weak presence of the Roman army in Greece is related to the limited diffusion of the Roman domestic practices, see SHARPE 2015, p. 160.

⁶² SANTROT 2007, pp. 79-81.

⁶³ RATHMAYR 2006, pp. 132-133; SHARPE 2014, pp. 169-177, especially p. 177; SHARPE 2015, p. 160.

⁶⁴ RATHMAYR 2006, pp. 132-133.

⁶⁵ SHARPE 2014, pp. 178-182; SHARPE 2015, especially pp. 159-160; ANELLI 2018, p. 146.

⁶⁶ Out of the 13 groups, only two (no. 1 and 9) include a Lar statuette.

⁶⁷ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 185 and 194; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2002, p. 110.

⁶⁸ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 192; LIPKA 2006, p. 333, 336 and 344; SHARPE 2014, *passim* and especially p. 175 and 182; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, p. 150.

⁶⁹ SHARPE 2014, especially p. 182.

⁷⁰ The two Zeus statuettes are ascribed to the influences exercised by the Dodona sanctuary close to Paramythia, see ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, p. 145. On the other hand, the connection with Dodona is questioned, see SHARPE 2017. Instead of two Zeus statuettes the presence of a Zeus-Jupiter figurine and of a Neptune one are recognised. Both these divinities are considered common for a Roman household. The influence of the local cults is acknowledged in the presence of the Apollo, Hercules and Pan.

⁷¹ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 194. The incorporation of the emperor cult to the domestic shrine is a practice for which scant evidence is available till now, see RATHMAYR 2006, pp. 123-131; PÉREZ RUIZ 2015; BASSANI 2017b; RATHMAYR 2017, pp. 116-117; BASSANI 2021, pp. 111-114; RATHMAYR (in press).

her bronze statuette was excavated in the peristyle -along with those of Serapis and Athena, but also her representation is found in a signet ring that comes from the same house⁷².

The special features that the statuette assemblages present are revealing for the personal choices of the household owners and for the many factors that have influenced the domestic shrines formation. The multiple presences of the same deity in a group of statuettes -a rare occurrence⁷³, is illuminating regarding the preference and affiliation on the behalf of the household owners, as, for example, in the assemblage from the so-called "Casa dei bronzi" on Kos (no. 7), in which there are three statuettes of Isis, combining in the cases of Isis-Aphrodite and Isis-Tyche the features and properties of other divinities⁷⁴. The two Zeus statuettes from Paramythia (no. 9), if not ascribed to the influence exercised by the nearby Dodona sanctuary, could be connected with the artistic taste of the owner⁷⁵. In this hoard there are also two statuettes of Aphrodite. The one that depicts Aphrodite-Isis dated to the 1st c. A.D., earlier than the rest of the group, has been considered to be part of a bride's dowry⁷⁶. The view of statuettes as elements of parental property or gifts at the marriage of a bride has been recently emphasised and proposed also for other assemblages⁷⁷, such as the one found in the so-called House of Dionysus at Zeugma (no. 12)⁷⁸.

It is interesting to note that newly introduced gods find their place in domestic shrines, although in limited scale. Apart from the case of Lares, the assemblage from Kolonos Agoraioi at Athens (no. 3) reveals that the snake god Glykon whose cult spread from Asia Minor from the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. was included in a private cult place⁷⁹. It is difficult either to comment on the mechanisms and agents who facilitated the spread of the new cult or to conclude the ethnic identity of the users based only on the origin of the divinities themselves, unless there is concrete information available.

Focusing on Lares, it is worth mentioning the earliest testimonies concerning their presence in Greece from the island of Delos. The preserved evidence does not include bronze statuettes. There are wall paintings both outside and inside the houses in which sacrifices and games scenes including Lares are depicted. These paintings attest their cult as early as the third quarter of the 2nd c. B.C.⁸⁰. Additionally inscriptions in Greek and reliefs manifest the Lares cult in the so-called 'agora des competalistes' where possibly a temple was dedicated to them⁸¹. The inscriptions reveal that the persons responsible for Compitalia, the competalistes, were slaves and freedman mainly from the eastern Mediterranean. It is argued that these persons were servants to Italian merchant families settled on the island and that the Italian community re-affirmed their social relations through this feast for Lares⁸². Additionally, a Latin inscription of the 2nd-1st c. B.C. from the area south of the temple of Apollo that reports a dedication to Lares is illuminating for the identity of their worshippers⁸³. The evidence for Lares on Delos is rooted to the special circumstances developed in this free Roman port. Lares are associated with the Roman or Italian commercial community who introduced cults and rituals from homeland also involving their dependents of different ethnicities.

In the Imperial period it is difficult to associate the Lares worship, particularly in the domestic sphere, exclusively with Romans, taking into consideration that the spread of their cult along with the practice of assembling bronze figurines is a phenomenon attested all over the Empire, although in different scale and diffusion. The small number of Lar statuettes from Greece and Asia Minor, but mainly the fact that Lares do not constitute an essential and constant

⁷² KOWALLECK, RATHMAYR 2010, p. 606. Furthermore based on the Serapis and Isis Panthea statuettes, on the form of the altar found together, as well as on the presence of an archaic bronze statuette from the Nile country excavated in a room of the same unit, it is argued that there is a special connection of the last owner of Dwelling Unit 2 with Egypt. A military career in Egypt on behalf of the last resident, is even proposed, see ZIMMERMANN 2020, p. 223. As a reminder, the worship of Egyptian gods is a general feature of the Late Roman period, see RATHMAYR 2006, p. 109. Specific information for the last residents of this Ephesian house is lacking, but the archaeological data reveals that even in the third quarter of the 3rd c. AD artefacts connected to C. Vibius Salutaris, who is considered the house owner in the early Trajanic period find their place in a room dedicated to the emperor cult and to the commemoration of the family of the house, see TAEUBER 2005; RATHMAYR 2017, pp. 116-117; RATHMAYR 2018, pp. 133-134.

⁷³ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, 185 and note 637.

⁷⁴ ΜΠΟΣΝΑΚΗΣ 1994-1995, pp. 61-62; AMOROSO 2017, where attention is drawn to the multiplicity of meanings that the Isis statuettes bear.

⁷⁵ ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 172-173. Moreover, based on their qual-

ity as well as the rarity of some subjects depicted, part of the artefacts from the Paramythia hoard are considered also as pieces of art collecting, see CADARIO 2015, p. 56; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 154-155. See also note 70 above.

⁷⁶ SHARPE 2017; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 140-143. The individualizing traits of Nero's sister Drussila present on the Aphrodite-Isis statuette have lead also to the hypothesis that the figurine reflects a mixed marriage, combining the Greek tradition with the Roman piety, or alludes to a relationship though distant with the imperial house, see *idem*, pp. 143-144 and 172.

⁷⁷ KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 2004, pp. 252-254; SHARPE 2014, p. 152.

⁷⁸ GÖRKAY 2017, p. 194, note 18, and p. 200, note 27.

⁷⁹ CHANIOTIS 2002. A similar figurine of Glykon now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is said to come also from Athens, see ROBERT 1981.

⁸⁰ HASENOHR 2003.

⁸¹ FLOWER 2017, pp. 175-191 with further bibliographical references; ANELLI 2018, pp. 139-143.

⁸² HASENOHR 2003; STEK 2008; STEK 2009, p. 196.

⁸³ ANELLI 2018, p. 144, no. 1.

element of the bronze figurines assemblages is in accordance with the image that emerges from other parts of the Empire -the case of Pompeii excluded⁸⁴.

The geographical distribution of Lar statuettes in Greece and Asia Minor is only indicative for the ethnic identity of the users and cannot lead to decisive conclusions. It remains to be asked how certain the attribution of the Paromythia Lar to a Roman user is, based only on the fact that the statuette was found in the Roman colony of Photike, taking into consideration the interaction of the Romans with the local aristocracy⁸⁵. On the other hand, the Dojran area in which another Lar figurine has been found has no apparent connection with a Roman establishment. Moreover, in the case of Athens, the testimonies of Lares and of Glykon attest rather to the multicultural influences exercised within the city.

The colonies and the Romans from Italy would have functioned as agents for the dissemination of new cultural practices, but the statuettes themselves do not speak in favor of a certain attribution exclusively to Romans. Lares could have been used not only by Romans, but also by other people regardless of their ethnic identity who under the influence of the former, adopted the new god and the new practice of assembling bronze statuettes for the domestic shrine. The current state of the evidence does not permit the discernment of the mechanisms of this cultural appropriation, commentary on the possible new meaning or interpretation on behalf of the beholders or correlation of the artefacts with the personal biography of the users⁸⁶.

Conclusive remarks

The statuette from AMH augments the number of Lar figurines attested in Greece and Asia Minor. The lack of information regarding its findspot does not allow a conclusion on the chronological range of its use or on its original context, domestic or other. This is true also for the single finds of Lares from the areas under study. Only in the cases, in which Lares form part of a bronze figurine group, it is possible to correlate them with domestic shrine equipment.

The practice of assembling bronze statuettes in order to designate a domestic cult place is attested for Greece and Asia Minor in the Roman period under the influence of the Romans. The diffusion of such a practice is hard to determine taking into account the state of the research. The divinities included in these assemblages depend mainly on the personal preferences on behalf of the household owners. Although the research associates the Lar statuettes with Romans, it would be hazardous to claim a straight-forward liaison between such artefacts and the ethnic identity of the users. The argument could be sustained that as the shrines with bronze statuettes should not be connected exclusively with Romans, nor should the selection of a Lar statuette be ascribed only to them, unless there is concrete information⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ Even at Pompeii, there are statuettes groups in which the Lar figurine is lacking, see above note 39, and plate 1: Campania.

⁸⁵ PALLI *et alii* 2017, especially pp. 2-4; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp. 156-170.

⁸⁶ As it has been wisely observed “depictions of gods and goddesses may convey very different meanings or ideas to individuals of diverse historical and cultural backgrounds”, see SHARPE 2017. The case of a Lar statuette standing on an inscribed base mentioning Genius is an example of this kind of reinterpretation, see above pp. 160-161. Additionally, for the Lar statuette found in Vilauba villa in Spain along with other figurines it is argued to convey a high agricultural dimension that emphasises the original agricultural nature of this divinity;

a dimension rediscovered and promoted since it was in accordance with the local vernacular traditions, see PÉREZ RUIZ 2013, p. 1002; PÉREZ RUIZ 2014, pp. 371-373.

⁸⁷ Many thanks go to all people that help me during my research: Maria Kyrimi and Georgios Marakis facilitated the examination of the bronze statuette in the Archaeological Museum of Herakleion; Kleanthis Sidiropoulos’ assistance was fundamental at the first stage of the study, sharing his knowledge as well as providing his micro-camera; Paola Gulinelli contributed immensely to my access to the bibliography; Valeria Parisi, Chiara Giatti and Emmanouella Apostolaki commented on the various drafts of the paper.

Greece**1. Athens, Agora, Well between the South Stoa and the Areopagus**

God statuettes: Aphrodite (2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.), Isis (2nd c. A.D.), Lar (1st-mid-3rd c. A.D.).

Other statuettes and artefacts: pieces of unfinished marble sculpture, pottery (late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.).

Date of context: after 267/8 A.D.

Notes: Found along with human skeletal remains. The deposition of the bronzes is connected with the Herulian sack of Athens

Bibliography: SHARPE 2014, pp. 147-154, fig.1 and 6-10.

2. Athens, Agora, Well near the so-called East Bath

God statuettes: Aphrodite (late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.), Eros (2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.), Harpocrates (2nd c. A.D.), Isis-Tyche (second half of 2nd c. A.D.), Telesphoros (late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.).

Other statuettes and artefacts:

Date of context: after 267/8 A.D.

Notes: The deposition of the bronzes is connected with the Herulian sack of Athens.

Bibliography: THOMPSON 1950, pp. 332-333, pl. 106a; SHARPE 2014, pp. 154-167, fig. 2 and 13-20.

3. Athens, Kolonos Agoraios, cistern

God statuettes: Glykon (in form of snake), Herakles, Hermes-Thoth, Satyr; 2nd-3rd c. A.D.

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze base, bronze bull, marble portrait herm, two marble plinths with statuettes of Askepios and of Herakles, two terracotta statuettes, two ivory statuettes, two terracotta lamps dated to 2nd and 3rd c. respectively, 22 lead tokens, coins.

Date of context: after 267/8 A.D.

Notes: The Hermes-Thoth statuette was found outside the cistern but is associated with the ones within. The deposition of the bronzes is connected with the Herulian sack of Athens.

Bibliography: SHEAR 1936, pp. 16-19; MARTENS 2018, pp. 578-579, fig. 29.

4. Athens, Ambelokipi hoard

God statuettes: Alexander-Hercules (2nd c. A.D.), Apollo or Adonis (2nd c. A.D.), Apollo-Dionysus (2nd c. A.D.), Ares-Doryphoros (1st c. B.C.), Athena (Augustan era), Dionysus-Bacchus (mid-2nd c. A.D.), Eros (twice) (1st and 2nd c. A.D.), Harpocrates (2nd c. A.D.), Hercules (1st c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.), Nymph (Augustan era), Poseidon (2nd c. A.D.), Serapis (2nd c. A.D.), Satyr (Augustan era).

Other statuettes and artefacts: Discobolus, African dancer, shepherd.

Date of context: associated either with the Herulian invasion (267 A.D.) or that of the Goths of Alaric (late 4th c. A.D.), although the excavations have revealed lamps dated to the 4th and 5th c.

Notes: The statuettes are considered the equipment of a villa. While the larger ones, specifically the two Erotes, have a decorative function, the smaller god statuettes could have multiple functions, decorative and religious as well.

Bibliography: KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 308-309, GF113, fig. 274; ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ-ΒΟΤΣΗ 2014.

5. Demetrias, House, courtyard

God statuettes: Aphrodite, Asklepios, Athena, Hermes; 2nd c. A.D.

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze incense burner.

Date of context: mid-3rd c. A.D.

Bibliography: *ADelt* B2 56-59, 2001-2004, pp. 519-520, fig. 52-55 (ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ Π.); *AR* 2011-2012, 81-82, fig. 132; ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2012, p. 344, fig. 9-14.

6. Eordaia, House

God statuettes: Herakles (twice), Hermes; 2nd c. A.D. (?).

Date of context: early 2nd c. A.D. (?).

Notes: The two figurines of Hercules seem to have come to light in the same room; the one of Hermes was found in the excavation area.

⁸⁸ The catalogue is largely based on the one found in KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, pp. 305-311, which includes the previous bibliographical references. The present catalogue, though similar, does not have identical entries; new statuettes groups have been added and the bibliography has been updated. The Ayia Galini and Antikythera

shipwrecks present in Kaufmann-Heinimann's catalogue were not included in this one. For the date of the bronze god statuettes the chronology proposed by the researchers is followed; in some cases approximate dates are given.

Bibliography: ΚΕΦΑΛΙΔΟΥ, ΜΟΣΧΑΚΗΣ 1995, pp. 40-43, especially 41, fig. 4, and 42; ΜΟΣΧΑΚΗΣ 1997, especially pp. 145-146, illustr. 1-3.

7. Kos, city of, "Casa dei bronzi", storeroom

God statuettes: Aphrodite-Isis, Ares, Asklepios, Athena, Isis, Isis-Tyche; 2nd c. AD; for Isis statuette a date to the 1st c. A.D. is possible.

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze bust of Caracala or Geta, pottery, stone vessels and a lead cauldron, vessel with coins.

Date of context: short after the mid-3rd c. A.D.

Notes: The bronzes are thought to come from the upper floor.

Bibliography: KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 309, GF114, fig. 275.

8. Kos, city of, Agora, commercial building

God statuettes: Artemis, Asklepios, Isis-Tyche; 1st-2nd c. A.D.

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze bust of Caligulas, coins.

Date of context: short after the mid-3rd c. A.D.

Notes: The group is considered to belong to a looter or to a scrap metal trader.

Bibliography: *ADelt* B2 42, 1987, p. 640; ΜΠΟΣΝΑΚΗΣ 1994-1995, p. 62, pl. 10β; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 309, GF115, fig. 276.

9. Paramythia hoard (Labovo), Epirus

God statuettes: Aphrodite, Aphrodite-Isis, Apollo, Dioscurus, Hermes, Lar, Serapis, Zeus (twice); all but Isis-Aphrodite (1st c. A.D.) are dated to the second half of the 2nd c. A.D.

Other statuettes and artefacts: arm from a statuette, a ram with Odysseus, a relief with Apollo, part of bull's leg and a mirror.

Date of context: unknown.

Notes: The hoard was found in Labovo or Liboni, but in the bibliography it is known by the name of the nearby Paramythia. It was reported to include initially some 20 statuettes. For the state of its recovery and history, see SWADDLING 1979, pp. 103-104; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019, pp.11-23; ΤΖΩΡΤΖΑΤΟΥ, ΛΑΖΟΥ 2019; ΤΖΩΡΤΖΑΤΟΥ 2019.

Bibliography: KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 311, GF116, fig. 277; SHARPE 2017; ΚΑΤΣΙΚΟΥΔΗΣ 2019.

Asia Minor

10. Ephesus, Terrace House 2, Dwelling Unit 2, Peristyle

God statuettes: Athena (1st-first half of 2nd c. A.D.), Isis Panthea (first half of 3rd c. A.D.), Serapis (second half of 2nd c. A.D.).

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze incense burner.

Date of context: third quarter of 3rd c. A.D.

Notes: The possibility that the group came from the upper store is open.

Bibliography: QUATEMBER 2005; KOWALLECK, RATHMAYR 2010, pp. 605-606 and 633-634, B-B 83-86, pl. 265 and 474-476.

11. Pergamon, Peristyle house II, Space 4b

God statuettes: Ares, Herakles, Satyr; 1st c. B.C.

Other statuettes and artefacts: two fragments of a faucet.

Date of context: second half of 3rd c. A.D. or later.

Notes: It is argued that the statuettes had fallen down from one or more higher places and are not connected with the house.

Bibliography: KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, p. 311, GF117, fig. 278.

12. Zeugma, House of Dionysus, *vestibulum*

God statuettes: Eros (2nd-3rd c. A.D.), Hermes (2nd c. A.D.), arm of female deity (Aphrodite?).

Other statuettes and artefacts: bronze herm, bronze lamp, bronze panther.

Date of context: mid-3rd c. A.D.

Notes: The majority of the excavated bronze artefacts came to light within the rectangular room adjacent to the peristyle near a niche which is supposed to function as a shrine.

Bibliography: ERGEÇ 1998, p. 88; ALAGÖZ 2012; GÖRKAY 2017, p. 200 and note 27.

13. Zeugma, House of Poseidon, Spaces A12 and A14

God statuettes: Apollo, Artemis; 2nd c. A.D.

Other statuettes and artefacts: marble statuette of Athena, bronze pillar, bronze ferrule.

Date of context: mid-3rd c. A.D.

Notes: The statuette of Apollo was found in room A14=P38, while the one of Artemis along with the other artefacts in the adjacent space A12=P36.

Bibliography: ÖNAL 2012, p. 96, 98, figs. 80, 82; DIEUDONNÉ-GLAD *et alii* 2013, pp. 174-175, no. 974-975, pl. 44, and p. 298.

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